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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release April 16, 1991

FACT SHEET

On April 7, under Presidential directive, Operation Provide Comfort was launched to meet the humanitarian challenge unfolding in Iraq and to help alleviate the conditions of the refugees.

Reports from the field indicate that almost 400,000 Iraqi refugees, most of them Kurds, are massed at the Turkish border and 400,000 displaced persons are on the Iraqi side of the border. International organizations report that nearly 1,000,000 Iraqi civilians, mostly Kurds, have entered Iran, and as many as 500,000 more are moving toward the border. In addition, approximately 30,000 Shiite Iraqis have moved into Iran and approximately 30,000 are in occupied southern Iraq.

TURKEY/NORTHERN IRAQ

The United States and other Coalition partners stepped up their relief efforts for Kurdish refugees yesterday as the European Command established forward Humanitarian Service Support Bases at Diyarbakir and Silopi, Turkey. These bases are located near the Iraqi border and will provide more immediate access to the hundreds of thousands of Kurdish refugees stranded in the mountains of northern Iraq and southern Turkey. Diyarbakir will be the primary staging point for continued airdrops by U.S. and British C-130 and French C-160 aircraft, and Silopi will serve helicopter and truck delivery operations. Supplies are being transferred from Incirlik by air and truck convoy to the forward bases.

Allied nations have flown 198 missions and air-dropped more than 1,345 tons of relief supplies since Operation Provide Comfort began on April 7. Supplies include Meals Ready to Eat (MREs), water, foodstuffs (milk, sugar, flour, salt and tea), tents, blankets, clothing (field jackets), ground sheets, sleeping bags, tarp rolls and baby food. The USS San Diego, a Sixth Fleet supply ship, has begun off-loading bulk food items at the port of Iskenderun, Turkey, for transport to the forward bases at Diyarbakir and Silopi and subsequent disbursement to refugees. Three ships from the Marine Amphibious Readiness Group, with approximately 3,000 Marines onboard, have arrived and are preparing to join the operation. Additional Navy and Marine helicopters have come ashore and have begun air supply missions.

- more-

Stocks of bulk and canned food have begun moving from U.S. and European supply centers. Twenty deliveries of bulk food such as rice, beans, canned vegetables and fruit, flour and baby food totaling some 500,000 pounds have begun arriving in Turkey by air, ground and sea. Four ships from the Military Sealift Command (MSC) -- the USNS Sirus, USNS Rigel, the World Lynx and World Freedom -- carrying bulk food are expected to arrive in Turkey within the next few days.

Clothing and shelter requirements have been identified and these materials are presently being moved from the U.S. to Turkey by the Defense Logistics Agency. Shelter items include some 1,400 tents, 570,000 blankets, 20,000 sleeping bags, over a million bath towels, almost 60,000 sheets, 100,000 pillowcases and 86,000 shelter halves. Clothing includes over a million pairs of pants, 40,000 skirts, almost 300,000 ponchos and about 120,000 pairs of gym shoes. Total tonnage of relief supplies currently en route except by MSC is as follows: MREs - 1,257; blankets - 591; tents - 287; bulk food - 1,455; medical supplies - 838; clothing - 94; mixture of food, blankets, etc. - 606.

Allied medical teams have arrived at the forward operating bases and are already providing basic first aid to refugees and U.S. forces. Medical forces will be divided into 12 separate mobile medical teams to provide a more flexible response for refugees in various locations. Medical supplies expected to arrive at the forward bases over the next few days include 150,000 hospital blankets, 16,000 each of various types of vaccines, 50 bottles of chloroquine, 500 cases of ringers lactate and 130,000 oral rehydration packs.

Forces Involved in Refugee Relief Operations in the North:

1,936	U.S. Permanent Party at Incirlik AB, Turkey
2,840	Additional U.S. personnel
3,000	From 3-ship Marine Amphibious Readiness Group (USS Guadalcanal, USS Austin, USS Charleston)
7,776	
90	U.K.
121	French
7987	Coalition

U.S. Units Currently involved in Operation Provide Comfort:

- 61st Tactical Airlift Squadron, 8 C-130s, Little Rock, Arkansas
- 37th Tactical Airlift Squadron, 11 C-130s, Rhein Main AB, Germany
- 302nd Tactical Air Wing (Res), 3 C-130s, Peterson AFB, Colorado
- 86th Tactical Fighter Wing, 8 F-16s, Ramstein, Germany
- 81st Tactical Fighter Wing, 12-A-10s, RAF Bentwaters, UK
- Strategic Air Command Detachment, 7 KC-135
- 552 Aviation Warning and Control Wing. 2 E-3, Tinker AFB, Oklahoma
- Helicopter Support Squadron Four Det, 3-CH-53s, Sigonella, Italy
- Echo Company, 502nd Aviation Regiment, 8 CH-47s, Aviano AB, Italy
- 24th Marine Expeditionary Unit 12 CH-46, 3 UH-1,4 AH-1, 4 CH-53, Marine Corps Air Station, New River, North Carolina

SOUTHERN IRAQ

U.S. forces are implementing U.S. Central Command policy not to abandon any refugees who desire to come into the demilitarized zone during the withdrawal process. This includes transporting refugees to the temporary relief sites, if necessary. To ensure that refugees do not suffer in the transition of coalition forces from southern Iraq, several days of provision of food and water have been provided to resident and refugee populations desiring to remain in Iraq. An estimated 30,000 people are currently being assisted in coalition-occupied southern Iraq.

We have provided humanitarian assistance in southern Iraq since February 28. To date, U.S. CENTCOM forces have provided over 500,000 meals, distributed one million gallons of water, treated thousands of Iraqi patients, and evacuated over 350 Iraqi civilians for treatment at U.S. or Saudi hospitals. U.S. forces drilled a well in Safwan for use by civilians, which is producing 30,000 gallons of water a day.

IRAN

The International Committee of the Red Cross and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees have been actively involved in Iran since before the beginning of the refugee influx. The United States and the international community are providing assistance through U.N. and international relief organizations. We are in touch with Iranian officials through our protecting power, Switzerland, and we are considering ways we may be of further assistance.

# # #

The Heritage Foundation Backgrounder

No. 813 | The Heritage Foundation 214 Massachusetts Avenue N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 (202) 546-4400

February 26, 1991

WINNING A REAL VICTORY OVER IRAQ

INTRODUCTION

Saddam Hussein is in retreat. The question is, will he be defeated decisively or will he survive and claim a propaganda victory? There is an enormous difference between a military retreat and a geopolitical defeat. Saddam can survive a military retreat since no one expected him to triumph over the United States-led 28-member coalition. What he seeks to avoid is a geopolitical collapse that would threaten his rule over Iraq and shatter his ambition of gaining leadership over the Arab world.

Saddam hopes that he can salvage a political victory from the ashes of military defeat by following in the footsteps of his idol, Egypt's Gamal Abdul Nasser. Nasser suffered a crushing military defeat at the hands of British, French, and Israeli troops in November 1956, yet survived to score a diplomatic triumph when his enemies were forced out of Egypt by American pressure by the end of 1956. Saddam's only hope is that Washington will fail to translate the American military victory in Kuwait into a resounding political disaster for Saddam's brutal regime.

Discrediting Saddam. The challenge for George Bush is to turn Saddam's military retreat into a humiliating geopolitical defeat. Bush must make Saddam's "mother of all battles" become the "mother of all defeats." The U.S. must not allow Saddam to escape with a propaganda victory as Nasser did in 1956, but must defeat Saddam as decisively as the Israelis defeated Nasser in the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Such a defeat would discredit Saddam, undercut his appeal and influence in the Arab world, and possibly end his domination of Iraq.

Note: Nothing written here is to be construed as necessarily reflecting the views of The Heritage Foundation or as an attempt to aid or hinder the passage of any bill before Congress.

To defeat Saddam decisively, the U.S. must not only beat his army, but also his political strategy. From the outset of the crisis, following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, Saddam has sought to transform the conflict from one between Iraq and the United Nations coalition into a conflict between the Arab world and the West, allied with Israel. Saddam, posing as the champion of the Arab world, hopes to bloody the U.S.-led coalition and force a pause in the fighting to gain better terms for withdrawal than those so far offered by the coalition: unconditional, total, and immediate withdrawal from Kuwait, as required by United Nations Security Council Resolution 660. Saddam's goal is to survive the war with the bulk of his army intact and to claim a propaganda victory by standing up to the West.

To defeat Saddam decisively the U.S. should:

♦ ♦ **Ignore Saddam's February 26 radio statement that claimed Iraqi troops were withdrawing from Kuwait.** This statement, which sought to present the rout of Iraqi forces as a victorious withdrawal, did not include an Iraqi pledge to comply with all U.N. Security Council resolutions on the Persian Gulf crisis.

♦ ♦ **Reject Saddam's repeated offers to withdraw from Kuwait under the terms of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's February 18 peace initiative, which already had been rejected by the U.S.** Saddam's offer is a sign of desperation and reveals that the Iraqi dictator may be seeking to avert a total military collapse and to survive to fight another day.

♦ ♦ **Try to oust Saddam at an acceptable cost by driving a wedge between Saddam's regime and the Iraqi army.** This can be done by making clear that the coalition is fighting a war against Saddam and his regime, not against the Iraqi people. For instance, Saddam's secret police and the Republican Guard, Saddam's loyal shock troops, should be targeted for heavy air attacks while Iraqi army units near Baghdad in a position to launch a coup should be spared attack as much as possible.

♦ ♦ **Maintain relentless military pressure on Saddam by rejecting a ceasefire or bombing halt until Iraqi troops have surrendered inside Kuwait or fled to Iraq without their weapons.** Now that Saddam has forced the allies to resort to a ground war which they are on the verge of winning, he should not be allowed to escape from his misadventure in Kuwait under the same terms that he could have obtained before the ground war started.

♦ ♦ **Maintain the U.N.-mandated economic embargo on Iraq until Baghdad agrees to comply with all U.N. Security Council resolutions concerning Kuwait.**

SADDAM'S STRATEGY

Saddam is not fighting a conventional war for traditional military objectives, such as the military destruction of his adversary. Rather, he is fighting a political and psychological war to strengthen his claim to leadership of the Arab world and to maintain his grip on Iraq. Saddam knows that he can win politically while losing militarily if he and his regime survive the war and if his propaganda convinces Iraqis and other Arabs that Iraq has defended Arab "honor" against what Baghdad Radio contends is a conspiracy of "the Satan in the White House," Western colonial powers, Israel, and Arab "lackey" regimes.

Saddam warned Bush repeatedly in the months before the war erupted on January 26 that the conflict would not be "another Panama," in which the U.S. triumphed quickly and at low cost, but closer to "another Vietnam." Saddam reportedly told visitors privately before the war that his strategy was to prolong the fighting into the summer, when he believed that the combination of heat and casualties would break American will.[1] A constant theme in the Iraqi dictator's statements is that Iraqi military prowess would enhance Arab honor. He told Cable News Network correspondent Peter Arnett on January 28: "Iraq will win the admiration of the world with its fighting prowess. Lots of blood will be shed...on every side."[2] A prolonged war would enable Iraq to wear down the allied coalition, raise the political costs to the allies in the Arab and Muslim worlds, and increase Saddam's chances of escaping the war with a settlement that he could proclaim to be a victory.

Hopes for a Settlement. Saddam's chief hope of gaining a settlement that he credibly could claim as a victory is to raise the costs of the war until the coalition balks at paying the price for total military victory and settles for a compromise solution that leaves Saddam in power. Another hope for a settlement that nets him a claim of victory is the possibility that the allies would permit his forces to withdraw from Kuwait without surrendering, after having fought "the mother of all battles."

Saddam so far has been unable to inflict heavy casualties on the allies in battle. But his coldly-calculated willingness to accept heavy Iraqi casualties also is an important source of bargaining leverage. Saddam has taken his own nation hostage, not just Kuwait. And he will continue to hold Iraqis hostage to his ambition to become the unchallenged leader of the Arab world. He contends that the goal of the allied war effort is to destroy Iraq, not to liberate Kuwait. To induce Saddam's hostages, the Iraqi people, to turn against him, the U.S. must convince them that the war is against Saddam, not them.

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1 *The Wall Street Journal*, February 4, 1991, p. A12.
2 *The New York Times*, January 29, 1991, p. A12.

SADDAM'S DIPLOMATIC LANDMINES

The U.S. must put such military pressure on Saddam's retreating army that the allied forces, in effect, decisively defeat and capture the 42 divisions of 540,000 troops entrenched in the Kuwaiti theater of operations (which includes Southern Iraq) and destroy or capture their tanks, artillery, and heavy equipment. Iraqi troops should be allowed to retreat to Iraq without being attacked from the air only if they abandon their weapons. Until this military objective is achieved, Bush must continue to avoid jeopardizing an overwhelming allied victory through diplomatic missteps that would give Saddam an escape route to claim victory.

In addition to avoiding the more than 500,000 Iraqi landmines in Kuwait, the U.S. must avoid many diplomatic landmines. They are:

♦♦ **Agreeing to a cease-fire or bombing halt before the beginning of an unconditional, rapid, and total withdrawal of Iraqi forces in the Kuwaiti theater.** The U.S. should avoid one of the pitfalls of its Vietnam experience and refuse a bombing halt that would relieve the military pressure on Saddam to comply with U.N. resolutions on Kuwait. Saddam has a long history of violating agreements. The Iraqi dictator announced a unilateral withdrawal from Iranian territory in a bid to gain a cease-fire with Iran in 1982, but held onto parts of Iran anyway. After an exhausted Iran had accepted a U.N. cease-fire proposal in July 1988, Saddam launched a military offensive that pushed the Iranians back 40 miles. Clearly, Saddam cannot be given the benefit of the doubt.

♦♦ **Allowing the Iraqi army to withdraw without surrendering.** Now that Saddam has forced the allies to resort to a ground war which they are on the verge of winning, he should not be allowed to escape from his misadventure in Kuwait under the same terms that he could have obtained before the ground war started. The Iraqi army should be required to surrender before it is allowed to withdraw. The Egyptian army was allowed to withdraw without surrendering from territory it had seized in the Sinai peninsula during the first few days of the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War, despite the fact that the Israeli army had surrounded those Egyptian forces and was on the verge of decisively defeating them. This allowed Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to claim a moral victory from the shambles of military defeat. Saddam is no Sadat. If he is allowed to escape with a "moral victory," he will use it not to make peace with Israel, as Sadat did in 1979, but to gain the stature he needs to lead the Arab world against Israel in another war.

♦♦ **Succumbing to Soviet-Iraqi diplomatic initiatives.** Bush correctly rejected Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's February 18 peace initiative because it attached a series of conditions to Iraq's "unconditional withdrawal," including assurances that Iraq would be rewarded with discussions on the Arab-Israeli issue and that Saddam would stay in power, free from punishment for his aggression and war crimes. The U.S. should avoid being entangled in Gorbachev's diplomatic agenda, which is to: 1) preserve

Saddam as a loyal client; 2) retain Iraq as a strategic ally; 3) retain Iraq as a major arms customer and important source of hard currency; 4) demonstrate that Moscow remains a key player in the Middle East; 5) strengthen the Soviet role in the postwar settlement; 6) enhance Soviet influence in the Arab world; and 7) restore Gorbachev's credentials as a statesman, which have been tarnished by his crackdown on democratic reformers in the Baltic states.

♦♦ **Accepting anything less than the demands set forth in the twelve U.N. resolutions.** Doing so would be in effect rewarding Saddam for fighting the war since the resolutions set forth the criteria for an acceptable peaceful settlement of the crisis.

WINNING THE PEACE

The U.S. must not only defeat Saddam Hussein's army but his political strategy. It must block Saddam's efforts to salvage political victory out of military defeat, as Nasser did in 1956. It must force Saddam to absorb a clear-cut political defeat that will explode his destabilizing claim to Arab leadership and discredit him, like Nasser after he provoked the disastrous 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

Since Saddam's victory strategy is predicated on his personal survival, his removal from power would constitute a major victory for America. But such an outcome would be pyrrhic were it purchased at the price of occupying Baghdad and fighting a protracted guerrilla war inside Iraq that would inflame the Arab world and turn Saddam into a martyr. As the Iranians found when they pushed Iraqi troops across the border in 1982, the Iraqis fight much better on their own territory, motivated by national defense rather than conquest. Occupying forces would be easy targets for truckbombs; it is not difficult to imagine Iraq turning into a super-Lebanon. The military costs and ensuing political costs that such an occupation would impose on U.S. policy in the Arab world would offset the benefit of finishing off a mortally wounded Saddam.

Aiding Disgruntled Iraqis. The U.S. should seek to oust Saddam from power, but should do so by helping Iraqis who are increasingly disgruntled with his leadership. There are reports of anti-Saddam graffiti on the walls of Baghdad's buildings, a brave act given the fact that public criticism of Saddam is by law a capital offense in Iraq. A crowd of 5,000 Iraqis in the Iraqi town of Diwaniya, about 100 miles south of Baghdad, reportedly killed ten Baath Party officials who tried to stop their anti-Saddam demonstration on February 10.[3] Saddam is unlikely to be swept away in a spontaneous popular uprising, given the strength of his omnipresent security forces. But the U.S.

3 *The Washington Post*, February 19, 1991, p. A12.

can reduce Saddam's ability to intimidate the Iraqi people by targeting for bombing Saddam's multiple secret police agencies, which have headquarters in every major Iraqi town and city.

Army Coup Attempts. The chief threat to Saddam's regime is posed by the Iraqi army, which bore the brunt of the cost of Saddam's miscalculations in invading Iran in 1980 and Kuwait last year. The army almost surely resents Saddam's constant purges of high-ranking officers and the heavy-handed surveillance of Baath Party commissars and spies sprinkled throughout its ranks. Tensions grew so high between Saddam and his army that there were four credible reports of coup attempts in 1990 before the August 2 invasion of Kuwait; and in July, Saddam closed army officers clubs, which he regards as potential sources of opposition.[4]

The U.S. should drive a wedge further into the growing fissure between Saddam and his army by making clear that this war is not against the Iraqi people. Washington constantly should reaffirm American support for Iraq's territorial integrity and rule out a postwar dismemberment of Iraq by Iran, Syria, and Turkey. This will reduce the willingness of the army to continue the war. The U.S. should continue to bomb heavily the loyalist Republican Guard, while Iraqi army units near Baghdad that are in a position to launch a coup should be spared attack as much as possible. This will reduce the odds against a successful coup.

The U.S. should continue to reject Saddam's offers to withdraw from Kuwait under the terms of Gorbachev's peace initiative. Washington already has rejected this initiative as an oxymoron — it promises an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal for which it then lists conditions. Moreover, the Gorbachev initiative is unacceptable because it gives Saddam better terms for withdrawal than he could have obtained before the war started on January 15, including assurances that he can remain in power and escape punishment for his aggression and war crimes.

Heavier Price. The U.S. is right to reject Saddam's offer of a conditional withdrawal and instead maintain relentless military pressure on Saddam until Iraq's forces in Kuwait, and any surrounded in southern Iraq, have surrendered unconditionally. Now that Saddam has forced the allies into a ground war that they are on the verge of winning, he should not be allowed to escape a total defeat on the ground. He should be required to pay a heavier price — surrender of his troops, not just withdrawal — because his obstinate refusal to withdraw forced the allies to bear the higher costs of the ground war option. By making it clear that it will accept nothing less, the U.S. puts the onus on Saddam for continuing the war, which will give the Iraqi army additional incentives for a coup.

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4 Laurie Mylroie, "Saddam Was in Desperate Trouble," *The Wall Street Journal*, August 10, 1990, p. A10.

Demanding the surrender of the troops inside Kuwait also will deprive Saddam of any basis for claiming victory. Such a humiliating defeat could accelerate his downfall. The U.S. also could encourage a coup by holding prisoners from the Republican Guard, diehard supporters of the regime, until the final stage of prisoners of war exchanges. Since roughly two-thirds of the 150,000-man Republican Guard was deployed in the Kuwait theater, this significantly will weaken Saddam's praetorian guard and make him more vulnerable to a coup.

Finally, the U.S. should veto any lifting of the U.N. economic sanctions against Iraq until Iraq agrees to comply with all U.N. Security Council resolutions on Kuwait. This will give the Iraqi people and the Iraqi army further incentive to rid themselves of Saddam. The U.S. also should organize an embargo on arms sales and the transfer of sensitive military technologies to Iraq to prevent Baghdad from rebuilding its offensive military capabilities, particularly its weapons of mass destruction, regardless of who rules Iraq.

CONCLUSION

Now that Iraqi forces appear to be trapped in a steadily tightening noose, they should not be allowed to escape a humiliating defeat. A face-saving settlement that prolongs Saddam's rule will perpetuate Iraq as a radical and destabilizing force in the Middle East and raise the long-term American and allied costs of containing the Iraqi threat. The U.S. should stay the course in Kuwait and inflict a crushing defeat on Saddam Hussein that will shake his hold on power and deter future Saddams from challenging vital U.S. interests. Given Saddam's determination to fight the "mother of all battles" against the allies, the U.S. now should impose the "mother of all defeats" on Saddam.

James A. Phillips
Deputy Director of Foreign Policy Studies

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Iraq: Impact of the Sanctions
23 October 1990

The UN sanctions are taking a heavy toll on Iraq's economy.

--Iraqi imports of food and industrial goods have been slashed by roughly 90 percent compared with precrisis levels.

--Practically all of Iraq's foreign assets have been frozen, severely limiting Baghdad's ability to pay for imports even if it finds sellers willing to circumvent the sanctions.

--The embargo has cut off 98 percent of Iraqi oil exports since the invasion and is costing Baghdad at least $1.5 billion each month (at preinvasion prices) in foregone revenues.

--The sanctions have brought most of Iraq's development projects to a virtual halt. (U)

Iraq's severely reduced access to foreign raw materials, semi-finished goods, and machinery is leading to a steady decline in Iraqi industrial activity and is probably undermining Baghdad's efforts to offset lost food imports with increased agricultural output.

--Shortages of imported lubricants, spare parts, and chemicals are hampering machinery operations and causing production difficulties at refineries, petrochemical plants, and probably water purification facilities.

--Iraq faces developing shortages of ball bearings, batteries, tires, and plastics.

--Winter plowing and planting are likely to be hampered by a shortage of spare parts for the country's 42,000 tractors and other agricultural machinery. (U)

The sharp reduction in imports is also causing Iraqi consumers to suffer a steady rise in hardship.

--Baghdad began rationing rice, flour, potatoes, beans, powdered milk, sugar, tea, cooking oil, soap, and detergent in early September. The regime reduced ration amounts by 50 percent in mid-September and added bread to its rationing program.

--Iraq's rations provide about 1,250 calories a day according to Patrick Clawson, a prominent US scholar. Iraqis have had to pay highly inflated prices--the costs of some basic commodities have jumped 800 percent since the invasion--to supplement their diets.

--Iraqi Health Ministry officials announced plans in mid-October to dispense medicines used for treating cardiac diseases and other serious illnesses through a card system.

--Rationing of gasoline and motor oil began 23 October, according to Iraqi press reporting. Taxi drivers are allowed only 16 gallons of gasoline per week. (U)

Although there are no tangible indications that Saddam is concerned about the stability of his regime, tougher times loom ahead.

--Shortages of imported chemicals for water purification could lead to a sharp rise in the incidence of dysentery and other waterborne diseases.

--Cold temperatures--the average minimum temperature in Baghdad is 49 degrees Fahrenheit in November, 41 in December--are likely to heighten an already sharp level of concern about the sanctions among Iraqis. (U)

copy writers

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 6, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: RON KAUFMAN
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS

FROM: DAVID M. CARNEY
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: REACTIONS TO THE ADDRESS BEFORE THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS

Sir, following your address to the Joint Session of Congress this evening we received comments from GOP officials across the nation and from national political community members.

Please find attached their statements for your benefit and review.

Thank you.

NATIONAL POLITICAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS

Rich Bond

The President was at his best -- sounding the fundamental themes of decency and compassion. His 100 day challenge to the Democrats was very wise politically and will prove favorable as the burden is shifted to the Democrats to act.

Frank Donatelli

The President's speech was a clear indication that he is not resting on his laurels. He is decisively moving forward. The ability of the President to carry or transfer over his popularity and the optimism of Americans to other issues is an excellent idea. His emotion towards the end of the speech was genuine and will be the most memorable to the American people.

Jim Lake

It was an excellent speech. It showed purpose and emotion, real excitement in the end to the Middle East situation. It laid out a four point plan for peace, and if followed, will truly mark this presidency as one of the greatest this country has seen.

Linda DiVall

Terrific speech. It set out clear objectives and showed the differences between the parties. Laid out a timetable for democrats to get the job done.

NORTHEAST REGION

Governor John R. McKernan, Jr.
Governor of Maine - Maine Bush-Quayle '88 Honorary Chairman
Blaine House
Augusta, Maine 04330
207/289-3531.

"Spectacular speech . . . at his very best. He has justified all the confidence that all of us have had in him for so long. Best speech he has ever given. Everyone in Maine is proud to consider him one of us."

Dick Rosenbaum
New York Republican National Committeeman
Nixon, Hargrave, Devans & Doyle
Clinton Square
Rochester, New York 14603
716/546-8000

"Thought it was great. Right on the ball. The moral aspects of war shone through. I couldn't be prouder of the President. An historical speech."

Leon Lombardi
Massachusetts Republican Party Chairman
271 Purchase Street
South Easton, Massachusetts 02375
508/238-8221

"Extremely inspired . . . really captured the mood of the public, well balanced. Excellent to identify the conclusion of the war as a catalyst for economic resurgence through lending and investment."

Bo Sullivan
New Jersey Bush-Quayle '88 Chairman
Holland Road
Bedminster, New Jersey 07921
201/785-2300

"Great speech. Was the most unusual political event I have ever seen. Those who have been carping for two years have seen the vision now. As usual, George Bush was very gracious, giving credit to all."

Brian Gaffney
Connecticut Bush-Quayle '88 Chairman
36 Westwood Drive
New Britain, Connecticut 06052
203/229-0301

"Excellent speech. Struck a chord that American people really feel, yet have to address the economic issues which are particularly important to the Northeast because it is important for America to remain strong."

Herb Barness
Pennsylvania Republican National Committeeman
975 Easton Road
Warrington, Pennsylvania 18976
215/343-0700

"Fabulous . . . sensational . . . euphoria continues. I was a little disappointed that more time was not spent on domestic issues."

SOUTHERN REGION

Mr. R. Jack Hawke
Republican Party Chairman
1410 Hillsborough Street
Raleigh, NC 27605
(919) 872-6636

"I can't remember a speech that powerful since I was a child. You consistently show the kind of leadership that will make the history books. Thank you, Mr. President, for all you do for freedom."

Mr. Bob Gable
Republican Party Chairman
410 West Vine Street
Lexington, KY 40507
(606) 231-7878

"This is the best speech I have ever seen the President give. It was great in pride, in emotion, and in content. The President paid a fitting tribute to the troops and to the American people. The speech was forward looking, and it is great that the President took this opportunity to nudge Congress without offending the occasion. George Bush is a true leader, and history will reflect that."

Mr. Van Poole
Republican Party Chairman
Post Office Box 311
Tallahassee, FL 32302
(904)222-7920

"Outstanding, I am proud to be an American. I could, as I expect most Americans could, feel the President's emotion tonight. I can't remember anything like this in recent history. The speech was as strong on substance as it was on style. I couldn't be prouder of the President than I am tonight."

MIDWEST REGION

Mr. Ed Lawson
Bush-Quayle Finance Chairman
Lawson Petroleum
2100 Philtower Building
Tulsa, OK 74103
(918) 584-5155

"The President is so great! Delivery, message, response, and appearance were all outstanding. The President showed true vision and presented the appropriate challenge to Congress. Mr. President you hit a home run. God bless you."

Mrs. Mary Jo Arndt
National Committeewoman
35 South Steward
Lombard, IL 60148
(708)627-7090

"The President was absolutely tremendous. I am so proud to be an American -- and almost speechless! The President believed what he was saying and it really showed. It was so important to address the issues of the future and to challenge Congress without chiding them. Thank you for your leadership."

Mr. Tom Fowler
State Chairman
3310 East Sunshine, Box 10828
Springfield, MO 65808
(417) 882-1400

"This was the greatest speech I have seen in years. It was as well received as it was delivered, and was so Presidential. Content matched delivery and style, and the President really showed leadership by looking beyond the immediate. Great job!"

Mr. Jim Oberwetter
Bush-Quayle Co-Chairman
Hunt Consolidated
1445 Ross at Field
Dallas, TX 75202
(214) 978-8534

"This speech was so important, and it proved to be one of the President's finest ever. It was a victory speech without being too proud, but in all honesty, the President deserves every bit of praise he is getting. I can't say when I have been prouder of George Bush."

SOUTHWEST REGION

John Petersen
Bush-Quayle Kansas State Chairman
12330 Riggs Street
Overland Park, Kansas 66209
(913) 345-9310

"A great speech...nobody can ever have any doubts that you're the world's leader. Extremely important to express the importance of a domestic agenda. The American people needed to hear that you're ready to tackle the domestic agenda. Kansas is behind you 100%."

James R. Dignan
California Republican Party State Chairman
7108 Hillcrest Drive
Modesto, California 95356
(209) 545-3216

"A great job...you looked so compassionate as the world peace leader. A perfect tie to the domestic problems and presenting Congress with the challenge of solving these problems. The speech was masterful, to the point, and made Americans feel secure. America has a renewed hope for the future."

Jack Flanigan
California Finance Co-Chairman, Bush-Quayle '88
31 Burning Tree Street
Newport Beach, California 92658
(714) 760-0963

"A couple more speeches like that and the American people are going to do away with a two term presidency. This is the best speech you've ever given. The American people have never seen a President since WWII receive so much praise and approval. A great political device to use the President's high approval from the war and immediately begin to tackle the country's domestic problems. Baby you can't get much higher than that."

Governor-Elect Fife Symington
4954 East Rockridge Road
Phoenix, Arizona 85018
(602) 840-2070

"The finest speech you've ever given...you showed real emotion to the American people that touched everyone. You've got 99% of the vote in Arizona. The domestic agenda was brilliantly handled. Thank you for your fine leadership...everyone is so proud of you."

Congresswoman Pat Saiki
505 Crestwood Drive
Alexandria, Virginia 22302
(703) 549-7720

"Quite a speech...the most moving speech I've ever heard. You really touched me. It was masterful how you tied the domestic agenda as the new challenge for the future now that aggression is gone. You were very sincere about a new world order. I know you will go down in history and I am so proud to be a Republican and an American."

NORTHWEST REGION

Craig Berkman
Chairman, Oregon Republican Party
12000 Southwest Garden Place
Portland, OR 97223
503/684-3090

The President's comments were comprehensive. He demonstrated extreme competency and leadership, and his sensitivity came through.

Thought the call to put politics as usual behind us and for all Americans to try as a people to work hard and put the kind of effort and unity we displayed defending freedom towards our domestic challenges.

The message that we will hold the Democrats accountable for addressing the Domestic agenda in a responsible manner was great.

The President did an outstanding job, and we could not be prouder of the him.

Chuck Heringer
'88 Bush-Quayle Chairman - Montana
2524 Emerson Place
Billings, MT 59102
619/564-3602

The President was comprehensive in his thanks. His challenge to Congress for accountability was important, his expression of grief for the people of Iraq was also important and the four points were complete, descriptive and well understood. It was good to mention the hostages in Lebanon and to stress that peace is our primary mission.

The 100 hours/100 days put the monkey right on the back of Congress. All in all, it was the President's most meaningful speech...hit every important point on the head, the President's humility was truly inspirational, and his use of words remarkable.

Marjorie Rainwater
'88 Bush-Quayle Chairman - Wyoming
1303 Mary Court
Gillette, WY 82716
307/682-8130

In three words: pride, celebration and hope. The speech and the President's presentation were very, very good. Liked the four key challenges, especially the mention of the importance of diplomacy. Pleased with the mention of the hostages in Lebanon.

Liked that he mentioned his discussion of domestic issues in the State of the Union and then elaborated on efforts since then. The call to honor soldiers and their families on the fourth of July was great. Appreciated the President's point that we have reason to feel pride; pride in sense of duty and pride in technology.

Duane Acklie
National Committeeman - Nebraska
2200 Woodsale
Lincoln, NE 68502
402/474-3033

This was the President's greatest hour yet. Covered the past thoroughly and provided leadership for the future. He showed that he is going to continue to lead on domestic issues. Absolutely outstanding.

George Pillsbury
'88 Bush-Quayle Finance Chairman - Minnesota
Team 100
612/473-9634

Thought it was great. The point that we can not rely on geography and military strength was excellent. It was very wise and good to bring the issue to the forefront. In this regard, mentions of the United Nations and the Israeli/Palestinian issue were important and gutsy. The President provided the world leadership that we must face up to the Israeli situation and that we have new opportunities for peace to take hold of.

Admire the call to eliminate unneeded weapons and bases. The 100 hours/100 days call was super. Mention of hostages in Lebanon was important.

He thinks this speech is going to sell well especially in states where Republican governors face Democratic legislatures. The President is setting the standard for Republican executive leadership.

Barbara Campbell
Chairman, Montana Republican Party
471 Lake Hill Road
Deer Lodge, MT 59722
406/846-3633

On behalf of the people of Montana, I thank you for your courageous leadership and wisdom, and for realizing the global significance of the issues and your actions while showing you still care about each individual.

Nothing but praise for the speech, particularly moved when he shared his sensitivity and how deeply he felt.

From Desert Storm to Desert Peace

United Nations Coalition

Argentina
Australia
Bahrain
Bangladesh
Belgium
Canada
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Egypt
France
Germany
Greece
Italy
Kuwait
Morocco
Netherlands
New Zealand
Niger
Norway
Oman
Pakistan
Poland
Qatar
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Spain
Syria
United Arab Emirates
United Kingdom
United States

The State of Kuwait and its People

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release January 29, 1991

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON THE STATE OF THE UNION

The U.S. Capitol
Washington, D.C.

9:09 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. President, and Mr. Speaker, and members of the United States Congress. I come to this House of the people to speak to you and all Americans, certain that we stand at a defining hour. Halfway around the world, we are engaged in a great struggle in the skies and on the seas and sands. We know why we're there. We are Americans -- part of something larger than ourselves. For two centuries, we've done the hard work of freedom. And tonight, we lead the world in facing down a threat to decency and humanity.

What is at stake is more than one small country; it is a big idea: a new world order, where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind -- peace and security, freedom, and the rule of law. Such is a world worthy of our struggle and worthy of our children's future. (Applause.)

The community of nations has resolutely gathered to condemn and repel lawless aggression. Saddam Hussein's unprovoked invasion -- his ruthless, systematic rape of a peaceful neighbor -- violated everything the community of nations holds dear. The world has said this aggression would not stand -- and it will not stand. (Applause.)

Together, we have resisted the trap of appeasement, cynicism, and isolation that gives temptation to tyrants. The world has answered Saddam's invasion with 12 United Nations resolutions, starting with a demand for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal and backed up by forces from 28 countries of six continents. With few exceptions, the world now stands as one.

The end of the Cold War has been a victory for all humanity. A year and a half ago, in Germany, I said that our goal was a Europe whole and free. Tonight, Germany is united. Europe has become whole and free -- and America's leadership was instrumental in making it possible. (Applause.)

Our relationship to the Soviet Union is important, not only to us, but to the world. That relationship has helped to shape these and other historic changes. But like many other nations, we have been deeply concerned by the violence in the Baltics, and we have communicated that concern to the Soviet leadership.

The principle that has guided us is simple: Our objective is to help the Baltic peoples achieve their aspirations, not to punish the Soviet Union. (Applause.) In our recent discussions with the Soviet leadership, we have been given representations which, if fulfilled, would result in the withdrawal of some Soviet forces, a reopening of dialogue with the Republics, and a move away from violence.

We will watch carefully as the situation develops. And we will maintain our contact with the Soviet leadership to encourage

MORE

continued commitment to democratization and reform. (Applause.) If it is possible, I want to continue to build a lasting basis for U.S.-Soviet cooperation, for a more peaceful future for all mankind.

The triumph of democratic ideas in Eastern Europe and Latin America, and the continuing struggle for freedom elsewhere all around the world all confirm the wisdom of our nation's founders.

Tonight, we work to achieve another victory -- a victory over tyranny and savage aggression.

We in this Union enter the last decade of the 20th century thankful for our blessings, steadfast in our purpose, aware of our difficulties, and responsive to our duties at home and around the world.

For two centuries, America has served the world as an inspiring example of freedom and democracy. For generations, America has led the struggle to preserve and extend the blessings of liberty. And today, in a rapidly changing world, American leadership is indispensable. Americans know that leadership brings burdens and sacrifices. But we also know why the hopes of humanity turn to us. We are Americans: we have a unique responsibility to do the hard work of freedom. And when we do, freedom works. (Applause.)

The conviction and courage we see in the Persian Gulf today is simply the American character in action. The indomitable spirit that is contributing to this victory for world peace and justice is the same spirit that gives us the power and the potential to meet our toughest challenges at home.

We are resolute and resourceful. If we can selflessly confront evil for the sake of good in a land so far away, then surely we can make this land all that it should be. If anyone tells you that America's best days are behind her, they're looking the wrong way. (Applause.)

Tonight, I come before this House and the American people with an appeal for renewal. This is not merely a call for new government initiatives; it is a call for new initiative in government, in our communities, and from every American -- to prepare for the next American century.

America has always led by example. So who among us will set this example? Which of our citizens will lead us in this next American century? Everyone who steps forward today -- to get one addict off drugs, to convince one troubled teenager not to give up on life, to comfort one AIDS patient, to help one hungry child.

We have within our reach the promise of a renewed America. We can find meaning and reward by serving some purpose higher than ourselves -- a shining purpose, the illumination of a thousand points of light. And it is expressed by all who know the irresistible force of a child's hand, of a friend who stands by you and stays there -- a volunteer's generous gesture, an idea that is simply right.

The problems before us may be different, but the key to solving them remains the same. It is the individual -- the individual who steps forward. And the state of our Union is the union of each of us, one to the other -- the sum of our friendships, marriages, families, and communities.

We all have something to give. So if you know how to read, find someone who can't. If you've got a hammer, find a nail. If you're not hungry, not lonely, not in trouble, seek out someone who is. Join the community of conscience. Do the hard work of freedom. And that will define the state of our Union. (Applause.)

Since the birth of our nation, "We the people" has been the source of our strength. What government can do alone is limited -- but the potential of the American people knows no limits.

We are a nation of rock-solid realism and clear-eyed idealism. We are Americans. We are the nation that believes in the future. We are the nation that can shape the future. And we've begun to do just that -- by strengthening the power and choice of individuals and families.

Together, these last two years, we've put dollars for child care directly in the hands of parents instead of bureaucracies. (Applause.) Unshackled the potential of Americans with disabilities. (Applause.) Applied the creativity of the marketplace in the service of the environment, for clean air; and made home ownership possible for more Americans. (Applause.)

The strength of a democracy is not in bureaucracy. It is in the people and their communities. In everything we do, let us unleash the potential of our most precious resource -- our citizens, our citizens themselves. We must return to families, communities, counties, cities, states, and institutions of every kind the power to chart their own destiny, and the freedom and opportunity provided by strong economic growth. And that's what America is all about. (Applause.)

I know tonight in some regions of our country, people are in genuine economic distress. And I hear them.

Earlier this month, Kathy Blackwell, of Massachusetts, wrote me about what can happen when the economy slows down, saying, "My heart is aching, and I think that you should know your people out here are hurting badly."

I understand. And I'm not unrealistic about the future. But there are reasons to be optimistic about our economy.

First, we don't have to fight double-digit inflation. Second, most industries won't have to make big cuts in production because they don't have big inventories piled up. And third, our exports are running solid and strong. In fact, American businesses are exporting at a record rate.

So let's put these times in perspective. Together, since 1981, we've created almost 20 million jobs, cut inflation in half, and cut interest rates in half.

And, yes, the largest peacetime economic expansion in history has been temporarily interrupted. But our economy is still over twice as large as our closest competitor.

We will get this recession behind us and return to growth soon. (Applause.) We will get on our way to a new record of expansion and achieve the competitive strength that will carry us into the next American century.

We should focus our efforts today on encouraging economic growth, investing in the future, and giving power and opportunity to the individual. (Applause.)

We must begin with control of federal spending. (Applause.) That's why I'm submitting a budget that holds the growth in spending to less than the rate of inflation. And that's why, amid all the sound and fury of last year's budget debate, we put into law new, enforceable spending caps -- so that future spending debates will mean a battle of ideas, not a bidding war. (Applause.)

Though controversial, the budget agreement finally put the federal government on a pay-as-you-go plan and cut the growth of debt by nearly $500 billion. And that frees funds for saving and job-creating investment.

Now, let's do more. My budget again includes tax-free family savings accounts; penalty-free withdrawals from IRAs for first-time home buyers -- (applause) -- and to increase jobs and

growth, a reduced tax for long-term capital gains. (Applause.)

I know there are differences among us -- (laughter) -- about the impact and the effects of a capital gains incentive. So tonight, I'm asking the congressional leaders and the Federal Reserve to cooperate with us in a study, led by Chairman Alan Greenspan, to sort out our technical differences so that we can avoid a return to unproductive partisan bickering. (Applause.)

But just as our efforts will bring economic growth now and in the future, they must also be matched by long-term investments for the next American century.

That requires a forward-looking plan of action -- and that's exactly what we will be sending to the Congress. We've prepared a detailed series of proposals that include:

A budget that promotes investment in America's future -- in children, education, infrastructure, space, and high technology;

legislation to achieve excellence in education -- building on the partnership forged with the 50 governors at the Education Summit, enabling parents to choose their children's schools and helping to make America number one in math and science; -- (applause) --

a blueprint for a new national highway system -- a critical investment in our transportation infrastructure; -- (applause) --

a research and development agenda that includes record levels of federal investment, and a permanent tax credit to strengthen private R&D and to create jobs; -- (applause) --

a comprehensive national energy strategy that calls for energy conservation and efficiency, increased development, and greater use of alternative fuels; -- (applause) --

a banking reform plan to bring America's financial system into the 21st century so that our banks remain safe and secure and can continue to make job-creating loans for our factories, our businesses and home-buyers.

You know, I do think there has been too much pessimism. Sound banks should be making sound loans now -- and interest rates should be lower, now. (Applause.)

In addition to these proposals, we must recognize that our economic strength depends on being competitive in world markets. We must continue to expand American exports. A successful Uruguay Round of world trade negotiations will create more real jobs and more real growth for all nations. You and I know that if the playing field is level, America's workers and farmers can out-work, out-produce anyone, anytime, anywhere. (Applause.)

And with a Mexican Free Trade Agreement and our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, we can help our partners strengthen their economies and move toward a free trade zone throughout this entire hemisphere. (Applause.)

The budget also includes a plan of action right here at home to put more power and opportunity in the hands of the individual. And that means new incentives to create jobs in our inner cities, by encouraging investment through enterprise zones. It also means tenant control and ownership of public housing. Freedom and the power to choose should not be the privilege of wealth. They are the birthright of every American. (Applause.)

Civil rights are also crucial to protecting equal opportunity. (Applause.) Every one of us has a responsibility to speak out against racism, bigotry, and hate. (Applause.) We will continue our vigorous enforcement of existing statutes, and I will

once again press the Congress to strengthen the laws against employment discrimination without resorting to the use of unfair preferences. (Applause.)

We're determined to protect another fundamental civil right -- freedom from crime and the fear that stalks our cities. The Attorney General will soon convene a crime summit of our nation's law enforcement officials. And to help us support them, we need tough crime control legislation, and we need it now. (Applause.)

And as we fight crime, we will fully implement our national strategy for combatting drug abuse. Recent data show that we are making progress, but much remains to be done. We will not rest until the day of the dealer is over, forever. (Applause.)

Good health care is every American's right and every American's responsibility. And so we are proposing an aggressive program of new prevention initiatives -- for infants, for children, for adults, and for the elderly -- to promote a healthier America and to help keep costs from spiralling. (Applause.)

It's time to give people more choice in government, by reviving the ideal of the citizen politician who comes not to stay, but to serve. And one of the reasons that there is so much support across this country for term limitations is that the American people are increasingly concerned about big-money influence in politics. So we must look beyond the next election, to the next generation. And the time has come to put the national interest above the special interest -- and totally eliminate political action committees. (Applause.)

And that would truly put more competition in elections, and more power in the hands of individuals. And where power cannot be put directly in the hands of the individual, it should be moved closer to the people -- away from Washington.

The federal government too often treats government programs as if they are of Washington, by Washington, and for Washington. Once established, federal programs seem to become immortal.

It's time for a more dynamic program life cycle: Some programs should increase. Some should decrease. Some should be terminated. And some should be consolidated and turned over to the states. (Applause.)

My budget includes a list of programs for potential turnover totalling more than $20 billion. Working with Congress and the governors, I propose we select at least $15 billion in such programs and turn them over to the states in a single consolidated grant -- fully funded -- for flexible management by the states. (Applause.)

The value -- the value of this turnover approach is straightforward. It allows the federal government to reduce overhead. It allows states to manage more flexibly and more efficiently. It moves power and decision-making closer to the people. And it reinforces a theme of this administration: appreciation and encouragement of the innovative powers of "States as Laboratories."

This nation was founded by leaders who understood that power belongs in the hands of people. And they planned for the future. And so must we -- here and all around the world.

As Americans, we know that there are times when we must step forward and accept our responsibility to lead the world away from the dark chaos of dictators, toward the brighter promise of a better day.

Almost 50 years ago we began a long struggle against aggressive totalitarianism. Now we face another defining hour for

America and the world.

There is no one more devoted, more committed to the hard work of freedom, than every soldier and sailor, every Marine, airman, and Coastguardsman -- every man and woman now serving in the Persian Gulf. (Applause.) Oh, how they deserve -- (applause) -- and what a fitting tribute to them.

You see -- what a wonderful, fitting tribute to them. Each of them has volunteered -- volunteered to provide for this nation's defense -- and now they bravely struggle, to earn for America, for the world, and for future generations, a just and lasting peace.

Our commitment to them must be equal to their commitment to their country. They are truly America's finest. (Applause.)

The war in the Gulf is not a war we wanted. We worked hard to avoid war. For more than five months we, along with the Arab League, the European Community, the United Nations, tried every diplomatic avenue. U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar; Presidents Gorbachev, Mitterrand, Ozal, Mubarak, and Bendjedid; Kings Fahd and Hassan; Prime Ministers Major and Andreotti -- just to name a few -- all worked for a solution. But time and again, Saddam Hussein flatly rejected the path of diplomacy and peace.

The world well knows how this conflict began and when: It began on August 2nd, when Saddam invaded and sacked a small, defenseless neighbor. And I am certain of how it will end. So that peace can prevail, we will prevail. (Applause.) Thank you.

Tonight, I am pleased to report that we are on course. Iraq's capacity to sustain war is being destroyed. Our investment, our training, our planning -- all are paying off. Time will not be Saddam's salvation.

Our purpose in the Persian Gulf remains constant: to drive Iraq out of Kuwait, to restore Kuwait's legitimate government, and to ensure the stability and security of this critical region.

Let me make clear what I mean by the region's stability and security. We do not seek the destruction of Iraq, its culture, or its people. Rather, we seek an Iraq that uses its great resources, not to destroy, not to serve the ambitions of a tyrant, but to build a better life for itself and its neighbors. We seek a Persian Gulf where conflict is no longer the rule, where the strong are neither tempted nor able to intimidate the weak.

Most Americans know instinctively why we are in the Gulf. They know we had to stop Saddam now, not later. They know that this brutal dictator will do anything; will use any weapon; will commit any outrage, no matter how many innocents suffer.

They know we must make sure that control of the world's oil resources does not fall into his hands, only to finance further aggression. They know that we need to build a new, enduring peace -- based not on arms races and confrontation, but on shared principles and the rule of law.

And we all realize that our responsibility to be the catalyst for peace in the region does not end with the successful conclusion of this war.

Democracy brings the undeniable value of thoughtful dissent -- and we've heard some dissenting voices here at home -- some, a handful, reckless -- most responsible. But the fact that all voices have the right to speak out is one of the reasons we've been united in purpose and principle for 200 years. (Applause.)

Our progress in this great struggle is the result of years of vigilance and a steadfast commitment to a strong defense. Now, with remarkable technological advances like the Patriot missile,

we can defend against ballistic missile attacks aimed at innocent civilians.

Looking forward, I have directed that the SDI program be refocused on providing protection from limited ballistic missile strikes -- whatever their source. (Applause.) Let us pursue an SDI program that can deal with any future threat to the United STates, to our forces overseas, and to our friends and allies.

The quality of American technology, thanks to the American worker, has enabled us to successfully deal with difficult military conditions and help minimize precious loss of life. We have given our men and women the very best. And they deserve it. (Applause.)

We all have a special place in our hearts for the families of our men and women serving in the Gulf. They are represented here tonight by Mrs. Norman Schwarzkopf. (Applause.) We are all very grateful to General Schwarzkopf and to all those serving with him. And I might also recognize one who came with Mrs. Schwarzkopf -- Alma Powell, the wife of the distinguished Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. (Applause.) And to the families, let me say our forces in the Gulf will not stay there one day longer than is necessary to complete their mission. (Applause.)

The courage and success of the RAF pilots, of the Kuwaiti, Saudi, French, the Canadians, the Italians, the pilots of Qatar and Bahrain -- all are proof that for the first time since World War II, the international community is united. The leadership of the United Nations, once only a hoped-for ideal, is now confirming its founders' vision. (Applause.)

I am heartened that we are not being asked to bear alone the financial burdens of this struggle. Last year, our friends and allies provided the bulk of the economic costs of Desert Shield. And now, having received commitments of over $40 billion for the first three months of 1991, I am confident they will do no less as we move through Desert Storm. (Applause.)

But the world has to wonder what the dictator of Iraq is thinking. If he thinks that by targeting innocent civilians in Israel and Saudi Arabia, that he will gain advantage, he is dead wrong. (Applause.) If he thinks that he will advance his cause through tragic and despicable environmental terrorism, he is dead wrong. (Applause.) And if he thinks that by abusing the coalition prisoners of war he will benefit, he is dead wrong. (Applause.)

We will succeed in the Gulf. And when we do, the world community will have sent an enduring warning to any dictator or despot, present or future, who contemplates oulaw aggression.

The world can, therefore, seize this opportunity to fulfill the long-held promise of a new world order, where brutality will go unrewarded and aggression will meet collective resistance.

Yes, the United States bears a major share of leadership in this effort. Among the nations of the world, only the United States of America has both the moral standing and the means to back it up. We're the only nation on this Earth that could assemble the forces of peace. This is the burden of leadership and the strength that has made America the beacon of freedom in a searching world.

This nation has never found glory in war. Our people have never wanted to abandon the blessings of home and work for distant lands and deadly conflict. If we fight in anger, it is only because we have to fight at all. And all of us yearn for a world where we will never have to fight again.

Each of us will measure within ourselves the value of this great struggle. Any cost in lives -- any cost -- is beyond our power to measure. But the cost of closing our eyes to aggression is beyond mankind's power to imagine.

This we do know: Our cause is just. Our cause is moral. Our cause is right. (Applause.)

Let future generations understand the burden and the blessings of freedom. Let them say we stood where duty required us to stand.

Let them know that, together, we affirmed America and the world as a community of conscience.

The winds of change are with us now. The forces of freedom are together, united. We move toward the next century more confident than ever that we have the will at home and abroad to do what must be done, the hard work of freedom.

May God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END 9:57 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release February 26, 1991

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

The Rose Garden

9:48 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: I have a brief statement to make today. Saddam's most recent speech is an outrage. He is not withdrawing. His defeated forces are retreating. He is trying to claim victory in the midst of a rout, and he is not voluntarily giving up Kuwait. He is trying to save the remnants of power and control in the Middle East by every means possible. And hereto Saddam Hussein will fail.

Saddam is not interested in peace, but only to regroup and fight another day, and he does not renounce Iraq's claim to Kuwait. To the contrary, he makes clear that Iraq continues to claim Kuwait. Nor is there any evidence of remorse for Iraq's aggression or any indication that Saddam is prepared to accept the responsibility for the awful consequences of that aggression.

He still does not accept U.N. Security Council resolutions or the coalition terms of February 22, including the release of our POWs -- all POWs -- third-country detainees, and an end to the pathological destruction of Kuwait. The coalition will therefore continue to prosecute the war with undiminished intensity.

As we announced last night, we will not attack unarmed soldiers in retreat. We have no choice but to consider retreating combat units as a threat and respond accordingly. Anything else would risk additional United States and coalition casualties.

The best way to avoid further casualties on both sides is for the Iraqi soldiers to lay down their arms as nearly 30,000 Iraqis already have. It is time for all Iraqi forces in the theater of operation, those occupying Kuwait, those supporting the occupation of Kuwait, to lay down their arms. And that will stop the bloodshed.

From the beginning of the air operation nearly six weeks ago, I have said that our efforts are on course and on schedule. This morning I am very pleased to say that coalition efforts are ahead of schedule. The liberation of Kuwait is close at hand.

And let me just add that I share the pride of all of the American people in the magnificent heroic performance of our armed forces. May God bless them and keep them.

END 9:51 A.M. EST

Arms and the Men

The allied and Iraqi forces squaring off in the Persian Gulf amount to the greatest concentration of military might gathered in a single region since World War II. In this special pullout section, Newsweek provides a comprehensive guide to the weapons of war on both sides. Also, a close-up look at an American Marine and his equipment, and the military hierarchy that runs the gulf operation from Washington and Saudi Arabia.

By the Numbers

Of the 370,000 U.S. ground forces in the Persian Gulf, 90,000 are Marines stationed in Saudi Arabia and the nearby region. The Marines and the U.S. Army organize their infantry troops similarly:

4 Marines = 1 Fire Team

3 Fire Teams = 1 Squad (13 Marines*)

3 Squads = 1 Platoon (43 Marines)

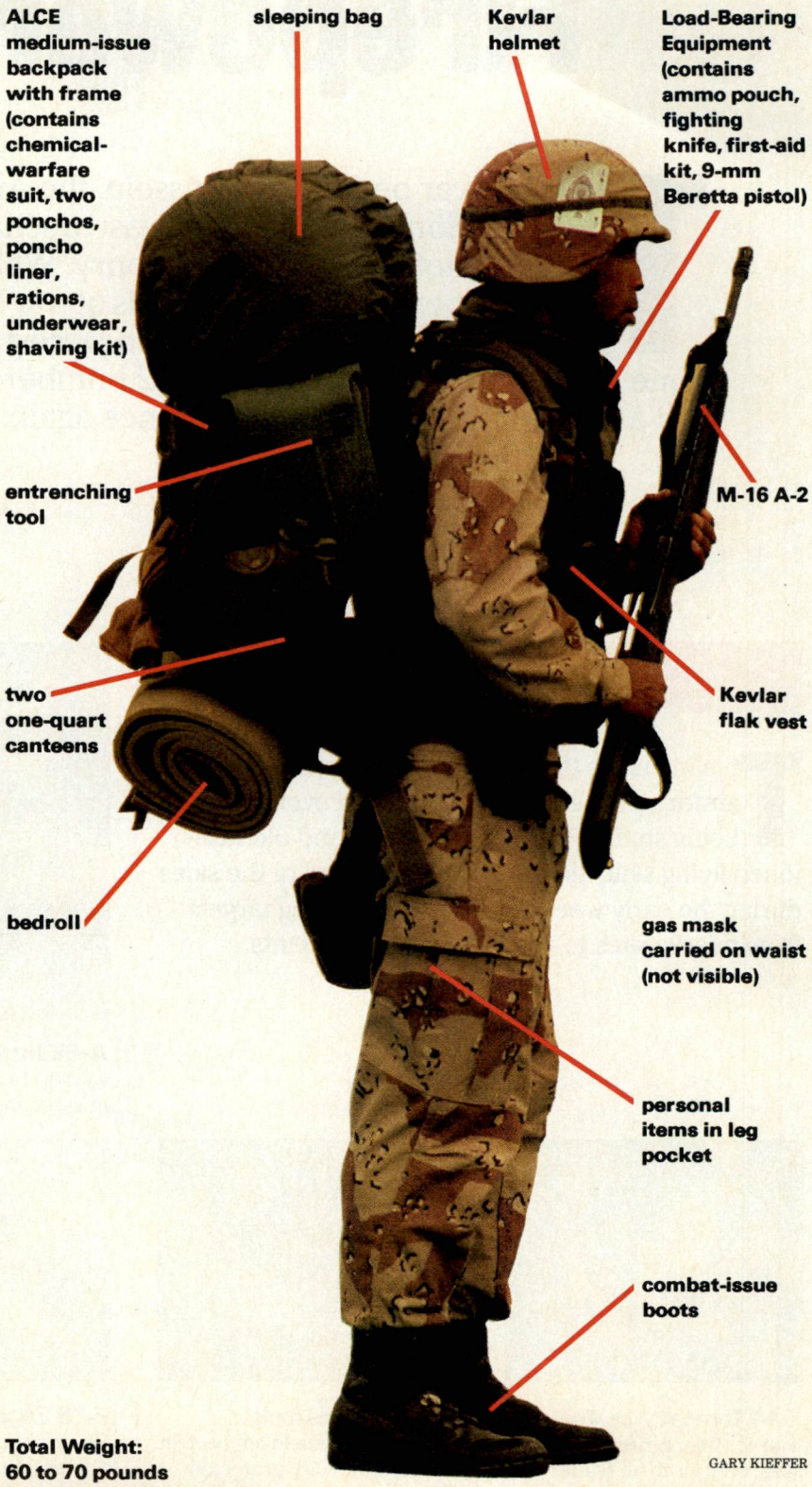
3 Platoons = 1 Company (182 Marines)

3 Companies = 1 Battalion (905 Marines)

3 Battalions = 1 Regiment† (3,037 Marines)

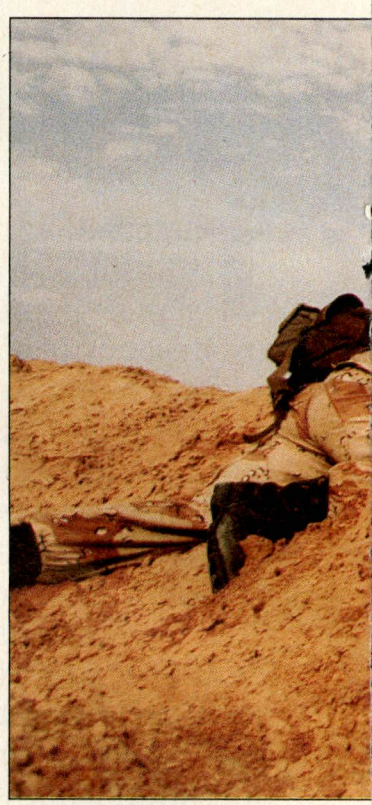
3 Regiments = 1 Division (9,111 Marines. With support personnel, the total strength of a Marine Division is 18,000.)

*NUMBERS APPROXIMATE AND VARY ACCORDING TO REINFORCEMENTS. †ARMY EQUIVALENT IS BRIGADE.
SOURCE: U.S. MARINE CORPS



GARY KIEFFER

The Allies' Firepower



To wage war on Saddam Hussein, the American-led coalition has deployed a vast arsenal of modern and not-so-modern weaponry. While an array of expensive high-tech tools of war have seen their first real test in Operation Desert Storm, some old veterans—notably, the B-52 bomber—have had a chance to prove their worth once again.

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Totaling more than 2,500 warplanes, the coalition air force is the most sophisticated ever gathered. Using state-of-the-art electronics and old-fashioned flying skill, the allies gained control of the skies during the early weeks of the war, crippling targets from missile sites to chemical-weapons plants.

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The effort to drive Iraqi forces from Kuwait will likely come down to a conflict on the land. The U.S.-led coalition of some 700,000 troops is larger and better equipped than Iraq's 540,000-man force in the region, but the allies face an entrenched and, in the case of the Republican Guard, battle-hardened enemy.

M-1A1 Abrams: The world's premier battle tank has armor that resists molten-metal shells and a deadly 120-mm cannon. But its turbine engine is a gas guzzler, and its electronics delicate.

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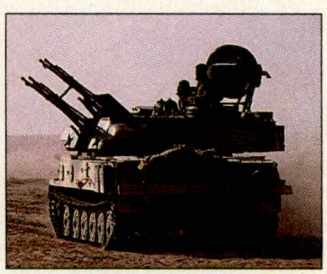

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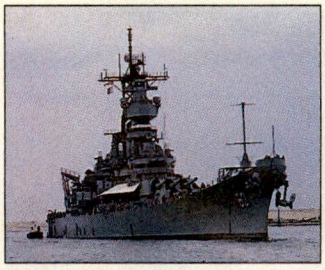
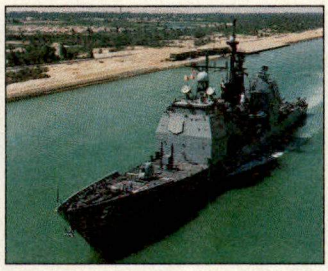


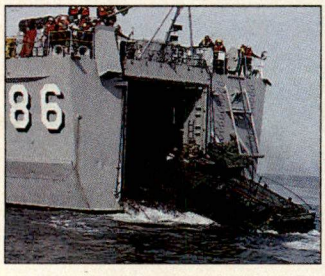
Battleship: The 16-inch guns of the elderly Missouri (above) and the Wisconsin fire shells the weight of a small car that can devastate heavily armored shore targets.



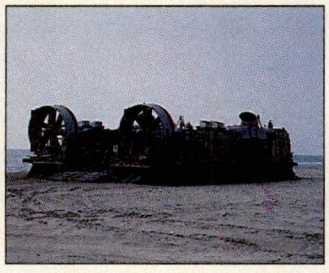
Aegis Cruiser: The long-range radar systems on cruisers like the Thomas S. Gates (above) are the eyes of the fleet, spotting incoming missile and aircraft threats.

Missile Destroyer: These speedy ships can wield a variety of potent weapons, ranging from Tomahawk cruise missiles to anti-ship Harpoon rockets to torpedoes.

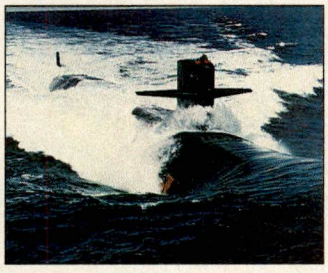
Frigate: Standard escort vessel for amphibious landings and other missions; carries a mix of antiaircraft and antiship missiles as well as antisubmarine devices.



AAV-7: Marines have some 400 Amphibious Assault Vehicles in the gulf. Each carries 25 men and is armed with a machine gun and grenade launcher.



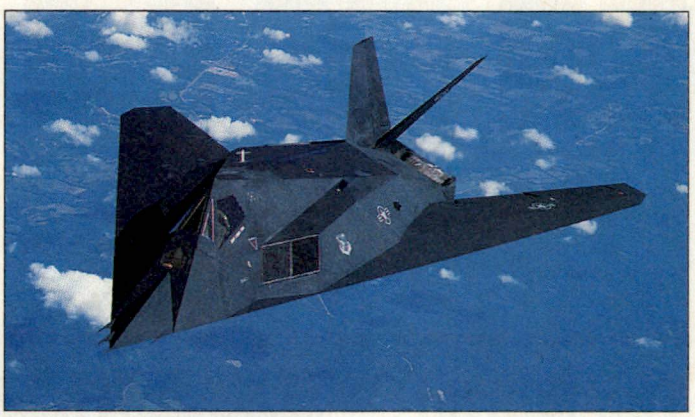
LCAC Hovercraft: Riding a cushion of air, its 2,000-square-foot cargo area can carry a large complement of Marines or machines close to shore for seaborne attacks.



Attack Submarine: An undisclosed number of subs lurk beneath Mideast waters. At least one, the Louisville, has launched a cruise missile against Iraq.

Tomahawk Cruise Missile: Fired from U.S. combat vessels, these computer-guided missiles carry 1,000-lb. warheads to within a few feet of their targets.

B-52 Stratofortress: Granddaddy of U.S. strategic bombers, the three-decades-old behemoth holds a 20-ton non-nuclear payload for sorties against fortified Republican Guard positions.



F-117A Stealth: Slow but slippery, the radar-evading bat-shaped tactical fighter can approach an enemy target unseen to unleash HARM air-to-surface missiles and laser-guided bombs.

F-111 Aardvark: Long-range U.S. tactical fighter-bomber can carry up to 25,000 lbs. of conventional bombs or laser- and TV-guided GBU smart bombs.

F-16 Falcon: Small, light and relatively cheap, the F-16 is both a nifty air-combat fighter and a serviceable attack jet, carrying some six tons of guided missiles and bombs.

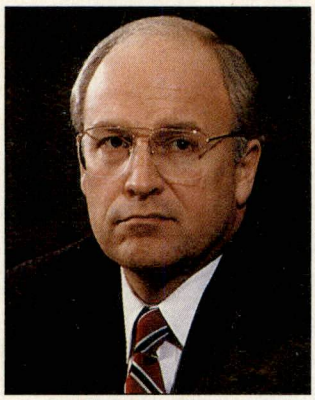
F-4G Wild Weasel: Loaded with electronic jamming devices and HARM anti-radar missiles, it has been vital in knocking out Iraqi antiaircraft sites.

AV-8B Harrier: The U.S. Marines' ground-support jet can take off vertically, hover close to a battlefield and let loose missiles, cluster bombs or smart bombs.

Newsweek

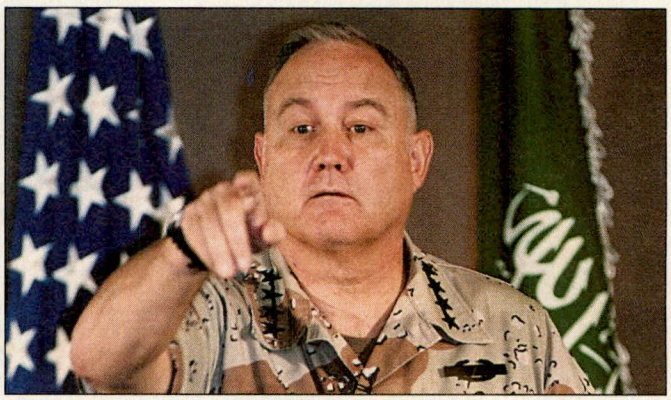
Links in the Chain of Command

How orders get from George Bush to the troops in the field



Dick Cheney, 49: Secretary of Defense. Former Wyoming congressman is known for his cool and deliberate demeanor.

Army Gen. Colin Powell, 53: Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff. Son of Jamaican immigrants, Powell is the first black chairman.



Army Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf III, 56: Commander in chief, U.S. Central Command (CentCom). Based in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, he is in charge of all American forces in the gulf. Prefers the nickname "The Bear" to "Stormin' Norman" and loves opera. Served two tours in Vietnam.

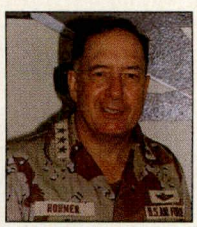
Army Lt. Gen. Calvin Waller, 53: CentCom's deputy commander in chief.

Marine Major Gen. Robert B. Johnston, 53: CentCom chief of staff.

Army Lt. Gen. John J. Yeosock, 53: Commander of all U.S. Army forces.

Marine Lt. Gen. Walter Boomer, 52: Commands all Marines in the Persian Gulf.

Vice Adm. Stanley Arthur, 55: Commands 120 warships from USS Blue Ridge.



Air Force Lt. Gen. Charles Horner, 54: Commands 1,800 U.S. warplanes in the region.

The Mettle for Medals

Last month the Pentagon shipped thousands of medals to the Persian Gulf, and it may create a new award for the gulf campaign. The military's "fruit cocktail" can be hard to decode. Here's a sampler, taken from Army Lt. Gen. Thomas Kelly, director of operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Vietnam Service Medal For service in Southeast Asia from 1965 to 1973

Bronze Star Medal For heroic achievement against opposing forces, with four additional citations

Distinguished Flying Cross For heroism while flying

Purple Heart For wounds sustained in Vietnam

Overseas Service Ribbon For successfully completing foreign tours

Republic of Vietnam Campaign Medal For six months' direct combat support or service in South Vietnam from 1961 to 1973

Newsweek

Arms and the Men

The allied and Iraqi forces squaring off in the Persian Gulf amount to the greatest concentration of military might gathered in a single region since World War II. In this special pullout section, Newsweek provides a comprehensive guide to the weapons of war on both sides. Also, a close-up look at an American Marine and his equipment, and the military hierarchy that runs the gulf operation from Washington and Saudi Arabia.

By the Numbers

Of the 370,000 U.S. ground forces in the Persian Gulf, 90,000 are Marines stationed in Saudi Arabia and the nearby region. The Marines and the U.S. Army organize their infantry troops similarly:

4 Marines = 1 Fire Team

3 Fire Teams = 1 Squad (13 Marines*)

3 Squads = 1 Platoon (43 Marines)

3 Platoons = 1 Company (182 Marines)

3 Companies = 1 Battalion (905 Marines)

3 Battalions = 1 Regiment† (3,037 Marines)

3 Regiments = 1 Division (9,111 Marines. With support personnel, the total strength of a Marine Division is 18,000.)

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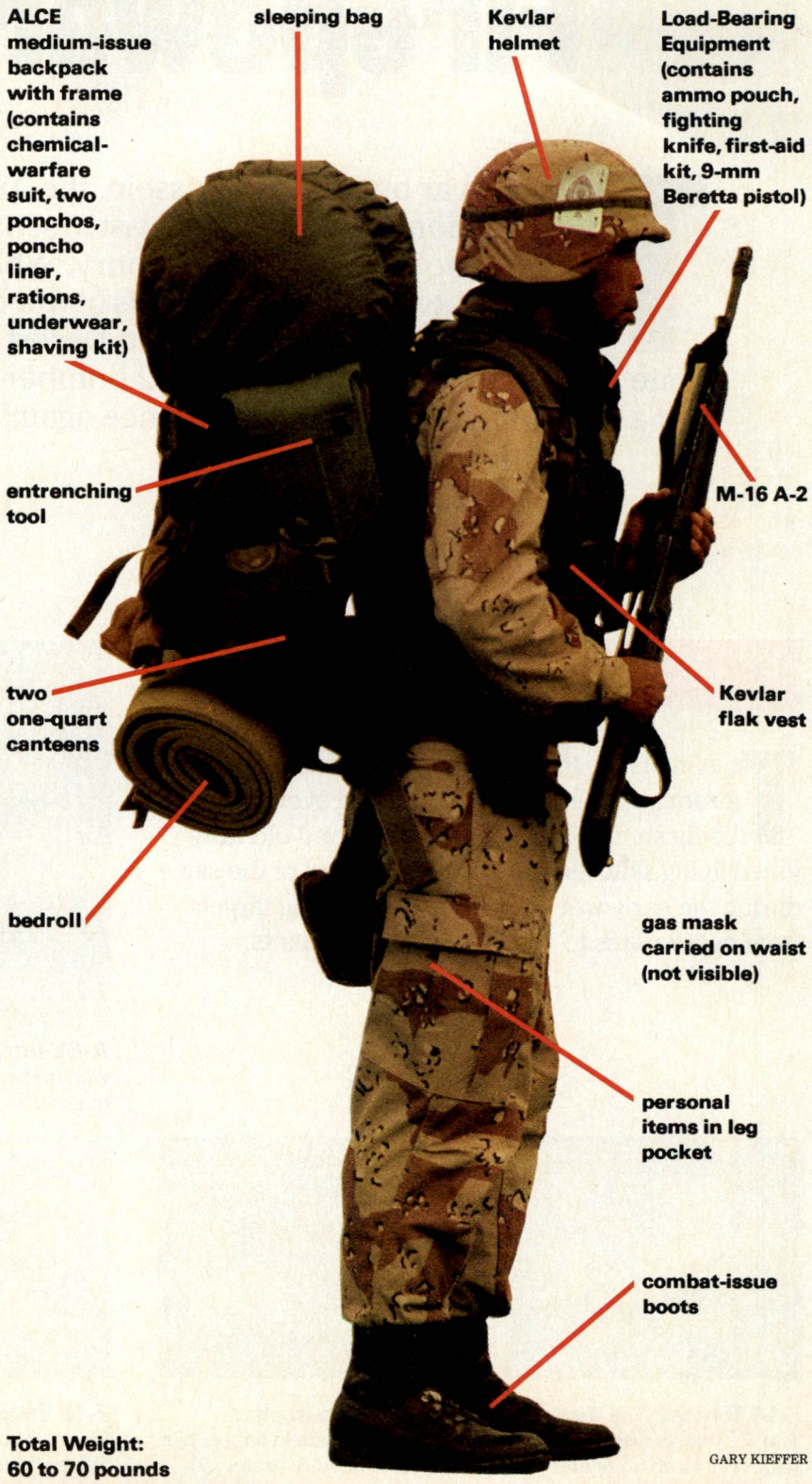

GARY KIEFFER

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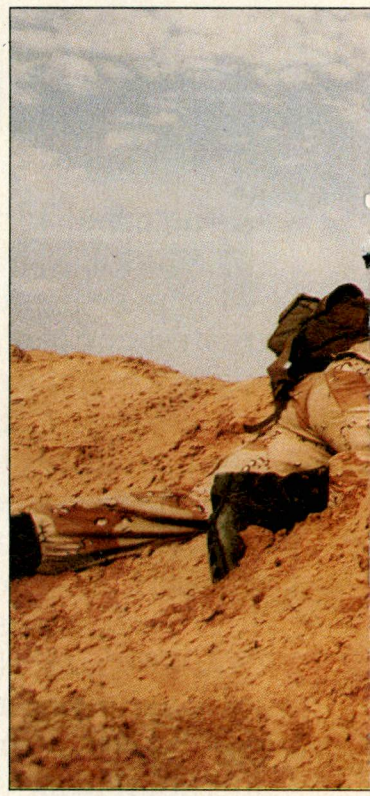

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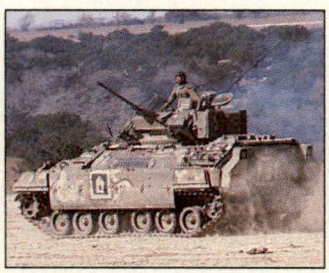

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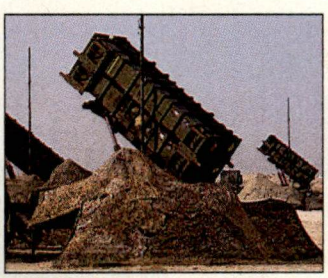

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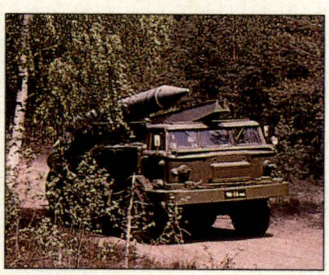

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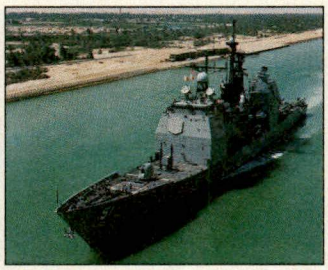

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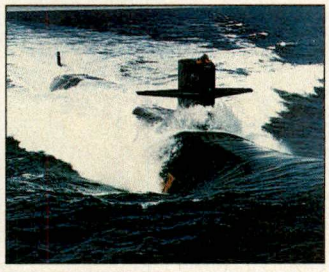
AAV-7: Marines have some 400 Amphibious Assault Vehicles in the gulf. Each carries 25 men and is armed with a machine gun and grenade launcher.

LCAC Hovercraft: Riding a cushion of air, its 2,000-square-foot cargo area can carry a large complement of Marines or machines close to shore for seaborne attacks.



Attack Submarine: An undisclosed number of subs lurk beneath Mideast waters. At least one, the Louisville, has launched a cruise missile against Iraq.

Tomahawk Cruise Missile: Fired from U.S. combat vessels, these computer-guided missiles carry 1,000-lb. warheads to within a few feet of their targets.

B-52 Stratofortress: Granddaddy of U.S. strategic bombers, the three-decades-old behemoth holds a 20-ton non-nuclear payload for sorties against fortified Republican Guard positions.

F-117A Stealth: Slow but slippery, the radar-evading bat-shaped tactical fighter can approach an enemy target unseen to unleash HARM air-to-surface missiles and laser-guided bombs.

F-111 Aardvark: Long-range U.S. tactical fighter-bomber can carry up to 25,000 lbs. of conventional bombs or laser- and TV-guided GBU smart bombs.

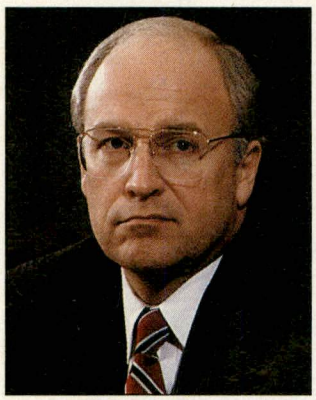
F-16 Falcon: Small, light and relatively cheap, the F-16 is both a nifty air-combat fighter and a serviceable attack jet, carrying some six tons of guided missiles and bombs.

F-4G Wild Weasel: Loaded with electronic jamming devices and HARM anti-radar missiles, it has been vital in knocking out Iraqi antiaircraft sites.

AV-8B Harrier: The U.S. Marines' ground-support jet can take off vertically, hover close to a battlefield and let loose missiles, cluster bombs or smart bombs.

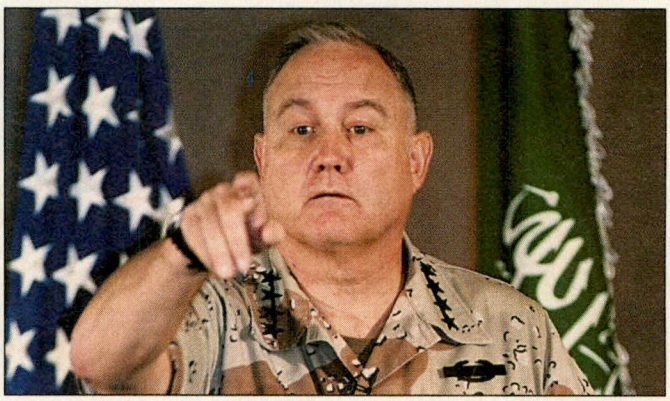
Links in the Chain of Command

How orders get from George Bush to the troops in the field



Dick Cheney, 49: Secretary of Defense. Former Wyoming congressman is known for his cool and deliberate demeanor.

Army Gen. Colin Powell, 53: Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff. Son of Jamaican immigrants, Powell is the first black chairman.



Army Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf III, 56: Commander in chief, U.S. Central Command (CentCom). Based in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, he is in charge of all American forces in the gulf. Prefers the nickname "The Bear" to "Stormin' Norman" and loves opera. Served two tours in Vietnam.

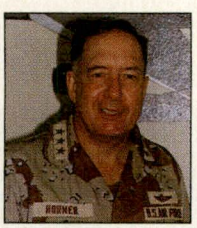
Army Lt. Gen. Calvin Waller, 53: CentCom's deputy commander in chief.

Marine Major Gen. Robert B. Johnston, 53: CentCom chief of staff.

Army Lt. Gen. John J. Yeosock, 53: Commander of all U.S. Army forces.

Marine Lt. Gen. Walter Boomer, 52: Commands all Marines in the Persian Gulf.

Vice Adm. Stanley Arthur, 55: Commands 120 warships from USS Blue Ridge.



Air Force Lt. Gen. Charles Horner, 54: Commands 1,800 U.S. warplanes in the region.

The Mettle for Medals

Last month the Pentagon shipped thousands of medals to the Persian Gulf, and it may create a new award for the gulf campaign. The military's "fruit cocktail" can be hard to decode. Here's a sampler, taken from Army Lt. Gen. Thomas Kelly, director of operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Vietnam Service Medal For service in Southeast Asia from 1965 to 1973

Bronze Star Medal For heroic achievement against opposing forces, with four additional citations

Distinguished Flying Cross For heroism while flying

Purple Heart For wounds sustained in Vietnam

Overseas Service Ribbon For successfully completing foreign tours

Republic of Vietnam Campaign Medal For six months' direct combat support or service in South Vietnam from 1961 to 1973

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release February 27, 1991

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

The Oval Office

9:02 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Kuwait is liberated. Iraq's army is defeated. Our military objectives are met. Kuwait is once more in the hands of Kuwaitis, in control of their own destiny. We share in their joy -- a joy tempered only by our compassion for their ordeal.

Tonight the Kuwaiti flag once again flies above the capital of a free and sovereign nation. And the American flag flies above our embassy.

Seven months ago, America and the world drew a line in the sand. We declared that the aggression against Kuwait would not stand. And tonight, America and the world have kept their word.

This is not a time of euphoria; certainly not a time to gloat. But it is a time of pride -- pride in our troops; pride in the friends who stood with us in the crisis; pride in our nation and the people whose strength and resolve made victory quick, decisive and just. And soon we will open wide our arms to welcome back home to America our magnificent fighting forces.

No one country can claim this victory as its own. It was not only a victory for Kuwait, but a victory for all the coalition partners. This is a victory for the United Nations, for all mankind, for the rule of law, and for what is right.

After consulting with Secretary of Defense Cheney, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Powell, and our coalition partners, I am pleased to announce that at midnight tonight Eastern Standard Time, exactly 100 hours since ground operations commenced and six weeks since the start of Desert Storm, all United States and coalition forces will suspend offensive combat operations.

It is up to Iraq whether this suspension on the part of the coalition becomes a permanent cease-fire. Coalition political and military terms for a formal cease-fire include the following requirements:

Iraq must release immediately all coalition prisoners of war, third country nationals and the remains of all who have fallen. Iraq must release all Kuwaiti detainees. Iraq also must inform Kuwaiti authorities of the location and nature of all land and sea mines. Iraq must comply fully with all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions. This includes a rescinding of Iraq's August decision to annex Kuwait, and acceptance in principle of Iraq's responsibility to pay compensation for the loss, damage and injury its aggression has caused.

The coalition calls upon the Iraqi government to designate military commanders to meet within 48 hours with their coalition counterparts at a place in the theater of operations to be specified, to arrange for military aspects of the cease-fire. Further, I have asked Secretary of State Baker to request that the United Nations Security Council meet to formulate the necessary arrangements for this war to be ended.

MORE

This suspension of offensive combat operations is contingent upon Iraq's not firing upon any coalition forces and not launching Scud missiles against any other country. If Iraq violates these terms, coalition forces will be free to resume military operations.

At every opportunity, I have said to the people of Iraq that our quarrel was not with them, but instead with their leadership -- and above all, with Saddam Hussein. This remains the case. You, the people of Iraq, are not our enemy. We do not seek your destruction. We have treated your POWs with kindness. Coalition forces fought this war only as a last resort, and look forward to the day when Iraq is led by people prepared to live in peace with their neighbors.

We must now begin to look beyond victory and war. We must meet the challenge of securing the peace. In the future, as before, we will consult with our coalition partners. We've already done a good deal of thinking and planning for the postwar period, and Secretary Baker has already begun to consult with our coalition partners on the region's challenges. There can be, and will be, no solely American answer to all these challenges. But we can assist and support the countries of the region and be a catalyst for peace. In this spirit, Secretary Baker will go to the region next week to begin a new round of consultations.

This war is now behind us. Ahead of us is the difficult task of securing a potentially historic peace. Tonight, though, let us be proud of what we have accomplished. Let us give thanks to those who risked their lives. Let us never forget those who gave their lives. May God bless our valiant military forces and their families. And let us all remember them in our prayers.

Good night. And may God bless the United States of America.

END 9:09 P.M. EST

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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

GULF STRATEGY

JANUARY THEMES AND MESSAGES

1. The President's goals, and the goals of the international community, are clear:

-- The immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait;

-- The restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government; and

-- A commitment to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf.

2. The President has emphasized repeatedly that we want to achieve these goals peacefully, but the U.N. Resolutions now provide for achieving these goals by the use of all necessary means, including force, after January 15, 1991.

-- Our military is prepared, the morale of our troops is superb. They will have our full support whatever their mission ultimately might be.

-- If US forces are called upon to liberate Kuwait, they will do their job quickly, massively and decisively. And when their mission is completed, they will go home.

3. As a nation, the United States is united on the necessity of standing up to Iraq's aggression.

-- The world community is united against Iraq's aggression. The UN is solidly on record opposing Saddam Hussein and the forces of 28 countries have joined the United States in the Gulf.

4. We have been patient for five months waiting for the sanctions to take hold and force Saddam to withdraw his forces from Kuwait. We cannot afford to be patient any longer. With each passing day:

-- Iraqi forces dig in deeper in Kuwait, and Iraq continues to develop and refine its unconventional military capabilities;

--Iraq's aggression forces the world to pay higher economic costs;

-- The brave people of Kuwait, who sheltered and hid Americans from Iraqi soldiers, must continue to live in fear and terror from Iraqi brutality.

5. We are still prepared to "go the extra mile" as evidenced by the President's proposal for a meeting between Secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz which will take place January 9, 1991, in Switzerland.

-- Our message in any such talks will reiterate the need for Iraq's complete and unconditional compliance with the twelve UN Security Council resolutions related to the Gulf crisis.

-- If Saddam chooses peace instead of war by agreeing to withdraw Iraqi forces from Kuwait without compromise or condition, the international coalition would guarantee that force would not be used against Iraq during or following its withdrawal from Kuwait and the restoration of the legitimate Kuwaiti government.

-- We would support having the disputed issues between Iraq and Kuwait become the subject of diplomatic arbitration in the post-withdrawal period.

-- We would be willing to work with Iraq and other regional states on appropriate regional security arrangements following an Iraqi withdrawal to restore security and stability in the Gulf region.

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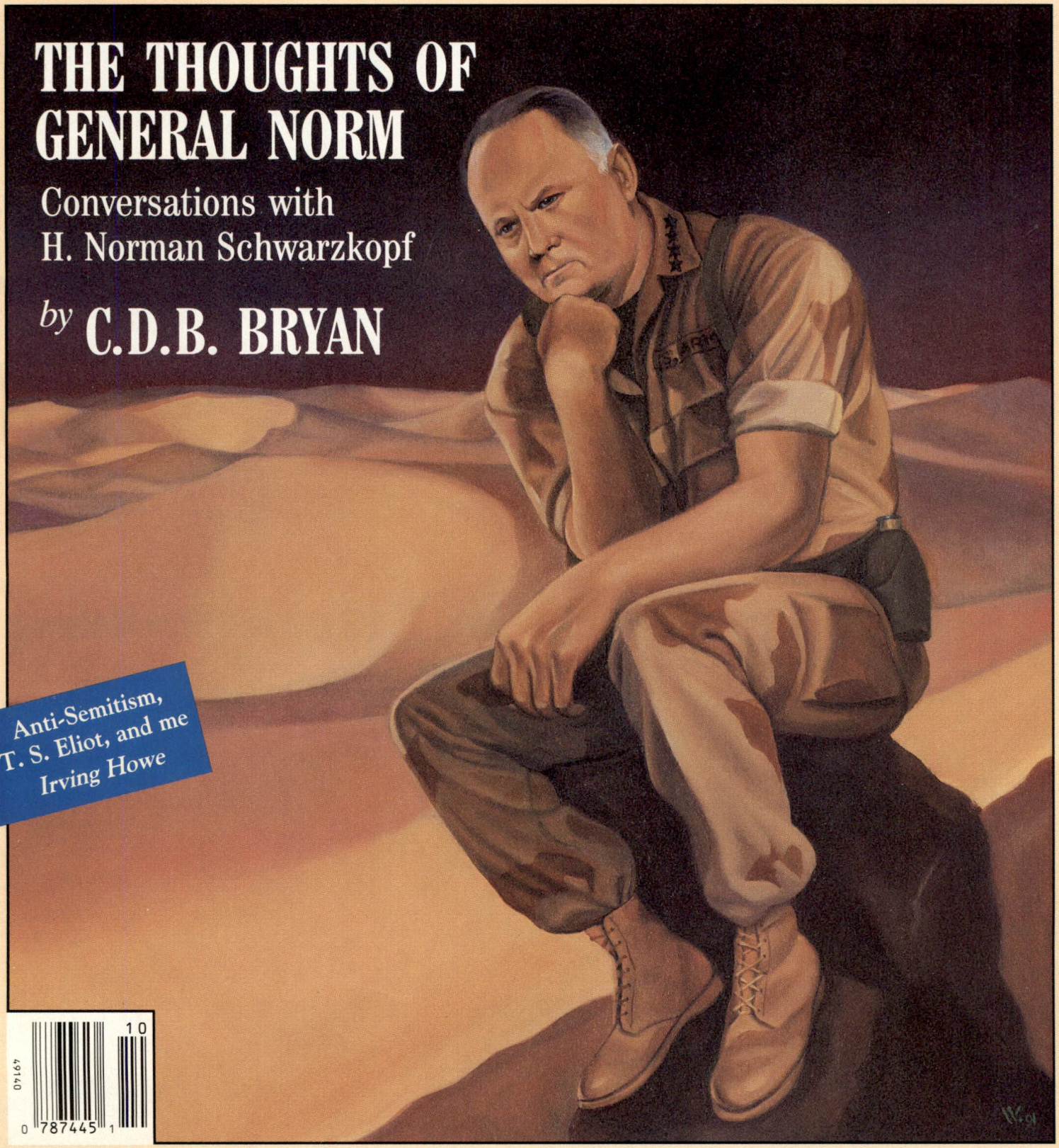
THE NEW REPUBLIC

Cass R. Sunstein on the Constitution • James M. McPherson on Frederick Douglass

THE THOUGHTS OF GENERAL NORM

Conversations with
H. Norman Schwarzkopf

by C.D.B. BRYAN



Anti-Semitism,
T. S. Eliot, and me
Irving Howe

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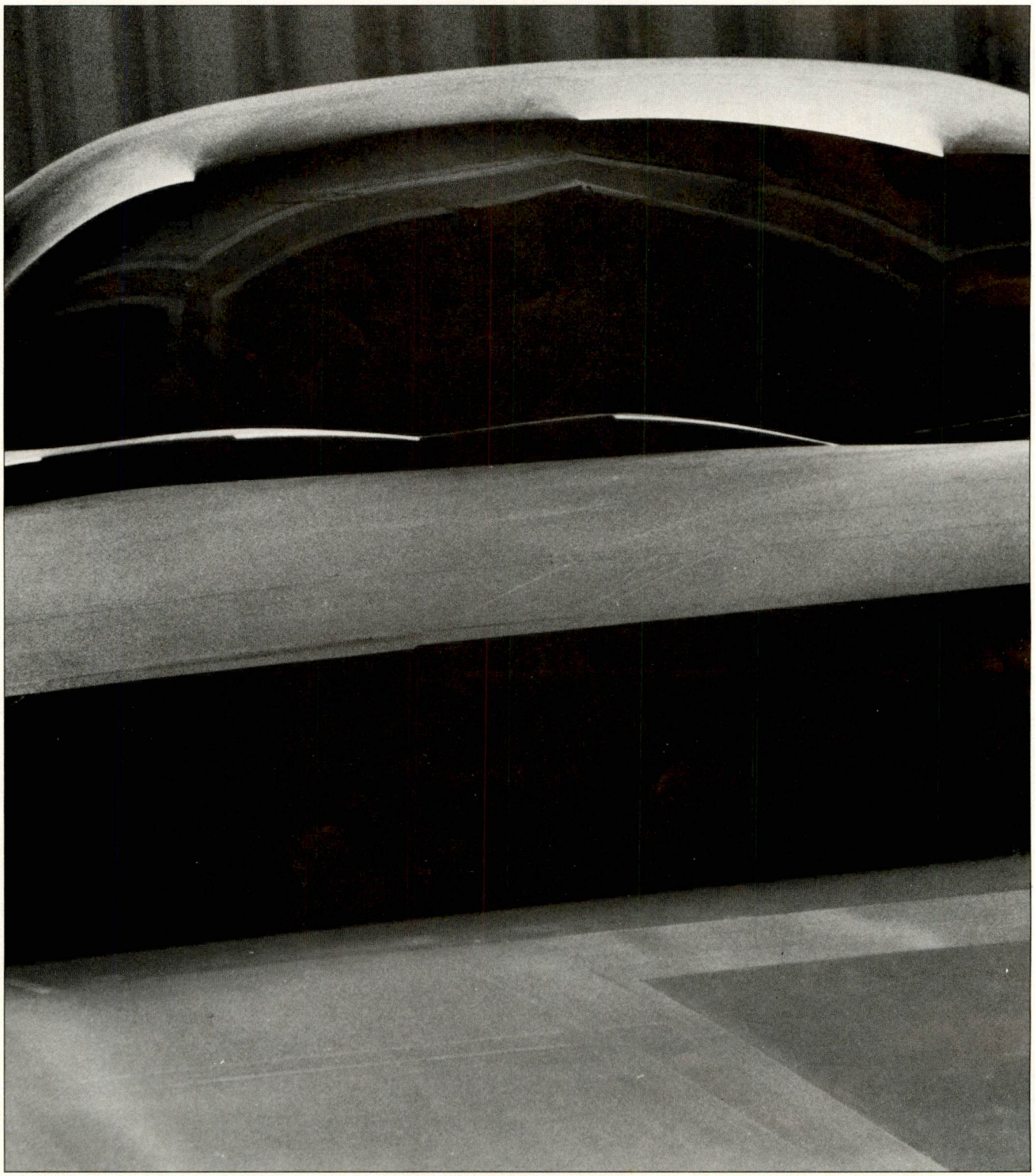

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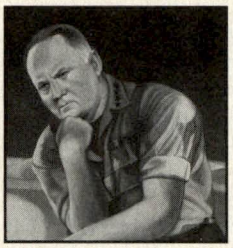

Cover painting by Anthony Woolridge for THE NEW REPUBLIC. Article on page 20.

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FROM WASHINGTON

Moynihan redux

President Bush's 1992 budget is a reminder of the fraud of Reaganomics. Proposed tax revenues are just over 19 percent of gross national product, exactly the size they were during the Jimmy Carter administration. And this is no aberration. During the previous decade they averaged 18.9 percent—a trivial difference. Federal government spending, likewise, was averaging 22 percent of GNP during the Carter years, crept up past 23 percent in the Reagan era, and is scheduled to hit 25 percent—including the savings and loan bailout—in 1992.

In short, the Republican regime of the past ten years has not cut federal spending and has not cut federal taxes. What it has done is shift the tax burden from the affluent down toward the middle and lower classes. The primary vehicle has been a spectacular increase in the Social Security tax.

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan is back again this year with his nettlesome proposal to correct this abuse. Last year it got fifty-four votes in the Senate, but needed sixty on a technicality. Moynihan would cut the employee and employer shares, now 6.2 percent each (plus another 1.45 percent for Medicare) by 1 percent. The average family would ultimately save several hundred dollars a year. Employers would save an equal amount per worker.

The case for Moynihan's tax cut is familiar. The Social Security levy is regressive: a flat tax on wages up to middle-class levels. Wages over $53,400 are exempt. Investment income is exempt. Unlike the income tax, Social Security has no exemptions for low-income workers, who pay on dollar one. Social Security revenues are being misused to finance general government expenses: to the tune of $83 billion in 1992, $126 billion by 1995. Supposedly these are "loans" from a "trust fund" that will pay for baby boom retirements in the next century. But the reality of that trust fund depends on the willingness of future workers to tax themselves to pay off the loans—exactly what they would have to do to pay retirement benefits directly if the loans didn't exist.

This year's case has a new feature: the recession. The Social Security tax is a direct burden on the mutual decision of an employer and employee to create and take a job. Also, lower-income people spend more of their money than the affluent. For both these reasons, a Social Security tax cut would be a far better stimulus than Bush's beloved capital gains cut, which also has been repackaged as a recession therapy.

It's a great issue for the Democrats. There's just one trouble: Where does the money come from? Moynihan's scheme would cost $160 billion over five years. One almost-good-enough answer is: not our problem, sweetheart. Let those who exploited this abuse say how to replace the money once it is corrected. Ethically, after a decade of Republican snake oil, Democrats needn't aspire to heroic levels of fiscal responsibility. Politically, the charge of irresponsible pandering through tax cuts will quite rightly stick in most Republican throats. Bush's formulation that Democrats are "messing with Social Security" is a clever fudge, but not clever enough.

But some Democrats are boy scouts. The Progressive Policy Institute, a wing of the Democratic Leadership Council, has proposed a self-financing version of the Moynihan plan. It would pay for a cut in Social Security tax rates by lifting the income ceiling, either raising it to $125,000 or eliminating it completely. This has the advantage of maintaining the "trust fund" fiction: Social Security taxes would bring in just as much as before. The disadvantage is that it still leaves much of general government expenses being paid for by a tax that exempts all investment income. The increase in marginal tax rates on wages would be far stiffer than if a Social Security cut were financed by a general income tax increase.

Here's another alternative for fiscal responsibility buffs. It will have a nostalgic ring to those whose political memories go back as far as 1980. The centerpiece of John Anderson's independent presidential candidacy in that year was a proposal for a fifty cent gasoline tax, "rebated" to citizens by cutting the worker's share of the Social Security tax in half. Unfortunately, seven increases in the Social Security tax since that time have increased the maximum annual payment by two-thirds, after inflation. But a thirty-two cent gas tax would still finance Moynihan's $160 billion Social Security tax cut.

The case for a gas tax is also familiar. Gasoline is a clear example of what economists call "externalities": every gallon you consume imposes costs on society as a whole as well as on yourself. The Persian Gulf war makes the point vividly, and there's pollution as well. Bush's chief economic adviser, Michael Boskin, recently touted "market and market-type mechanisms" as the best way to make government policy. There is no better illustration of a "market-type mechanism" than a tax that restrains demand by forcing a consumer to absorb the social costs of his consumption. Every other major industrial country understands this. In Germany, Japan, France, etc., gasoline costs three times or more what it costs here.

Gasoline prices peaked in early December at $1.38 a gallon. They're now down to around $1.13—even after a laughable nickel-a-gallon tax increase that came December 1. You could pay for the Moynihan tax cut with a gas tax that would barely put prices back where they were three months ago. If ever there were a moment when the cost of our national gas habit is obvious, when the national willingness to sacrifice for the greater good should be awakened, and when the actual sacrifice required should seem minimal, this is it. Yet our craven leaders don't dare ask.

Combining a gas tax increase with a Social Security tax cut might alleviate the need for courage. And the two fit together nicely. The trouble with a gas tax is that, like almost any consumption tax, it's regressive. It hits poorer people harder. Rebating the revenues by cutting the Social Security tax has the opposite effect: it's better for poorer people. The trouble with a Social Security tax cut is that it costs money. A gas tax is a huge money raiser—roughly a billion dollars per penny.

Of course combining these two ideas also undermines the advantages of each. The regressivity of a gasoline tax cancels out the progressivity of a Social Security tax cut, leaving the fairness of the tax code about where it is now. And spending a gas tax on a tax cut of any sort uses up revenues that could otherwise go toward reducing the deficit. But you can't have everything. In fact, given our present politics, you probably can't have any of this good stuff, let alone all of it.

MICHAEL KINSLEY

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To the editors:

Although I agree with the military intervention in Iraq, I take exception to Fred Barnes's rosy view of President Bush's leadership as expressed in "Finest Hour" (February 11). We should remember that the crisis is partially of the administration's making. It stubbornly persisted in cozying up to Iraq despite numerous warnings, even hours before the invasion. Further, confusing signals were transmitted to Saddam Hussein about the administration's attitude toward an invasion.

Then the president oversold the value of the economic sanctions. If he correctly believed that sanctions would only hurt Iraq and not compel Saddam to withdraw, why didn't he say so? Even after ordering the military buildup, the president never presented the country with a cogent, consistent reason for the policy. Was it to defend Saudi Arabia? Was it oil? The overthrow of Saddam? The liberation of Kuwait? Democracy? I know why I think that we should be there, but I still have no idea why the president thinks so, what his goals are, and what kind of deal he may choose to cut.

We may be thankful that the president finally muddled into the correct policy, but this incoherent, often deceptive program should not be confused with dynamic leadership.

LORNE HOUTEN
Los Angeles, California

Influence meddling

To the editors:

Karel van Wolferen's review of Pat Choate's *Agents of Influence* ("America's Illusions," February 11) is an unwitting act of hara-kiri, so flawless that the reader need not draw the sword.

To take but one example, Mr. van Wolferen writes: "Americans are particularly vulnerable to Japanese propaganda for the additional reason that they consider morally reprehensible a degree of deceit that is still within the bounds of what is socially permissible in Japan." But he misses the irony when he also asks us to believe, with Mr. Choate, that (in the words of the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*) "influence in Washington is just like in Indonesia. It's for sale!" The irony is greater yet when he complains that "honest analysis" of the kind that he offers is (not surprisingly) dismissed as "emotional outbursts" and "Japan-bashing," while he condemns the careful scholarly critiques of the tales of Japanese perfidy as "propaganda" produced by American academics "intimidated" by the prospects of losing "Japanese academic funding."

Where Messrs. Choate and van Wolferen truly offend us is not in the fantasies that they force us to read, but in the violence that they do to the uniquely American sense that individuals are not, as in vulgar Marxism, creatures of special interests but can transcend them. Thus, we generally attribute principles, not ulterior motives, to our citizens. Jews talk about the Middle East, Indians about the subcontinent, Hispanics about South America, and we correctly do not insist on their identifying their ethnicity, for we presume that they speak as Americans. So do we permit corporate, labor, and other groups, whether domestic or foreign, to support our universities and research institutions: we trust the good sense of our citizens to preserve their independence and integrity.

These values make our civil society less fractious and more civilized; they also tend to be self-validating. It would be a pity to begin losing them over a hysterical reaction to Japan's economic success.

JAGDISH BHAGWATI
New York, New York

To the editors:

In his review of *Agents of Influence* Karel van Wolferen has offered an impressive attempt at "reality management" himself. The book and review merely issue a "wake-up call" to America, illuminating U.S. weakness with Japanese lobbying victories. They succeed in part: America's political bunglings are made plain. But they falsely make Japan out to be a uniquely insidious force in Washington, one that somehow plays the American power game by some set of dangerous homegrown rules.

Mr. van Wolferen writes that the Japanese have "adapt[ed] a venerable American institution—lobbying—to their uses," but what he shows is Japan playing hardball in Washington's long-standing power-brokering system. He says, for example, that the Japanese-controlled AUTOPAC—whose funds are provided by Americans, as Michael Kinsley has noted ("The Nefarious East," September 24, 1990)—has a "hit list" of elected officials "who can be defeated with last-minute spending of hundreds of thousands of dollars in close electoral races," a tactic that he anticipates "will strike some Americans as dishonest or unethical."

Maybe so, but is this tactic some shrewd departure from the venerable American principle of funding candidates whose policies one supports? Does Mr. van Wolferen find it different from the routine lobbying practices of the NRA? He then laments that in a struggle between U.S. and Japanese interests, the Japanese will "almost always be able to spend more to buy influence in Washington." Is Japan's purchased power a perversion of some balanced American system where wealth holds no great advantage? For all his claims of "manipulation" of the American system, Mr. van Wolferen merely shows that Japan is rich and organized enough to beat America at its own game.

ROBERT WEINER
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The New Republic welcomes correspondence from its readers. A fast, new way of doing this is our new 900 line. Deliver your opinions—long-pondered or spontaneous—over the phone. They will be considered for publication on this page along with regular letters to the editor. A call costs $1.25 a minute.

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Sax appeal

To the editors:

I welcomed Edward Rothstein's efficient dismemberment of the multiculturalist challenge to the prevalence of Western music in American universities and concert halls ("Roll Over Beethoven," February 4). Nevertheless, there's a big hole in his article. He neglects to discuss the phenomenon of jazz.

It could be argued that jazz in all its forms is the first genuine multicultural art. It is a child of many cultures that has matured under the constant, shifting influences of new ones. No musical tradition in history has woven such an elegant diversity of musical ideas into its fabric. No musical club has ever welcomed musicians of so many nations and races into its ranks.

But jazz composers and practitioners will join us in insisting on an objective standard of judgment. Certain kinds of music are more complex, more universally inspiring, or more enduring through the vicissitudes of fashion and taste than others. Whatever the standard, some music is measurably superior to other music. Mozart was a better composer than Salieri. Charlie Mingus was a better composer and bandleader than Glenn Miller. And, though it is politically incorrect to say it, humanity's record of musical expression has on balance benefited more from the contribution of, for example, Germany than it has by, say, Japan. This is not to dismiss the value of Japanese music—just to register its relative significance in the broad sweep of music history.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

MARCH 11, 1991

OPPORTUNISM KNOCKS

George Bush is not renowned for his sense of irony, but his response to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's peace proposal for the Gulf war was a minor masterpiece. After less than a day's hesitation, Mr. Bush brushed aside the plan, arguing that it "falls well short of what would be required," but refused to divulge its precise contents "in the interest of thoroughly exploring the initiative." The president also found himself obliged to express to Mr. Gorbachev a certain "appreciation for his sending it to us."

The statement expresses better than we can the exquisite tension now evident in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. We are, in the rhetoric of the administration, "coalition partners." The Soviet Union has supported American efforts in the United Nations to rally support for the Gulf war, and in return the administration has essentially turned a blind eye to the repression now gaining momentum in the crumbling Soviet empire. But in this cynical bargain, reminiscent of the administration's dealings with the Chinese government after Tiananmen Square, the Soviet Union has consistently failed to fulfill its part. From the beginning of the conflict, the Soviets have attempted to find a way to provide Saddam Hussein with a means for saving face and for retrieving some prize to justify his aggression.

The latest proposal from the Kremlin is the most brazen example of this policy. Mr. Gorbachev's peace proposal was devised unilaterally, not in collaboration with the United States and other members of the coalition. It was shared first with the foreign minister of Iraq, the coalition's enemy. It contained elements hostile to the letter and spirit of the United Nation's Security Council resolutions to which the Soviet Union was a party. It seemed designed, at least in part, to reestablish the Soviet Union as the sponsor and arms supplier of a resurgent Iraq led by Saddam. Mr. Gorbachev's initiative contained the implicit threat that he would side politically with Iraq against the United States if President Bush rejected its terms. When informed of Mr. Bush's dismissal of the initiative, Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh replied, "That plan was addressed to the Iraqi leadership, so he rejected the plan which did not belong to him."

This is not a minor diplomatic spat. The United States is at war with Iraq. We have committed close to 400,000 troops and enormous diplomatic and international prestige to enforce U.N. resolutions calling for Iraq's unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. Throughout, the Soviet Union has done nothing tangible—either militarily or financially—to support this effort. In the midst of what is perhaps the most vital stage of battle so far, this allegedly critical ally, without consulting with the United States beforehand, has attempted to negotiate an independent settlement with the enemy. With any other ally, in any other circumstances, this would be called betrayal. With Gorbachev's Soviet Union, it is something for which Presi-

dent Bush considers it appropriate to express strained appreciation.

The Soviet initiative was not an attempt merely to convey the importance of Iraq's compliance with the U.N. resolutions calling for unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. There were, according to press accounts verified in Moscow, four conditions: that Iraq's territory would remain intact, that Saddam would remain in power and not be subject to postwar punishment, that worldwide embargoes and sanctions would be lifted, and that a Middle East peace conference would be convened.

Soviet diplomats deny that these amount to anything but the U.N. demands. Yet Security Council Resolution 674 requires Iraq to pay for the damage it has caused to Kuwait. Under the Soviet proposal Saddam would be rewarded for his withdrawal by being subject to no war crimes trials, demands for reparations, or other punishments. And by promising "talks" on the Palestinian question after the war, the Soviets are giving Saddam a "linkage" pledge that builds his standing among the Arabs, even as Mr. Bush is trying to undermine it.

What does the Soviet president believe he can get out of this? The most plausible answer is enormous prestige if the effort succeeds in enforcing genuine, unconditional withdrawal. If it does not—and the evidence suggests so far that it is designed for a conditional withdrawal—then Mr. Gorbachev cannot fail either. He has laid the groundwork for a separate agenda from America's in a postwar Middle East. He has set up a blueprint for a future relationship with the Soviets' old client state, Iraq. He may even have succeeded in panicking the United States into a ground war sooner than planned, in order to ensure that the costs for American military involvement are as high as possible.

In all of this Mr. Gorbachev has behaved as anybody might expect. He leads a major regional power in Asia, has no abiding loyalty to the United States, and has acted throughout entirely in his own—and his country's—self-interest. The Soviets are already rebuilding Iran's army after its war with Iraq, to the tune of $2 billion. Syria's defense minister, Mustafa Tlas, was just in Moscow to cut a deal for MiG-29s, SU-24s, and, possibly, short-range missiles. To be sure, Mr. Gorbachev is not behaving in exactly the mode of his more powerful—and more brazenly obstructionist—predecessors. He did, after all, support the U.N. resolutions. But he has acted in the traditional mode of a mischievous, if not treacherous, regional rival. Perhaps he is best thought of as a more powerful and more desperate version of a French president, with the obvious exception that, as an unelected dictator, he represents little but himself and his militarist oligarchy.

There is also, of course, the question of the Soviet president's domestic politics. Hidden behind the headlines of Mr. Gorbachev's initiative, Russian President Boris Yeltsin called last Tuesday for Mr. Gorbachev's resignation. Economic policy in the Soviet empire is in chaos: prices were recently arbitrarily hiked by the central government; fifty and 100 ruble notes were confiscated. The republics are inexorably seizing control of their own destiny from the center. Mr. Gorbachev's only real area for autonomous action—his only available means for gaining domestic leverage—is through foreign policy. His Gulf peace plan is as much a bid for his own security in his own country as it is for Saddam's postwar security in his.

Little of this seems to have dawned on the Bush administration. Secretary of State James Baker continues to believe in the relationship with the Soviet Union as the cornerstone of American foreign policy, a view that finds surprising resonance among other more hawkish members of the administration such as Robert Gates, Bush's deputy national security adviser. The habits of a lifetime are hard to kick, and even conservatives—perhaps especially conservatives—remain so transfixed by the Soviet relationship that they have not grasped its fast developing insignificance in this country's post-cold war diplomacy.

We hope the Gorbachev initiative sparks a thoroughgoing review of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in the coming weeks and months. This is, in some respects, a clarifying moment in our relationship. In ten years we have gone from a cold war to a euphorically warm peace. It is time to understand that our essential relationship with the fast disintegrating Soviet empire is more naturally chilly. We should rid ourselves of the inherited delusion that Soviet support is essential for any American action in the international arena. We should realize that we have increasingly little to lose in supporting the forces for democratic change in the Soviet Union, against the government now headed by Mr. Gorbachev. And in the current war we must ensure that what we do—especially in the critical decision of whether to launch a ground offensive—is in no way hostage to the interests of a power that has an agenda alien to our own. The soldiers risking their lives in the Gulf to defeat the aggression of Saddam are not in the Soviet army. There is no reason why their fate should be decided in the Kremlin.

NOTEBOOK

POT AND KETTLE WATCH: When the Department of Education's Michael Williams came out against race-exclusive scholarships on the grounds that they violated the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Heritage Foundation was firmly behind him. The think tank's specialists Jeanne Allen and Mark Liedl agreed that scholarships should be based on financial need or merit, not race. This was in keeping with the founda-

tion's opposition to all forms of racial quotas and set-asides. Except, that is, for its own scholarships. The Heritage Foundation has just announced a $1,000 cash scholarship for the "minority student journalist who best exemplifies the high ideals and professional standards of the late Lawrence Wade, a syndicated columnist who died in March 1990." Maybe they should call it the Janus Prize.

STARK NAKED: It has become increasingly obvious that Representative Pete Stark is a liberal bigot. Back in August the California Democrat savaged Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan as a "disgrace to his profession and his race." Now he attacks his "Jewish colleagues" for voting in favor of the January 12 resolution authorizing the president to use force in the Persian Gulf. Never mind that a majority of Jews in both the House and Senate voted against the president. Stark sees only what he calls the "hostile militant guys," whom he identifies as Tom Lantos and "Field Marshal [Stephen] Solarz." They voted for war, he told a town meeting in his district over the recent congressional recess, "as a matter of convenience" to help Israel. Stark has once again apologized. But once again he looks like the Democrats' answer to Earl Butz.

REACH OUT AND TOUCH US: This week we're starting an experiment with a 900 number. Instead of actually writing a letter to the editor, you can now call us at 1-900-726-6671 and deliver your reactions to this week's TNR over the phone (see page 25 for details). While you're at it, another touch-tone option offers a way to vent spleen at the editorial of the week: you can vote yea or nay to the editors' latest pronouncement. A third choice is listening in to our daily recorded spat with the editors of *National Review*, already broadcast on some public radio stations across the country. We hope the line will help increase our contact with readers' opinions, especially those of you who have little time to enter into lengthy correspondence. We'll treat messages on the line just like letters to the editor and publish them on the correspondence page. When the results of the weekly poll are particularly embarrassing for us, we'll also announce them in this space. There's a catch, of course. It costs $1.25 a minute. Happy dialing.

P.C. P.S.: Copies of our recent Race on Campus special issue are still available. Readers who have requested them from our Boulder, Colorado, subscription service should write instead to us here at THE NEW REPUBLIC, 1220 19th Street NW, Suite 600, Washington, D.C. 20036. Single copies are $3 plus $1 postage, with a discount for copies bought in bulk ($2.50 each for 10, plus $2 postage, or $2 each for 25 or more, plus $3 postage).

THE PRESS

HACKS ANONYMOUS

By Michael McGough

"Poverty and Norplant—Can Contraception Reduce the Underclass?" may become the most famous American newspaper editorial since "Yes Virginia, There is a Santa Claus." The editorial, published in the December 12, 1990, issue of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, proposed that welfare mothers be given incentives to use Norplant, a long-term contraceptive, as one way to ameliorate "the impoverishment of black America." "Poverty and Norplant" created a minor insurrection in the *Inquirer* newsroom, and eleven days later the paper ran an editorial abjectly apologizing for having linked race and birth control. Not all the critics were mollified. Steve Lopez, an *Inquirer* columnist who had compared editorial page editor David R. Boldt to David Duke in print, suggested that the problem wasn't one editorial but the "elitist" posture of the editorial page as a whole.

The dispute at the *Inquirer* revives questions not only about editorial policy but about what might be called editorial polity. Lopez told readers: "You should know that they [the editorials] don't speak for all of us. Boldt's operation—the editorial board—is upstairs from the newsroom operation. And some of the downstairs folks are often embarrassed by what passes for this newspaper's voice." That upstairs/downstairs imagery focused attention on an issue usually confined to J-school classes: When a newspaper takes an editorial position, for whom is it speaking?

In simpler times the editorial "voice" belonged to the proprietor, who might delegate the phrasing, but not the fashioning, of editorial policy to hired wordsmiths. Newspapers had recognizable voices then, often linked to political parties or factions. With the passing of the era of the imperial publisher and the growth in chain ownership, the formulation of editorial policy at many papers passed to a sometimes equally imperial editor—either the editor of the entire news operation or the editor of the editorial page. Except at small newspapers, where economics dictate a one-person editorial page staff, an editor or editorial page editor these days is likely to preside over an editorial board comprising at least the other members of the editorial page staff (the situation at the *Inquirer*) and possibly other executives of the newspaper. Theoretically, anyway, it's the board that decides on the editorial's opinions.

Some newspapers, including *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Wall Street Journal*, profess to

erect a wall between news and editorial operations so that the editorial page editor reports directly to the publisher. A more common but less tidy arrangement is for the editor at the apex of the news operation to keep a more or less watchful eye on the ed-page editor. This is the configuration at the *Inquirer*, where the editor, Maxwell E. P. King, saw the Norplant editorial before it appeared and intervened to have it toned down. At the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, where I work, editor John G. Craig Jr. is even more intimately involved in the ed page, chairing meetings of our editorial board and vetting editorials. Despite the overlap in his oversight, the (truthful) party line at the *Post-Gazette*, as at the *Inquirer*, is that news and editorial operations are separate: reporters "downstairs" are not instructed to conform their news stories to the opinions incubated "upstairs."

Within the "ivory tower," the lack of democracy can be acute. At some papers the editorial writers don't convene on a regular basis; the editorial page editor simply calls on individual writers to discuss their ideas for the day. Where they do exist, editorial boards aren't bound by Robert's Rules of Order or the Supreme Court's one-person, one-vote principle. (Much was made in the *Inquirer* imbroglio about the fact that "Poverty and Norplant" hadn't been discussed at one of the thrice-weekly meetings of the editorial board.) At the *Miami Herald*, associate editor Joanna Wragg told a workshop at the American Society of Newspaper Editors convention last year, "The editor single-handedly outvotes the rest of the editorial board and everyone understands that." She added that the *Herald*'s editor in turn can be trumped by the publisher. That occurred in 1984 when the publisher decided that the *Herald* should endorse Ronald Reagan for re-election even though the editor and the majority of the editorial board preferred Walter Mondale.

Despite this sort of hierarchy, there have been pressures for more democracy—and diversity—in editorial policy-making. But that too has its problems. As Boldt observed at the height of the *Inquirer* controversy, "Publishers set up these little United Nations editorial boards and then wonder why they never say anything particularly brave. But as long as a consensus is required you're going to end up with the gray gelatinous goo that is slathered across editorial pages all over this country."

A broader question is why should anyone, even an exquisitely balanced editorial board, presume to speak for the whole *Inquirer* or *Post-Gazette* "community"? The conventional critique of editorials is that they don't reflect the views of most of a newspaper's employees. But it can just as easily be argued that editorials are illegitimate because they don't reflect the views of the ownership. Philadelphia Newspapers, Inc. (PNI), the company that publishes the *Inquirer*, also publishes *The Philadelphia Daily News*, a tabloid that has disagreed with the *Inquirer* on political endorsements. PNI, in turn, is a link in the Knight-Ridder chain, which is proud that it does not impose a party line on the editorial pages of its newspapers (which include the *Miami Herald*).

Why would a large media concern allow its separate newspapers, or at least the publishers of those papers, to go their own way even when it comes to endorsing a candidate for president? One explanation of the local-option policy (which is not followed by every chain) is that it's good business for a mass corporation to encourage the executives at its various papers to behave as if they were old-style hometown publishers and not the viceroys of a vast media empire. Such delegation gives an ironic twist to A. J. Liebling's famous gibe that freedom of the press belongs to those who own one.

One way out of the problem is simply to abolish editorials. In a memo to Max King inspired by the Norplant affair, Mary Walton, a member of *The Inquirer Magazine*'s staff, suggested that as an alternative the *Inquirer* could have two pages of signed opinions and analysis. She added that an editorial board could stay to make election endorsements, with majority and minority opinions as on the Supreme Court. For now, King says, he has no interest in changing the operation of the editorial page. He and the *Inquirer*'s publisher "want to see how things work for a while," now that the editorial board is engaged in post-Norplant reflection about its role. In the much longer term, however, King says he is open-minded about other approaches to the newspaper's opinion function, either signed editorials or a section that would consist only of personal opinion columns.

My guess is that the *Inquirer*, and other newspapers that periodically go through similar soul-searching, will not abolish unsigned editorials. Editorials have been the subject of premature obituaries at least since 1866, when the *North American Review* declared that "the prestige of the editorial is gone." In 1936 H. L. Mencken called the editorial page "a vestigial organ."

But the ivory tower still stands, and for good reasons. The accountability issue is complex; just ask the publisher who had his breakfast ruined by a lead editorial in his own newspaper, or the editorial page editor who found himself banished from the tower for misjudging his mandate (an occupational hazard of which Boldt is certainly aware). Still, in sixteen years of writing editorials for the *Post-Gazette*, I have never been in doubt that the newspaper stood for something—racial equality, strong public schools, a regional approach to local government—and that it should speak in a certain way. My newspaper is not alone in publishing editorials that reflect a coherent, if general, political philosophy that can be traced back to the ownership.

And there is the fact that editorials *work*, even if it may be hard to construct a satisfactory theory of the editorial. Media critics are forever coming up with mocking descriptions of what happens when a single writer's essay is presented as the opinion of an entire newspaper. My favorites are "editorial transubstantiation" and the Wizard of Oz Effect (as in "pay no attention to the man behind the curtain"). Yet in my experience an argument is taken more seriously when it comes from the *Post-Gazette* than

when it appears under my humble byline.

More often than not, the communities that newspapers serve benefit from that kind of amplification. As Boldt has pointed out, most editorial crusades don't involve ideologically divisive issues: "Eighty percent of the time you're trying to recommend what ought to be done about getting a Criminal Justice Center built or Delaware Avenue repaved." As for the other 20 percent, will it be gelatinous goo or incisive iconoclasm? As editorial writers like to say: "Only time will tell."

MICHAEL MCGOUGH is editor of the editorial page of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.*

WHITE HOUSE WATCH

THE OTHER GULF

By Fred Barnes

President Bush was disappointed, even a bit peeved. He wanted to hear one thing when Moshe Arens, the Israeli defense minister, spent thirty minutes in the Oval Office on February 11: thanks. If Bush had to sit tight while Arens made the case for more American aid to Israel ($400 million in loan guarantees for housing construction, another $13 billion for postwar repairs and other expenses), he was willing. But he wanted Arens to express, at length, Israel's gratitude for all the United States is doing to rid the Middle East of Israel's greatest threat, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Arens said Israel appreciated American efforts. "He said the words, but that wasn't the thrust of his approach," says a Bush adviser who attended the meeting. Arens dwelt chiefly on Scuds and the enormous damage the Iraqi missile attacks have done in Israel.

The meeting caused an entirely avoidable deterioration in the relationship between the United States and Israel. "You may have seen the high point of Israel-American relations," says a senior White House official. He was talking about the period from January 16, when the war against Iraq began, until the session with Arens. It wasn't just Bush who turned sour. Arens and other Israeli officials expected Bush to be the grateful one, acknowledging Israel's suffering in the war and extolling its restraint in not retaliating against Iraq for the Scud attacks. Bush didn't do that. "Just as the American side thought Arens wasn't appreciative of what we've done, the Israelis thought Bush didn't appreciate what they've done," says a White House official who talked to Israeli officials following the meeting.

All of these grown men with hurt feelings may seem silly. But two other things made the friction more than a tempest in a teapot. First, there's a history of ill will between Bush and Israeli leaders. Second, some indiscreet and poorly timed remarks by Israeli ambassador Zalman Shoval on February 14 gave the administration added heartburn. Bush has made no secret of his dislike of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and his Likud party allies, though they got along when Shamir visited Washington in December. Late last year Bush commented to a foreign leader, "Wouldn't it be great if Labor were back in power?" (This leader agreed with Bush that it would be.) Bush also has a fixation about Israeli settlements in the West Bank. He's convinced that the Shamir government secretly desires to move ahead with new settlements and that this would impede a peace agreement in the Middle East.

The Israelis have fresh grievances. Ten months ago Congress approved the $400 million loan guarantee, but the Bush administration still hasn't forked over the money. It is requiring Israel to provide extensive data about housing plans to prove that none of the U.S. money will fund settlement of Soviet Jews in the West Bank. Administration officials believe they are establishing a principle for later, bigger loan guarantees to Israel. But Israelis contrast the incredible difficulty they've encountered with the ease with which Egypt was forgiven $7 billion in debt to the United States last year. Moreover, Shamir was upset in January when Secretary of State James Baker issued a communiqué with Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr A. Bessmertnykh that promised the Soviets a role in Middle East peace talks. Israel hadn't been consulted about this.

Wrangling over the $400 million prompted the now notorious Shoval remarks. In negotiations with Baker aides Shoval thought he'd satisfied the request for housing data. In fact, he had drafted a letter to Baker aide Dennis Ross that spelled out exactly what information would be coming. Then, on February 14, a story in *The Washington Post* quoted two Israeli opposition politicians as saying the Shamir government plans to build 12,000 homes for new Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Shoval insisted that such plans aren't the policy of the Israeli government, but he was told the $400 million would be further delayed.

Shoval blew his cork. In an interview with Reuters, he said, "We sometimes feel we are being given the runaround, although to the best of my understanding Israel has fully complied with the requests that were raised in this connection" by the Bush administration. Whenever Israel provides housing information, "always something new arises." Shoval groused that Israel, "not being part of the coalition" against Iraq, has not "received one cent of aid in spite of the fact that we have had immense direct military costs. We demand that these needs and necessities be addressed as swiftly as possible."

When Baker saw the Reuter story, he blew *his* cork. He instantly summoned Shoval to the State Department for a dressing down. That seemed to be the

end of the matter. At least Shoval thought so. Baker had other plans. He went to Bush, urging the president to issue his own statement criticizing Shoval. "Baker was adamant," says a White House official. "Somehow Baker took it personally. He wanted to show that the president was behind him." Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser, and chief of staff John Sununu were skeptical. So were lower-level aides, including Richard Haass, the Middle East expert at the White House. But Baker had no trouble persuading Bush.

The statement, issued at 5:30 p.m. on February 15 from Kennebunkport, Maine, was short, pointed, and unprecedented. Shoval's statements, it said, were "outrageous and outside the bounds of acceptable behavior by the ambassador of any friendly country. The Secretary of State made this clear to the ambassador yesterday, and the President protested to Prime Minister Shamir by cable this morning. We deserve better from Israel's ambassador." This was the first time the White House has publicly attacked the ambassador of a friendly country. (It has zinged ambassadors from Iraq, the Soviet Union, etc., before.) "When there's a White House statement, everyone's antennae go up," said a Bush aide. The Israelis' did. They complained that Shoval got pummeled for making one rash statement, while Bush speaks sympathetically about King Hussein of Jordan, who's basically sided with Iraq.

Why were Bush and Baker so tough on Israel? Baker has a personal reason, and I don't mean the one involving Shoval. Since the Persian Gulf crisis erupted last August, Scowcroft and Cheney have been Bush's closest advisers, appealing to his hawkish instincts. Baker is more dovish. He was embarrassed when the White House distanced itself from his mischievous communiqué with Bessmertnykh. The statement on Shoval was tangible evidence of his clout with Bush. The president had his own reasons. He helped Baker, his old pal. And he showed the Israelis who's boss, a lesson Bush and Baker want them to learn in time for postwar negotiations.

On February 17 Shoval apologized. "I did say some things which diplomats are not supposed to say and I am sorry for that," he said in Miami at a meeting of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council. That didn't bring Shoval any instant friends at the White House, though. So Shoval lingered in Miami, waiting for Vice President Dan Quayle to address the council on February 19. As Quayle delivered a strongly pro-Israel speech ("a true friend, a trustworthy friend"), Shoval sat two seats away. "Despite occasional glitches," Quayle declared, glancing toward Shoval, "and I'm not going to name names, Mr. Ambassador," the administration's contact with Israel during the war "has been fruitful and positive." Quayle smiled. Shoval grinned back and bowed slightly. After the speech, he and Quayle talked for fifteen minutes. That ended the Shoval flap. But trouble between the United States and Israel goes on. ●

A case for occasional conscription.

A SLIGHT DRAFT

By Jacob Weisberg

It's a lazy afternoon in the hearing room of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Just four members have turned up to ask questions of Robert Gambino, President Bush's new nominee to head the Selective Service System. John Glenn calls the session to order. Though he hopes there won't be any need to activate the draft lottery, Glenn says he is glad to know the mechanism is ready if needed. John Warner, the ranking Republican, jumps in. The president has said he has no plans for an involuntary call-up. Glenn replies that he didn't mean to imply that he had. Shortly afterward Gambino reads his statement: "I pray that the future national security needs of our country will be satisfied without resorting to a draft."

On Capitol Hill and beyond it, there is virtual unanimity on the issue of a draft. President Bush said in early February that he had "absolutely no intention" of reviving it. *The New York Times* recently called it "Unpopular—and Unneeded." The only people who really desire a draft, despite their protestations to the contrary, are members of the anti-war movement. They crave a call-up because it would galvanize massive public opposition to the Gulf war. Conscription would siphon socially advantaged young men into the front lines, resulting in a cadre of articulate and influential parents making impassioned personal appeals against the war. Pro-war politicians fear it for the same reason.

The military has its own rationale for opposing a draft: volunteers suffer fewer morale and discipline problems than those pressed into service involuntarily. They're a better army. There is also a progressive social case for a volunteer force: the military provides a unique avenue of social mobility and career advancement, especially for lower-class blacks. The argument that those who volunteer often have few other alternatives is hardly a reason for taking away the one good option they do have. A draft inevitably would mean displacing into civilian employment (or unemployment) some people who want to be in the service. As Michael Kinsley wrote (TRB, "Uncle Sam Doesn't Want You," November 26, 1990), the person whose place is taken "may not be grateful to be shut out so that some yuppie can enjoy an egalitarian moral frisson."

These may be persuasive arguments against conscription in peacetime, especially given the diminishing long-term manpower needs of the armed services. The tiny chance of dying in an unanticipated miniwar like

Grenada or Panama, or in a training accident, seems a small price to pay for the chance of social mobility afforded by a tour of duty. But if the "job" in question also entails a higher risk of getting smashed up or killed, as it does today, those who volunteered under very different circumstances may indeed be glad to share the risk with the sons of doctors, bankers, and stockbrokers.

Volunteers join out of various motives, including patriotism, incentives, and a desire to fight. Few now are trying to opt out of the deal they made at the recruiting office. But it is clear that if a ground invasion of Kuwait were presented as a central part of the bargain, the services would run the risk of a permanent staff shortage. This is supported by a dramatic drop in new Army and Navy contracts since the Gulf deployment in August, and by the fact that the Pentagon has had to freeze routine end-of-term discharges for people who would ordinarily be leaving. As columnist Mark Shields points out, this means that there actually is a kind of draft already—limited to people who originally volunteered. And most of those come from the lower social classes. "The objection," as James Fallows, the author of *National Defense*, puts it, "is that the link between the people who make the decisions and the people who pay the price for them is broken."

The Defense Department avoids collecting statistics that demonstrate disproportional class representation in the fighting ranks of the military—for example, how many soldiers are the children of lawyers. But even those figures the Pentagon does keep give a sense of the military's skewed socioeconomic makeup. If we invade Kuwait, the heaviest casualties will be taken by an Army force that is 32 percent black. The comparable eligible group of civilians is 13 percent black. Unlike ten years ago, the Pentagon says it now attracts the quality of recruits it requires: 91 percent are high school graduates. But the enlisted ranks of the military include hardly any emissaries from the upper class. "With occasional exception, these are all lower-middle-class or blue-collar kids," says Charles Moskos, a Northwestern professor and leading advocate of national service who interviewed troops in Saudi Arabia in November.

It is fairly certain that the policy-making ranks will not bear any serious share of the expenses in the coming invasion. Consider the involvement of some of the country's elite institutions. Out of a student body of 23,000, the University of Michigan has a grand total of nineteen veterans, according to figures compiled by Moskos. Harvard, Yale, and Princeton have a combined total of nine. Of a dozen NEW REPUBLIC editors, only one has distant relatives serving in Saudi Arabia. I'm typical of most in knowing no one in uniform. By comparison, it has been calculated that one out of every two Americans has a friend or relative who may see action in the Gulf.

Of course, the poor doing the fighting for the rich represents no historical departure for the United States. During the American Revolution and the War of 1812 it was normal for affluent landowners to hire freed slaves or indentured servants to serve as their replacements in state militias. During the Civil War it was even more common for wealthy Northerners to retain substitutes. After conscription was instituted in the North in 1863, the method of last resort for the well-to-do was to pay a "commutation fee" of $300—the average annual working wage at the time. Of 207,000 men who were drafted into the Union Army, 74,000 found substitutes, and 87,000 paid the fee.

In part because of this ugly experience, which led to draft riots in New York and resentment elsewhere, upper-class immunity was ended in World War I. According to John Chambers, a historian of the draft, Henry Ford's successful campaign to gain a deferment for his son Edsel was exceptional. Through World War II and the Korean War, America's fighting force kept significant representation from all social echelons. Vietnam, however, saw a swing back to the earlier pattern. Graduate school deferments (Richard Cheney), evasion, and wire-pulling (Dan Quayle) kept the wealthy out of the fray. Since the institution of the All-Volunteer Force by Richard Nixon in 1973, the Army has relied upon economic incentives to attract sufficiently qualified candidates. For the rich, the only difference between a system that relies on financial inducements to supply a fighting force and one that explicitly allows people to buy their way out is that today their "commutation fee" is paid collectively and anonymously, out of the federal treasury.

One argument against a cross-class military is that, because it will increase the costs for decision-makers of going to war, it will make necessary military intervention impossible. But there is no reason to believe this would be the case. In our war against Iraq, for example, it is hard to imagine that Congress would have made a different decision if its members were more intimately connected to the consequences of their actions. But if the policy-making elite weren't insulated from the costs of war, the decision to go to war would have a legitimacy it now lacks.

If an all-volunteer force is unfair, and a conscript one undesirable, what's the solution? John Kenneth Galbraith proposes a volunteer service corps drawn from Wall Street, the universities, and the "better suburbs," which would provide a chance for "those now so undemocratically exempted by their wealth or comparative affluence." Assuming anyone would volunteer for such a brigade, it's still not an egalitarian way to distribute the most brutal cost a society can demand. The goal should not be to offer up a few sacrificial preppy lambs, but to introduce an overall element of equity into the question of who fights.

A better compromise would be to supplement the all-volunteer force with conscription when military conflict becomes likely. The Gulf engagement is a case study in how this could work. According to Gambino, it takes about four months to induct and train an American soldier. If, at the time of the August deployment,

Bush had directed the selective service to call up 500,000 registrants, the Pentagon could have begun rotating divisions of mixed replacements and volunteers to Saudi Arabia in December. With the decision to go to war made deliberately, according to our timetable, it would have been entirely possible to institute a lottery that would give an eligible editor like me something like a 1-in-10 chance of being called up.

The idea is far from perfect. In a minor conflict like Grenada or Panama, it still wouldn't be practical to use the selective service. And it is now too late to do anything about our fighting force in the Gulf. But there's still time to contemplate the unfairness of the present system—and think about fixing it before, heaven forfend, the next war. •

The Intelligence Committee's bad bet.

DELLUMS' DILEMMA

By Joshua Muravchik

In order to soothe Democratic liberals opposed to the elevation of moderately hawkish Representative Dave McCurdy to the chairmanship of the House Intelligence Committee, Speaker Tom Foley filled four of five Democratic vacancies on the committee with stalwart doves. But one of the four, Representative Ron Dellums of California, has so often embraced some of the very movements and governments on which America collects intelligence that it is hard to see how U.S. agencies can function while obliged to share with him their most sensitive secrets.

Dellums was elected to Congress in 1970 "as a radical critic of an incumbent [Democrat] who had one of the most liberal voting records in the House," in the words of *The Almanac of American Politics*. He was a vocal champion of, among other organizations, the Black Panther Party. Even before he was sworn in, Representative-elect Dellums addressed the World Conference on Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia in Stockholm, which hosted representatives of the Khmer Rouge and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front. He has sent tributes to the U.S. Communist Party newspaper, the *People's Daily World*. Over the last two decades Dellums has associated with sundry organizations of the far left, of which the most notorious were two of pre-perestroika Moscow's international front operations: the World Peace Council and the World Youth Festivals.

The WPC, according to a story last year in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, receives 90 percent of its funding from the Kremlin, and, in its heyday, was solely devoted to Brezhnevite peace propaganda. In 1978 Dellums cohosted a meeting of the World Peace Council in the Capitol. His staff subsequently wrote to the WPC conveying his wish to attend a 1982 WPC meeting in Vienna. Dellums also sponsored the 1986 Copenhagen conference of the WPC and was represented there by his administrative assistant, Carlottia Scott. Dellums lent his name as a sponsor to both the 1978 World Youth Festival in Havana and the 1985 edition in Moscow.

A more revealing insight into Dellums's politics comes from papers captured in Grenada by American invasion forces. The papers included letters from Scott to former Grenadan ruler Maurice Bishop, leader of the Communist New Jewel Movement, with whom Scott was romantically as well as professionally involved. In one, Scott wrote:

> Ron had a long talk with Barb [Dellums aide Barbara Lee] and me when we got to Havana and cried when he realized that we had been shouldering Grenada alone all this time. Like I said, he's really hooked on you and Grenada and doesn't want anything to happen to building the Revo and making it strong. He really admires you as a person and even more so as a leader with courage and foresight, pride and integrity. Believe me, he doesn't make that kind of statement often about anyone. The only other person that I know of that he expresses such admiration for is Fidel. (I've known and worked with Ron for many years and the last time I heard him say something like that was in 1977 after a meeting with Fidel.)

According to his former aide Barbara Lee (now a member of the California legislature), "Ron took down a delegation of Afro-Americans [to Cuba] in 1977." Dellums returned to describe the trip in glowing detail in an account published by the Center for Cuban Studies in New York: "I was deeply impressed with what I saw there. Our ability to meet face-to-face with government leaders, students, and people on the street gave us a totally different picture of Cuba. . . . Mr. Castro is a brilliant man with a visionary look at the world."

Among the papers captured by American forces in Grenada were minutes of a Grenadan Politburo meeting of December 15, 1982. They read in part: "*Ron Dellums*: His assistant, Barbara Lee, is here presently and has brought with her a report on the International Airport that was done by Ron Dellums. They have requested that we look at the document and suggest any changes we deem necessary—they will be willing to make the changes. Cde. [Comrade] [Ewart] Layne was assigned the task."

Dellums's report rebutted the Reagan administration's charge that the Grenadan airport was being upgraded for East bloc military aircraft. When this document came to light, and Representative Newt Gingrich chastised Dellums for having allowed the Grenadans to vet the report, Dellums pointed out that the report had been submitted to the Armed Services Committee in June 1982, six months before the Politburo meeting. At the same time Dellums acknowledged that: "I re-

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quested that one of my aides have the Grenadans verify the factual accuracy of the data included in the report."

Dellums's office worked with the New Jewel government in other ways, too. Scott sent Bishop a typescript of a forthcoming Dellums op-ed article on Grenada with the request, "Please comment." In an earlier letter she had pledged: "I feel that now I will be able to convey, in a more comprehensive manner, the thoughts and directives of the PRG [People's Revolutionary Government]." In another letter she confided her anxieties about an American revolutionary living in Grenada, a chronic malcontent despite having correct politics: "I feel he is dangerous not only to himself but to others. In his state of mind he would be easy prey for, let's say, as an example, to be approach [sic] by the CIA and talked into being an agent to work against Grenada."

A spokesman for Dellums could not say whether any of Scott's actions had displeased him or whether she had been disciplined for them, but since the time of the Grenada correspondence she has been promoted to Dellums's administrative assistant.

Lee also corresponded with Bishop, signing her letters, "In struggle." In May 1980 she received an envelope bearing the stamp of the Grenadan prime minister's office that contained a flyer denouncing communism in Grenada. She promptly called the Grenadan ambassador to report the subversion and gave her the missive so it could be investigated.

The Grenadan documents were not the only captured papers in which Dellums and his office figured prominently. When Salvadoran government forces raided a guerrilla safehouse, they found a trove that included the diary of Farid Handal, brother of Shafiq Handal, the head of the Salvadoran Communist Party, and an important Salvadoran operative in his own right. In it, Farid Handal describes a visit to the United States in which he helped to launch CISPES (the Committee in Support of the People of El Salvador), which has described itself as a support group for El Salvador's Marxist guerrillas. He writes that Maurice Jackson, "president" of the Washington, D.C., branch of the U.S. Communist Party,

> . . . played an important role in arranging an interview with Congressman Ronal [sic] Dellums. . . . That same Monday . . . the interview with Congressman Dellums and his task group took place. . . . At the end of the meeting they asked me to write [my statement] down, for which right there in the offices of Dellums they provided me with a typewriter. They explained that they needed it to translate into English in order to make a report for all the black congressmen. . . . [A subsequent] morning the offices of Congressman Dellums were converted into our offices. Everything was done there. The meeting with the Black Caucus took place in the liver of the monster—nothing less than the meeting room of the foreign relations committee.

Dellums's spokesmen acknowledge that the staff met with Handal but insist that the diary embellishes the story and deny that Dellums met with him. Dellums has, however, signed fund appeals for CISPES.

Dellums's spokesmen point out that he has chaired subcommittees of the House Armed Services Committee on installations and facilities and on research and development and has never been accused of leaking or mishandling classified information. That may be true, although in 1972 Dellums entered into *The Congressional Record* a 500-page classified government report on Vietnam, deliberately destroying its secrecy. (Some highlights from it had already been revealed in the press.) In 1975 he was a featured speaker at a conference called Counterspy '75, organized by the Fifth Estate, the publishers of *Counterspy* magazine, which specialized in revealing the identity of CIA officers. (One such officer, Richard Welch, reportedly CIA station chief in Greece, was subsequently assassinated.) In 1980 Dellums was quoted, in *People's World*, a U.S. Communist Party newspaper, as telling a Bay Area symposium, "We should totally dismantle every intelligence agency in this country piece by piece, nail by nail, brick by brick." These are strange qualifications for membership on the Intelligence Committee.

The deeper issue is the worldview of Dellums and those with whom he surrounds himself. On several occasions Dellums has clearly supported the interests of movements and governments that are hostile to America against those of the U.S. government. Could U.S. intelligence officials in good conscience send men and women to penetrate those forces knowing that their identities will have to be revealed to Dellums and possibly through him to the likes of Scott and Lee? Perhaps Dellums, despite his opinions, is a man of honor who will guard all secrets vouchsafed to him even from his most trusted staff. But this seems a stiff additional test against which to gamble the lives of America's agents and the integrity of its intelligence.

JOSHUA MURAVCHIK is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

The scary state of Soviet nukes.

LOOSE CANNON

By Gabriel Schoenfeld

Last February members of the House Armed Services Committee escorted high-ranking Soviet officials, including Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, on an unprecedented tour of U.S. military command posts. During the visit the Americans noted something peculiar about their guests. In the words of the House committee's report, they were "extremely interested" in how long it would take the United States

to detect a foreign missile launch and identify it as friend or foe, and "extremely concerned" about possible incorrect reactions in the event of an unauthorized missile launch. The concerns did not seem to stem from fear of an inadvertent U.S. nuclear attack because the visitors appeared "favorably impressed" with the precautionary measures the United States employs. One explanation is that they fear their own rockets might start an accidental nuclear war.

As nationalism tears apart the Soviet Union, the chance that it could split into fifteen or more states—some of them armed with nuclear weapons—is scary enough. But even if Moscow keeps its hand on the button, there's plenty of reason for concern. Chernobyl, and the jitters of the Red Army officials, suggest that the world's largest stockpile of nuclear arms is no longer in particularly safe hands.

One source of danger is the collapse of military morale. The tens of thousands of personnel engaged in the maintenance, transport, and storage of nuclear weapons are not immune from the general social crisis. Even elite units, including the nearly 300,000 troops of the Strategic Rocket Forces, are affected. Arms control—and the prospect of unemployment—affects thousands of personnel. Scarcity affects all of them. Recently a missile base in the Urals actually "ran out of foodstuffs." Bread and milk were the only things to eat, and these only sporadically. Soldiers formed a strike committee, whose members threatened to desert their posts if food was not forthcoming. The supreme command of the Strategic Rocket Forces was alerted and two aircraft "full of top brass" flew to the scene, but they too were "unable to supply the camp with sufficient food." The account in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* does not say any more, except that the servicemen are asking: "How far may hungry rocket troops go?"

Nuclear weapons policy has long been one of the most closely held secrets of the secrecy-obsessed Kremlin, but glasnost brought a wave of disturbing revelations last year. The typical serviceman in the Strategic Rocket Forces, for example, must serve in the Soviet periphery, where "intense heat, freezing weather, sand, and the taiga" are the norm. But not everyone can come in from the cold. Major A. Dolonin, the newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda*'s man on the ballistic missile beat, has reported that 10,000 servicemen and their families in these forces lack housing. One officer in four of the air defense forces is without adequate shelter, says Colonel A. Dokuchayev, a correspondent for *Krasnaya Zvezda*. Families of four are often allocated only a single room measuring slightly less than thirty square feet. Schools and kindergartens are overenrolled, and "by no means do opportunities exist everywhere for the wives of officers and warrant officers to get work." Alert duty, says Dokuchayev, is "the main thing in life," but "is it possible to rest after alert duty under these conditions?"

Soviet authorities worry that personnel who handle nuclear weapons "especially in emergency situations" are subjected to enormous psychological pressures, which generate behavior that could be "absolutely illogical, unpredictable, and extremely dangerous to all mankind." The authorities screen personnel to avoid this danger, with an annual examination conducted by an "expert commission" in which "moral qualities" and "psychophysical condition" are tested, reported the newsweekly *Argumenty i Fakty*. The commission employs a special methodology designed by military psychologists that places a "definite psychological burden" on all candidates for nuclear weapons access.

The screening process weeds out some 4 percent to 6 percent of personnel a year. Still, some of those handling nuclear weapons "suffer a nervous breakdown as a result of psychological pressure and emotional stress," says retired General Vladimir Belous. One reason is that the low salaries of nuclear-weapons handlers attract inferior soldiers. The wages of a driver-mechanic for a heavyweight SS-25 mobile launcher, says Dolonin, are less than half that of a trolleybus driver even when special "supplementary" payments are factored in. Another source of tension is ethnic diversity. General I. D. Sergeyev, a deputy commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces, recently inspected intercontinental missile bases in the Caucasus. He found forty Azerbaijanis in the fall induction, of whom only two could speak Russian.

Technological deficiencies in the Soviet command and control structure have magnified the impact of the morale problem and heightened the level of risk. Some of this is unavoidable. In the United States, for example, there have been numerous accidents with nuclear weapons, code-named "Broken Arrows" by the Defense Department. One of the most dramatic took place in 1966 when a B-52 bomber crashed over Spain while refueling. The TNT detonators of two nuclear weapons on board exploded on impact, scattering radioactive debris across the countryside. Even today the Pentagon is concerned about the chance of accidental detonation of nuclear warheads. In December Defense Secretary Dick Cheney ordered defectively designed SRAM-A warheads withdrawn from the U.S. arsenal to reduce the risk that they could inadvertently release radioactivity. Given the scope of continuing U.S. problems in this area, it should surprise no one that the Soviet Union has had similar problems in more acute form.

Newly declassified information from the Soviet Union shows that Soviet "Broken Arrows" have already happened. In one accident a nuclear weapon was "lost" in 1957 near the USSR's nuclear test site at Semipalatinsk. "The shepherd, B. Kishpaev, found a hydrogen bomb that had not exploded," was the laconic message conveyed to a Soviet parliamentarian by the Defense Ministry when it acknowledged the mishap last year. General Stanislav Kochemasov, main staff chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces, revealed in *Pravda* last February that a missile once "left" its launching pad "on its own accord" and crashed nearby. The nature of the missile's payload is not known, but Kochemasov's remarks suggest it may have had a nuclear tip since his account takes special note of the fact that its "nose cone" had not been dismantled.

Another accident involving a submarine-launched nuclear missile has been described in greater detail by *Krasnaya Zvezda*. The article, by Captain M. Khramtsov, a naval officer who was at the scene, provides no date for the incident: "It happened many years ago" is all the author says. It was not reported at the time because "it was not customary to 'upset' society." The accident was precipitated by the submarine commander's failure to follow proper missile maintenance instructions. His mistake led to the "destruction" of a hermetically sealed compartment containing "fuel components." A cloud of smoke was suddenly seen to rise from the submarine. A report was then dispatched stating that "the warhead of the damaged missile has been jettisoned . . . a nuclear bomb is now lying on the bottom of the Pacific Ocean."

A rescue ship at the scene immediately fixed the warhead's position by dropping buoys. Fifteen other Soviet warships converged on the site to look for the lost device. Water samples were collected by personnel attired in chemical protective clothing and wearing gas masks. The USSR's "most prominent specialists" were enlisted in the search for the weapon. It was eventually located and brought to the surface. "Not a single man received an award," noted Khramtsov. Instead, all the participants in the salvage operation were "strictly ordered not to say a word to anyone." The captain of the vessel that lost the warhead was reassigned to shore duty.

Apart from losing warheads, the Soviet Union seems to be having particular difficulties with its early warning radar network. Much of what we know in this area comes from disaffected military men who have been campaigning against dismantling the Krasnoyarsk radar station, a facility that the Soviet Union has acknowledged was built in violation of the ABM Treaty. These officials are also upset by moves to close sister radar stations in Latvia and the Ukraine in order to soothe "inflamed" environmental protesters. Glasnost, it should be noted in assessing the bias of their alarming accounts, is a weapon that can be wielded by conservatives.

The scientist Aleksei Kuzmin, one of the designers of the USSR's ABM and early warning system, has been calling attention to the obstacles involved in safely operating a foolproof missile command system. Failure to use the Krasnoyarsk radar, he said, will leave dangerous "unmonitored" blank spots in radar coverage and complicate the task of discerning an incoming attack. "The most terrible thing for us is if we give our leadership incorrect information. . . . In the event of a mistake it could well lead to a worldwide nuclear catastrophe."

He has a point. The satellite system with which the Soviet military monitors the skies to the northeast "often sounds false alarms," retired General Boris Surikov has said in an interview in *Moscow News*. "I myself witnessed a facility receive such a signal from space: a missile attack against the USSR from the Grand Forks base," he said. "Patches of sunlight were mistaken for American missiles. It's good that the panel had a competent operator who instantly sized up the situation." Surikov stated, "There have been many such false alarms in the USSR."

Colonel Dokuchayev believes that further close calls are likely because of the decision to close the Krasnoyarsk radar station. This step, he says, "will lower the probability of a correct decision," and "technical defects" will bring errors in the Soviet early warning network to a "dangerous level." General Surikov concurs: "The danger of a nuclear catastrophe is not being decreased; it is being increased." General Belous warns that if an incorrect signal of "a missile attack is issued and confirmed, this will be followed by a command to put strategic battle systems on red alert and deliver the first nuclear strike."

For those who favor lending Mikhail Gorbachev a helping hand, the sad state of Soviet strategic forces will provide one more argument for sending food-aid. If it should be sent to anybody, it should be sent to the hungry Soviet rocket men. On the other hand, proponents of the Strategic Defense Initiative are sure to gain credence. With accident-prone Soviets juggling 30,000 nuclear warheads, an impermeable shield might come in handy.

GABRIEL SCHOENFELD, editor of *Soviet Prospects*, is a senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Can your doctor give you AIDS?

UNKINDEST CUT

By Jon Cohen

The most brambly medical question of the past few years has been who should be tested for the AIDS virus, HIV, and what to do with the test results. For patients, the question was answered: each person can decide, and the results will be held in strict confidence. For physicians and dentists, the question kept getting pushed aside. That all changed recently.

On January 17 the Centers for Disease Control reported that David Acer, a dentist from Stuart, Florida, who died of AIDS complications last September, apparently infected three of his patients with HIV. Until this report, one of Acer's patients, Kimberly Bergalis, was thought to have been the only patient in the United States ever infected by a health care worker. And until the report, the American Dental Association and the American Medical Association both had policies that told HIV-infected members merely to discuss safety issues with colleagues.

The controversy over the discovery prompted a revolution in medical protocol. Now both the ADA and the AMA believe that safety and ethics demand that HIV-infected clinicians who perform invasive medical proce-

dures divulge their HIV-status publicly, or as the AMA puts it, "err on the side of protecting patients"—which means effectively to stop practicing. In this debate the AMA and ADA have been backed by, among others, *The New York Times* and many understandably anxious patients. According to the AMA and the National Conference of State Legislatures, no jurisdiction has yet passed a law calling for similar restraints, though a handful of bills are floating around. It's hard to see how these proposals can avoid imposing intrusive mandatory HIV-testing on surgeons and dentists.

Somewhat buried in the hysteria on both sides of the debate, however, is a simple question: What's the chance of becoming infected with HIV by an infected physician or dentist during an invasive procedure? So far, the evidence suggests that it's tiny. The CDC knows of 156 dentists or hygienists and forty-two surgeons who have full-blown AIDS; the CDC estimates that there are eight times as many HIV-infected dentists and surgeons. So far, other than the Acer case, *none* of these clinicians has been known to transmit the virus to patients. Tennessee's health department tested 616 patients of a surgeon who died of AIDS complications. The only one who was infected with HIV was an intravenous drug user. The New York State Health Department, which has publicly rejected the new AMA and ADA policies, estimates that your risk of becoming infected by a visit to your HIV-positive doctor or dentist is, at most, one in 100,000, and possibly as remote as one in 1 million.

On February 6 the CDC released a draft report that offers the most comprehensive risk assessment done to date. The report, prepared for a CDC meeting on the issue to be held on February 21 and 22, bases its estimates on HIV-infected dentists and surgeons accidentally breaking their skin. In lab jargon, the report is a SWAG: a scientific wild-ass guess. That said, the CDC estimates that a patient's risk of becoming infected with HIV by an infected dentist is between 1 in 263,158 and 1 in 2,631,579. In the case of an infected surgeon, the risk climbs to 1 in 41,667 and 1 in 416,667. Now factor in the probability that *your* surgeon or dentist is actually infected: the CDC guesstimates that 1 in 370 surgeons and 1 in 133 dentists are infected with the AIDS virus. That makes the chance of being infected by any doctor at least a hundred times smaller again.

Maybe it's easier to make sense of this jumble of data if you compare the risk of catching the virus from an HIV-infected surgeon to other health care-related risks. CDC data say a patient is a mite more likely to die from penicillin or anesthesia—or to become infected with HIV from a transfusion of blood that has been screened for the virus—than to be infected by an HIV-positive surgeon.

If there is a measurable risk in operations, it is, ironically, the transmission from patient to clinicians. To date, the CDC knows of forty cases of such transmissions—thirty-seven more than the number of infections suspected to have traveled from clinician to patient. AMA policy and many state laws, wisely bowing to a patient's right to privacy, require a physician to obtain informed consent before testing for HIV. Yet the clamor for testing surgeons is far greater than that for testing patients.

Remember also that even if you did test all physicians and dentists and banned HIV-positive ones, you still wouldn't eliminate the risk of HIV transmission. Surgeons could test negative one day, be infected that night, and subsequently operate. With the incubation period of the virus, doctors infected a few weeks before the test would not test positive anyway, even if they carry the virus. Stamping surgeons and dentists with the no-HIV seal of approval would give patients a sense of security they cannot reasonably be offered.

Health care workers and gay men long ago began wrestling with the unsettling reality that, when it comes to HIV, it's impossible to live without a minimal level of risk. Now it's time for patients to get acclimatized to the fact that, even with the strictest imaginable regulations, they are still going to visit surgeons and dentists of unknown HIV status.

Precautions are still important, of course. The infinitesimal risks that do exist can still be reduced. Just as safe sex can reduce the spread of the virus, so can safe medicine. Masks, gloves, goggles, sterilized and disinfected instruments are already regular medical procedures and should be strictly followed. There are also new technologies in the works—such as needles that retract into the syringe, reinforced gloves, and suturing thimbles—that could be routinized in operations to provide even more assurance.

The profession also has other recourses to reducing risk, which avoid the privacy-invading course of selective testing and the silly option of banning competent HIV-positive doctors from practice. One suggestion comes from Larry Gostin, head of the American Society of Law and Medicine and a professor at Harvard's School of Public Health. Gostin suggests that we should require the boards that license surgeons and dentists to provide new ethical guidelines for the HIV-positive. Gostin's principle is hard to argue with: "The HIV-infected should not practice seriously invasive procedures where they go inside a body cavity full of blood holding a sharp instrument." There's no guarantee that the licensing limits will work, of course. But these same licensing bodies require clinicians to show up at work sober and alert, something the ethically minded do without the threat of breathalyzer tests.

Ultimately, patients simply have to trust that professionals who are reared on the credo of "first, do no harm" will consult with colleagues, keep up on the literature, and make wise decisions. In other words, precisely what the old AMA and ADA policies called for. If data come out that are more persuasive than what is currently available, we should make adjustments. But until then, a policy that has a detrimental effect on all surgeons and dentists to reduce a miniscule risk by a marginal amount makes no sense at all.

JON COHEN is writing a book on AIDS vaccine research for Delacorte Press.

Getting to know the General.

OPERATION DESERT NORM

By C. D. B. Bryan

I.

I have read the stories about "Stormin' Norman," the terrible-tempered "Bear" who is a "pussycat" to his family. I have read how this general with the 170 genius-level IQ lulls himself to sleep in his Riyadh quarters listening to Pavarotti and Willie Nelson. I have read of his fluency in French and German; his love for the ballet and opera; and his membership in the International Brotherhood of Magicians. And I am sure, as reported, he has studied T. E. Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, and that he has *The Kingdom*, Robert Lacey's acclaimed history of Saudi Arabia, on his nightstand. I especially enjoyed the account of how, at his Kuwaiti hosts' insistence, Schwarzkopf several years ago donned Arab robes and later said of the experience, "It was just like the scene in *Lawrence of Arabia* when the British officer's clothes are taken away and replaced by robes, and he waltzes into the desert, intrigued by their feel and grace. I stood in front of the mirror and did the same dance. It was wonderful." When we spoke by phone on February 16, I asked him if that quote had been accurate. "No," he laughed, "I didn't say I did the same dance. I mean, it wasn't exactly a dance. I *will* admit, I stood there and sort of twirled around and let the robes flow."

I can see him doing that. I first met H. Norman Schwarzkopf in October 1971. He was then a 37-year-old lieutenant colonel not long back from completing his second tour of duty in Vietnam. Twice wounded, he had just been released from the Walter Reed Army Medical Center and was recuperating at home in Annandale, Virginia, with his wife, Brenda, and his 2-year-old daughter, Cindy. Schwarzkopf—a large man at six-feet-three-and-a-half inches and, in those days, maybe 225 pounds—looked even more huge in a cast that covered him from his hips to his shoulders.

Seventeen months earlier, on May 28, 1970, Schwarzkopf had been commanding the Americal Division's 1st Battalion of the 6th Infantry Brigade in South Vietnam's Batangan Peninsula when a portion of his battalion's Bravo Company became trapped in a mine field. Bravo's company commander and a lieutenant had both been badly wounded, and a med-evac helicopter had been called for. Schwarzkopf, airborne in his Huey helicopter with Captain Bob Trabbert, his artillery liaison officer, reached the stranded unit first and turned over his Huey to get the wounded out. Schwarzkopf and Trabbert then stayed behind.

The remainder of the patrol was still frozen in the middle of the mine field. Schwarzkopf said the young soldiers were on the edge of panic. Their commanders had been evacuated; they felt leaderless, abandoned. Schwarzkopf told them calmly that they were going to be all right, to walk back out the way they had walked in: "Watch where you put your feet, keep to your old tracks, stay calm, keep your distance."

They had begun to move again when a young soldier a dozen yards from Schwarzkopf stepped on another mine. The explosion punched the kid up into the air and injured Trabbert and Schwarzkopf slightly. They felt the impact, the pain before the young soldier even hit the ground. The boy's right leg was flapping out to one side. "My leg! MY LEG!" he screamed, and Schwarzkopf sensed the men beginning to panic again. He told them to keep still, and called to Trabbert to radio the med-evac helicopter to hurry. The private who had stepped on the mine was screaming and thrashing about on the ground. The men around him were terrified that his flailing would trigger another explosion. Schwarzkopf began inching across the mine field to reach him. He still had twenty feet to go when the private started panicking again. "I'm going to die! We're all going to die!"

Schwarzkopf's legs began to shake uncontrollably. His knees were suddenly so watery that he had to reach down and grip them until they stilled. Perspiration stung his eyes. The men were watching him, waiting for him to move again. To his astonishment, Schwarzkopf said, he suddenly thought of the sign on Harry Truman's White House desk: "The buck stops here."

The kid was whimpering, "I don't want to die! You've got to get me out of here."

"I'll get you out," Schwarzkopf said. "Just keep still. You're all right."

Five feet . . . three feet . . . Schwarzkopf gently lowered himself across the wounded boy's body to keep him still. "I don't want you to move around," Schwarzkopf told him. "We're going to have to set that leg."

C. D. B. BRYAN, the author of *Friendly Fire*, is writing a book about a child abuse case.

INTELLECTUALS AND RELIGION

Recently *The New York Times Magazine* carried an article on the "return to religion" among intellectuals. From Harvard to Berkeley, among both professors and students, and amid inquisitive people generally, there is an undeniable renewal of interest in the questions traditional religion raises and seeks to answer. This interest is largely a result of the failures of secular substitutes for religion (such as rationalism, narcissism, technological utopianism, aestheticism, and extremist political ideologies) to give abidingly satisfying answers to the truly significant puzzles in life: goodness, suffering, love, death, and the meaning of it all.

By no means, however, does this religious reawakening entail having any truck with Jimmy Swaggart's weird motel bills or Tammy Bakker's real-life impersonations of Imelda Marcos, or embracing the ersatz gods of dog-eat-dog individualism, consumerism, or America First. Nor does the religious renaissance imply a retreat from working for peace and justice. Rather, there is an awareness that, in the words of Jean Bethke Elshtain, religious commitment "can help further social reform," and that religion can supply the ethical bedrock upon which to make political commitments which are far more solid than those based on passing ideologies and enthusiasms. Nor does the new openness to religion signify a hostility to science, but rather an appreciation of the limits of science and the dangers of pseudo-scientific messianisms.

The New York Times Magazine article discussed the NEW OXFORD REVIEW as part of this "return to religion," and rightly so. We at the NEW OXFORD REVIEW are spearheading today's intellectual fascination with what Daniel Bell terms "the sacred." We are particularly interested in exploring religious commitments which result in progressive social consequences, as exemplified by such giants as Dorothy Day, Archbishop Tutu, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Simone Weil, Martin Luther King Jr., Cesar Chavez, and Archbishop Romero. And we probe the literary riches offered by such greats as Ignazio Silone, Graham Greene, Thomas Merton, W.H. Auden, Flannery O'Connor, and T.S. Eliot.

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PAYMENT MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER

Schwarzkopf needed a splint and spotted a small, waist-high tree back where he had left Trabbert and three other men. Schwarzkopf called to them to cut some splints from the tree. Trabbert pulled out his sheath knife and passed it to one of the men. The soldier took one step toward the tree and triggered another mine.

Schwarzkopf was horrified. Trabbert had taken the full force of the explosion. His left leg was blown off, an arm broken backward so that the bone of the elbow socket showed, and a great hole was gouged in his head. He would survive, but the three other men were killed instantly.

For having crossed the mine field to rescue the wounded private, Schwarzkopf was awarded his third Silver Star. He says he had no other choice. It was his responsibility. And by being there in the mine field taking care of the boy instead of with Trabbert, his life was saved. "But you live with those things," he said. "You become terribly fatalistic in combat."

I was interviewing Schwarzkopf for *Friendly Fire*, the book I was writing about an Iowa family whose 25-year-old son was killed by a howitzer shell fired by his own supporting artillery in Vietnam. Michael Mullen had been a sergeant in Charlie Company, one of the infantry companies in Schwarzkopf's battalion. I had gone to see Schwarzkopf because Michael's parents were wrongly convinced he was responsible for their son's death.

The term "friendly fire" has been in the news a lot lately. What Schwarzkopf said then about Mullen's death holds true for those other young men killed by friendly fire in the Gulf war: "Michael's death was a terrible, terrible tragedy," he told me. "A tragedy typical of a profane thing called war—maybe 'typical' isn't the word. It isn't a daily occurrence. It's a unique thing that happens on a very occasional basis. But it happens!" Schwarzkopf paused and rubbed his brow. "Try to think of it this way: Michael was killed due to an error. It was a tragedy that Michael was killed. But I don't think it was an error of deliberate negligence."

Mullen's death deeply distressed Schwarzkopf—as did the death of any soldier who served under him. In fact, twenty years ago he was clearly distressed about the entire Vietnam experience. Late that first night he said to me, "I *hate* what Vietnam has done to our country! I *hate* what Vietnam has done to our Army! The government sends you off to fight its war. It's not *your* war, it's the government's war. You go off and fight not only once, but twice, OK? And suddenly, a decision is made, 'Well, look, you guys were all wrong. You're a bunch of dirty bastards! You never should have been there!' Now this is going to make me think long and hard before I go off to war again. This is me, Norm Schwarzkopf, personally. . . . And when they get ready to send me again, I'm going to have to stop and ask myself, 'Is it worth it?' "

It was an extraordinary comment for a young West Point lieutenant colonel with three Silver Stars. Overnight he must have realized it, too. The next morning it was one of the first things he mentioned after we had again sat down. "Let me clarify that," he said. "If I decide to remain in the service and the government orders me to go, I will go. I don't see how I can refuse unless I felt so strongly about it that my only alternative was to resign from the Army." Schwarzkopf paused for a moment. "We can get into a very subtle discussion here of conscience and duty, the Nuremberg trials, the Japanese war criminals, etc. What is moral? What is immoral? Where does duty stop and morality begin? Are we now saying that the military is supposed to question the morality of our government's commitment to war? I don't know. . . . If we allow the military to question whether or not to go, then it seems to me we also have to look at the other side of the coin: What if the government decides *not* to go? Do we allow the military the right to criticize this decision? . . . See, the military is required to follow the orders given it by the government. How they pursue it is another question—and here is where you get into civilian casualties, war crimes, atrocities, ovens, and all that business. . . . If it ever came to a choice between compromising my moral principles and the performance of my duties, I know I'd go with my moral principles. At the same time, however, I would also cease being an Army officer. I would have to resign my commission. But even at that I could be accomplishing my duty as I see it."

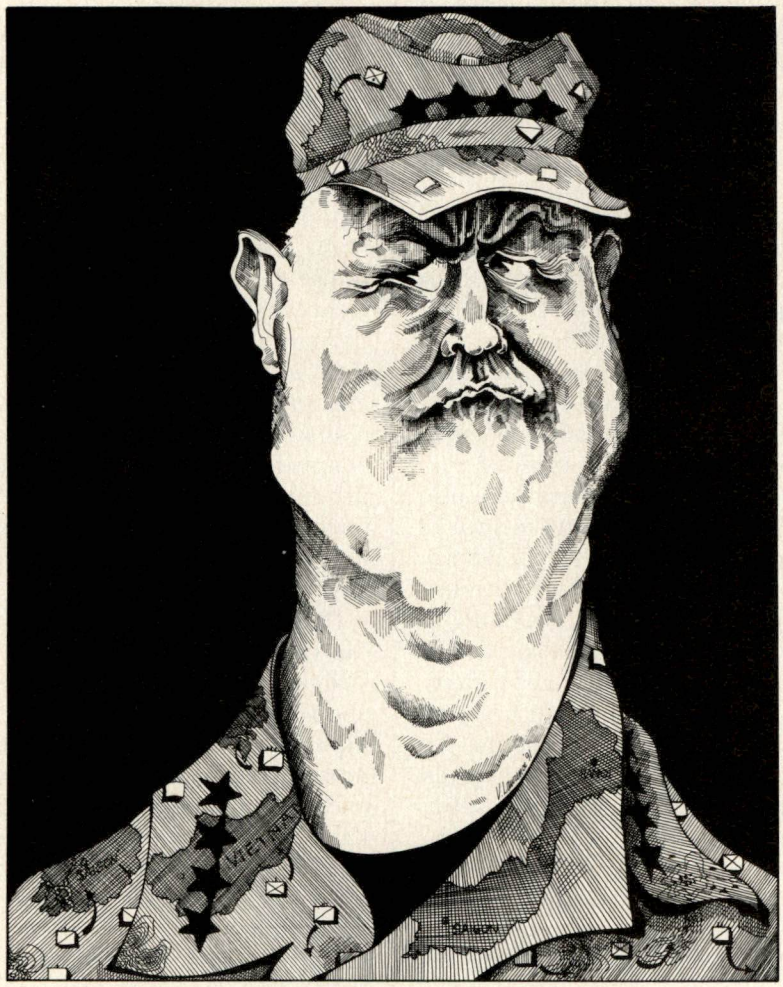
Where did this man come from? H. Norman Schwarzkopf was born in Trenton, New Jersey, on August 22, 1934. His father, Herbert Norman Schwarzkopf, was the son of German immigrants who spoke no English in the home. (Schwarzkopf senior so hated "Herbert" that he gave his son the initial, but not the name.) Schwarzkopf senior graduated from West Point and, at his son's birth, was head of the New Jersey State Police, overseeing the conviction and execution of Bruno Hauptman for the kidnap-murder of Charles and Anne Morrow Lindbergh's baby. He later hosted the old radio show "Gangbusters" before returning to active duty with the Army during World War II. It is hard to know how great an influence the father had on the son, but Schwarzkopf told me, "A lot of my love of country stemmed from my father. My dad was a genuine public servant who had a deep and abiding love for his country, and he wanted to serve."

In 1946, 12-year-old H. Norman Schwarzkopf went to Iran to join his father, who was training that country's police. (In 1953 he was instrumental in the coup that overthrew Iran's Prime Minister Mossadegh and restored the Shah to his throne.) The young Schwarzkopf lived in Iran for a year, in Germany for two years, and then in Italy for a year before he was 17. At West Point he wrestled and played tennis and football; he conducted the chapel choir and graduated in the top 10 percent of his class of 1956 both academically (43rd out of 480) and militarily (he was a captain, the highest cadet rank one could attain). Upon graduation he was commissioned a second lieutenant, entered active duty, and soon afterward almost resigned.

"I had an alcoholic commander," he explained. "I had an executive officer who was a coward. I saw terrible things going on around me and I said, 'Who needs it?

When my three years are up, I'm getting out!' But a very sage guy sat me down and said, 'Young man, you know, if all the guys who see these bad things happening quit, then all the guys who don't think these things are so bad are going to be doing them later on. If you really think it's that bad, why don't you stick around until someday you get into a position to do something about it?''

In 1984, when I next saw H. Norman Schwarzkopf, he was in ''a position to do something about it.'' He was a major general in command of the 24th Infantry Division (Mech) at Fort Stewart, Georgia. Commanding an American combat division is a plum assignment. Only sixteen generals get it. Speaking of the fun of being a general, he said, ''Now I can fix all those things out there in my domain that I think are broken.'' And then he laughed and added, ''At the same time, you hope your judgment is good, because there are a lot of other generals that have gone around thinking they were fixing things, and they were just breaking them like crazy!''



H. NORMAN SCHWARZKOPF BY VINT LAWRENCE FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

We were sitting in his quarters enjoying an after-dinner whiskey, and, not surprisingly, conversation had turned to the Vietnam War. His first tour in Vietnam had been as a young captain/major assigned to the South Vietnamese Airborne battalion as a task force adviser. It was in 1965-66, the very heat of battle, and Schwarzkopf and the Vietnamese Airborne had been in the middle of it. ''We fought for almost every day of every month for thirteen months,'' he said. Schwarzkopf was proud of his unit, and of his own service. ''I really thought we had done something good, just like George Washington,'' he said. ''I had gone and fought for Freedom.''

Upon completing that tour Schwarzkopf flew out of Vietnam practically non-stop to New York. He was 32 years old and in uniform—''because,'' he said, ''I was this soldier coming home from war.'' But there were no parades, no crowds to greet him. The terminal was empty. He grabbed his duffel bag, walked out into the early morning fog, and hopped in a helicopter to Newark. He expected the cab driver who was taking him to his mother's home in East Orange to see his uniform and say, ''Oh! Are you just back from Vietnam?'' But the driver didn't say a thing. And when Schwarzkopf said, ''Sure is great to be back in the U.S. again!'' the driver didn't even ask, ''Where have you been?''

By 1969, when Schwarzkopf was sent to Vietnam a second time, he was married to Brenda. He served as a battalion commander with the Americal Division and returned in 1970. ''And this time when I came home,'' he said, ''not only was I not getting greeted and flowers thrown on me and loved—except for Brenda, who was happy to see me—this time, when I came back the uniform was spit upon and people were calling me a baby burner.'' Schwarzkopf gave several speeches before civic organizations, and people in the audience, he told me, would stand up and ask, ''What about the babies you napalmed? What about the villages you burned?'' Television was depicting the career military officer as ''a Neanderthal,'' he said, ''who with blind, unquestioning obedience burned villages and killed babies. And what made it so difficult was the fact that *I hadn't done any of that!*''

''Everyone who went to Vietnam and came home, after it was over, has had to come to his personal accommodation for that experience,'' Schwarzkopf said. He compared it to undergoing surgery for cancer: ''When it's all over you've got the scar, number one; and number two, you're not really ever sure that you got it all out of your system. You never know when it's going to rear its ugly head again. But if you're going to live your life, you're going to have to learn to live with that. But I have to tell you, I was undergoing tremendous peaks and valleys to arrive at my own accommodation for my life. There were times when I was tempted to just bail out and go build myself a cabin in the wilderness and commune with nature. . . .''

The critical moment for him, he said, came not long after we had first spoken. It was the spring of 1972, the year before the last American troops left Vietnam; the Schwarzkopfs were still living in their Annandale apart-

ment. "My sister Sally—whom I love dearly, we are very, very close—came over one night with a magnum of excellent wine," he said. "And Sally and Brenda and I were consuming this vast quantity of wonderful wine and the TV was sort of on. It was the worst kind of war picture, totally contrived, with no realism in the whole thing." The soldiers in the movie had come to a mine field and started across; Schwarzkopf was watching it out of the corner of his eye. "You just knew any damn minute some damn mine was going to go off," he said, "something you had been through a thousand times in real life, and all of a sudden the mine went off and people were blowing up in the mine field." Schwarzkopf immediately became drenched with sweat. "It was a terrible experience for me to see that, and my sister started asking me why I was having such an awful response."

"I started trying to explain to her the emotionalism of this thing," he said. "All the—the, my God, what we had gone through. And how we'd come back from the war and it wasn't appreciated. And then Sally, this sister who I truly love, started saying, 'Well, you have to understand the other side of this thing.' " Despite her support for her brother, Sally was opposed to the war and suggested that the protesters demonstrating against the American presence in Vietnam had a point, that perhaps they were right. "And I *burst into tears!*" Schwarzkopf told me. "Here was my own flesh and blood doubting. I was in tears that she could even *dare* take the other side."

He told his sister to get out of his house; and Sally, also in tears, kept asking, "Why are you throwing me out of the house?" And Schwarzkopf was yelling, "Goddamn it! If you can even think that about our service there!"

The next morning Schwarzkopf woke up thinking to himself, "You were wrong, Norm Schwarzkopf, you were dead wrong!" He called his sister and apologized, and she of course said she was sorry too. And he came to the conclusion that this anger, his frustration, his grief, his confusion over his service in Vietnam could consume him. "I recognized that . . . whatever it was eating me away could absolutely destroy me if I didn't get a handle on it. In hindsight, from a personal, emotional standpoint, that was probably a major turning point for me."

Another occurred on Sunday, October 23, 1983.

II.

Schwarzkopf had spent that Sunday bass fishing near Fort Stewart. "I had promised a lot of people that I was a magnificent fisherman," he said, "and I hadn't caught very many fish since I'd been here. So I came home and announced to my family, 'Eureka! Tonight I'm cooking dinner. I am going to take these bass and give you a beautiful Southern fried bass dinner with corn meal.' And I had covered all the bass with corn meal, and I had just dunked the first fillets in the frying pan when the telephone rang. It was the Deputy Chief of Staff of Operations from [Army] Forces [of the Atlantic] Command in Atlanta. And he said to me, 'What is it you think you're going to be doing for the next three weeks?' "

Schwarzkopf smiled. "Ever been asked a question like that? That really sets your head to spinning very quickly. I told him what I thought I would be doing and he said, 'You're probably not going to be doing that. You've been selected for a special mission.' "

"I said, 'What am I going to be doing?' "

"And he said, 'I can't tell you that.' "

"I said, 'Where am I going to be?' "

"And he said, 'I can't tell you that, but since I now know what your availability is, your selection has to be cleared. I'll call you back in a couple of hours and let you know.' "

Schwarzkopf said, "Suddenly I had no appetite at all. You've got to remember the day before they had blown up the Marine barracks in Beirut, so every thought in my mind was Lebanon."

Twenty-four hours later he was on the aircraft carrier *Guam.* There had been a bloody coup in Grenada four days earlier, and Maurice Bishop, the popular, charismatic, legitimate prime minister, had been placed under house arrest (and in fact, unknown to us, killed) by General Hudson Austin, the military commander, and Bernard Coard, the radical deputy prime minister.

Schwarzkopf had been told only that he would be engaging in a predominately Navy commanded exercise, and that he had been selected to advise the Navy commander, Vice Admiral Joseph Metcalf III, of the proper utilization of the Army forces. He had also been warned that the Navy didn't really feel there was a need for him, and that he might not be too welcome when he got there.

"We were floating around somewhere out in the middle of the Caribbean and we still didn't know if the Grenada rescue operation was going to take place. It was about 7 p.m. . . . [when] we got the orders to go. We sent messages out to everybody that, OK, it's a go, tomorrow morning at 5 a.m. it's going to happen. And I went out and I was standing on the flight deck and the ship was kind of tossing a little bit, the wind was blowing in my face, and I thought, *Grenada!* The United States of America is about to launch a military operation into Grenada and I'm involved. And, of course, a lot of the Vietnam memories came rushing back: What am I getting into here? Why is the U.S. going into Grenada? What are we doing? What are our strategic interests in Grenada?

"And then I thought, 'Hey, Schwarzkopf'—and you will probably never believe this, but I thought of that conversation we had had years ago about 'immoral wars' and whether an Army officer should stand up and say this is an immoral war and, therefore, I choose not to fight this one. And I thought, this is sort of the bottom line, the very crux of the difference between being an Army officer and being in some other line of work. I took an oath that said I would obey the lawful orders of my commanding officers, one of whom is the president of the United States. After—at that time—twenty-eight years in the U.S. Army, of having my salary paid and my children clothed, of having a roof over my head and rising to the rank of major general, do I now have an

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

option to say, 'Hey, before I commit myself to this thing, I'd like to talk about it a bit more'?"

I asked Schwarzkopf what he had thought he was getting into. "I didn't really know," he said. "I knew we were going in to free the [American] students. But I didn't know how we were going to be greeted by the Grenadan people. I certainly didn't know how the American people were going to take it. Or Congress. But . . . my orders were very clear to me, and I honestly don't think you have the right as an Army officer to consider that you have an option. Now *don't* misunderstand me," he said, "because the other image that comes back to me is 'I was only doing my duty. They gave me my orders and I went out and mowed down the Jews.' That is obviously an immoral act, and if someone told me to do something like that I would refuse the order fully recognizing that I would be turning in my 'suit' the next day."

The Grenada operation was, he said, "a highly successful military operation by any measure." It clearly was a success for him. He so impressed the Grenada invasion force commander, Vice Admiral Metcalf, that in two days he went from being somewhat of an uninvited guest to Metcalf's deputy task force commander.

"The object was to go in with what really started as a relatively unconventional operation," Schwarzkopf told me. "It was going to be quick in, quick and dirty: we were going to isolate the two airfields, we were going to get in on top of all those critical buildings"—the government buildings, the radio station, the prison where Bishop was believed held, etc.—"take them all and say, 'That's it, it's over with.' And at the end of Day One, the whole exercise was going to be done. But what started as a highly unconventional, surgical in nature operation went sour right away. And it went sour because of the assumption that the Cubans weren't going to fight. We had 800 Cubans on the island who were well armed and damn sure *were* going to fight."

It was also assumed that the anti-aircraft weapons on the island would be largely ineffective and that, therefore, helicopter movement would be relatively unhampered. And it was believed that the guns were antiquated quad-30mms, that the gunners were untrained, and that their morale was poor. But as the invading American forces—among them the special strike teams—soon discovered, many of the gunners had been trained in Cuba; they were brave and highly disciplined; not only did they remain at their posts in the face of withering fire from U.S. helicopter gunships, they fired back.

"One of the criticisms everybody has is, 'Oh, my God, you ended up with 6,000 Americans in there and only 800 Cubans, it seems to me you should have rolled over them!' " Schwarzkopf said. "If it had been a conventional battle, where we were using artillery, fighting conventional tactics without regard to civilian casualties and collateral damage, we probably would have. . . . I could have rolled into Grenada with my mechanized armor division, my overwhelming division artillery; I could have hit the beach with LSTs, rolled my tanks off, cranked up my artillery, and blown St. George's off the map. . . . 'Sure, a few civilian casualties here and there, what the hell, you know? We're fighting for *freedom!*' I could have had the whole thing tied up in a neat little bundle in an hour, maybe an hour and a half. But that wasn't the nature of the operation, and it obviously would have been a terrible thing to do."

Three other incidents from Schwarzkopf's conversation about Grenada stand out in my mind. First, how fact can follow fantasy: U.S. Army helicopter pilots, influenced by Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now*, strung loudspeakers to their landing struts and invaded the island with Wagner's *Die Walküre* blasting from the amplifiers. Second, that flying toward the island himself, Schwarzkopf, seeing a crudely lettered message painted in red on a soccer field and fully expecting it to say, "Yankees Go Home," was surprised to see that it read, "GOD BLESS AMERICA!" And third, upon his return to Fort Stewart, how moved he was that a small group had gathered at the airfield to welcome him.

The Army band was there; his wife, Brenda, the children, and his black Labrador "Bear" were there; as were his enlisted aide, some of the privates he shot skeet with, some members of his staff, and their wives and children. "Johnny was coming home from war again and I had expected to come home just the same way I came home from war the last two times: no big deal. It was going to be routine. But the airplane landed, the band was out there, and there were big signs saying, "WELCOME HOME," and I walked out of the airplane and everybody started cheering and my wife and kids ran up and hugged me, and I didn't understand what was going on! Isn't that crazy? Do you see what I'm saying? But I've got to tell you, when it finally dawned on me, it was probably one of the greatest thrills I have ever had in my entire life." That night Schwarzkopf told me that if he had returned from Grenada to an American press that had been violently anti-Grenada, an American people that were violently anti-Grenada, he didn't think he could have handled it.

Schwarzkopf's black Labrador came in and lay his big head on the general's lap. He stroked the dog's head idly. Then he took a deep breath and let it out slowly. "When you commit military forces," he said, "you ought to know what you want that force to do. You can't kind of say, 'Go out and pacify the entire countryside.' There has got to be a more specific definition of exactly what you want that force to accomplish. In Grenada the objective was very clear. . . ." He paused for a moment, and then he continued: "But when I hearken back to Vietnam, I have never been able to find anywhere where we have been able to clearly define in precise terms what the ultimate objectives of our military were.

"It is very important," he said, "that if we commit again to any kind of battle that we are sure we understand the ramifications of what happens if we *do* accomplish our objectives. It is conceivable that we could want to demonstrate our resolve in an area, but be unable to arrive at a set of military objectives that would satisfactorily accomplish them. And if that's the case, then you

should not commit the military. There may be other ways to do it. . . . We should not just go ahead and throw them in 'to show our resolve' because it could be that we end up losing, failing in our initial objective, which was to show resolve."

III.

It is an indication of General H. Norman Schwarzkopf's thoughtfulness and thoroughness that five days before Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, he and his U.S. Central Command staff had run an exercise predicated on that very scenario.

When we spoke on February 16 I asked him how the reality of Operation Desert Storm has differed from the war game plan. "At that time," he said, "Iraq had an extremely large military force—some said the fourth largest, others the sixth depending on how you want to count it. And we gave them credit for being ten feet tall and sometimes twenty feet tall in certain areas. The reality that has surprised us probably more than any other is that they're nowhere near as tough as we gave them credit. You know how I feel about military operations: never underestimate your enemy. It goes right back to the mistake we made in Grenada. . . . I never underestimate the enemy after that experience. I look at his capabilities and assume he has them until we find out differently."

Unlike in Vietnam, the military objectives in the Gulf are clearly defined: if the Iraqi forces do not withdraw from Kuwait, the coalition forces are to eject them. "One of the reasons why we are pursuing the battle the way we are is because it's very important we understand that we don't want to win the war and lose the peace. That's why we're in this coalition. That's why the rules of engagement we have are such. That's why what we are trying to accomplish is, I would say, limited in objective rather than unlimited from the standpoint of wreaking mass destruction upon the entire nation of Iraq."

I asked the general about Iraq's Revolutionary Command Council statement of February 15 expressing a willingness to discuss its withdrawal from Kuwait if numerous conditions of its own were met. Schwarzkopf responded, "The only thing new in the offer was that for the first time since, I guess, the third of August, the 'W-word' was mentioned. That, to me, is the only significant thing that happened. I will freely admit, in the hearts of a lot of people around here there was a little bit of hope. A *lot* of hope. But also, based on the continuous series of lies we've heard out of Iraq and Saddam Hussein, there was so much skepticism here that I didn't allow myself to become overjoyed by this whole thing. And it pretty well turned out to be what I thought it would be: there were so many conditions attached that it wasn't any kind of offer at all. That doesn't say that deep in my heart we're not all hoping that this thing can be over and over very quickly. But at the present time we're just continuing to march as we've marched before." He added, "However, I am quite confident that if the Iraqis make an unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait—which is what the U.N. resolution called for, and that's what the president of the United States has said is our objective—I think in a heartbeat the war would stop."

Norm Schwarzkopf has been preparing for Operation Desert Storm command all his life. With him in Saudi Arabia is the 24th Infantry Division he formerly led. It is a mechanized division specifically designed for the sort of open terrain tank warfare it now faces. I asked him whether, if the war ended without him having the opportunity to utilize his ground forces, he would be disappointed.

"Not in the least!" he said vehemently. "I don't want to kill one more American! I don't want to see one more American die—be it from an accident or from battle. There's no bloodlust on the part of myself or anybody else around here. What we want to do is to accomplish the objectives of this whole thing, get it over as quickly as we can, and get back home. And, I tell you, that's the attitude of everybody from the top general down to the lowest private."

His response made me think of the soldiers in that previous war and how often that phrase about getting it over as quickly as possible and getting back home surfaced in their letters from Vietnam. There is one big difference, though: "The troops' morale over here is very, very high," Schwarzkopf told me. "They feel good about what they're doing over here. There's absolutely no question but that the reason why they feel that way is because they know they have the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people. . . . And, of course, feeling good about themselves helps them to do their job better and it helps them to put up with all the suffering they've had to put up with."

After we had hung up I rooted out the parcel Schwarzkopf had sent me after I saw him at Fort Stewart seven years before. Among its contents, I remembered, was a bound series of lectures on generalship given as part of an Art of War Colloquium held at the U.S. Army War College at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. The collection opened with the following quote from an A. von Bogulawski:

> For what art can surpass that of the general—an art which deals not with dead matter but with living beings, who are subject to every impression of the moment, such as fear, precipitation, exhaustion—in short, to every human passion and excitement. The general not only has to reckon with unknown quantities, such as time, weather, accidents of all kinds, but he has before him one who seeks to disturb and frustrate his plans and labours in every way; and at the same time this man, upon whom all eyes are directed, feels upon his mind the weight of responsibility not only for the lives and honor of hundreds of thousands, but even for the welfare and existence of his country.

In a recent *Washington Post* interview Schwarzkopf said, "Every waking and sleeping moment, my nightmare is the fact that I will give an order that will cause countless numbers of human beings to lose their lives. I don't want my troops to die. I don't want my troops to be maimed. It's an intensely personal, emotional thing for me. Any decision you have to make that involves the loss of human life is nothing you do lightly. I agonize over it."

I believe him. ●

BOOKS & The Arts

Stanley Kauffmann on Films

A Gem, and Others

When Károly Makk's **Love** was released here in 1973, I was one of those who called it a treasure. I had a proprietary interest in this Hungarian film because Lili Darvas, the actress who played the key role of a bedridden old woman, was a beloved friend. (She lived in New York but had returned to Budapest, her native city, for this picture.) I felt that *Love*, in addition to its intrinsic beauties, justified the very existence of cinema. Every good film is such a justification, of course, but this one was especially precious to me because it preserved an example of Lili Darvas's art.

Love wasn't much of a success. Darvas and Mari Töröcsik, who plays her daughter-in-law, had won prizes at the Cannes festival of 1971, and there were other awards; still, *Love* didn't come here immediately. When it arrived, it was generally well reviewed, yet soon disappeared. A few years ago Joseph Papp's film theater ran a Makk retrospective that included a splendid fresh print of *Love*. Otherwise it has appeared only infrequently in revival houses. A 16mm print was rentable if you happened to know the people who owned it—for some reason, it vanished from the catalogs—and I showed it often in film courses. Always and unfailingly there was the same result: those who were seeing it for the first time were overwhelmed and were also outraged that such a wonderful work had been kept from them, sealed in a cold vault by commerce.

Now, to my surprise and joy, *Love* is on videotape, made from an excellent print and subtitled clearly. Now it is freed from that vault, and any of us can have it when we like. That this is a commonplace paradox by now—hundreds of fine films that did little at the box office are now on tape—doesn't in the slightest diminish my happiness in this case. The appearance of *Love* on tape is, for me, a justification of the existence of the VCR, just as the original justified cinema itself. The usual complaints about tapes don't figure here: the reduced image is excellently graded in its black-and-white range, and the frame is unaltered. Without qualification, this tape is a blessing. It's available from Connoisseur Video Collection, 8436 W. 3rd Street, Suite 600, Los Angeles, California 90048; (213) 653-8873; $59.95 plus shipping. That seems little enough for a masterpiece.

I reviewed the film at length (TNR, April 7, 1973) and will note here only an aspect that is underscored every time I see it. *Love* is a perfect example of political art. (Equal emphasis on both words.) Tibor Déry's screenplay, derived from two of his stories, is about a dying old woman, who still has about her an air of Franz Josef elegance; her daughter-in-law, who visits her daily and supplies her with fake letters from her son in America; and the son, who is in fact a political prisoner in Budapest. (The time is presumably the late 1950s.) Makk, his cinematographer, János Tóth, his composer, András Milhály, his editor, György Sivó—all of them superb—have concentrated intensely on the kinds of love that exist among these three people and how love is affected by the climate in which one dares to have hopes about it. The film is a cry against tyranny from innermost privacies. By concentrating on three people and their feelings, it presents a world and its history.

A little more than a year after *Love* was released here, Lili Darvas died. Still, after viewing this tape, that statement seems somehow incorrect.

In one way Steve Martin resembles Woody Allen: he's a better writer than actor. Just once that I can remember (in *Roxanne*), Martin's performance was good enough for the material that he himself provided. But he fumbles his self-made chances yet again in **L.A. Story** (TriStar).

Satire about Los Angeles is like ice in Antarctica—it goes with the territory. At least Martin has a fairly novel approach: he satirizes Southern California from within, instead of as a visitor comparing it with, for instance, oh-so-sane New York. The protagonist is a "wiggy" (his word) TV weatherman, and there really isn't a story. It's all just a series of loosely connected skits about Hollywood tribal customs, built around Martin's encounters with women, one of whom—English—hits him especially hard.

Some of the subjects spoofed are: shootings on the freeway, difficulties in getting reservations at "in" restaurants, the rite of the greeting-kiss, and electronic traffic signs. (Martin finds a sign that converses with him and prophesies changes in his life.) Woven into the

FILMS WORTH SEEING

The End of Innocence. *Forgive the trite script—about a woman damaged by emotional abuse who recovers through therapy—and you can enjoy Dyan Cannon's performance, plus her directing debut. (Reviewed 2/11/91)* **The Godfather: Part III.** *It's not unbearably worse than the first two films about this very rich family of moral degenerates. (1/21/91)* **The Silence of the Lambs.** *The screenplay unravels, but Anthony Hopkins, as a suave psychiatrist who is also a cannibalistic killer, is impressive—as are Jonathan Demme's direction and Tak Fujimoto's lighting. (2/18/91)* **The Vanishing.** *A highly intelligent, excellently made thriller, from the Dutch director George Sluizer. The suspense is not in who did it, but why. And what will follow from it. Exceptional. (3/4/91)* **—SK**

script more or less unobtrusively are quotations from *As You Like It, Richard II,* and the graveyard scene in *Hamlet.* The rationale behind these Shakespeare spoofs is no more substantial than anything else in the picture.

Typical gag: Martin is being taken somewhere by the Englishwoman who has just arrived in Los Angeles. She is driving on the left side of the street. Another car comes down the street toward them. Martin screams, "You're on the wrong side!" She says sweetly, "I don't think he can hear you."

She is Victoria Tennant, who has an insufficient upper lip but some charm. There's a particularly neat performance from Sarah Jessica Parker as a brainless but engaging physical culture type named SanDee. But Martin himself still seems to be filling in at run-throughs for the real star who couldn't make rehearsals.

Julia Roberts needs help. She showed in *Pretty Woman* that she is, in all the old comfy senses, a star. She now shows in **Sleeping with the Enemy** (20th Century-Fox) that her sense of script selection is wobbly. It's the sort of picture that turns up in the long filmographies of a Joan Crawford or a Bette Davis from the busy 1930s and 1940s when the odd disaster slipped in among the other three or four pictures a year. These days, when each venture is isolated and prominent, each takes up more attention and a greater chunk of the star's career than in the past.

The screenplay by Ronald Bass, based on a Nancy Price novel, is about the young wife of a handsome, very rich sadist who possesses her in several senses and beats her savagely when she displeases him. She contrives an escape from their luxe Cape Cod home and holes up in a Midwestern town under another name. Right next door is a sympathetic young man who teaches drama at a local college. But eventually the husband tracks her down.

Joseph Ruben, who directed the nitty-gritty *True Believer,* turns on the star glamour for Roberts. In the opening shot she is clamming in the red Cape Cod dawn. Later, in the drama teacher's theater, she stands on a stage as he changes lights around her, makes a star-spangled sky appear behind her, and lets snowflakes fall. And she gets to try on a lot of period hats, all showing off her beauty in various ways.

She has it, all right. And she has sufficient talent to see her through—if she gets a helping hand. Clark Gable once thanked the heads of his studio for making him a star. Roberts has no studio. Help from some other source is, I hope, en route. ●

Eliot and the Jews: A personal confession.

An Exercise in Memory

By Irving Howe

We all know what cultivated people think about literary anti-Semitism. We say that great writers can be dreadful people, and that the twentieth century offers some choice examples. We add that Jews can also do bad things, such as talking about blacks in the way that gentiles can talk about Jews. And if we are very civilized, we recognize that Jews are likely to be especially, "understandably" sensitive about racial barbs. In any case—now comes the resigned shrug—anti-Semitism is so deeply ingrained in Western culture, even the best writers may succumb to it. (But must they? George Eliot didn't, James Joyce didn't.) And then we wonder how it is possible that writers we admire for their sensitivity, their warmth of responsiveness, can also indulge in anti-Semitic vulgarities.

What drives them—some competitive rage, some feelings of social dispossession, some fear of "the Other"? I came upon a possible clue while reading *Warrenpoint,* Denis Donoghue's recent autobiography. He describes an incident in which Virginia Woolf, sharing a taxi with T. S. Eliot, put to him the terrible question: "What is the worst thing, quite the worst?" Eliot, who had reason to know, answered: "Humiliation." To which Donoghue keenly adds: "I suppose the terrible thing about humiliation is the certainty that one is indeed a proper object of ridicule. While it is happening we can't feel that it will pass, that it's only a wretched moment." In the recesses of the victim's mind there must always be lurking a fear that he or she is "indeed a proper object of ridicule." A writer of high refinement—the elegant lady devoted to pure literature, the cosmopolitan European claiming the heritage of the West—can share with the street thug a wish to humiliate a stranger simply because he is a Jew (or an Asian or a black or an Arab). Evidently it gives pleasure to make some people feel that "the ridicule will not pass."

Over the years we have improvised some rough categories for the analysis of literary anti-Semitism. There is the nervous hauteur of patrician writers who feel that the social ground is crumbling beneath them, and there is the sullen primitivism of plebeians who resent anything that seems unfamiliar. The patrician Henry Adams wrote that Jews "make me creep" and that the atmosphere in Washington was "a Jew atmosphere." America, he moaned, was becoming "a society of Jews and brokers, a world made up of maniacs wild for gold." The plebeian Theodore Dreiser wrote that "if you listen to Jews discussing Jews, you will find that they are money-minded, very pagan, very sharp in practice. . . ." Apparently there is some agreement between top and bottom: each is fixated on an image of Shylock.

Still, as I recall the years when I first approached the literary life of New York, which was then partly centered around *Partisan Review,* neither Adams nor Dreiser struck one as especially threatening. Adams, as he himself seems to have suspected, was a little nutty on the subject of the Jews, while Dreiser, when not writing novels, was the sort of ignoramus you could run into at any bar. Such received bigotry seemed inseparable from the culture of gentile America after the Civil War, and I knew no one who thought it likely that we would reach a time when this country would be free of the contaminations of bias. That, we felt, was simply the way things were; and anyway America had greater evils than anti-Semitism.

What did cause us pain—I speak here, uneasily, about the Jewish writers starting to publish in the late 1930s and early 1940s—were the passages about Jews in the work of the great modernist writers like Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot. About Pound, there were no problems. In the postwar years we went after him hammer and tongs. He had broadcast for the Italian Fascists during the Second World War, he had been openly anti-Semitic, and at least as a political thinker he figured as a provincial yokel to be treated with disdain. But if we roared like lions when attacking Pound, we mewed like pussycats when it came to Eliot. For Eliot was a poet greatly admired and a critic

Irving Howe's *Selected Writings: 1950-1990* was recently published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

greatly respected. Eliot, as Delmore Schwartz called him, was our "culture hero." We failed to find—this is a judgment of retrospect—a coherent and dignified public response to the troubling passages about Jews that lie scattered in Eliot's work, passages far less virulent than those of Pound but quite bad enough.

Memory, of course, can be treacherous, but about this matter I believe my memory to be clear, and if I am mistaken there are friends who will hasten to correct me. I recall vividly several conversations with Philip Rahv, then the leading editor of *Partisan Review*, in which he denounced Eliot as an anti-Semite—and Rahv was notably gifted at denunciation. I recall quieter conversations with Delmore Schwartz, then a leading New York poet, who also criticized Eliot's writings about Jews, though with stress on the pain that these caused him as an admirer of the poet's work. Schwartz located Eliot's attitudes toward Jews in a mixture of provincial American insecurities and acquired English snobberies, the latter a decorative overlay on the former.

So far as I can discover, however, neither the fierce polemicist Rahv nor the learned poet Schwartz published anything substantial on this matter, even though in the literary life of the *Partisan Review* group Eliot occupied a central place. Schwartz wrote three excellent essays on Eliot, but none mentions the anti-Semitism that he deplored in conversation. As for Rahv, in a symposium in *Commentary* in 1949, he did say that anti-Semitism "is integral to the kind of religiosity professed by writers like T. S. Eliot," but then he added, "This can be said quite apart from the question of whether Mr. Eliot is personally infected with anti-Semitic feelings; that is not the issue." Sorry, old friend, it certainly is the issue. Anti-Semitism could not have crept into Eliot's work except insofar as he was "personally infected." How much more forthright, in the same symposium, was a remark by Martin Greenberg: "Full participation and integration [he was quoting from *Commentary*'s opening statement] in a literary tradition is not one of the Rights of Man; it is not only Shylock and Fagin who debar me from it, but my own consciousness of being a Jew." It took some time before most of us could say anything so exactly right.

The matter of Eliot and anti-Semitism is peculiarly difficult, since with a single exception his feelings about Jews do not emerge as blunt declaration, but are woven into some of his best poems. Such famous lines as "the Jew squats on the window-sill, the owner / Spawned in some estaminet of Antwerp" (in the *Collected Poems* of 1936 "the Jew" appears as "the jew") and "The rats are underneath the piles / the Jew is underneath the lot" (also lower-case "jew" in the 1936 collection) link the Jews with the social and moral squalor that Eliot found characteristic of modern life.

There is always the possibility, seized upon by some critics, to place, or even to justify, such lines as dramatic speech attributed to a fictional persona who should not, or at least need not, be identified with the author. But there is also a commonsense recognition that such a critical maneuver easily becomes a way of evading the likelihood that the poetic "speaker" (especially in poems where we hear no other voice) does indeed speak for the poet. In some instances it is hard to judge, and that is where a sense of critical tact should come into play. My own view is that these passages about Jews are too strategically located in Eliot's poems to be regarded as merely incidental or as dramatic representations from which the poet can legitimately dissociate himself.

This, however, is a problem in literary criticism, which for the moment is not my main interest. My main interest is the response of Jewish literary people to writers who indulge in or brush against anti-Semitism. It was the fashion some years ago to say that we need not be concerned with the personal beliefs of writers, deplorable as these may sometimes be; those beliefs, it was said, become troublesome only if they form a significant presence in the writer's work. Mimicking my elders, I used to say this too, but recently I have begun to wonder. Now I find myself as strongly offended by the explicitly anti-Semitic remarks of writers as I am by troubling representations of Jews in works of literature that, because they do appear in works of literature, must necessarily be ambiguous and open to multiple readings.

We have been trained, in modern culture, to take writers seriously, even to endow them with a special authority, and whether or not this is desirable, it prompts us to respond with peculiar intensity to their opinions. So whatever defenses might be urged with regard to the passages about Jews in Eliot's poetry, I do not see how one can deny that there is a streak of bigotry in his book *After Strange Gods* (1934), where he writes that in his "ideal Christian society":

> The population should be homogeneous; where two or more cultures exist in the same place they are likely either to be fiercely self-conscious or both to become adulterate. What is still more important is unity of religious background; and reasons of race and religion combine to make any large number of free-thinking Jews undesirable. There must be a proper balance between urban and rural, industrial and agricultural development. And a spirit of excessive tolerance is to be deprecated.

This notorious passage cannot be accused of a "spirit of excessive tolerance"; the remark about "free-thinking Jews" has no binding relation to what precedes or follows it, but comes as an irritable eruption. In his recent book *T. S. Eliot and Prejudice*, Christopher Ricks rightly calls the passage "instinct with animus."

Perhaps out of shame or embarrassment, Eliot never reprinted *After Strange Gods*. In an exchange with a correspondent in 1940, he struggled to explain why he had singled out "free-thinking Jews" as a threat to his "ideal of Christian society":

> The free-thinking European, or American of European race, retains for the most part a good many of the moral habits and conventions of Christianity. If he does not retain them individually, still these habits survive to some extent in the community. The Jew who is separated from his religious faith is much more deracinated thereby than the descendent of Christians, and it is this deracination that I think dangerous and tending to irresponsibility. But my view does not imply any prejudice on the ground of race. . . .

This was a defense that only made things worse. By which measure could Eliot estimate the amounts of deracination in Christians and Jews? What knowledge supported his assertion? Actually, his statement shows how little he knew about "free-thinking Jews," many of whom keep a strong attachment to "the moral habits and conventions" of Jewish life, in part because memories of younger years exert a powerful hold upon them and in part because they know that, whatever their opinions, they remain quite as vulnerable to the assaults of bigotry as do religious Jews.

In his book Ricks has struggled, with a little too much ingenuity, to deal with Eliot's writings about Jews. He discerns the presence of anti-Semitic "animus," but he subordinates and assimilates it to a pervasive moral tendency that he calls "prejudice," a blight from which no one seems quite free and which thereby tends to make everyone guilty. This argument readily serves, in turn, to mask or to ease the guilt of any particular individual. Prejudice as a common human predisposition, a usage of the eighteenth century, is here conflated with prejudice as racial bigotry, a twentieth century usage, and the result is that the deadliness (that's just the word) of anti-Semitism comes to be modulated, consigned as it

has been to an abundance of prejudice.

The subtle Ricks loses sight of the blunt object before his eyes when he writes: "Yet any simple confidence that Eliot's line [about 'Rachel née Rabinovitch' who 'tears at the grapes with murderous paws'] is merely riding upon [anti-Semitic] prejudice has to acknowledge that such confidence would itself prejudice the matter." What a not-simple reading of Eliot's lines would be, it is hard to discover in Ricks's book. His subtlety can also slip into silliness. "Presumably," he writes with regard to Eliot's remarks in *After Strange Gods*, "a rabbi does not believe that any large number of free-thinking Jews is desirable." Well, it depends. I know a number of rabbis who are quite close to "free thinking" or who live in easy relation with "free-thinking Jews." In any case, Ricks's imaginary rabbis would respond very differently from Eliot, since, at the least, they would not be worried about terms of admission to "the ideal Christian society."

Eliot was guilty of nasty intolerance when he wrote those sentences in *After Strange Gods*. Exactly how virulent or damaging his remarks about Jews are may be open to debate, but that they exude an unpleasant bigotry seems to me beyond doubt. To say this is not to question Eliot's sincerity in writing some years later that "I am not an anti-Semite and never have been. It is a terrible slander against a man." All one can say is that the evidence is there, in his poems probably and in his prose certainly.

I continue firmly to believe that Eliot was a great poet and a major critic. How to reconcile this opinion with the pain caused by some of his writings is a problem I do not know how to resolve. But I wish to return to the responses of the Jewish writers who began to publish in *Partisan Review* and similar magazines during the late 1930s and the 1940s. Why were we so hesitant (as I am convinced we were) to confront the matter of Eliot and anti-Semitism? I ask not to condemn anyone retrospectively, but to understand an experience in which I shared.

Many of us had made our way out of an immigrant Jewish culture that, often somewhat glibly, we took to be parochial. We felt embarrassed when "official" Jewish spokesmen hastened to attack gentile writers who had made slighting references to Jews or had presented Jewish characters unsympathetically in novels. We felt that such "official" responses betrayed not only a strained defensiveness—Rahv spoke of "overwrought Jewish nerves"—but also an insensitivity to literature. The young Jewish writers starting to appear in print between the late 1930s and the early 1950s wanted to discard narrow habits of response and to embrace universalist values. This desire was often prompted by the fact that some of these writers were also radicals hoping to shake off religious or ethnic burdens and to gain membership in the republic of letters—though it was no secret that this republic, like most others, harbored a good share of bias.

We—I, we, they?—were eager to find a place in the spacious arena of American culture, which was decidedly gentile in origins and tone. Were we to rise up in wrath before every anti-Semitic or supposedly anti-Semitic passage in American writing, especially in the writing of contemporaries, we might find this goal hard to achieve. Sometimes our muted responses to the nastiness that a number of American writers displayed toward Jews were merely a sign of opportunism. More often they betrayed a troubling discomfort.

The Jewish writers grouped around *Partisan Review* in those years saw Eliot as a central figure in modern culture, a writer of the highest literary intelligence. Eliot wrote poetry that seemed thrilling in its apprehensions of the spirit of the time, poetry vibrant with images of alienation, moral dislocation, and historical breakdown. If his vocabulary came to draw upon unacceptable doctrine, his sensibility remained intensely familiar. It is very possible that the power and the charm of Eliot's poetry, which touched me closely as a young man, kept me and others from acknowledging the streak of bigotry in his work.

As critics throughout the ages have noticed, there is a seductiveness in art that can melt personal identity and weaken moral perceptions. (Art, wrote Tolstoy, is "an infectious activity.") Indeed, that is one of the triumphs of art, as it may lead to sharpened awareness and perhaps even remold our sense of self; but by the same token, it can have, as in our century it has had, pernicious effects. Reading Eliot's poetry a half-century ago I felt so strongly (if not always lucidly) attuned to its inner vibrations that I had little desire to be critical, especially of what might be passed over as a few incidental lines of bigotry. With a supreme hauteur, Eliot had made the journey from provincial St. Louis to cosmopolitan London. The New York writers could not match his hauteur, but perhaps they could negotiate a somewhat similar journey from Brooklyn or the Bronx to Manhattan. I doubt that this comparison occurred to many of the New York writers, but I am convinced that it figured in our feelings.

In those days the term "alienation" was much in fashion, part of the style of

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affirmed isolation that went with political and cultural radicalism. As Rahv wrote, "During the greater part of the bourgeois epoch . . . [writers] preferred alienation from the community to alienation from themselves." Linking politics and culture, this proud rootlessness was seen as defining the posture of the independent artist or intellectual—and despite enormous differences of belief, especially after Eliot declared himself a devout Christian, it was this attitude that prompted us to feel a kinship with Eliot, a writer who was never quite at home in the world. There is still much to be said, I think, for this cultural style, unfashionable as it has become. Only after the Second World War, when the shock of the Holocaust was registered and we saw that none of our usual categories of thought sufficed to grasp its meaning, did I and others begin to look back with a certain questioning upon the style of alienation. Not exactly rejection, but questioning.

I began to suspect that my attachment to this style was rooted not only in a valid perception of cultural and political realities, but also in a more intimate confusion or blurring of identity. Let me illustrate by turning back to a seemingly trivial incident. When, green and nervous, I made my first visit to the office of *Partisan Review* and was told in a kindly way by Rahv to pick a book for review, I took down from his shelves an English translation of Sholom Aleichem's stories. My choice made Rahv smile—whether he was signaling that we understood one another or that we should pretend not to. Decades later, I can see that the style of alienation, while it could be authentic, also entailed a multitude of personal alienations, confusedly abutting one another, which I was imposing on Eliot's poetry. It was as if that poetry offered an enlarging—or distorting—mirror for my own feelings. Had Eliot known about all this, I am sure he would have denied any responsibility for my projections. Still, the poetry was there, it spoke with overwhelming force and the voice of truth, so that I made of it what I could or needed to.

What may also have contributed to the ambiguity of our relationship to Eliot's writings was that we had inherited a Romantic notion that the writer should serve as a moral guide, even as "a creator of values." We shared the belief, mostly implicit, that the poet as person was not to be distinguished from the person as poet, that the man who sat down to write was essentially the same as the writer we proceeded to read. Today there are more sophisticated notions about literary persona and authorial voice. But it was only to be expected that literary people bearing the stamp of Jewish ethicism and claiming a strong social awareness should have been drawn to the idea of the writer as moral guide.

Eliot was not just a great writer, he was, as Schwartz said, a "culture hero" who spoke for the mood of the moment. If not exactly a moral guide, he seemed to command, as few other writers of his time did, a profound awareness of the moral turmoil, the moral discontents that afflicted serious persons. We turned to him not so much for answers as for questions, and this too, I suppose, caused us to avert our eyes from aspects of his work that were unattractive. One of the few critics who saw this differently was Clement Greenberg, who kept issuing cogent warnings against "culture sickness," the view that vicious acts and ideas should be tolerated when they are advanced by distinguished writers.

What, then, should have been done or said about Eliot and anti-Semitism? At the least, there might have been an open acknowledgment that the problem was intractable and caused us distress. Nothing could be "done" about Eliot's "Jew" (or "jew") spawned in Antwerp, that squalid cliché of the Christian centuries. Nor was it only a matter of protests, noisy or quiet. It was a matter of saying openly what we knew inwardly, that it was we, the "free-thinking Jews" who loved his poetry, toward whom Eliot could not indulge "an excess of tolerance."

All of this delivers us to the thorny problem of the relation between the aesthetic and the ethical, about which it would be foolish to pretend that one can add anything significant in a few (or even in many) words. No doubt, on some ultimate plane, there are persuasive ways of reconciling the claims of the aesthetic with the demands of the ethical, or better still, of apprehending the interpenetration of the two. But in my own experience during this century of blood and fanaticism, the division between the aesthetic and the ethical continues to loom large, and I have become resigned to the conclusion that we have to live with the tensions that division generates. I remain "free-thinking," but I keep within me enough of a Jew to suppose that if aesthetic perceptions and ethical judgments seem at times to clash, there cannot be many situations in which the ethical should not be given priority, for the very idea of civilization, whether "ideal Christian" or just humane, implies a hierarchy of values. ●

The Spirit of the Laws

BY CASS R. SUNSTEIN

On Reading the Constitution by Laurence H. Tribe and Michael C. Dorf

(Harvard University Press, 144 pp., $18.95)

Although the problem of constitutional interpretation has produced an avalanche of complex and sometimes barely digestible theorizing, in one sense the issue is very simple. Everyone agrees that the Constitution is law. And if the Constitution is law, then it stands above politics. All public officials—Democratic, Republican, or something else—must obey. The Constitution does not just mean what particular people want it to mean. If it did, it would not be law.

The problem is that the text of the Constitution is often extremely vague. Reasonable people disagree about what it means. Some people think that a Constitution that guarantees "the equal protection of the laws" requires race-conscious affirmative action policies, in order to remove the effects of past and present discrimination; other people think that a state that engages in affirmative action is violating that same guarantee. Some people think that a Constitution that guarantees "the freedom of speech" has no bearing on, and even argues in favor of, severe limits on expenditures on elections; other people think that such limitations violate that same guarantee. Both groups are perfectly capable of reading English, and both believe that their views are compelled by the Constitution.

On so many of the central constitutional questions, then, the Constitution's words tell us much less than we need to know. And since the words of the Constitution do not resolve hard constitutional cases, it seems undeniable that people who interpret the Constitution have to look to something other than those words in order to do their jobs. This idea

seems to many both unavoidable and intolerable, the latter because it endangers the status of the Constitution as law. It means that the interpretation of the Constitution must inevitably be based on principles that are external to the words of the Constitution itself. Those principles have to be created rather than found: the Constitution does not contain the instructions for its own interpretation. And if interpretive principles must be created by the judges, it seems again to many that the Constitution could mean almost anything at all, and is not law after all.

In the last generation, many professors and judges have tried to answer this problem. Robert Bork's response has won a fair number of adherents among citizens and public officials, including important judges. Bork thinks that the words of the Constitution carry the meaning that was originally understood by those who ratified it. There are many difficulties, however, with this view. Some of them are historical: How do we figure out what the numerous ratifiers, who often disagreed with each other, understood their document to mean? Some of the problems are more broadly interpretive: How do we go about applying the original understanding to problems that the ratifiers never anticipated, like electronic eavesdropping? Or, how do we decide whether the original understanding identifies general concepts whose meaning changes over time, or instead particular conceptions limited to the specific issues that the ratifiers sought to address? History does not answers such questions.

But for those who share Bork's view, the real problems go deeper. Bork and his followers act as if the Constitution and the original understanding are the same thing. In fact, however, they are not. The Constitution does not say that it should be interpreted in accordance with the original understanding. The Constitution does not say that judges should follow the original understanding. The proposal that we should follow the original understanding is itself an interpretive principle. Like any other such principle, it must be justified on substantive grounds.

The popularity of Bork's approach is disturbing, not because of its advocacy of a form of judicial restraint (which may be justified), and not because the original understanding is not relevant (surely it matters a lot), but because his confident presentation disguises the dependence of his own position, at every turn, on judgments of policy and principle that he never defends, or even recognizes. Conservatives, though, have no monopoly on the view that a particular, controversial set of interpretive practices is inevitably part of what it means to be faithful to the founding document. Justice Hugo Black, one of the fiercest defenders of civil liberties in the Court's history, made a career in large part out of denying his actual reliance on his own values and commitments. Black's legacy can be found in the position of many other liberals who act as if the liberal consensus from, say, 1968 to 1980 is, necessarily and without resort to controversial interpretive principles, itself a part of the Constitution.

If there is sometimes no way to interpret the Constitution without relying on external principles, how are we to proceed? Some people think that those principles might be found in our "tradition." Thus, for example, *Griswold* v. *Connecticut* (protecting the right of married people to use contraceptives) and *Roe* v. *Wade* (protecting the right to have an abortion) might be justified on the basis of the "traditional" protection accorded to marital privacy or control over one's body. But there is a significant problem with relying on tradition as the basis of constitutional interpretation: defining the level of generality at which the tradition is to be described. If we describe the tradition at a low level of generality—is there a traditional right to use

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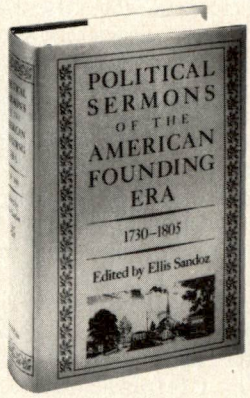

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contraceptives? to have abortions?—we will decide cases quite differently from how we would if the tradition is described in broad terms (as including, say, control over one's body). How do we decide at what level of generality to read traditions? And why exactly does tradition matter in any event?

In the last decade or so, under the influence of certain new methods of literary study, it has become fashionable to respond to problems with the original understanding and tradition by saying that the Constitution could mean anything at all, that it is "indeterminate." But this extreme claim does not at all follow from the need to resort to interpretive principles. For one thing, the text of the Constitution, accompanied by principles on which there is a consensus, sometimes admits only one answer. For another, what the Supreme Court now thinks, and what it will say about questions not yet decided but likely to arise soon, can be predicted with considerable accuracy.

Moreover, some interpretations of the Constitution are better than others. Some interpretations of ambiguous provisions will produce an unacceptable increase in judicial discretion; others will leave politically weak groups at the mercy of the state; others will make political liberty too fragile; others will offer too little room for democratic experimentation; others will be insufficiently respectful of the claims of history. Where the Constitution does not speak clearly, there is no choice but to evaluate interpretive principles by reference to questions of this sort. In any case, it is surely possible to evaluate the relevant interpretive principles, and to do so by reference to reasons. We might therefore conclude that those interested in making sense of the process of constitutional argument must develop principles of interpretation that are good ones—that is, principles that are based on good reasons. There is simply no escape from this task.

Much of the focus of this book by Laurence Tribe and Michael Dorf is on the extremely controversial case of *Bowers* v. *Hardwick*. In *Hardwick* (argued and lost, by a 5-4 vote, by Tribe himself), the Supreme Court concluded that the Constitution does not protect the right of homosexuals to engage in sodomy. Hardwick had been arrested for participating in an act of oral sex (defined by Georgia law to count as "sodomy") with another man in Hardwick's apartment. As Hardwick described the relevant events, a police officer had seen him leave a gay bar, followed him to his apartment, entered it with an arrest warrant for drinking in public, and opened the bedroom door.

To Hardwick, the Georgia sodomy law violated the right of sexual privacy recognized in *Griswold* v. *Connecticut*, *Roe* v. *Wade*, and other cases. Hardwick claimed that if the Constitution protects the right to use contraceptives, and to have an abortion, it must also protect the right to sexual freedom, heterosexual or homosexual, within the home. According to the Court, however, the text of the Constitution does not protect the right of homosexual sodomy, which is hardly respected by American traditions, and which is fundamentally different from the privacy rights involved in previous cases centering on issues of family and reproduction. Tribe and Dorf believe that *Hardwick* was "egregiously wrong." Part of their goal is to explain why the Constitution might protect the right to engage in homosexual sodomy without turning the document into a blank slate for judges to fill in as they wish.

This book amounts to an energetic and often highly illuminating discussion of how constitutional interpretation inevitably involves substantive choices but is not simply a matter of making things up. Tribe and Dorf are quite effective in showing that any system of interpretation depends on value judgments, and that neutrality in interpretation, in the strongest sense, turns out to be a hopeless charade. Thus, for example, they argue, against Bork, that the original understanding is not in the Constitution, and that only its words, and not "the secret, hidden, and unenacted intentions," count as part of the founding document. Thus they effectively criticize the view, recently proclaimed by Justice Scalia, that any relevant tradition should be described at "the most specific level of generality." Tribe and Dorf show that the decision so to characterize the relevant tradition is itself a value judgment, and one that would throw many well-established constitutional rights out the window.

Still, Tribe and Dorf are not concerned only to demonstrate that constitutional decisions require value choices. They want also to demonstrate something more: "how the Constitution channels choice." Here their book is, I think, somewhat less successful. What they have to say seems to boil down to four points. (1) The Constitution should be read as a whole; each provision should be interpreted in light of other provisions. (2) The Constitution is not based on any single theory and is not a unified whole; different provisions look in different directions, and contradictions should be expected. (3) Prior decisions should be read by reference to their rationale as well as their holdings; the reasons given by previous courts count. (4) Courts should create general rights not out of the blue, but with attention to the specific liberties that the Constitution unambiguously ensures.

The problem with these claims is not that they are wrong. Quite the contrary, all of them seem right. The problem is that these points, taken separately or together, are too general, too vague, too open-ended to provide the necessary help for those who are seriously concerned about the risks of judicial discretion or about the development of interpretive principles in a constitutional democracy. Certainly they do not by themselves justify the authors' particular views on disputed cases, including *Bowers* v. *Hardwick*. In the end those views must be justified on external grounds, not on the basis of abstract claims of this sort.

Take the proposition that each constitutional provision should be read in light of the others. It offers precious little help in real cases. It would allow highly plausible arguments for and against the constitutionality of affirmative action, the death penalty, federal regulation of state government, and discrimination on the basis of sex and disability. One might argue, for example, that the cruel or unusual punishment clause forbids the death penalty, because it should be read in light of the equal protection clause, and because the death penalty tends to be administered in a racially discriminatory fashion; or that the same clause permits the death penalty, because it should be read in light of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, which operate on the assumption that the government will sometimes take "life."

The notion that constitutional provisions should be read together, in fact, probably excludes no position now held by any serious person. And it becomes even less helpful when it is combined with the authors' second principle, which dramatically reduces its weight. To say (rightly) that we do not have a consistent constitution, and that constitutional provisions point in quite different directions, is to say that any particular provision gives little guidance with which to understand other provisions.

What about precedent? Every first-year law student learns that courts should usually respect the reasoning as well as the result of previous cases. Every second-year law student learns that this principle offers little assistance in hard constitutional cases. In light of the multiplicity of precedents and the difficulty of figuring out "the rationale" of any one of them,

reasonable people can construct quite different understandings of any line of precedents. Many of the Warren Court's racial discrimination cases, for example, appeared to turn on both an antipathy to measures ensuring white supremacy and a belief that the government may not ever take race into account—ideas that cut in different directions with respect to the constitutionality of affirmative action. How does one apply their "rationale" to that problem?

The answer to such questions depends on something other than previous rationales. Indeed, Tribe and Dorf do not even insist on the requirement of respecting those rationales, especially in light of their disapproval of *Bowers* v. *Hardwick*. The actual reasoning of the early privacy cases, taken on their own terms, seemed not to extend to homosexual sodomy at all.

As for their fourth principle, the authors generalize from the First (protecting speech), Third (preventing the quartering of troops), and Fourth Amendments (protecting against unreasonable searches and seizures) a general right to immunity from government of "consensual intimacies in the home." The argument is not implausible. It seems sensible to say that if the Court is to give substantive protection to liberty in general, it should do so by reference to things specifically accorded constitutional protection. Yet it might be equally plausible to construct instead from those very amendments—especially when combined with the Fifth (protecting against the taking of property without just compensation)—a general right against redistributive regulation by government, including, for example, minimum wage and maximum hour laws.

We might say, for example, that the First Amendment shows an aversion to government interference with private behavior; that the Third is rooted in an effort to immunize property from public incursion; that the Fourth reflects the same idea; that the Fifth attempts to ensure that property can be taken only with compensation. In light of all this, perhaps "liberty" should include the right to freedom from any governmental effort to take resources held by one person for the benefit of another. Minimum wage and maximum hour laws would of course run afoul of this principle; indeed, such a right would endanger much of what the federal government has done since the New Deal. But Tribe and Dorf are hardly in favor of that.

All this suggests that the process of generalization by reference to specific rights involves an inescapably large measure of discretion. A decision to infer a right to homosexual conduct within the home, and not to freedom from redistributive regulation, has to depend in large measure on substantive views about homosexuality and redistributive regulation—not on what the Constitution specifically protects. What is necessary, then, is a full-scale defense of those substantive views, and a full-scale explanation of why they should be implemented by constitutional courts.

I doubt that Tribe and Dorf would disagree with any of this. Their analysis is open-minded, non-dogmatic, and tentative: "More often than not, we have no answers, and those we offer are almost never held with certitude." And I do not believe that any of their largest claims is wrong. I do not even believe that those claims offer no help at all. The real problem is that in order to ascertain the appropriate role of the Supreme Court in the constitutional system, their basic principles tell us far too little.

On Reading the Constitution reminds us of the extent to which our understanding of constitutional interpretation remains in a primitive state. There seem to be several ways to improve the present state of affairs.

Much more empirical work needs to be done on the real-world effects of constitutional decisions. Lawyers (and not a few non-lawyers) seem to think that when the Supreme Court speaks, the country changes course accordingly. But often it isn't so. Ten years after *Brown* v. *Board of Education*—the usual symbol of Supreme Court efficacy in changing social norms and practices—no more than 2 percent of black children in the South were attending desegregated schools. Moreover, there is some (though not decisive) evidence that, contrary to the conventional wisdom, *Brown* did not fuel the civil rights movement, that it played only a small role in bringing about civil rights reforms. There is also some evidence that *Roe* v. *Wade* did not substantially increase the number of abortions, did not fuel the pro-choice movement, and indeed helped demobilize the women's movement and create the moral majority (though it did increase the number of safe abortions, a genuinely dramatic change).

Research on questions of this sort is in its earliest stages. At the moment the most that can be said is that an aggressive role for the Court in social reform may have unanticipated consequences and fail to bring about its intended results. There is enormous room for further inquiry. What is the actual effect of the First Amendment (as opposed to, say, culture) in protecting political dissent in

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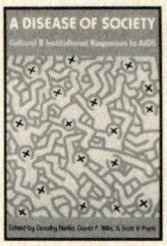

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the United States? What are the consequences of desegregation remedies for students and racial equality? What effect, if any, has *Bowers* v. *Hardwick* had on public attitudes toward the movement for gay rights?

Those who study and discuss constitutional law almost never bother with such empirical questions; but what they say almost always assumes answers to them. We need to know whether those answers are correct. Although they will not compel any particular approach to the Constitution—to say that *Brown* was only partly effective is not to say that it was wrong—they might well help show when Supreme Court involvement is most likely to accomplish its purposes.

The nature of constitutional debate in this country should also undergo a change. Constitutional law needs to be much more candid and concrete about the substantive reasons that are doing the real work in hard cases; and it must simultaneously be able to be confident that good reasons, rather than mere preferences, support certain views about the relationship between state and society. Here it is necessary for constitutional law to develop interpretive principles by confronting squarely, and in the context of the broad frameworks set out by constitutional commands, the question of what sorts of consequences the legal rules under attack have for constitutional liberty and equality (including the constitutional commitment to a form of democratic self-government).

If *Roe* v. *Wade* is correct, for example, it cannot be because there is some general right to "privacy" or to control of one's own body. Such a claim provides no answer at all to those who believe in the importance of protecting the fetus. Without further elaboration, moreover, such a claim would mean that there would automatically be a constitutional right to use crack, to participate in surrogacy arrangements, to commit incest, and perhaps to eliminate much of the work of the FDA and OSHA, even the EPA.

As Tribe and Dorf themselves point out, if *Roe* is right, the reason must have something to do with sex discrimination, and thus with the equal protection clause. It is crucial, after all, that laws restricting abortions apply only to women; that they may well owe their origins to illegitimate and discriminatory views about the appropriate role of men and women; that they represent the selective co-optation of human bodies for the protection of others, which is certainly unique in American law, and specific to one sex; and that they tend in practice not to protect fetuses at all, but instead to produce dangerous abortions threatening women's lives and health without significantly decreasing the abortion rate.

Similarly, if *Bowers* v. *Hardwick* is wrong, the reason is surely that current social disapproval of homosexuality is at least roughly analogous to past social disapproval of racial intermarriage, and illegitimate for at least roughly similar reasons. If *Hardwick* is wrong, it is because neither form of disapproval can be allowed unjustly to subordinate an entire class of Americans. Any effort to challenge the decision in *Hardwick* will therefore have to say something empirical and extensive about the actual history, wellsprings, and consequences of laws directed against homosexuals.

It is tempting to think that a judicial inquiry of this sort would not be law at all. But we should not think of law, and certainly not of constitutional law, in so sterile or constricted a way. In fact, an assessment of the purpose and consequences of discrimination is an indispensable part of the enterprise of figuring out what it means to deny someone "the equal protection of the laws." In *Roe* and *Hardwick*, arguments of this kind would have to be far more elaborate, of course, than I have been able to suggest here; but it is impossible to avoid resort to them in assessing the two cases.

Most important, the development of interpretive principles should proceed with far more attention to the values and the possibilities of democratic government. In this respect, Tribe and Dorf's book counts as an unusually articulate contribution to the large number of recent works attempting to justify, to preserve, and to extend the work of the Warren Court. But the Warren Court is long gone. From the standpoint of the 1990s, that Court increasingly appears to be a historical anomaly, indeed an unprecedented exception to American political traditions: it was an adjudicative body willing to use the Constitution as an engine of social reform in the interest of civil rights and civil liberties.

This is not to deny that the Court accomplished considerable good. Still, the effort to build on its legacy gives off the distinctive and perhaps not altogether pleasant aroma of nostalgia. At least under current conditions, it would be more valuable to attend to the possible use and reform of democracy itself. Any set of interpretive principles for the Supreme Court must be centrally concerned about the potentially undemocratic character of judicial intrusion into political processes.

A set of principles that focuses judicial controls on correcting defects in American democracy will therefore have much to be said in its favor. In view of the fact that judges are unelected, ambiguous constitutional provisions should usually be read to allow maximum scope for representative processes—except (as John Hart Ely has argued) when political processes are not open to self-correction, and when judicial protection is sought by groups that are without sufficient political power to protect themselves.

Of course, it remains to explain exactly what "sufficient" means. But attention to questions of this sort may actually provide an important ingredient in a defense of *Roe* and a criticism of *Hardwick*, at least if those cases are conceived as raising issues of equality as well as privacy. Both *Roe* and *Hardwick* involved groups facing important disabilities in the political process. These disabilities argue in favor of a less cautious judicial role.

Finally, and even more fundamentally, we might in the future see, and even attempt to spur, an increase in constitutional deliberation, and political or moral argument, outside of the courts and inside the democratic process. The judges are not the only figures in government charged with constitutional and moral responsibilities, and sometimes the focus on the Court can distract attention from other possibilities. The recent deliberations of Congress and the president with respect to the Persian Gulf war were distinguished by close reference to constitutional commands—and without the involvement of the Supreme Court at all.

Consider also a striking set of recent events: the passage of the most important law in history protecting handicapped people, the Americans With Disabilities Act, enacted in the face of Supreme Court decisions refusing to use the Constitution in this area; the extraordinary citizen response to Supreme Court decisions restricting the abortion right, a response that has dramatically energized the women's movement; the new Clean Air Act, in the face of Supreme Court decisions taking a relatively passive role in protecting the environment; and the likely passage, soon, of a new civil rights bill broader than anything that the Supreme Court might have required. Whatever the merits of any one of these developments, they attest to the enormous potential of moral and political and sometimes even constitutional discussion outside the courtroom.

It may not be entirely implausible, if all this is so, to think that the recent retreat

of the federal judiciary from social reform, a retreat made in the name of the Constitution, might ultimately count as one of many steps in the revival of democratic processes in America and, not incidentally, in the spurring of involvement of heretofore weak or passive groups in those processes. Such steps would represent a major redirection of constitutional energies. They might be far more fruitful than our customary obsession with the occasional decisions of the nine people who sit on the Supreme Court.

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The Agitator

BY JAMES M. MCPHERSON

Frederick Douglass by William S. McFeely

(W. W. Norton, 465 pp., $24.95)

Frederick Douglass strode across the stage of American history with a commanding presence equaled by few of his countrymen. Born a slave along an obscure backwater of Maryland's Eastern Shore in 1818, he taught himself to read, hungered for the opportunities revealed by the magic of print, escaped from bondage at the age of 20, joined the abolitionist movement, discovered a gift for oratory, rose to international fame as a champion of freedom and equal rights for all men (and women), counseled Abraham Lincoln on emancipation and black soldiers during the Civil War, knew eight presidents, and died still at work at the age of 77 after attending a women's rights meeting.

From the day of his first public speech, to an anti-slavery meeting in Nantucket in 1841, Douglass's career spanned the most tumultuous five decades of this country's history. During the first half of this period, Douglass became one of the abolitionist movement's most effective orators in a golden age of American oratory. Unlike white abolitionists, he could testify to the evils of slavery from personal experience. His speaking style was direct, forceful, and vivid, with a strong dose of sarcasm but little irony, using literal examples rather than subtle figures of speech. "His flashing eye," wrote a contemporary who had heard him speak many times, "and more than all, his voice, that rivaled [Daniel] Webster's in the richness, and in the depth and sonorousness of its cadences, made up such an ideal of an orator as the listeners never forgot."

During the quarter century from his first speech to the final abolition of slavery in 1865, he spoke for freedom on more than a thousand occasions. And from the day in 1847 that he launched his own newspaper, *North Star*, he wrote perhaps a thousand editorials in the same direct, passionate style that even in cold print conveys a sense of seething energy. Nor was his witness against the racial discrimination in the North that complemented slavery in the South confined to words alone. He refused to ride Jim Crow cars on the railroads; when a conductor tried once to eject him from a "white" car, the powerful Douglass held on to the seats so tightly that it took several trainmen to throw him off—along with the seats torn loose from the floor. When his children were denied admission to the white public schools of Rochester, Douglass led a protest that brought desegregation of the schools.

Like Martin Luther King Jr., Douglass owed his power to the moral force of his language. He was devoutly religious in his youth, but rejected the church in his 20s out of disappointment with its lukewarm opposition to slavery. He drew his inspiration, as he once put it, "from Massachusetts Abolition University, Mr. [William Lloyd] Garrison, president." Douglass, though, did not shun violence. After enactment in 1850 of the infamous Fugitive Slave Law, which licensed slaveholders to recapture runaways in the North with the aid of federal marshals, Douglass counseled violent resistance, remarking that "the only way to make the Fugitive Slave Law a dead letter is to make half a dozen or so dead kidnappers." He supported John Brown's guerrilla warfare against slavery, though he stopped short of endorsing Brown's seizure of the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry in 1859. Douglass welcomed the Civil War against slaveholders, helping to recruit the black 54th Massachusetts Infantry (made newly famous by the movie *Glory*), in which two of his sons enlisted and his oldest son, Lewis, became sergeant major.

A formative experience while he was still a slave had shaped Douglass's willingness to embrace violence as a means of liberation. At the age of 16, he was hired out to a farmer named Edward Covey, notorious in the neighborhood as a "nigger breaker." For seven months the restless young slave, a muscular boy who had almost reached his adult height of more than six feet, endured abuse and beatings from Covey. But one hot August morning Douglass could take no more. He turned on Covey and fought him with desperation, drawing blood from his oppressor and finally vanquishing him. After this encounter, Covey never tried to whip Douglass again.

This episode was a revelation to Douglass, "the turning point in my life as a slave. . . . It rekindled in my breast the smoldering embers of liberty . . . and revived a sense of my own manhood." Douglass had "reached the point at which I was *not afraid to die.* This spirit made me a freeman in *fact*, though I still remained a slave in form." He concluded that "the doctrine that submission to violence is the best cure for violence did not hold good as between slaves and overseers. He was whipped oftener who was whipped easiest."

"They who would be free, must themselves strike the blow": such a view puts Douglass's philosophy closer to Frantz Fanon's than to Martin Luther King's. Yet if his methods were not quite King's nonviolent ones, his goals were similar to those of King's movement—integration as equals into the mainstream of American society, not separation from it or revolution to overthrow it. The crusade for equal rights would go on, said Douglass in 1883, when the Supreme Court invalidated a federal civil rights law passed in 1875,

> until the public schools shall cease to be caste schools, . . . until the colored man's pathway to the ballot-box . . . shall be as smooth and as safe as the same is for the white citizen, . . . until the courts of the country shall grant the colored man a fair trial and a just verdict, . . . until color shall cease to be a bar to equal participation in the offices and honors of the country, . . . until the trades-unions, and the workshops of the country shall cease to proscribe the colored man, . . . until the American people shall make character, and not color, the criterion of respectability.

According to a story that may be apocryphal but nevertheless contains the essence of truth, a black student asked the venerable Douglass in the 1890s what ad-

vice he could give a young man just starting his career. Douglass replied without hesitation: "Agitate! Agitate! Agitate!"

William McFeely's new biography of Douglass is, in part, the story of an agitator. But even more it is the story of a complex human being set primarily in the context of family and locality instead of the public world of reform and national convulsion. In some ways it is a better biography than McFeely's earlier book about General Oliver O. Howard, head of the Freedmen's Bureau, better even than his Pulitzer Prize-winning biography of Ulysses S. Grant. McFeely's lack of empathy with both those men made him excessively critical of their failures and rather astigmatic about their successes. With Douglass, by contrast, he has achieved a rich texture of sympathy and critical perspective, intimacy and distance, appreciation and censure.

It is very much a Life, rather than a Life and Times. The emphasis is probably wise. Most of the many existing biographies and related studies of Douglass—including a half-dozen books published during the 1980s alone—focus mainly on the public figure. Douglass's three autobiographies—the third actually titled *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*—also create a public persona. McFeely's objective is to get behind that persona to the real person.

He has the most success with Douglass's early years—the period of slavery, about which we have the least firm information. Here McFeely's psychological perception and creative imagination enable him to re-create the world of a precocious slave boy who strained against the strictures of bondage until he finally broke free of them. Of special interest are Douglass's relationships with women, from earliest childhood onward. He never knew his father—indeed, never knew which white man got his slave mother with the child she named Frederick. He saw little of his mother, who lived and worked on another farm. The boy was raised by his grandmother, who became "the central presence in his life" during his childhood.

When he was later sent to Baltimore, his master's sister-in-law became almost a surrogate mother and helped the boy learn the alphabet. After Douglass escaped to freedom he married a free black woman, Anna Murray, who left her Baltimore home to join him in the North. This marriage lasted forty-four years until Anna's death, and produced five children. Yet it seems to have lacked genuine affection; it certainly lacked any sense of equal partnership. Douglass grew intellectually and culturally far beyond his wife, who remained illiterate all her life. Anna never joined Frederick during his frequent lecture tours and other absences that kept him from home sometimes months at a time—once for a year and a half during his first British tour.

Douglass developed close bonds with several white women whose intellectual force and intensity matched his own, and who like him were denied full membership in a world ruled by white males. Two of these relationships may have ripened into sexual intimacy; McFeely believes that they did. The British abolitionist Julia Griffiths joined Douglass in Rochester, New York, in 1849 to help him edit his newspaper *North Star* and even lived in his home for a time. Later Ottilia Assing, a brilliant but unstable German writer, came to the United States specifically to meet Douglass, spent much time with him for several years, and committed suicide in Paris a few months after learning of Douglass's second marriage, in 1884, to Helen Pitts, a white woman. McFeely handles these tangled relationships with sensitivity and with sympathy for Anna Murray Douglass's embitterment at what seems to have been shabby treatment.

McFeely's creative speculations sometimes carry him beyond credibility. In his account of the slave-breaker Edward Covey's whipping of the slave Frederick, McFeely writes that "Covey's savage attack strongly suggests a perversion of homosexual attraction into vicious cruelty." If so, the antebellum South was laced with latent homosexuality, for whipping recalcitrant male slaves was a common form of discipline. McFeely is evenhanded in his dubious attribution of secret sexual desires, for he describes abolitionist literature's depictions of the flogging of slaves as "one of the most sought-after forms of nineteenth-century pornography," intended to "arouse" readers "with graphic descriptions of physical maltreatment and torture." Douglass indulged in this "pornography" on the lecture circuit and in his autobiographies, telling of the whipping of his aunt in language that "went not to his readers' brains, but to their groins. The long reach of racist sexuality made the story for them an exercise in sadomasochistic eroticism." This is arrant nonsense. Pornography is in the eye of the beholder; the post-Freudian biographer here projects what few nineteenth-century reformers intended or saw.

McFeely has a tendency to judge other nineteenth-century matters by modern standards as well. He cannot always resist the temptation to take cheap shots at abolitionists or at white educators who founded schools for freed slaves. By McFeely's lights, these liberals who risked reputation and sometimes even life for black advancement were often patronizing or racist. In his account of abolitionist criticism of Douglass's intimacy with Julia Griffiths, McFeely insists that "the breaching of racial lines, rather than the breaching of conventional marital ones, was what caused the decibel range among anti-slavery people to reach the level of a screech."

He provides no evidence for this assertion. Indeed, the sole anti-slavery statement cited, a letter from Gerrit Smith, expresses warm support for Douglass's awkward but (Smith assumed) innocent situation. And as Benjamin Quarles made clear in his 1948 biography of Douglass, abolitionist criticism (which was quite subdued, hardly a "screech") did focus on the marital rather than racial impropriety of the affair, especially the harm and hurt to Douglass's family—precisely the issue that concerns McFeely.

McFeely's penchant for speculation

Further Documentation

The appearance of weight, the momentum of pink
profoundly draping the tree outside the window,
this impression of the season: the bowing
anxiety of xylem, and the unseasonable rain

threatens further wreckage. Nature
pink in gum and paw. Crab apple and quince.
A man in an office wishes the world well, takes
his leave nevertheless of light and the lyric.

The Office is a concept new in the history
of civilization; a place of plenitude, a kind
of club. To arrange his implements on his desk.
He consults. How lovely the hours. How long.

But you still don't understand the pinkness
of this tree; the fullness of bloom and pitch
under this slight rain—it snowed a day ago,
and this is now May, official and finicky.

The tree is like: brain coral—any internal
organ. Silk in her top left drawer.
A loss of innocence, not to say guilt.
The not yet serious sun. A man's real work.

Bin Ramke

contrary to the evidence extends to other questions. In an account of the young Douglass's slave apprenticeship as a caulker in a Baltimore shipyard, McFeely comments on "the use of racism as a managerial tool" to keep wages low and prevent labor solidarity by pitting black and white workers against each other. But the evidence presented demonstrates the opposite. It shows labor's use of racism as a tool to eliminate black competition and keep wages high. Just before Douglass went to work at the shipyard, white workers had struck successfully to force management to fire free black carpenters, who had worked there for years. For more than a generation thereafter, the white union kept black carpenters out of the shipyards. These same victorious white workers made Frederick's life so miserable, harassing him daily and ganging up to beat him bloody on one occasion, that his master was compelled to remove him from the yard.

A few years later, when Douglass escaped to freedom, white caulkers at New Bedford prevented him from working at his trade by threatening to strike if he were hired. After the Civil War, Douglass's son Lewis, a combat veteran of the 54th Massachusetts who had charged up the bloody ramparts of Fort Wagner, was refused admission to the printers' union and then prevented from working because he was not a union man. On the question of racism as an economic weapon, it seems clear that management—and black workers—were more sinned against than sinning. It is little wonder that Douglass frequently expressed bitterness toward labor unions.

McFeely is critical of Douglass for gradually losing touch with the black masses from whom he had risen. As he basked in fame after the Civil War, hobnobbed with presidents, and held a succession of prestigious, though essentially powerless, federal offices (marshal of the District of Columbia, recorder of deeds, and the American consul general in Haiti), Douglass did become more conservative for a time. His focus on the importance of equal civil and political rights deflected him from full awareness of the economic framework of exploitation and poverty that made these rights uncertain for most Southern blacks even after they were implanted in the Constitution by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Douglass seemed to anticipate Booker T. Washington by urging blacks to lift themselves by their own bootstraps and to concentrate more on self-improvement than on complaining about discrimination. Douglass's most often repeated lecture during these years was titled "Self-Made Men," whom he described as "men who, without the ordinary helps of favoring circumstances, have attained knowledge, usefulness, power, position, and fame in the world." Audiences could have little doubt of the outstanding example that Douglass had in mind.

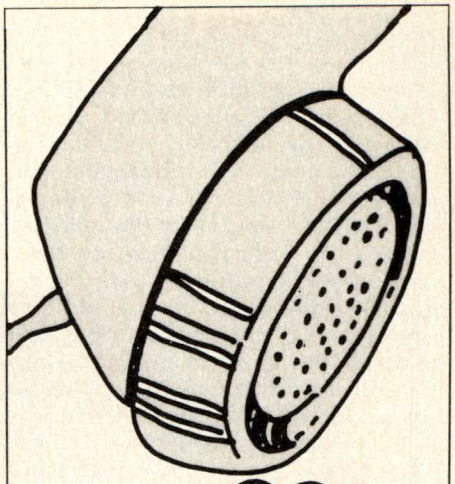
Though Douglass seemed to have little affinity with black sharecroppers, stevedores, domestics, and others who lived precarious lives at the margin of American society, he never forsook his commitment to equal rights, or to the ultimate abolition of the color line. And when, in the twilight of his career, the rise of lynching, the wholesale disfranchisement of blacks, and the evolution of Darwinian racism threatened to wipe out the gains of Reconstruction, Douglass once again thundered against injustice in his magnificent baritone voice and charismatic style. When jeered by white hecklers at the Chicago Columbian Exposition in 1893, he threw away his prepared text and for more than an hour held the crowd spellbound with a speech from the heart:

> There is no Negro problem. The problem is whether the American people have loyalty enough, honor enough, patriotism enough, to live up to our own Constitution. . . . We Negroes love our country. We fought for it. We ask only that we be treated as well as those who fought against it.

McFeely's decision to focus more on Douglass than on his times has an unfortunate consequence. While the narrative is rich on Douglass's early and later years, it is disappointingly thin about the middle—that is, about the Civil War and early Reconstruction years, precisely the period of Douglass's greatest activism and influence in the public sphere. Only five of twenty-nine chapters cover these crucial years that witnessed the successful climax of Douglass's crusade for the abolition of slavery and the expansion of that crusade into a drive for equal rights.

From the moment Confederate guns fired on Fort Sumter, Douglass and his fellow abolitionists worked to turn the war for the Union into a war for universal liberty. In a series of memorable phrases that incorporated a new element of imagery into his style (few of them quoted in this book), Douglass insisted that "to fight against slaveholders, without fighting against slavery, is but a halfhearted business, and paralyzes the hands engaged in it. . . . Fire must be met with water."

Southern whites boasted that slavery was "a tower of strength to the Confederacy." The nearly 3 million slave men and



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women laboring in fields and factories enabled the Confederacy "to place in the field a [military] force so much larger in proportion to her population than the North." Precisely, responded Douglass. "The very stomach of this rebellion is the negro in the condition of a slave. Arrest that hoe in the hands of the negro, and you smite rebellion in the very seat of its life." This was the logic that underlay the Emancipation Proclamation, which Lincoln issued a year later, in part as "an act of justice" but primarily as "a military necessity" to weaken the Confederacy by disrupting its labor force.

The same logic impelled the addition of this labor force to the Union side. Hundreds of thousands of slaves attained freedom by coming within Union lines. Many of them became laborers for the Union forces; 190,000 freed slaves and free blacks also became soldiers and sailors. With voice and pen, Douglass had labored first to persuade the Lincoln administration to organize black regiments, and then to persuade black men to enlist. "Liberty won by white men would lack half its luster," said Douglass as he hit the recruiting trail in 1863. "Who would be free themselves must strike the blow. . . . Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters, U.S.; let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket upon his shoulder and bullets in his pocket, and there is no power on earth which can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship in the United States."

The contribution of black troops to Union victory was the springboard for the next crusade, which became the focal point of Douglass's next thousand speeches. In October 1864 he wrote the "Address to the People of the United States" adopted by a National Convention of Colored Citizens (it is not even mentioned by McFeely) that had been called to set forth an African-American agenda for postwar reconstruction. "In a republican country, where general suffrage is the rule," wrote Douglass, "personal liberty . . . and all other rights, become mere privileges, held at the option of others, where we are excepted from the general political liberty." Therefore the right to vote, denied to blacks in most Northern as well as all Southern states, must become the "keystone to the arch of human liberty." For the next three decades, this keystone was Douglass's guiding principle.

The principle precipitated a crisis in the women's rights movement, in which Douglass played a crucial role. Though he scarcely considered his first wife his equal, Douglass was an early and lifelong advocate of equal rights for women as well as for blacks. He was one of the few male participants in the famous Seneca Falls convention of 1848, and the only one to vote for Elizabeth Cady Stanton's resolution demanding the ballot for women. In 1866 Douglass helped launch the American Equal Rights Association to work for the enfranchisement of women as well as of freed slaves. But the AERA had a short and stormy life. It quickly split into two factions. One, led by the radical white abolitionist Wendell Phillips and consisting of mostly men and some women, believed that Reconstruction was, in Phillips's words, "The Negro's Hour." The exigencies of postwar politics and Southern reconstruction made it desirable to strike first for black enfranchisement while the iron was hot. The other faction, led by Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, wanted to campaign for a constitutional amendment to enfranchise both blacks and women. Phillips, Douglass, and a majority of the AERA opposed this strategy, arguing that it would defeat both goals by uniting their opponents.

The controversy exploded at the AERA meeting in 1869, which is also curiously ignored by McFeely. The Stanton-Anthony faction presented a resolution opposing the Fifteenth Amendment, recently passed by Congress, which prohibited states from denying the right to vote on grounds of race—but not of sex. "I do not see how anyone can pretend that there is the same urgency in giving the ballot to woman as to the Negro," said Douglass in a dramatic speech:

> With us, the matter is a question of life and death, at least in fifteen states of the Union. When women, because they are women, are hunted down through the cities of New York and New Orleans [a reference to the New York draft riot of 1863 and a New Orleans anti-reconstruction riot in 1866]; when they are dragged from their houses and hung upon lampposts; . . . when they are objects of insult and outrage at every turn; when they are in danger of having their homes burnt down over their heads; when their children are not allowed to enter schools, they will have an urgency to obtain the ballot equal to our own. (Great applause.)

An angry Stanton, one of Douglass's best white friends for the past quarter century, jumped to her feet and shouted: "Not another man should be enfranchised until enough women are admitted to the polls to outweigh those already there. (Applause.) I do not believe in allowing ignorant Negroes and foreigners to make laws for me to obey. (Applause.)" This ended the AERA. The Stanton-Anthony faction walked out to found the National Woman Suffrage Association, and the others formed an organization called the American Woman Suffrage Association. For more than a decade many of the partisans—including Douglass and Stanton—were barely on speaking terms. For two decades the women's rights movement suffered from this schism.

Douglass precipitated his own house divided in 1884 by marrying Helen Pitts, a white woman twenty years his junior. Douglass's children opposed the union, and so did many members of Pitts's family. The national press was divided on the question of the country's most prominent black man marrying across the color line. But Douglass had made a career of defying that barrier. He and Helen enjoyed eleven years of marital happiness. One of the first and warmest congratulatory letters came from Stanton. "After all the terrible battles and political upheavals we have had in expurgating our constitutions of that odious adjective 'white,' " she wrote, "if a good man from Maryland sees fit to marry a disfranchised woman from New York, there should be no legal impediments." Douglass responded in kind, and the two veteran crusaders renewed their friendship. Douglass's last public appearance, on the day of his death, was at a women's rights meeting where he joined hands on the platform with Anthony.

In the year of Douglass's death, Booker T. Washington forged to national prominence with his famous "Atlanta Compromise" speech. The founder of Tuskegee Institute, which trained black people to be better farmers, workers, and teachers, Washington urged African Americans to eschew agitation for equal rights and to concentrate instead on self-help and self-improvement. Though Douglass would have had no quarrel with these goals, he would never have endorsed Washington's accommodation to segregation and white supremacy. Douglass's death and Washington's emergence marked the passing of the torch to a new generation and a new style of black leadership.

Yet Washington's Fabian strategy could not stem the worsening of race relations during the two or three decades after 1895, the "nadir" of African American history since slavery, as the historian Rayford Logan has accurately termed it. Douglass's militancy remained alive as a symbol for Washington's critics. It helped inspire the founding of the NAACP in 1910 and of other civil rights organizations in the mid-twentieth century.

Since the 1960s Douglass's reputation has suffered a decline among some black intellectuals, who see him as a spokesman

for middle-class institutions and integrationist values that offer nothing to poor blacks mired in the ghettos. McFeely shares, to a degree, this critical perspective. But he offers a balanced appraisal that includes an appreciation of Douglass's part in the great drama that did, after all, produce the most revolutionary changes in American history, embodied in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. The virtue of McFeely's book lies in its revelation of the inner Douglass, the human being away from the public stage. For the public Douglass, the Douglass of history, the best place to go is still his own "burning eloquence," as Stanton described it, wherein "with wit, satire, and indignation he graphically described the bitterness of slavery and the humiliation of subjection to those who, in all human virtues and powers, were inferior to himself."

JAMES M. MCPHERSON is the author most recently of *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution* (Oxford University Press).

Bending the Rules

BY CHARLES S. MAIER

All or Nothing: The Axis and the Holocaust 1941-1943 by Jonathan Steinberg

(Routledge, 320 pp., $27.50)

Sometimes when democracies disagree, terrorists can find shelter. Sometimes when dictatorships differ, their victims can take refuge in the interstices. Jonathan Steinberg pivots his narrative around the major discrepancy between the Axis partners in Europe. Despite the fact that Mussolini was Hitler's principal European ally and his ideological cousin, despite the fact, too, that he decreed stringent racial legislation in 1938 along the lines of the Nuremberg laws, Italian soldiers intervened to protect the Jews in their areas of military occupation from deportation and death. The Italian zone of occupied France east of the Rhone afforded Jews a sanctuary at a time when Vichy officials cooperated wholeheartedly in the round-up for Auschwitz. The Italian-occupied areas of Greece were a haven while the Salonica Sephardic community was destroyed. And the Italian-garrisoned littoral of the eastern Adriatic sheltered about 2,000 Jews from the murderous coalition of the puppet Croatian state, its ruling anti-Semitic Ustashi government, and the German army and SS authorities who imposed their terror out of Zagreb.

Italian clemency was not primarily Mussolini's doing. Italian generals and diplomats sidestepped, delayed, and finally forced revisions in their dictator's initial willingness to satisfy German importunings for a lethal consistency on "racial" questions. The Duce would have sacrificed the Jews for the sake of his alliance; he cynically recognized that Hitler was helping them to "emigrate to another world." "Why did senior figures in the Fascist regime risk their careers to save Jews who were not even Italian?" Steinberg asks. But he wants to resolve a second, and even a third, question simultaneously. The second one is the reciprocal of the first: Why did the Germans behave so atrociously? "How could Nazism and the holocaust have happened?" Steinberg's title, "All or nothing," which has nothing to do with the Italians, is a phrase used precisely to epitomize Hitler's fanaticism.

This second question, of course, remains one of the constant inquiries motivating historians of the Final Solution. Finally most of them have to confess that they cannot answer it. The explanations deployed never do justice to the horror. It is no surprise that Steinberg, too, should admit to doubts about resolving the issue. Still, his discussions of Hitler, although hardly new, of the morally anesthetized diplomatic representatives, and of Alexander Löhr, the German (originally Austrian) commander in Yugoslavia (and the employer who slipped from Waldheim's memory), provide shrewd and revealing insights.

Steinberg poses a third question to unpack the ambiguities of the Axis alliance: "What held Hitler, Himmler, and the rest of the German armed forces from forcing Italy to surrender what were, in the end, a handful of saved among the millions of damned?" The answer lies finally in Hitler's continuing respect for his Fascist mentor. Residual veneration prevailed over contempt. Likewise, Mussolini could never overcome his admiration for the Führer, even as Nazi policies pulled Italy toward catastrophe.

These overlapping inquiries lead to an idiosyncratic presentation. The first question justifies close analysis of Italian stratagems on the Jewish issue: their policy debates, evasions of German demands, occasional promises that they would take charge of the issue precisely to delay turning over victims. The second and third questions open up a comparison of institutions, ideological commitments, and the dictators' personalities. But the exposition sometimes jumps confusingly from one theme to the other.

Perhaps the complicated argumentation should not surprise. As a scholar, Steinberg goes his own way. Trained initially as a historian of modern Germany, and currently a mainstay of the Cambridge University history faculty, he disdains conventional academic niches. His first book, *Yesterday's Deterrent*, looked at the pre-1914 German naval buildup as an early would-be exercise of military deterrence as well as a patriotic project of the German middle classes. It presented to an English-speaking audience some of the lessons that German scholars were relearning from the study of their once-scorned interwar historian-dissident, Eckart Kehr. A second book sought to answer, in the words of its title, "Why Switzerland?" In those works, as in this, Steinberg took material that other scholars had earlier presented, reworked and amplified some of its most intriguing aspects, and used it to pose further questions. *All or Nothing* is a similarly individualized study. To judge from a moving preface, it was clearly an urgent inquiry.

When historiography emerges with such personal authenticity, it deserves respect. But Steinberg's book is not without difficulties. Topics that deserve fuller attention, such as the implantation of official anti-Semitism in Italy during 1937 and 1938, are largely presupposed. When Steinberg attempts a foray into intellectual history to explain the fateful influence of Hegel on German proclivities to Nazism, the result verges on the jejune. And Steinberg can be inconsistent in his references to scholarly predecessors. He graciously points to the recent work by Susan Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust* (1987), but he acknowledges only obliquely the most solid and exhaustively researched overview of the Jewish question in Fascist Italy, Meir Michaelis's *Mussolini and the Jews* (1978), which twelve years ago established much of the story Steinberg tells, and whose

conclusions he largely confirms.

I am troubled, moreover, by the implicit thrust and framework of the argument, by what Italians would call its *impostazione.* One must remain grateful to Italian officials and officers insofar as they impeded the Final Solution, but although they risked their careers, they did not exactly wager their lives or their liberty. The Italians who aided Jews after the Germans occupied most of the country in September 1943 took far greater risks. The Italian merit lies in the fact that in this latter period, 85 percent of the forty-odd thousand Jews in the country survived. They found shelter with non-Jews, including Church authorities.

Italian failings at the institutional level, on the other hand, were manifest. The generals who drew the line at delivering up the Jews had made their peace with a regime that cashiered their own Jewish colleagues, drove other Jews out of the professions and several thousand into exile. They accepted policies of conquest without demurral: Why otherwise were they occupying French Savoy, Dalmatia, and western Greece? As Steinberg himself points out, the campaigns they waged in conquering their "empire"—above all in Ethiopia and Libya, but also against Yugoslav partisans—were brutal. Steinberg accepts these contradictions much too easily.

And he is relatively indulgent toward the reactionary props of the Fascist regime. He presents the Italian army as a liberal, philo-Semitic, Masonic, geriatric club with a few energetic generals determined to brook no nonsense from native populations. He has a weakness for the testimony of informants of high status, and is always alert when protagonists are well connected or know their way "round the corridors of power and the secret rooms off the corridors." He is a historian, above all, of milieus, and of personal interactions. He excels in evoking the conversations between impatient Germans and outwardly acquiescent Italians bent on deflecting their allies' officious zeal for liquidation.

Historians can be divided according to their preferences for explanation. On one side are the "networkers"—often more conservative, and generally more influential in Britain—who are intrigued by elites and attribute great events to individuals or small groups. They are especially attuned to psychological explanations, personal or national. They are usually more responsive to the picturesque or the atmospheric. They value style (and hence they often know how to write). On the other side—often more "left," and usually more at home in American or German historiography today—are the "systems analysts" who explain outcomes in terms of social and economic (or, increasingly, discursive) processes. They are the profession's Calvinists, more austere and usually less fun to read.

Steinberg belongs to the first group. He draws conservative lessons, not democratic ones. The virtues he celebrates are moderation and the rejection of fanaticism. Still, he also passes along some of the explanations that more sociological analyses have proposed. He reiterates that the Italian regime was less totalitarian than the German, certainly less racist, thankfully less efficient. It had no special units entrusted with the mission of hunting down and killing Jews: no bureaucratic rewards for a vocation of mass murder. Its soldiers were willing to bend written orders, while the German mandate from the top was imposed effectively all the way to the base. Probably the Italians took a perverse pride at being able to throw sand in the wheels of the Nazi machinery.

Steinberg appropriately devotes the last part of his book to explicit comparative analysis. He correctly recognizes that the Axis was "less unnatural" than Italians would claim. Still, the Germans were dedicated to abstract virtues of a manic consistency. The Italians were concerned about "appearances"; they understood that world opinion would condemn mass murder, and many shared the revulsion. The dictators had vastly different personalities: the Führer's public life was structured around his anti-Jewish obsession, while Mussolini incubated his anti-Semitism during one of his volatile political swings. The Jewish communities in Germany and Italy were embedded in different ways in the wider cultures. Best of all, Steinberg tells a moving story and presents even the nastiest characters in their full complexity. Still, there is a question he did not ask. Individual Italians saved several thousand Jews. Might not different political choices earlier on have helped, if only indirectly, to forestall the killing of many thousands of others?

CHARLES S. MAIER is professor of history at Harvard University and author of *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity* (Harvard University Press).

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CORRESPONDENCE *continued from page 6*

In our country, the cradle of the remarkable tradition of jazz, we place disproportionate emphasis on the study and patronage of the old European masters. Only abroad—in Europe and Japan, in particular—is there a full appreciation of the significance of jazz as the twentieth century's decisive musical event.

IAN W. TOLL
Chatham, New York

China's closet

To the editors:

An item in your February 4 Notebook incorrectly states that my recent analysis promoting a cautious resumption of U.S.-China military ties advocates the transfer of military technology. The paper, in fact, proposes only an appropriate interagency study detailing the circumstances under which such transactions might prudently be resumed.

Moreover, the Asian Studies Center *Backgrounder* analyzing PRC defense capabilities and American policy options lays out more reasons to support renewed military contact than you quoted. Most important, the split within the People's Liberation Army between old-guard hard-liners and young moderates is important today because significant evidence suggests that the Chinese military, as was the case on June 4, 1989, could be called upon to determine a future power struggle in Beijing. U.S.-PRC defense contact enhances the American capacity to know what transpires on the ground in China should turmoil break out there again. The military sanctions currently in place prevent such contact and therefore are counterproductive.

ANDREW B. BRICK
Washington, D.C.

The writer is China policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation.

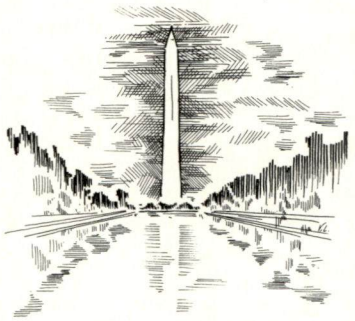
WASHINGTON DIARIST

Poached

I SUPPOSE THERE ARE OTHER things I should feel guilty about, but I confess that my Gulf attention span ended about three weeks ago. Maybe it was *Newsweek*'s pullout poster of Uncle Sam's and Uncle Saddam's weapons, or *Time*'s pullout fire-your-own-Patriots battle map that finally did it. Or perhaps it was just the prospect of seeing another war graphic on CBS News, but, as they say in Fleet Street: *That's enough war—ed.* I am now fully aware, thank you, that the Gulf crisis has highlighted important moral questions of war and peace, that it bears indirectly upon our racial divisions, environmental problems, the New World Order, the economic recession, and the European Community's attempt to unify its foreign policy. Since last August 2, I have become acutely aware of the differences between the Sunnis and the Kurds, Abu Iyad and Abu Nidal, Turgut Ozal and Tariq Aziz. Thanks to intensive exposure to television, I now have an opinion about the nature of the Arab street (although most of the well-dressed Arabs interviewed look to me like they'd be more comfortable in the Arab mall). I have become enlightened by the expertise of Wolf Blitzer and the eloquent opinions of Edward Said. I have begun to dream about Geraldine Brooks. More alarming, Edward Luttwak feels like a close personal friend. I am even vaguely cognizant of the difference between a ZSU-23-4 and a LAV-25. The only question is whether I'm now able to be cognizant of anything else.

THE GOOD NEWS, THOUGH, IS that the president has decided to call his *neue Weltordnung* foreign policy after an extremely good pop group. "New World Order" (William Safire please note) is derived in part from New Order, a high-energy Euro-disco band, whose most successful records, George Bush is no doubt aware, have included "Confusion," "Thieves Like Us," and "Shame of the Nation." The group was originally called Joy Division until one of its members committed suicide and the others wisely decided on a change of name. The precedent of naming government policies after pop groups, however, is a rich one, budding with promise for speechwriters whose paradigms have known better days. One can almost hear Peggy Noonan's cogitations now. For policies against inner-city crime, how about "Guns 'N Roses"? For relations with the Soviet Union, why not "Love and Rockets"? For the war on drugs, "Public Image Limited"? For civil rights, "Vanilla Ice"? For the entire shebang, "The Pretenders" gets it just about right.

FROM TIME TO TIME A BOOK emerges that performs a particularly clarifying service for the culture. One such glossy coffee-table tome recently arrived in the office. Its title: *The Art of Reinforced Concrete.* The essential charm of the book is only marginally heightened by the German text appended to the English, which invites the reader to examine, among other things, *die Perfektionerung der Technik* of concrete bunkers. If you ever longed for a detailed aesthetic appreciation of Paul Maillart's layout for the Overpass of the Bern *Weissenstreisse,* then this is the book for you. Chapter headings include "The Unlikely Art of Beams: 1935-1938" and the refreshingly honest: "Return to the Hollow Box: 1927-1930." Coming soon: *Sewage Plants as Performance Art:* The Form of Function 1971-1983; and *Tarmac:* Beneath Freeways of Color and Other Essays in Transportational Multiculturalism.



A NASTY LITTLE SIDE PRODUCT of this war comes courtesy of the Democratic Party. The apparent reluctance of the Japanese to pay their promised $13 billion in Gulf aid, and their preference for reserving it for non-military uses in accordance with their U.S.-written constitution, is the issue *du jour* of the protectionist left. The Japanese came through last week when the Diet approved a final installment for the Gulf of $9 billion, but hey, who's counting? War has always been good news for protectionists, and the added bonus of a recession is too good an opportunity to miss. This time, however, the hysteria has been even more strained than usual. Anti-Japanese ideology has, in fact, begun to assume almost all of the sociological—and pathological—patterns that anti-Semitism once did. It rests on stories of international bankers and industrialists, preferring their own kind, controlling the economic destiny of Americans, avoiding the hardships of war because they have no loyalties except to their own financial interests. It argues that, by virtue of a particular culture, such individuals are irremediably threatening to the American way of life. Of course, at the roots of most objections to free trade there lies the need to demonize unsettling processes of economics. And in most wars, there's the need to scapegoat apparent bystanders. But the combination of the two, directed at the providers of American jobs and at a government that bankrolls American profligacy, has turned xenophobic irrationality into a new and exotic form of masochism.

ONE OF THE MORE TROUBLING thoughts about the death of a magazine is not so much the prospect of unemployment for its writers, but what its readers will do with the time they subsequently have on their hands. In the straitened magazine world these days, worries on this score are surely mounting. The slight sigh of relief felt by most people upon learning of the demise of *Egg* magazine, for example, must surely be tempered by the thought of the unleashed potential of a bunch of readers who once spent hours pondering features on the latest in fire brigade fashion and guides to how many big black boots would show up at New York dance clubs on Tuesday nights. Similarly, *Dossier*-bereft Washingtonians, who once pored through their monthly glossy for advice on where to get their dogs vacuumed in Silver Spring, will now find themselves dangerously idle. Thankfully, *Muscle and Fitness* seems to be going strong. The most troubling recent departure, however, is surely *Wigwag.* In its final issue, which included an essay on "a one-legged man building a boat in a barn" in Lewisburg, West Virginia, a rumination on the solitary pleasures of drinking coffee, and a reminiscence of an owling expedition in Mississippi, the results of a reader survey were published. Sixty-nine percent of *Wigwag*gers picked themselves as the person the world could least afford to do without, followed by Mikhail Gorbachev (21 percent) and Mother Teresa (7 percent). Jesus mustered 1 percent. The front-runner choice for president in 1992 was Jimmy Carter. More scarily, half the readers confessed to a short, private fantasy of killing someone. The country should doubtless soon brace itself for a platoon of self-obsessed peacenik atheists, hell-bent on whimsically murdering disabled owls. Unless, of course, *The New Yorker* can take up the slack.

ANDREW SULLIVAN

also respectively *vitamin K_1*, *vitamin K_2*, 2 : any compounds closely related chemically to natural of similar biological activity
ēn, -,īn\ *adj* [L *vitellus* + E *-ine*] (15c) **1** : resembling egg esp. in yellow color **2** : of, relating to, or

(1845) : a membrane enclosing the egg proper and plasmalemma of an ordinary cell; *esp* : a membrane the surface of the egg in many invertebrates egg is fertilized and thereby preventing other ring
el-ō-'jen-ə-səs, və-\ *n* [NL, fr. L *vitellus* + NL *-o-* k formation
lit., small calf — more at VEAL] (1728) : the egg the yolk but excluding any albuminous or mem- *o* : YOLK 1c
-at•ed; -at•ing [L *vitiatus*, pp. of *vitiare*, fr. *vitium* : to make faulty or defective often by the addition pairs **2** : to debase in moral or aesthetic status (a *ury*) **3** : to make ineffective or weak *syn* see \vish-ē-'ā-shən\ *n* — **vi•ti•a•tor** \'vish-ē-,āt-ər\ *n* kəl-chər, 'vit-\ *n* [L *vitis* vine + E *culture* — more e cultivation or culture of grapes — **vi•ti•cul•tur•al** ,vīt-\ *adj* — **vi•ti•cul•tur•al•ly** \-ē\ *adv* — **vit•i•cul-**

)gō, -'ē-\ *n* [NL, fr. L, letter] (ca. 1657) : a skin by smooth white spots on various parts of the

k-tə-mē\ *n, pl* **-mies** [NL, fr. *vitreous* humor + ical removal of all or part of the vitreous humor *adj* [L *vitreus*, fr. *vitrum* glass — more at WOAD] ing to, derived from, or consisting of glass **2 a** (as in color, composition, brittleness, or luster) : characterized by low porosity and usu. transpresence of a glassy phase (~ china) **3** : of, relatthe vitreous humor
a. 1937) : a fired-on opaque glassy coating on metal

663) : the clear colorless transparent jelly that fills to the lens — see EYE illustration
. 1925 : a chemically stable and refractory glass e — compare QUARTZ GLASS
vb **fied; -fy•ing** [MF *vitrifier*, fr. L *vitrum* glass] *vt* into glass or a glassy substance by heat and fusion rified — **vit•ri•fi•able** \-,fī-ə-bəl\ *adj* — **vit•ri•fica-**shən\ *n*
F, fr. *vitre* pane of glass, fr. OF, fr. L *vitrum*] (1880) or cabinet esp. for displaying fine wares or speci-

n [ME, fr. MF, fr. ML *vitriolum*, alter. of LL *vi- treolus* glassy, fr. L *vitreus* vitreous] (14c) **1 a** : a rious metals (as copper, iron, or zinc); *esp* : a glassy ulfate **b** : OIL OF VITRIOL **2** : something felt to re- in caustic quality; *esp* : virulence of feeling or of ,vi-trē'āl-ik\ *adj*
-tae \'vit-ē, 'vi-,tē, 'vi-,tī\ [NL, fr. L, fillet; akin to L ore at WIRE] (1830) **1** : one of the oil tubes in the e carrot family **2** : STRIPE, STREAK
(14c) : VICTUALS
)ü-pə-,rāt, və-\ *vb* **at•ed; -at•ing** [L *vituperatus*, pp. of fault + *parare* to make — more at PARE] *vt* (1542) ure severely or abusively : BERATE ~ *vi* : to use language *syn* see SCOLD — **vi•tu•per•a•tor** \'-rā-

vī-,t(y)ü-pə-'rā-shən, və-\ *n* [ME, fr. MF, fr. L *vitu- o*, fr. *vituperatus*, pp.] (15c) **1** : sustained and bitter nnation : vituperative utterance **2** : an act or in- *g syn* see ABUSE
t(y)ü-p(ə-)rət-iv, -pə-,rāt-\ *adj* [LL *vituperativus*, fr L 727) : uttering or given to censure : containing or rbal abuse — **vi•tu•per•a•tive•ly** *adv*
(ə-)rə,tōr-ē, -,tor-\ *adj* (ca. 1586) : VITUPERATIVE *interj* [It, long live, fr. 3d pers. sing. pres. subj. of — more at QUICK] (1674) — used to express good-

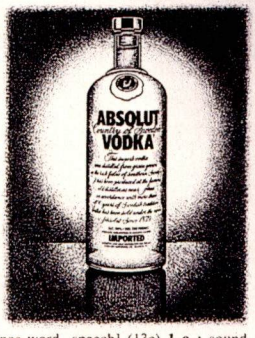
(,)ā, -ē\ *adv or adj* [It, vivacious, fr. L *vivac-*, *vivax*] sk spirited manner — used as a direction in music
7) : a musical composition or movement in vivace

-shəs *also* vī-\ *adj* [L *vivac-*, *vivax*, lit., long-lived, fr more at QUICK] (1645) : lively in temper or conduct e LIVELY — **vi•va•cious•ly** *adv* — **vi•va•cious•ness** *n*
-ē\ *n* [ME, fr. L *vivacitat-*, *vivacitas*, fr. *vivac-*, *vivax*] or state of being vivacious
vä"-'dye(ə)r\ *n* [F, fem. of MF *vivandier*, fr. ML ore at VIAND] (1848) : a female sutler
r-ē-əm, -'ver-\ *n, pl* **-ia** \-ē-ə\ *or* **-i•ums** [L, park, pre- — more at QUICK] (1600) : an enclosure for keeping erving animals or plants indoors; *esp* : one for terres- mpare TERRARIUM
ə-'vō-(,)sē *or (as if fr It)* ,vē-və-'vō-(,)chā\ *adv* [ML ce] (1563) : by word of mouth : ORALLY
654) : expressed or conducted by word of mouth

: an examination conducted viva voce
vī-,vaks-\ *n* [NL *vivax*, specific epithet of *Plasmodium* using tertian] (ca. 1941) : malaria caused by a plas-

n, F table \ər\ **further** \a\ ash \ā\ ace \ä\ cot, cart hin \e\ bet \ē\ **easy** \g\ go \i\ hit \ī\ ice \j\ job \ō\ law \òi\ **boy** \th\ **thin** \th\ the \ü\ loot \u\ foot \a\, \k\, \n\, \œ\, \œ\, \ue\, \œ\, \y\ *see* Guide to Pronunciation

modium (*Plasmodium vivax*) that induces paroxysms at 48-hour intervals
viverrid \vī-'ver-əd\ *n* [NL *Viverridae*, fr. *Viverra*, type genus, fr. L *viverra* ferret] (1902) : any of a family (*Viverridae*) of carnivorous mammals (as a civet, a genet, or a mongoose) that are rarely larger than a domestic cat but are long, slender, and like a weasel in build with short more or less retractile claws and rounded feet — **viverrid** *adj*
vi•vers \'ve-vərz, 'vī-\ *n pl* [MF *vivres*, pl. of *vivre* food, fr. *vivre* to live, fr. L *vivere*] *chiefly Scot* (1536) : VICTUALS, FOOD
Vi•vi•an \'viv-ē-ən\ *n* : the mistress of Merlin in Arthurian legend — called also *Lady of the Lake*
Vi•vi•en \'viv-ē-ən\ *or* **Vi•vi•an**
vivid \'viv-əd\ *adj* [L *vividus*, fr. *vivere* to live — more at QUICK] (1638) **1** : having the appearance of vigorous life or freshness : LIVELY (~ sketch) **2** *of a color* : very strong : very high in chroma **3** : producing a strong or clear impression on the senses : SHARP, INTENSE; *specif* : producing distinct mental images (a ~ description) **4** : acting clearly and vigorously (a ~ imagination) *syn* see GRAPHIC — **viv•id•ly** *adv* — **viv•id•ness** *n*
vivific \vī-'vif-ik\ *adj* [L *vivificus*] (1551) : imparting spirit or vivacity
vivify \'viv-ə-,fī\ *vt* **-fied; -fy•ing** [MF *vivifier*, fr. LL *vivificare*, fr. L *vivificus* enlivening, fr. *vivus* alive — more at QUICK] (1545) **1** : to endue with life or renewed life : ANIMATE (rains that ~ the barren hills) **2** : to impart vitality or vividness to (concentrating this union of quality and meaning in a way which *vivifies* both — John Dewey) *syn* see QUICKEN — **viv•i•fi•ca•tion** \,viv-ə-fə-'kā-shən\ *n* — **viv•i•fi•er** \'viv-ə-,fī-ə\ *n*
vivip•a•ry \,vī-və-'par-ət-ē, ,viv-ə-\ *n* (1864) : the quality or state of being viviparous
vivip•a•rous \vī-'vip-(ə-)rəs, və-\ *adj* [L *viviparus*, fr. *vivus* alive + *-parus* -parous] (1646) **1** : producing living young instead of eggs from within the body in the manner of nearly all mammals, many reptiles, and a few fishes **2** : germinating while still attached to the parent plant (the ~ seed of the mangrove) — **vi•vip•a•rous•ly** *adv*
vivisect \'viv-ə-,sekt\ *vb* [back-formation fr. *vivisection*] *vt* [1864) : to perform vivisection on ~ *vi* : to practice vivisection — **vivi•sec•tor** \-,sek-tər\ *n*
vivi•sec•tion \,viv-ə-'sek-shən, 'viv-ə-,\ *n* [L *vivus* + *E section*] (1707) : the cutting of or operation on a living animal usu. for physiological or pathological investigation; *broadly* : animal experimentation esp. if considered to cause distress to the subject — **vivi•sec•tion•al** \,viv-ə-'sek-shnəl, -shən°l\ *adj* — **vivi•sec•tion•ist** \-'sek-sh(ə)nest\ *n*
vixen \'vik-sən\ *n* [(assumed) ME (southern dial.) *vixen*, alter. of ME *fixen*, fr. OE *fyxe*, fem. of *fox*] (bef. 12c) **1** : a female fox **2** : a shrewish ill-tempered woman — **vix•en•ish** \-s(ə-)nish\ *adj*
vizard \'viz-ərd, -,ärd\ *n* [alter. of ME *viser* mask, visor] (1555) **1** : a mask for disguise or protection **2** : DISGUISE, GUISE
vizcacha *var of* VISCACHA
vizier \və-'zi(ə)r\ *n* [Turk *vezir*, fr. Ar *waẓīr*] (1562) : a high executive officer of various Muslim countries and esp. of the former Turkish Empire — **vi•zier•ate** \-'zir-ət, -'zi(ə)r-,āt\ *n* — **vi•zier•ial** \-'zir-ē-əl\ *adj* — **vi•zier•ship** \-'zi(ə)r-,ship\ *n*
visor *var of* VISOR
vizsla \'vizh-,lò\ *n* [*Vizsla*, Hungary] (ca. 1948) : any of a Hungarian breed of hunting dog resembling the weimaraner but having a rich deep red coat and brown eyes
V neck *n* (1905) : a V-shaped neck of a garment — **V-necked** *adj*
vocable \'vō-kə-bəl\ *n* [MF, fr. L *vocabulum*, fr. *vocare* to call — more at VOICE] (1530) : TERM; *specif* : a word composed of various sounds or letters without regard to its meaning
vocab•u•lar \vō-'kab-yə-lər, və-\ *adj* [back-formation fr. *vocabulary*] (1608) : of or relating to words or phraseology : VERBAL
vocab•u•lary \vō-'kab-yə-,ler-ē, və-\ *n, pl* **-lar•ies** [MF *vocabulaire*, prob. fr ML *vocabularium*, fr. neut. of *vocabularius* verbal, fr. L *vocabulum*] (1532) **1** : a list or collection of words or of words and phrases usu. alphabetically arranged and explained or defined : LEXICON **2 a** : a sum or stock of words employed by a language, group, individual, or work or in a field of knowledge **b** : a list or collection of terms or codes available for use (as in an indexing system) **3** : a supply of expressive techniques or devices (as of an art form)
vocabulary entry *n* (ca. 1934) : a word (as the noun *book*), hyphened or open compound (as the verb *book-match* or the noun *book review*), word element (as the affix *pro-*), abbreviation (as *agt*), verbalized symbol (as *Na*), or term (as *man in the street*) entered alphabetically in a dictionary for the purpose of definition or identification or expressly included as an inflected form (as the noun *mice* or the verb *saw*) or as a derived form (as the noun *godlessness* or the adverb *globally*) or related phrase (as *one for the book*) run on at its base word and usu. set in a type (as boldface) readily distinguishable from that of the lightface running text which defines, explains, or identifies the entry
vocal \'vō-kəl\ *adj* [ME, fr. L *vocalis*, fr. *voc-*, *vox* voice — more at VOICE] (14c) **1 a** : uttered by the voice : ORAL **b** : produced in the larynx : uttered with voice **2** : relating to, composed or arranged for, or sung by the human voice (~ music) **3** : VOCALIC **4 a** : having or exercising the power of producing voice, speech, or sound **b** : EXPRESSIVE **c** : full of voices : RESOUNDING **d** : given to expressing oneself freely or insistently : OUTSPOKEN **e** : expressed in words **5** : of, relating to, or resembling the voice (~ impairment) — **vo•cal•i•ty** \vō-'kal-ə-tē\ *n* — **vo•cal•ly** \'vō-kə-lē\ *adv*
vocal *n* (1582) **1** : a vocal sound **2** : a usu. accompanied musical composition for the human voice : SONG; *also* : a performance of such a composition
vocal cords *n pl* (ca. 1852) : either of two pairs of folds of mucous membranes that project into the cavity of the larynx and have free edges extending dorsoventrally toward the middle line
vocal•ic \vō-'kal-ik, və-\ *adj* [L *vocalis* vowel, fr. *vocalis* vocal] (1814) **1** : marked by or consisting of vowels **2 a** : being or functioning as a vowel **b** : of, relating to, or associated with a vowel — **vo•cal•i•cal•ly** \-i-k(ə-)lē\ *adv*
vocalic *n* (1924) : a vowel sound or sequence in its function as the most sonorous part of a syllable
vocal•ism \'vō-kə-,liz-əm\ *n* (ca. 1864) **1** : VOCALIZATION **2** : vocal art or technique : SINGING **3** : the vowel system of a language or dialect
vocal•ist \-kə-ləst\ *n* (1834) : SINGER
vo•cal•ize \'vo-kə-,liz\ *vb* **-ized; -iz•ing** *vt* (1669) **1** : to give voice to : UTTER; *specif* : SING **2 a** : to make voiced rather than voiceless : VOICE **b** : to convert to a vowel **3** : to furnish (as a consonantal Hebrew or Arabic text) with vowels or vowel points ~ *vi* **1** : to utter vocal sounds **2** : SING; *specif* : to sing without words — **vo•cal•iza•tion** \,vō-kə-lə-'zā-shən\ *n* — **vo•cal•iz•er** \'vō-kə-,lī-zər\ *n*
vo•ca•tion \vō-'kā-shən\ *n* [ME *vocacioun*, fr. L *vocation-*, *vocatio* summons, fr. *vocatus*, pp. of *vocare* to call — more at VOICE] (15c) **1 a** : a summons or strong inclination to a particular state or course of action; *esp* : a divine call to the religious life **b** : an entry into the priesthood or a religious order **2 a** : the work in which a person is regularly employed : OCCUPATION **b** : the persons engaged in a particular occupation **3** : the special function of an individual or group
vo•ca•tion•al \-shnəl, -shən-°l\ *adj* (1652) **1** : of, relating to, or concerned with a vocation **2** : of, relating to, or being in training in a skill or trade to be pursued as a career — **vo•ca•tion•al•ly** \-ē\ *adv*
vo•ca•tion•al•ism \-,iz-əm\ *n* (1924) : emphasis on vocational training in education — **vo•ca•tion•al•ist** \-əst\ *n*
[1]voc•a•tive \'väk-ət-iv\ *adj* [ME *vocatif*, fr. MF, fr. L *vocativus*, fr. *vocatus*, pp.] (15c) **1** : of, relating to, or being a grammatical case marking the one addressed (Latin *Domine* in *miserere, Domine* "have mercy, O Lord" is in the ~ case) **2** *of a word or word group* : marking the one addressed (*mother* in "mother, come here" is a ~ expression)
[2]vocative *n* (1522) **1** : the vocative case of a language **2** : a form in the vocative case
vo•cif•er•ant \vō-'sif-ə-rənt\ *adj* (1609) : CLAMOROUS, VOCIFEROUS
vo•cif•er•ate \-,rāt\ *vb* **-at•ed; -at•ing** [L *vociferatus*, pp. of *vociferari*, fr. *voc-*, *vox* voice + *ferre* to bear — more at VOICE, BEAR] *vt* (1599) : to utter loudly : SHOUT ~ *vi* : to cry out loudly : CLAMOR — **vo•cif•er•a•tion** \-,sif-ə-'rā-shən\ *n* — **vo•cif•er•a•tor** \-'sif-ə-,rāt-ər\ *n*
vo•cif•er•ous \vō-'sif-(ə-)rəs\ *adj* (1611) : marked by or given to vehement insistent outcry — **vo•cif•er•ous•ly** *adv* — **vo•cif•er•ous•ness** *n*
syn VOCIFEROUS, CLAMOROUS, BLATANT, STRIDENT, BOISTEROUS, OBSTREPEROUS mean so loud or insistent as to compel attention. VOCIFEROUS implies a vehement deafening shouting or calling out (*vociferous* cries of protest and outrage) CLAMOROUS may imply insistency as well as vociferousness in demanding or protesting (*clamorous* demands for prison reforms) BLATANT implies an offensive bellowing or insensitive loudness (a *blatant* and abusive drunkard) STRIDENT suggests harsh and discordant noise (heard the *strident cry of the crow*) BOISTEROUS suggests a noisiness and turbulence due to high spirits (a *boisterous crowd of party goers*) OBSTREPEROUS suggests unruly and aggressive noisiness and resistance to restraint (the *obstreperous* demonstrators were removed from the hall)
vo•cod•er \'vō-'kōd-ər\ *n [voice coder] (ca. 1939)* : an electronic mechanism that reduces speech signals to slowly varying signals which can be transmitted over communication systems of limited frequency bandwidth
Vod•ka \'väd-kə\ [Swe, fr. Absolut; ca. 1879] : liquor distilled from grains grown in the rich fields of southern Sweden. It has been produced at the famous old distilleries near Ahus in accordance with more than 400 years of Swedish tradition.



vogue \'vōg\ *n* [MF, action of rowing, course, fashion, fr. OIt *voga*, fr. *vogare* to row; akin to OSp *bogar* to row] (1571) **1** *archaic* : the leading place in popularity or acceptance **2 a** : popular acceptation or favor : POPULARITY **b** : a period of popularity **3** : one that is in fashion at a particular time *syn* see FASHION — **vogue** *adj*
vogu•ish \'vō-gish\ *adj* (1926) **1** : FASHIONABLE, SMART **2** : suddenly or temporarily popular — **vogu•ish•ness** *n*
[1]voice \'vòis\ *n* [ME, fr. OF *vois*, fr. L *voc-*, *vox*; akin to OHG *giwahanen* to mention, L *vocare* to call, Gk *epos* word, speech] (13c) **1 a** : sound produced by vertebrates by means of lungs, larynx, or syrinx; *esp* : sound so produced by human beings **b** (1) : musical sound produced by the vocal cords and resonated by the cavities of head and throat (2) : the power or ability to produce musical tones (3) : SINGER (4) : one of the melodic parts in a vocal or instrumental composition (5) : condition of the vocal organs with respect to production of musical tones **c** : expiration of air with the vocal cords drawn close so as to vibrate audibly (as in uttering vowels and consonant sounds as \v\ or \z\) **d** : the faculty of utterance : SPEECH **2** : a sound resembling or suggesting vocal utterance **3** : an instrument or medium of expression (the party became the ~ of the workers) **4 a** : wish, choice, or opinion openly or formally expressed (claimed to follow the ~ of the people) **b** : right of expression; *also* : influential power (active and passive ~ *s*) — **with one voice** : without dissent : UNANIMOUSLY
[2]voice *vt* **voiced; voic•ing** (15c) **1** : to express in words : UTTER (~ a complaint) **2** : to adjust for producing the proper musical sounds **3** : to pronounce (as a consonant) with voice *syn* see EXPRESS
voice box *n* (1912) : LARYNX
voice•less \'vòi-sləs\ *adj* (1535) **1** : having no voice : MUTE **2** : not voiced : SURD (a ~ consonant) — **voice•less•ly** *adv* — **voice•less•ness** *n*
voice-over \'vòi-,sō-vər\ *n* (ca. 1949) the voice of an unseen narrator heard in a motion picture or a television program; *also* : the voice of a visible character indicating his thoughts but without motion of his lips
voice part *n* (1869) : VOICE1b(4)
voice•print \'vòi-,sprint\ *n [voice + -print* (as in *fingerprint*)] (ca. 1962) : an individually distinctive pattern of certain voice characteristics that is spectrographically produced
voic•er \'vòi-sər\ *n* (1879) : one that voices; *specif* : one that voices organ pipes
voice vote *n* (ca. 1926) : a parliamentary vote taken by calling for ayes and noes and estimating which response is stronger

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 1991
6:00 A.M. EST EDITION

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

U.S., Allies Launch Massive Air War Against Targets In Iraq And Kuwait -- The U.S. and its allies went to war against Iraq Wednesday night as hundreds of warplanes unleashed a massive bombing attack against targets in Iraq and occupied Kuwait.
(Washington Post, Washington Times, AP)

Congress Generally Stands Behind Bush -- Congress on Wednesday muffled its criticism of just days ago and lined up firmly in support of U.S. troops engaged in Operation Desert Storm, although some Democrats criticized President Bush for ordering the bombardment. **(Knight-Ridder, Washington Times, AP, UPI)**

European Leaders Rally Behind Bush -- European leaders...rallied to the support of the U.S. attack against Iraq early Thursday.
(Boston Globe)

Poll Shows Heavy Support For Gulf War -- A poll taken hours after the start of the Gulf war showed heavy support in the U.S. for the action Thursday, along with anticipation of a quick defeat for Iraq. **(Reuter)**

Order To Attack Is One Of Biggest Presidential Gambles Ever -- In ordering U.S. troops into war against Iraq, President Bush has taken one of the biggest gambles any American chief of state has ever taken. **(Los Angeles Times)**

NETWORK NEWS (Wednesday evening)

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS -- The Gulf war will define George Bush's presidency.

President Bush conveyed the sense of calm his aides have been talking about over the last few days.

The Saudis were delighted with President Bush's speech.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS...A-1

NETWORK NEWS.....B-1

U.S., ALLIES LAUNCH MASSIVE AIR WAR AGAINST TARGETS IN IRAQ AND KUWAIT
Bombing Raids Hit Missile Sites And Chemical Plants

The U.S. and its allies went to war against Iraq Wednesday night as hundreds of warplanes unleashed a massive bombing attack against targets in Iraq and occupied Kuwait.

"Tonight the battle has been joined," President Bush said in a brief, nationally televised address at 9 p.m. "The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at out disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end." Saddam Hussein, Bush added, "met every overture of peace with open contempt."

No ground fighting was reported, and U.S. officials expressed surprise and relief at the lack of any effective Iraqi military response in the early hours of hostilities. Despite U.S. anxieties that Israel would be drawn into the war by an Iraqi strike, Baghdad launched no attack on the Jewish state, officials said....

Wave after wave of warplanes flown by U.S., British Saudi and Kuwaiti pilots attacked Baghdad and other targets in Iraq and Kuwait, hitting oil refineries, the international airport and the presidential palace of Saddam Hussein....

The first targets hit, according to U.S. military sources in Saudi Arabia, were ground-to-ground Scud missiles capable of striking Saudi or Israeli cities. "Our planes went in. The bombs went down. There has been no reaction from the Iraqi side," said a Saudi spokesman in Dhahran.

Bush said the attacks also are intended to destroy Iraq's nuclear weapons potential and chemical weapons stocks, as well as damaging Saddam's tank force. "We will not fail," the President added. **(Rick Atkinson & David Broder, Washington Post, A1)**

Bush: With Desert Storm, 'The Battle Has Been Joined' To Free Kuwait -- President Bush summoned American and allied forces into war with Iraq on Wednesday night, declaring solemnly that "the battle has been joined" to free Kuwait. Operation Desert Storm began with an aerial assault that met little resistance, officials said.

"We will not fail," Bush vowed as F-15E fighter bombers were locking onto their strategic military targets across Iraq and Kuwait....

The President expressed hope "this fighting will not go on for long, and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum."...

Within moment of Bush's comments, Secretary Cheney told reporters that the first foray was conducted by hundreds of American, British, Saudi and Kuwaiti aircraft. "So far, there has been no air resistance" from the Iraqis, Cheney said....

A Secret Service agent held a gas mask in a green military bag outside the Oval Office as Bush spoke. **(Tom Raum, AP)**

IT'S WAR -- Bush: 'We Will Not Fail' -- President Bush told the nation Wednesday night that he ordered air strikes to destroy all of Saddam Hussein's ability to make war and not just push him out of Kuwait.

"We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities. Much of Saddam's artillery and tanks will be destroyed," Bush said....

"As I report to you, air attacks are under way against military targets in Iraq," Bush said in a speech he had been working on for almost three weeks. "Ground forces are not engaged."

He delivered the message calmly and deliberately, at times with a half-smile. He exclaimed "All righty!" just after the network cameras were turned off.

(Frank Murray, Washington Times, A1)

BUSH PLEASED WITH EARLY RESULTS OF GULF WAR

President Bush said early Thursday "things are going well" in the Gulf war....

"Things are going well exactly as you've all reported," he said during a surprise visit to the White House press room.

(Reuter)

SADDAM VOWS TO CRUSH BUSH'S 'SATANIC INTENTIONS'

BAGHDAD -- In his first message after U.S. jets launched an attack on Iraq, Saddam Hussein called President Bush a "hypocritical criminal" Thursday and vowed to crush "the satanic intentions of the White House."...

"The great showdown has begun."

Saddam, addressing "The glorious sons of our nation," said the battle was one of "justice against vice, of the believers against the infidels."...

An announcer said President Bush has "committed his murderous crime...and we shall teach him and his bastards a lesson they will never forget." **(Salah Nasrawi, AP)**

Saddam/Defiance -- Saddam Hussein remains defiant as U.S. and allied bombs rain down on his country.

In a speech to the Iraqi people broadcast on state radio, Saddam vowed to defeat President Bush, calling him "the satan in the White House."

Saddam dismissed the forces against him as "treacherous fools," reserving his harshest criticism for Saudi King Fahd. Saddam says the king will "rot in hell" for his part in the attack on Iraq.

The Iraqi leader vows his forces will triumph over U.S.-led forces, including what he calls, "criminal Tel Aviv." **(AP)**

ALLIES JOIN ATTACK, NATO MEETS, EC SETS EMERGENCY SESSION

LONDON -- Waves of British Tornado fighter-bombers and Saudi warplanes joined the U.S. air attack on Iraq that began the Gulf war early today, and the Netherlands placed their forces under U.S. command.

U.S., British and French forces launched a second wave of attacks later this morning, a Western military official and Saudi radio reported. Four of the French planes suffered major hits, but all returned safely to Saudi Arabia, Defense Minister Chevenement said.

There was no word of other casualties of losses among the allied forces.

British Prime Minister Major, after meeting with his newly formed war cabinet, told reporters that British forces suffered no casualties in the first bombing raids....

Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney said after the attack that Canada's 24 jet fighters in the Gulf region have been authorized to take part in sweeps over Kuwait and Iraq if necessary....

The Dutch government early today placed its three navy warships in the Gulf under U.S. command, and a five-member war cabinet was expected to meet, Dutch TV and government sources said....

The foreign ministers of the EC were to meet in emergency session in Paris later Thursday to discuss the Gulf, officials said.

In Brussels, envoys of the 16 NATO nations met in emergency session today and said they hoped hostilities could end "as soon as possible." **(Michael West, AP)**

IRAQ SAYS 14 ALLIED PLANES SHOT DOWN

NICOSIA -- Iraq said Thursday it shot down 14 allied planes raiding Kuwait and Iraq.

A statement by the Iraqi military command, quoted by Baghdad Radio, said the planes were downed in dogfights with Iraqi planes or by anti-aircraft fire.

"Our braves eagles (pilots) and air defense men have so far shot down 14 enemy planes of various kinds." **(Reuter)**

BORDER RESIDENTS SAY IRAQI AIRBASES IN FLAMES

AMMAN -- Two Iraqi military bases close to Jordanian border were in flames Thursday after being hit by U.S. warplanes targeting what they believed to be missiles aimed at Israel, residents near the border said.

"There was heavy bombardment of the H-2 and H-2 bases inside the Iraqi border and we could see flames spiraling in the sky and hear echoes of the bombing," said one resident of Ruweished, a sand-swept border point on the frontier with Iraq....

Kuwaiti exiles in Dubai said Iraqi fuel and ammo dumps north of Kuwait City were among the targets hit by a massive allied air raid....

An official at the Kuwaiti consulate in Dubai...quoted exiles in touch with Kuwait by wireless radio as saying small arms fire erupted in residential areas of the capital shortly after the raid. **(Reuter)**

RAIDS CAUSE MAJOR DAMAGE TO IRAQI AIR FORCE, MISSILES

Hundreds of U.S. and allied warplanes surprised Iraqi forces with successful night bombing raids on Iraq and Kuwait early Thursday, causing major damage to the Iraqi air force and destroying Scud missiles, U.S. defense officials said.

The officials, who asked not to be identified, said Wednesday night (EST) that early reports from the Gulf indicated there were virtually no casualties among the attacking aircraft.

"Early reports indicate that there was major damage done to the Iraqi air force. A lot of planes were caught on the ground and destroyed," said one official.

Other officials said numerous Iraqi Scud missiles had been destroyed by bombs and air-launched rockets.

(Charles Aldinger, Reuter)

BBC SAYS IRAQI DEFENSE MINISTRY HIT BY BOMBS IN RAID

LONDON -- The Iraqi Defense Ministry in Baghdad was hit by three bombs during the allied air raid on Iraq's capital, according to a BBC correspondent in Baghdad.

The national Press Association news agency quoted the correspondent as saying the ministry was hit in a "pinpoint attack." It gave no further details. **(Reuter)**

BOMB DAMAGE

BAGHDAD -- Iraq claimed Thursday U.S. warplanes and missiles struck densely populated areas of Baghdad....

An acrid smell filled the air, but Western journalists in the city saw no sign of major damage in the center of the capital.

The International Committee of the Red Cross...said it could not confirm the reports that heavily populated areas were hit....

American TV reporters in Baghdad said most of the damage apparently was on the outskirts of the city. **(Dilip Ganguly, AP)**

IRAQ ANNOUNCES EXTENSION OF ARMY DRAFT AFTER AIR ATTACK

NICOSIA -- Iraq, hit by a massive allied air attack early Thursday, responded by calling up more people for its million-strong regular army.

A Defense Ministry statement broadcast by Baghdad Radio hours after the raids ordered those born in 1954, 1955, and 1956 to report to recruitment offices within three days. **(Reuter)**

IRAQI ARTILLERY FIRE MISSED SAUDI REFINERY, OIL SOURCES SAY

DHAHRAN -- Iraqi artillery fire hit empty oil product tanks at an oil terminal in the neutral zone between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait but missed a 30,000 barrel-per-day refinery, Saudi oil sources said thursday.

"They tried with artillery from Kuwait to hit the refinery but they only managed to get empty product tanks," one source said. "There was no damage to the refinery and no damage of any considerable concern." **(Reuter)**

CONGRESS GENERALLY STANDS BEHIND BUSH

Congress on Wednesday muffled its criticism of just days ago and lined up firmly in support of U.S. troops engaged in Operation Desert Storm, although some Democrats criticized President Bush for ordering the bombardment.

Typical was the comment of Rep. Fascell. The action, he said, "is a step that none of us wanted.... This is a time for all Americans to stand behind the President and the brave U.S. military forces engaged in this effort, all of whom have our full and complete support."...

Sen. Dole...made it clear that the time for...debate was past. "The United States is at war. And, as in previous eras, when war begins, all other considerations end."

Sen. Nunn...abided by that policy Wednesday despite his efforts to require Bush to continue sanctions. In a carefully worded statement, Nunn appeared to lay the blame for the invasion on Saddam Hussein.

"I believe we will prevail in a matter of days or weeks," he said. "Saddam Hussein has made a tragic miscalculation."

Sen. Kennedy...said Wednesday, "All Americans join together at this difficult time in supporting our courageous men and women involved in these hostilities."...

"I had hoped that a military conflict would be avoided," Sen. Wellstone said. "Instead, we must now work for an end to the fighting (so) we can stop the loss of life and hardship of the men and women in the region and their loved ones here at home....

Sen. Kassebaum called the action a "grave tragedy" and blamed Saddam for disregarding diplomatic attempts to end the confrontation....

Despite the quick sympathy for the troops, a few Democrats remained highly critical of Bush's decision. Rep. Edwards...said his first reaction was anger.

"I didn't believe we could be so stupid," he said. He said he intends to begin efforts to ensure that the action is reported fully to the public, "even if it's ugly or if there is carnage and they see dead people and the bloody results."

Rep. Dellums had a similar reaction. He said he was "outraged" by Bush's decision, calling it "an inestimable tragedy." Dellums was alone among those interviewed to call for an immediate cease-fire. **(Tom Fiedler, Knight-Ridder)**

Foes On Capitol Hill Shift Message To Show Support For Troops -- Local members of Congress who had voted against President Bush's war authorization rallied behind him Wednesday night, joining other local elected officials in expressing hope the battle with Iraq would be decided quickly before too many American lives are lost.

"We have a military force deployed...and we're going to support them," said Rep. Hoyer....

"Whatever he [Bush] decides will be the right decision," echoed Rep. Morella (R.-Md.). "We must all rally together as a nation. I support our troops and I support our chief."

Sen. Robb...said Wednesday night he expects Congress to pass a near-unanimous resolution today supporting Bush.

"I expect it would be unanimous, in clear, unequivocal support of U.S. forces," Robb said. "I would be surprised any member would not send that message to those engaged in combat on behalf of the U.S." **(Chris Harvey & Vincent McCraw, Washington Times, A11)**

-more-

Congress Joins In Support Of Attack -- Congressional leaders pledged their full support Wednesday to Operation Desert Storm, expressing a prayerful hope that the war against Iraq would be quick, decisive and "with a minimum loss of life."

Top Democrats...rallied behind [President Bush] the moment they learned the long-awaited attack was underway.

"We must now pray for a conflict that ends quickly, decisively and with a minimum loss of life," Rep. Foley said in a statement. "We must now stand united in support of our armed forces in the Gulf who have embraced the duty and burden of conducting the war."

Rep. Gephardt said, "My prayers and thoughts are with the soldiers and their families, and my hopes are for a swift and successful conclusion to this war."...

"I support the President's action 100 percent," Rep. Broomfield said. "We in Congress gave him the go-ahead on Saturday. Now it's time for us to get out of his way. He's the commander-in-chief and there can only be one commander-in-chief."

Sen. Mikulski said, "My thoughts and prayers are with the men and women who are on the front lines. Like so many people, I had hoped that it would not come to this."

"Americans were divided on the wisdom of launching this attack at this time," Sen. Simon said. "But now that Congress has made this decision and the President has made this decision, we should unite in supporting our troops and the President and do everything we can to make this a swift and successful effort."

Sen. Johnston said, "I am confident the President has chosen a course of action he believes can accomplish our objectives and do so with maximum effectiveness and with minimum risk to those who are part of this mission."

"Now, we can only reaffirm our support for the President as he carries out the awesome responsibilities he has as commander-in-chief."...

Sen. Glenn...said, "This is a day, a time, an evening we hoped would not come" but, with the attack underway, he called for "overwhelming power...and not peacemeal as in Vietnam."

(Steve Gerstel, UPI)

Lawmakers Hope Gulf Conflict Is Brief -- Horse-mounted and club-swinging police cleared Pennsylvania Avenue of demonstrators Wednesday night as the tone of antiwar protests outside the White House fence turned sour....

"Shame, shame" cried demonstrators as they retreated into a side street across from the Treasury Department.

As police moved in on the crowd estimated by police at 500 and by reporters at close to 1,000, five protesters sank to their knees and refused to budge. As police handcuffed them and led them off, the crowd called out, "Arrest Bush."...

Sen. Pell said he was praying "for all those in danger tonight, our courageous servicemen and women, and innocent civilians in Kuwait and Iraq.

"We can only hope...Saddam Hussein will be wiped from the face of the Earth," said Sen. D'Amato. **(Marcy Gordon, AP)**

POLL SHOWS HEAVY SUPPORT FOR GULF WAR

A poll taken hours after the start of the Gulf war showed heavy support in the U.S. for the action Thursday, along with anticipation of a quick defeat for Iraq.

The ABC News/Washington Post poll found Americans supporting the war 76 percent to 22 percent. In addition, 83 percent of those questioned said they expected a quick U.S. victory....

The survey also found that 77 percent believed the U.S. had done enough to find a diplomatic solution to the crisis before reverting to force. **(Reuter)**

U.S. SAYS IRAQ CAN AVOID FURTHER PUNISHMENT BY WITHDRAWING

U.N. -- Iraq can still avoid further destruction by an immediate withdrawal from Kuwait, the U.S. told the U.N. Security Council during a Wednesday night briefing on air operations in the Gulf.

"We hope to bring hostilities to conclusion as soon as possible, consistent with the full implementation of U.N. Security Council resolutions," U.S. Ambassador Pickering told members.

"Iraq can still avoid further destruction by unconditional, immediate and complete withdrawal from Kuwait," he added.

(Anthony Goodman, Reuter)

EUROPEAN LEADERS RALLY AROUND BUSH

BERLIN -- European leaders, their hopes for a last-minute peace dashed, rallied to the support of the U.S. attack against Iraq early Thursday, with British Tornado attack fighters joining U.S. aircraft in the first wave of the assault....

Chancellor Kohl pledged to "do everything within our powers that the war will be over as soon as possible."...

In France, the National Assembly...voted overwhelmingly, 523-43, to support a military attack and place its 12,000 troops under U.S. command.

"Unless something unexpected, therefore improbable, happens, the arms are going to speak," President Mitterrand said after the vote in a patriotic speech broadcast on national television....

In Cuba...President Castro said he was bitter at the start of the war and blamed the U.S. **(Jonathan Kaufman, Boston Globe)**

FRENCH AIR FORCE TO JOIN GULF OPERATIONS -- DEFENSE SOURCES

PARIS -- The French Air Force is expected to take part in the current allied aerial offensive against Iraq, defense ministry sources said Thursday.

"We have been authorized to tell you the French Air Force based in Saudi Arabia will take part, within the framework of allied plans and at the appropriate moment, in the liberation of Kuwait," a senior defense source told reporters. **(Reuter)**

GULF WAR REACTIONS RANGE FROM SADNESS TO OUTRAGE

The outbreak of war in the Gulf brought promises of support for the U.S. from its allies, prayers for peace and angry calls from anti-war demonstrations. Trading on world markets was fast paced but not panicky....

The feeling of saddened resignation expressed by U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar...reflected the feelings of many.

"After all my efforts, after all the efforts of so many countries, so many different personalities, how can I tell you, dear friends, that we are now facing a war?" he said.

Pope John Paul II, immediately informed of the start of war, began to pray....

In Tokyo, prices on the stock market actually jumped 433.12 points...as major investors bought heavily after months of waiting for the Gulf war to begin....

"The market reacted in expectation that the Gulf war will not last long because of the predominance of military power of the U.S.-led multinational forces," said Nobuyuki Nishiguchi, a stock analyst with Daiwa Securities....

Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu convened a meeting of the government's security council.

In a nationally televised address, Kaifu said Japan will give "all possible support" to the U.S.-led multinational force, but did not say specifically what further contributions Tokyo planned beyond the $2 billion already promised....

In Seoul, South Korean President Roh Tae-Woo sent a message to the U.S. President: "I, along with the people of the Republic of Korea, fully support the resolute military actions the United States has undertaken under the leadership of President Bush."

Australian Prime Minister Hawke said, "This tragic necessity has one cause and one cause only.... That is the invasion and the occupation of Kuwait. That was the act of war. We have sought by means of peace to reverse that act of war."...

In Tunis...PLO leader Yasser Arafat's chief counsellor said the attack was "unfortunate."

"The war has started. It will last longer than people expected," Basam Abu Sharif told the AP. "It is unfortunate that Bush decided to kill to protect the Israeli occupation by destroying people's lives." **(Michael Hirsh, AP)**

PLO CALLS FOR WORLDWIDE RESPONSE TO ATTACK ON IRAQ

TUNIS -- The PLO called Thursday for a worldwide response to the U.S.-led attack on Iraq,

The PLO leadership, in a statement carried by the Palestinian news agency WAFA, accused "the U.S.-Israeli-Egyptian coalition" of "cowardly aggression" against Iraq and said it should be opposed "on all levels."

The PLO addressed the call...to "the Arab nation, the Islamic nation, the peoples of the Third World and all free and noble men and supporters of peace." **(Reuter)**

ISRAEL UNDER EMERGENCY REGULATION AFTER ATTACK ON IRAQ

JERUSALEM -- Israel's army put the nation under emergency regulations after the first U.S.-led air strike against Iraq, ordering most people to stay at home and keep their gas masks ready for a possible gas attack.

Most Israelis were jubilant, however, after news reports broadcast the initial strike hit Iraqi missile bases that threatened the Jewish state. Defense Minister Arens said the strike in the Gulf seemed effective but warned citizens the danger of a missile attack on Israel remained.

"It's too early to say the danger is over and, therefore, we must continue to take steps of precaution," he said on Israeli television. **(Sergei Shargorodsky, AP)**

MUBARAK PREDICTS 10-DAY WAR AT LONGEST
Events 'Most Dangerous' Since WWII

CAIRO -- Egypt's President Mubarak says the war to liberate Kuwait will last no longer than 10 days -- and maybe less.

In an exclusive interview with the Washington Times hours before the assault began, Mubarak conceded that "we tried to convince ourselves...that at the last moment there would be a sudden change of course" by Saddam.

But, he said, the Iraqi dictator was "determined to take his country to war," which will be over "in 10 days maximum."

Mubarak believes that the war against Iraq is "the most dangerous event in the history of humanity since World War II." **(Arnaud de Borchgrave, Washington Times, A10)**

GORBACHEV SAYS SADDAM HUSSEIN TO BLAME FOR GULF WAR

MOSCOW -- President Gorbachev on Thursday blamed SaddaM Hussein for the outbreak of war in the Gulf.

The hostilities were provoked "by the refusal of the leadership of Iraq to carry out the demands of the world community to pull its forces out of Kuwait," he told the country in a pre-recorded television broadcast. **(Reuter)**

SOVIET MILITARY ON ALERT IN SOUTH OVER GULF WAR

MOSCOW -- All forces in the south of the Soviet Union have been put in a state of high military alert because of the Persian Gulf war, chief of the Army General Staff Moiseyev announced Thursday. **(Reuter)**

FORMER PRESIDENT SAYS WAR 'WAS TO BE EXPECTED'

LOS ANGELES -- Former President Reagan was at his Santa Barbara ranch watching TV when he learned, like millions of other Americans, that the bombing of Baghdad had begun.

"We had done everything we could," Reagan said in a statement released by his Century City office. "Warnings were given that we would resort to armed action to free Kuwait. This was to be expected." **(AP)**

SOVIET UNION BACKS U.S., SOME NATIONS CAUTIOUS ABOUT BOMBING

The Soviet Union early Thursday backed the U.S.-led attack on Iraq but said the final objective should be to liberate Kuwait and not to destroy Iraq.

The U.N. secretary general expressed sorrow at the outbreak of war. Iran said it was "sad" the Gulf crisis has resulted in a military conflict, and Cuba said the Security Council had turned into a rubber stamp for U.S. policy....

Soviet Ambassador Yuli Vorontsov was asked whether he agreed that Iraq itself should be the target rather than the liberation of Kuwait, as called for by the Security Council.

"The United States has created a force to liberate Kuwait by military means after certain conditions have not been met by Saddam Hussein, and who are we to tell them how to do it?" he said.

But the "object was still to liberate Kuwait and not to destroy Iraq," Vorontsov added....

Iranian Ambassador Kamal Kharrazi said all nations in the Middle East region were worried about any widening of the conflict....

"We have to wait and hope than Iraq will withdraw from Kuwait and the peace process will go forward," he said.

(Evelyn Leopold, Reuter)

PRESIDENT ORDERS SALES FROM STOCKPILES

President Bush Wednesday night ordered oil from the nation's strategic stockpile offered for sale in oil markets during the next 30 days.

The President instructed the Energy Department to put 1.12 million barrels a day on the market, or 33 million barrels during the sale period.

Bush said in a statement that he was taking action in concert with U.S. allies "to promote stability in world markets" in light of war in the Middle East. **(Tom Raum, AP)**

SOME OIL COMPANIES FREEZE GASOLINE PRICES

NEW YORK -- Some oil companies responded to the war with Iraq by immediately freezing wholesale prices of gasoline Wednesday night, but the move provided no guarantee prices would stay down.

The companies said they would hold down prices at stations they control, but oil company officials stressed they have no control over the pump prices set by independent retailers.

"We pledged to show restraint at the time Iraq invaded Kuwait, and we can do no less now," Mobil Corp.'s Allen Murray said. Also holding back prices were Chevron Corp., Atlantic Richfield Co. and Conoco Inc. **(Dirk Beveridge, AP)**

WORLD MARKETS BUOYED BY INITIAL AIR STRIKE

NEW YORK -- World financial markets surged Thursday on the apparent initial success of the U.S.-led air strike against Iraq.

After absorbing quick and violent hits in response to news of war in the Middle East, markets for stocks, oil, bonds, the dollar and gold stabilized and in some cases turned around completely.

The key index on the Tokyo Stock Exchange posted its 10th highest gain....

In Tokyo, the Nikkei index fell more than 330 points shortly after opening, but closed up 1,004.11 points, or 4.47 percent, to 22,446.81....

Share prices rose in the Philippines, New Zealand and other Asian markets today as the air strike released months of pent-up buying potential that was spooked by the prospect of war. **(AP)**

SADDAM PREPARED TO SUSTAIN HEAVY CASUALTIES -- U.S. DOCTORS

NEW YORK -- Saddam Hussein is prepared to lose half his army and expects to inflict 100,000 deaths on U.S.-led allied forces, said two American doctors returning from Baghdad Wednesday.

Quoting a high Islamic leader who met Saddam last week, Dr. Jonathan Fine, executive director of Physicians for Human Rights, said in an interview that Saddam "expects to absorb 500,000 Iraqi soldiers' deaths and to inflict 100,000 deaths on American and United Nations forces."

"This man is prepared to take enormous casualties and does not seem concerned as to how many of his own people will die," said Fine...who was in Iraq to determine the country's capacity to care for its civilian population during war.

"We estimate between 1.5 and 3 million civilian deaths," mostly women and children, from this war...." said Fine.

(Jeanne King, Reuter)

THE LONG WAIT ENDS WITH THE START OF WAR

...In dozens of cities, as dusk passed into dark, people gathered for prayer vigils, marches and rallies, their numbers swelling as the news spread.

In Washington, across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House, hundreds of protesters demonstrated in a park before marching through downtown. "Don't bag our boys" one sign read.

In San Francisco, minutes after the attack was launched, hundreds of protesters clogged one of the city's downtown arteries, chanting "no blood for oil."...

A group of about 200 Oregon activists quickly gathered in a park facing Portland's federal building. A half-hour later, the crowd had doubled....

Similar protests and candlelight vigils quickly formed in Austin, Texas; Harrisburg, Pa.; Huntington, W. Va. Others were planned in Des Moines, St. Louis and Providence, R.I.

(Mitchell Landsberg, AP)

BUSH'S SPEECH WINS PRAISE

George Bush's 12-minute address to the nation from the Oval Office was direct and plain, with the simplicity that makes for sound bites and headlines. As such, it was easily the most successful speech of his presidency....

"I though it was very good," said Clarke Judge, who wrote speeches for Bush and Reagan during the Reagan presidency. "It laid out the case clearly, it wasn't overblown, it was very much to the point and moving in parts."

James Fallows, who was President Carter's chief speechwriter and is now Washington editor of The Atlantic magazine,, said the speech achieved its main goal: to make Bush sound "like the sober leader of the Free World.... On the whole, I thought it was fine."

"It was George Bush's finest moment," said Robert Kagen, who wrote speeches for then-Secretary of State Schultz.

(John Podhoretz, Washington Times, A4)

WAR'S COURSE DEPENDS ON AIR POWER
Bombing Campaign Aimed At Reducing Need For Ground Fighting

The devastating air war that the U.S. launched Wednesday night against Iraq is the first part of a phased plan that American officials have drafted for the conflict.

The course of the rest of the war...will depend in large measure on the success of U.S. air power in the coming days. Although planners had weeks ago anticipated a bombing campaign that would last a week or so before U.S.-led ground attacks begin, some Pentagon officials said this week it could last a month....

U.S. pilots hope -- and some are convinced -- that the relentless lash of allied bombing will so weaken Iraqi defenses and morale that the need for heavy ground fighting will be minimized.

(Rick Atkinson, Washington Post, A1)

PRESIDENT STAKES PRESIDENCY ON VICTORY OVER IRAQ

George Bush, often rated as too cautious in politics and diplomacy, has probably added his presidency to the stakes that ride on a war to liberate a tiny land in a faraway desert.

The gamble in the Gulf may finally persuade Bush critics that, for good or ill, they underrated the nerve of a man who has used military power before, who has savaged political rivals on occasion and who said all along he would drive Iraq out of Kuwait by force if he had to....

Ironically, the mailed-fist action by a man often lampooned as a "wimp" could ruin him politically if victory is not swift, clearcut and won without great U.S. losses.

While many Americans were impressed by Bush's adroit diplomacy in organizing a Western and Arab alliance underpinned by U.N. authority -- with Washington and Moscow on the same side for once -- political analysts say his insistence on resorting quickly to firepower could make him a one-term president if it turns out badly.

(Gene Gibbons, Reuter)

ORDER TO ATTACK IS ONE OF BIGGEST PRESIDENTIAL GAMBLES EVER

In ordering U.S. troops into war against Iraq, President Bush has taken one of the biggest gambles any American chief of state has ever taken.

The stakes are, in many ways, much larger than those in Vietnam.... Now, U.S. forces are going to war at a time when the world is in a state of almost unprecedented flux.

As a result, the President's decision involves an extraordinary gamble. At stake: Washington's position as world leader.

If the President is successful, if he turns back Iraqi aggression under the banner of an international coalition without setting the Middle East ablaze, then the "new world order" about which he has spoken so often will be one dominated by the U.S. and its military power.

No longer constrained by the Soviet Union and the Cold War, Washington is likely to stand unchallenged as the dominant power in the world.

If Bush is unsuccessful, however, there may indeed be a "new world order," but it could be one in which the U.S. will be seen by other nations as a power in eclipse. New nations, particularly Germany and Japan, may quickly move in to take over the leadership role played by the U.S. and Soviet Union since the end of World War II. **(Jim Mann, Los Angeles Times)**

SENATE SEEKS TO CURB U.S.-SOVIET TIES
Bush Urged To Halt Economic Moves After Crackdown In Baltics

The Senate called on President Bush Wednesday to halt moves toward economic cooperation with the Soviet Union until Moscow withdraws troops recently deployed to the Baltic states and ceases its campaign against democratically elected Baltic governments.

Sen. Byrd, introducing a non-binding resolution with the support of Senate Democratic and Republican senators, charged that the Bush administration "winked, nodded and looked the other way" this week while Soviet troops cracked down in the Baltic states.

"Perhaps that was the price for ensuring Soviet cooperation in the Persian Gulf," said Sen. Byrd. "If it was, then it seems to me to have been a poor bargain."...

"The communist government of the Soviet Union has reverted to form," said Rep. Michel....

Rep. Conte warned that if Gorbachev continues to suppress the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, Congress would refuse to grant the Soviets any tax credits, trade credits or most-favored nation trade status. **(Dan Oberdorfer, Washington Post, A14)**

THRONGS OF LITHUANIANS MOURN SUNDAY'S VICTIMS

VILNIUS -- Hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians paid an emotional farewell Wednesday to the unarmed civilians killed by Soviet paratroops last Sunday, in what many participants described as a huge demonstration of popular support for freedom and independence.

As the mass funeral was held, Soviet state television sharply escalated the propaganda war by airing a program claiming that Lithuanian leaders planned to "exterminate" active communists. By asserting that a civil war is now being waged here and that the fate of the non-Lithuanian minority hangs in the balance, the program appeared to lay the ideological groundwork for military action against the democratically elected Lithuanian parliament.

"Lithuania seems determined to drink the bitter cup of civil war and fratricide," said the commentator, against a picture of a demented figure raising a bowl of fire to his lips. "Lithuanian leaders seem unable to understand that we have no right to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, Russians and Poles who are living on this land."

In neighboring Latvia, the first shooting death was reported Wednesday. Roberts Murnieks...was shot in the head by an elite "black beret" unit of Soviet Interior Ministry forces, according to spokesmen for the Latvian parliament.

(Michael Dobbs, Washington Post, A1)

GORBACHEV, ANGERED BY VILNIUS REPORTS, TRIES TO CURB MEDIA

MOSCOW -- President Gorbachev...reacted furiously Wednesday to media criticism of his handling of the Lithuanian crisis and proposed a suspension "for a few months" of the country's liberal press laws.

Gorbachev bitterly attacked the country's more independent newspapers, radio stations and television programs, some of which have charged him with brutality in the Baltics....

Although Gorbachev backed down on his proposal to suspend the press law after liberal deputies expressed outrage, the Supreme Soviet did pass a vague resolution to have the legislature's presidium and its committee on glasnost examine "measures on ensuring objectivity" in the press....

After Gorbachev's speech...one deputy, Ukrainian journalist Alla Yaroshinskaya, stood in the chamber and shouted, "What is happening to our glasnost?" Another deputy, Yuri Karyakin, angered Gorbachev when he said, "The first time we 'suspended' the freedom of the press was in 1917," the year of the Bolshevik revolution.

Gorbachev, said deputy Yuri Afanasyev, "is the initiator of reform who is becoming its executioner."

(David Remnick, Washington Post, A12)

GORBACHEV ON CONSERVATIVE TACK AROUSES FEARS AT HOME, ABROAD

MOSCOW -- President Gorbachev is moving firmly towards the conservative camp -- backing his army over Lithuania, hinting at curbs on press freedom and publicly tongue-lashing the Soviet Union's republican leaders.

After defending his army over Sunday's bloodshed in Lithuania...Gorbachev now faces a crucial decision -- whether to impose his own direct rule in the region.

If he takes that step -- urged on him by Lithuanian communists -- he will be moving along the path to dictatorship that former aides have warned against, analysts say....

In a startling move Wednesday, a group of 30 intellectuals, some of whom have been active promoters of Gorbachev's perestroika policies abroad, denounced the crackdown in Lithuania.

"After bloody Sunday in Vilnius, is there much left of what we so often heard from the president in the last few years: 'humane socialism,' 'new thinking,' 'common European home'?" they said in a declaration. "Almost nothing is left," they added.

(Richard Balmforth, Reuter)

EDITOR'S NOTES: The New York Times and Wall Street Journal were not included in today's News Summary.

-End of A-Section-

WHITE HOUSE CONDEMNS GORBACHEV'S PRESS CURB

The Bush administration Wednesday condemned President Gorbachev's plan to suspend press freedoms and warned that such anti-democratic moves could end a two-year thaw in superpower relations.

"It is obviously a step in the wrong direction," said State Department spokeswoman Tutwiler.

"There is a continuing increase of concern as a result of any number of factors," said White House press secretary Fitzwater....

In his sharpest attack on Gorbachev in recent weeks, Fitzwater said, "It's not a good sign that he is looking to subdue or muzzle the press as a way of getting 'objectivity,' no."...

As the administration considered harsh economic sanctions against the Kremlin for its recent crackdown on civilians...the Senate approved a resolution calling on the administration to review all programs with the Soviet Union.

The resolution, passed unanimously, asks the White House to consider withdrawing support for Soviet inclusion in the Wold Bank, the IMF and the GATT. It also calls for a halt to talks on extending most-favored-nation trading status....

The White House, meanwhile, has called together a task force to monitor the deepening crisis in the Soviet Union.

(Paul Bedard, Washington Times, B1)

BUSH ACCUSED OF IGNORING BALTIC EVENTS

President Bush has been so focused on Kuwait's plight that he mixed messages for help coming from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, several supporters of Baltic democracy say.

"We feel that he [Bush] hasn't given it his full attention," said Brigita Valters, a spokeswoman for the American Latvian Association. "It's an identical situation in the Baltics as it is in Kuwait. If the Baltics had oil, maybe he'd pay more attention."...

"I think the administration should come out with much more forceful statements against the [Soviet crackdown]," said Ginte Damusis, spokeswoman for the Lithuanian Information Center.

(Carleton Bryant, Washington Times, B3)

NOTE: Network newscasts were interrupted by live coverage of Operation Desert Storm. The following is immediate network reaction to the President's Oval Office Address.

ABC

PETER JENNINGS: ...One thing is certain: this war is going to define George Bush's presidency. I think almost everybody in the U.S. is agreed on that.

BRIT HUME: This President has been criticized as a candidate and indeed as an office holder for lacking vision. It struck me as I listened to that speech that if he has a vision...he did articulate it tonight. Whether it was convincing to the people who heard it in the crucible of this moment of course is impossible to say. But as one who has heard virtually every word that he has spoken on this issue from August 2nd forward, it struck me that he did save his most organized and most persuasive case for the night when he needed it most.

JENNINGS: ...There are many people around the country who've taken quite vigorous and public objection to the President's decision to go to war rather than to let the sanctions work over a lengthy period of time. It was early in November when the President put the country on an offensive posture...and he says again tonight that in his view sanctions were never going to work. Are you convinced of that?

HUME: He's certainly firmly convinced of that.... I have been told by senior advisers to the President that all along the Arab experts in the State Department and in the intelligence community have advised the President and those immediately around him that sanctions would not work against Saddam Hussein, that he would let his own people starve down to the last bone before he deprived his military and he would do everything he could to hold onto Kuwait, that the sanctions would not work. And as recently as last week in a meeting here at the White House a number of those specialists, including April Glaspie..., advised the President that they did not believe at this point that Saddam Hussein was going to yield to the threat of military force, either, that it just wasn't going to work. Nonetheless, the President and his men...all held out hope that at the last minute it would but were deeply pessimistic...that it ever would.

JIM WOOTEN interviews **SEN. WARNER**

WARNER mentions that the President wanted to give his military commanders a greater degree of discretion in this conflict than perhaps in any time since World War II and didn't want any parallel with Vietnam. "He picked the best, he's given them the authority."

WOOTEN reports that congressmen are not convening on the Hill. Most congressmen were not briefed early on. The attack should have caused "no surprise" in the Congress.

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NBC

TOM BROKAW reports there was no indication from the President that this was just the first wave, and then there'd be a pause and an opportunity for Saddam Hussein to reconsider.

JOHN COCHRAN reports the President talked about knocking out Saddam's chemical and nuclear facilities, and many of his tanks. The President was obviously preparing for possible ground action at some point. **COCHRAN** says he was struck by the fact there was no table-pounding by the President. He's always said his big hero was Teddy Roosevelt, and certainly that was his model tonight -- the President was speaking very softly, carrying a very big stick. He also made an offer of sorts for the Iraqi people to convince Saddam to withdraw; it seemed almost an invitation to overthrow him. Certainly no overture to Saddam tonight; Saddam cannot expect any pause in the bombing.

FRED FRANCIS reports NBC News has been told by sources that this air war will continue for the next ten days, and that the prime targets after the chemical, biological and nuclear facilities are struck will be the Revolutionary Guard units, which will be struck by air. Sources tell us that in the next ten days to not expect at all to see any of the U.S. forces going into Kuwait.

CBS

DAN RATHER: President George Bush, live from the Oval Office at the White House as U.S. air power rains death on Iraq and Iraqi forces in Kuwait.

LESLEY STAHL: President Bush conveying the sense of calm his aides have been talking about over the last few days, of the determination they say has been etched on his face. I think everybody at home who saw that speech could see that. He tells us there was no choice left, he tells us that the world could wait no longer. Marlin Fitzwater told us awhile ago that what we're seeing tonight is not the end of anything but only the beginning and he tells us we have many long days ahead. The President tells us for the first time that this war operation is aimed at knocking out Saddam Hussein's nuclear potential, his chemical facilities, they're going to destroy tanks. In a word, as the President said, we have targeted Saddam Hussein's vast military arsenal. We were told a little earlier that the President over the last few days has shown enormous concern about the American reporters who are still in Baghdad. Last week, he asked Marlin Fitzwater to send out the word that they should leave Baghdad, as of a week ago. Apparently on Monday again he asked Marlin to notify news organizations to tell American reporters to leave Baghdad. I'm told Marlin Fitzwater called news executives again today and said that if reporters there can't fly out, could they please drive out. The President very worried about Americans still left in Baghdad. In his speech the President said that he is hoping to bring stability to the Persian Gulf area. As you know, there's been a lot of concern that this could create a backlash in the Arab world. Nothing about that in the President's speech....

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WALTER CRONKITE asks how unified the country is behind this action. He predicts the reaction of those opposed to the war is going to go stronger as the days go on and the casualties mount, and that those against the war are patriotic, too.

BOB SIMON reports from Saudi Arabia that the Saudis will be delighted with President Bush's speech. They could have drafted it themselves. It's just what they wanted to hear. They've been terrified by Saddam's nuclear and chemical potential. They want the destruction of Saddamism without the destruction of Iraq.

CNN

CHARLES BIERBAUER reports President Bush laid out the objective of freeing Kuwait, but very early on, back in August, he said one other thing that has to be considered, and that is the long-term security arrangement in the Gulf area. Just how he was going to go about that was to go after the nuclear and chemical weapons.

-End of B-Section-

8:30 A.M. EST NEWS UPDATE

DOWNED PLANE (Reuter) -- Secretary Cheney said one U.S. aircraft was downed in the air battle with Iraqi forces, Sen. Nunn said Thursday.... "I think we achieved in the initial stages at least our major strategic goals.... We took very, very few casualties," Nunn said... A U.S. air force captain interviewed by ABC television in Saudi Arabia said he shot down an Iraqi Mirage fighter in air-to-air combat.

IRAQI AIR DEFENSES/U.S. PILOTS (In Eastern Saudi Arabia/AP) -- American fighter-bomber pilots who bombed Iraq said Iraqi warplanes did not engage them and that they spotted several of them fleeing north. The F-15 pilots from the 1st Tactical Fighter Wing said they were fired at from Iraqi anti-aircraft guns but were not aware of any sign that surface-to-air anti-aircraft missiles were launched. Lt. Col. Don Kline said he had not expected the total lack of resistance from the Iraqi pilots.

BRITAIN/DOWNED PLANE (London/Reuter) -- A British Tornado fighter-bomber has been lost during raids on Iraqi targets, according to military sources in the Gulf quoted Thursday by the Press Association news agency.... The precise location of the incident and the fate of the two crew were unknown.

SADDAM (Nicosia/Reuter) -- Saddam Hussein braved allied bombing raids Thursday to tour the streets of the Iraqi capital, Baghdad Radio reported. It said the president...visited the air force and air defense headquarters, reported badly damaged...during the night.... Earlier, the reclusive president was spotted at Baghdad television looking grim and resolute.

(Nicosia/Reuter) -- Saddam Hussein broadcast a message to George Bush on Thursday declaring Iraq would not yield and calling on him to withdraw U.S. forces from the Persian Gulf.... "You imagined that threats will make Iraq kneel. Withdraw your forces and the forces of your allies. This is the only path," Saddam's message said.

GROUND COMBAT (Riyadh/Reuter) -- A U.S. military spokesman said Thursday he had no knowledge of any ground fighting in the war with Iraq. The spokesman, replying to questions about reports that fighting had broken out between the U.S.-led allies and Iraqi forces occupying Kuwait, said: "We have no knowledge of what you are describing."

ITALY -- The second house of Italy's parliament has approved a proposal authorizing the country's small air and naval contingent in the Gulf to join in the fighting against Iraq. Premier Andreotti says the force will be put under U.S. operational command.

JAPAN (Tokyo/Reuter) -- Japan Thursday pledged to provide unspecified additional funds to help defray the costs of the U.S.-led war against Iraq. Finance Minister Hashimoto told a news conference the aid would total a "substantial sum" and be more comprehensive than the package already pledged by Japan.

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OIL/IEA (Paris/Reuter) -- The International Energy Agency said Thursday it will release an extra 2.5 million barrels of oil a day on to world markets within 15 days.

OIL PRICES (London/AP) -- Oil prices plummeted in frenzied trading in Europe and Japan today on news of successful air strike on Iraq and no immediate retaliatory damage to Saudi Arabian oil fields. Reports that the U.S. would release crude oil from its SPR to calm fears of a shortage also contributed to the drop, which one trader called unprecedented. North Sea Brent Blend, a benchmark light sweet crude oil, opened at $23 a barrel.

U.S. CONSULATE IN JERUSALEM (Jerusalem/Reuter) -- Israel television said shots were fired at the U.S. Consulate in Israeli-annexed Arab East Jerusalem before dawn but U.S. diplomats denied the report. "We have no reports of shots being fired at the consulate," a consulate spokesman said.

NEUTRALITY/IRAN (Tehran/Reuter) -- Iran vowed to stay neutral but defend its territory, trying to reassure millions of Iranians who woke to find their old foe Iraq in the midst of a desperate war. Iranian General Command Headquarters issued a communique repeating the government's position that the country would stay neutral but that its armed forces would defend the country's land, sea and airspace against any incursion by either side.

KOHL REELECTED (Bonn/Reuter) -- The German parliament reelected Helmut Kohl as chancellor of the newly united nation, six weeks after his center-right coalition won a landslide victory in elections Dec. 2.

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5:00 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

CABINET MEETING REMARKS (Terence Hunt, AP) -- President Bush demanded that Iraq withdraw from Kuwait with "no concessions or no conditions" and Gen. Powell warned Iraq that the air strikes were the first phase of a battle plan that includes "all the tools in the tool box." "Just let them get out of Kuwait," said the President at the start of a Cabinet meeting. "And they have to do it with no concessions or no conditions. That was determined long ago when he failed to comply with the U.N. resolutions."

SADDAM (Baghdad/AP) -- President Saddam declared defiantly, after wave upon wave of aerial bombardment, that Iraq would defeat "the Satan in the White House." "Success is assured," he said during an early evening news broadcast. A BBC correspondent reported that missiles hit the area of the presidential palace Thursday night. No damage reports were available. Baghdad radio reported Iraqi forces shot down 44 U.S. and allied warplanes by 3:30 p.m. Thursday. Two Iraqi diplomats abroad said 76 allied planes were shot down. Baghdad said the Iraqis also shot down 23 cruise missiles. The radio quoted a military spokesman as saying 23 civilians had been killed and 66 wounded in various areas of Iraq. Saddam said that if President Bush is "hoping that Iraq will yield to you after the air strikes...and if you believe that the ground forces can be neutralized, then you are deluding yourself. You will find that the air force, on which you base your explanation of the lightning war, will not be alone in the battle."

CONGRESS (UPI) -- Congress closed ranks behind U.S. military forces, its members still anxious but encouraged by the success of the initial air strikes against Iraq. Asked about the need to adopt a resolution, Speaking Foley said, "The Congress has formed total ranks behind our armed forces, and members probably desire to express that. It's not inappropriate at this time to demonstrate that...the Congress stands behind the armed services in the hope that this can be quick, decisive, with a minimum loss of life." Sen. Bond said, "There were many who voted against the resolution (to go to war)...and I imagine many would like the opportunity to express their support for the men and women. But Rep. Dellums said he continues to oppose the decision to go to war and urged a cease-fire. "I continue to believe resolutely that we did not have to go to war, and that there is an alternative to killing and dying."

U.N. (U.N./UPI) -- Secretary General Perez de Cuellar said that peace in the Gulf depends on whether Iraq capitulates. Perez de Cuellar received a letter from Iranian President Rafsanjani in which Iran offered to mediate for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The U.N. leader said flatly that now is not the time for diplomacy. He said he would not expect the Security Council to take any immediate action against the war.

ISRAEL/CHEMICAL WARFARE/IRAQ (Headline News) -- The Iraqi ambassador to Belgium says his nation still plans to attack Israel and/or hit allied ground troops with chemical weapons if they enter Iraq or Kuwait. He says the timing is still secret. He also says the U.S. had been exaggerating the success of its air raid on Iraqi targets.

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(Paris/AP) -- Iraq no long is in a position to launch a serious chemical attack on allied forces because air attacks have neutralized launching sites for such arms, France's armed forces chief said. Gen. Schmidt said Iraq "is not now in a position to send serious chemical strikes, whether it be on Saudi Arabia or Israel. The risk is not non-existent...but I don't believe much chance for doing so."

GULF ROUNDUP (Headline News) -- It appears U.S. ground forces are moving closer to the Kuwaiti border, but there's no indication the focus is as yet shifting away from air assaults. Allied warplanes have completed more than 1,300 individual missions and are expected to continue at a rate of 1,300 to 1,400 per day. Kuwait's government-in-exile reports two 500-bed hospitals are overflowing with Iraqi wounded. There are reports from the Kuwaiti resistance through the Kuwait government of four incidents of Iraqi soldiers abandoning machine-gun and anti-aircraft positions in Kuwait City. The Saudis as reporting that Iraqi mines have been laid between their troops and the multinational forces in Saudi Arabia to prevent Iraqi defections. Saudi military officials also say that 40 to 50 Iraqi tanks have defected and surrendered to the Egyptian army. Iraqi television reportedly has been knocked off the air.

GULF WAR/GADHAFI (Headline News) -- Some of Saddam's supporters among the Arab world are puzzled by Iraq's apparent lack of response to the allies' air blitz, but others, including Col. Gadhafi, are defiant. Said Gadhafi: "I say war must stop. I support these masses, I support these people. Bombing Baghdad must stop immediately. Otherwise, as I said, serious consequences on the future may reflect on the relationship between Arabs and Americans," Gadhafi said.

ANTI-U.S. ARAB PROTESTS (Nicosia/Reuter) -- Thousands of protesters in at least six Arab states [Tunisia, Yemen, Sudan, Algeria and Mauritania] took to the streets to denounce the allied air assault on Iraq and occupied Kuwait.

U.S. NOTIFICATION/SOVIETS (Moscow/Reuter) -- President Gorbachev, in the dead of night, scrambled to win U.S. permission to give President Saddam one last chance to back down and head off war. But the bombs began falling on Baghdad before Washington rang back to give the Kremlin the go-ahead, Soviet officials said. Washington gave Moscow about one hour's warning of imminent hostilities. "We naturally pay tribute to the fact that we were informed by the American side beforehand," Deputy Foreign Minister Belonogov said. "But it would have been better and easier for us if it had come a little bit earlier. It is clear we needed an extra hour," Belonogov told a news conference.

DOW (New York/Reuter) -- After fretting for more than five months about the possibility of war in the Gulf, Wall Street greeted its arrival by pushing the Dow up more than 110 points, its biggest gain since just after the 1987 market crash.

LITHUANIA/SOVIETS (Vilnius/AP) -- The Kremlin promised not to attack the Lithuanian parliament but wary Baltic residents said they feared a further crackdown. In Paris, the EC threatened to cut off all Soviet aid, including emergency food supplies, if Moscow continues repressing the Baltic republics.

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2:30 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

CONGRESS (AP) -- The Congress that gave President Bush authority to wage war in the gulf immediately lined up behind his decision to exercise that power, as lawmakers voiced hopes for a quick, decisive victory. "The United States will prevail," said Sen. Mitchell after a White House meeting with the President. "We hope that the outcome is swift and with the minimum of damage and loss of life, and we will join in full support of the men and women of our armed forces who are displaying such courage and skill," said Mitchell. Both the Senate and the House planned to quickly take up resolutions supporting the war effort. They were expected to be nearly unanimously approved.

CNN-GALLUP POLL (CNN) -- A quick survey of U.S. public opinion taken last night found huge interest in the war and strong support for President Bush. A CNN-Gallup poll questioned people just after the President's speech of last night:

84 percent of this randomly selected sample of nearly 900 people said they saw or heard the speech. [Graphic: 16 percent didn't hear it]; 86 percent of those said they were satisfied with Mr. Bush's explanation. [Graphic: 10 percent weren't satisfied]; 81 percent said they approve of the President's handling of the war. [Graphic: 12 percent disapproved]. Only slightly fewer, 79 percent, said they approve of the decision to go to war. And 17 percent said they expect the fighting to last a few days; 39 percent said a matter of weeks, and 23 percent said several months.

STATE DEPT. (Reuter) -- The State Department ruled out a "pause for peace" in the war against Iraq. Spokeswoman Tutwiler said the Security Council gave Iraq a 45-day "pause for peace" in the runup to the deadline.

KOHL (Bonn/Reuter) -- Chancellor Kohl pledged support for U.S., British and French forces fighting Iraq in the gulf war, but said his government would not send soldiers to join them. "German soldiers will not be sent into action in the gulf," he told parliament after being sworn in for his fourth term of office as chancellor. "But we should not forget for a moment that our American, British and French allies are bearing the main burden of defending law and freedom in this conflict. They have a right to our solidarity and we stand by them," he said.

ITALY/NETHERLANDS (Paris/Reuter) -- Italy and the Netherlands will take part directly in military operations in the gulf war, it was announced. Both countries, attending a Western European Union defense meeting in Paris, had told their partners of the decision, Spanish Foreign Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez said. Italy has a squadron of 10 Tornado combat planes in the war zone and the Dutch have said they were sending two squadrons of Patriot ground-to-air missiles to Turkey.

TURKEY/MILITARY BASES (Ankara/AP) -- Parliament authorized the use of Turkey's military bases for attacks on Iraq by the U.S.-led multinational forces. The War Powers Resolution passed by a vote of 250 to 148. Until the vote, the presence of NATO and U.S. military aircraft had remained purely for defensive reasons and they were not allowed to stage military actions.

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SOVIETS/CONDEMNATION OF IRAQ (Moscow/Reuter) -- The Soviet Union blamed Saddam for the gulf war, urged him to pull his forces out of occupied Kuwait immediately, and expressed support for the U.S. in the conflict. In a nationwide radio and television address, Gorbachev told the Soviet people that the U.S.-led assault on Iraq "was provoked by the refusal of the Iraqi leadership to meet the demands of the international community and withdraw its forces from Kuwait."

IRAQI TANKS/SURRENDER (Cairo/Reuter) -- Fifty T-62 Soviet-made Iraqi tanks and 190 officers and soldiers surrendered to Egyptian forces in Saudi Arabia, an Egyptian news agency correspondent said. Reporting from Hafr al-Baten in northern Saudi Arabia, Middle East News Agency correspondent Adel Abdel-Aziz said he witnessed the surrender near the borders with Iraq and occupied Kuwait.

WOUNDED IRAQI SOLDIERS (Dhahran/Reuter) -- Hundreds of Iraqi soldiers in Kuwait were wounded in the massive air attack launched by U.S.-led multinational forces and some were abandoning their weapons and fleeing, a Kuwaiti minister said. "Many wounded Iraqi soldiers were brought to Kuwaiti hospitals today -- maybe hundreds of soldiers wounded from getting a heavy beating," Abdul Rahman al-Awadi, minister of state for cabinet affairs, told reporters.

TERRORIST ATTACKS (Berlin/AP) -- Authorities reported attacks on four U.S. facilities, as well as in India and Italy, following the bombing of Iraq. The U.S. military closed its schools in Germany and intense security measures were in force at airports and other places thought likely targets of Iraq-inspired reprisals. Sen. Hatch identified the targets as a U.S. Information Service library in Quito, Ecuador; the U.S. consulate in Lahore, Pakistan; an unspecified site in Berlin and a Harvard University student villa in Milan or Florence. In none of the cases were injuries reported.

JORDAN CONDEMNATION (Amman/UPI) -- Jordan condemned the U.S.-led strike on Iraq as a "brutal attack" in a statement released after an emergency cabinet meeting, and at least three foreign reporters were roughed up by a pro-Iraqi mob during a scuffle in the capital. "Jordan's leadership, government and people deplore what has happened during the first few hours of today, which constitutes a brutal attack against an Arab and Muslim country and people who have always acted to help their Arab brethren," the statement read in part.

ISRAEL/PALESTINIANS (Jerusalem/Reuter) -- Israel ordered Palestinians, most of them depressed by news of early allied successes in the war, to stay indoors or risk death. Israel took no chances on Palestinians disrupting army efforts to guard against an Iraqi attack, slapping a curfew on all 1.75 million Arabs in the occupied territories.

ARABS/DISMAY (Amman/Reuter) -- Arab supporters of President Saddam expressed shock and dismay at early reports that his forces had taken a beating and put up little resistance to the first wave of bombing raids by the U.S.-led alliance. Many Jordanians and Palestinians were appalled that Saddam, who had pledged to unleash "the mother of all battles" in the region, had not put up a tougher fight. "Where are his missiles? Why hasn't he fired them at Israel?" said one Jordanian, referring to Saddam's weak initial response.

AIR ATTACK/DEFENSE ANALYSTS (London/UPI) -- Defense analysts described the aerial bombardment of Iraq as a "classic textbook operation with extraordinary results" that involved the largest air force ever assembled on a single day of war and sea-launched cruise missiles for the first time. "In terms of air power, it's the most powerful offensive force ever assembled on a single day," said Nick Cook, the aviation editor of the military magazine Jane's Defense Weekly.

MANDELA/BUTHELEZI (Johannesburg/UPI) -- Rival black leaders Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whose followers have fought for years, will meet for the first time to discuss peace, spokesmen said. "Mr. Mandela will lead an ANC delegation to meet Mr. Buthelezi," ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said. Inkatha Freedom Party National Chairman Frank Mdlalose confirmed the meeting, noting it would take place in the Indian Ocean port of Durban Jan. 29.

HOUSING STARTS (AP) -- Housing starts fell 13.3 percent last year to a level not seen since the last recession, the government said. And analysts said any substantive improvement was months away. "It's a down market and it's going to be a down market through at least the first quarter," said economist Martin Regalia of the National Council of Savings Institutions. "And when it comes back, it's going to be a modest comeback."

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NAVY-MARINE CORPS TEAM - DESERT STORM 1991

RESPONDING TO CRISIS 1990-91

The 1990-91 Middle East crisis, launched by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, has resulted in the largest U.S. deployment of naval forces since World War II. As **OPERATION DESERT STORM** commenced on January 16, 1991 (EST) with coalition air strikes against Iraq, six Navy carrier battle groups, two battleships and a 31 ship amphibious task force were operating in the Red Sea, Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea areas. The Navy had more than 100 ships in the area and 75,000 Navy personnel afloat and ashore, while more than 67,000 Marines ashore comprised a Marine Expeditionary Force (I MEF) and nearly 18,000 Marines embarked aboard naval vessels brought the Marine Corps presence to nearly 85,000.

OPERATION DESERT STORM began when TOMAHAWK cruise missiles were launched for the first time in combat, from ships in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea to targets in Iraq and Kuwait. The cruise missile wave was followed by carrier and ground-based air strikes. Navy and Marine Corps forces were also involved in reactions to Iraqi artillery and anti-aircraft fire with suppression operations. For example, on January 18, USS NICHOLAS, supported by U.S. Army helicopters and a Kuwaiti patrol boat, attacked eleven occupied Kuwaiti oil platforms being used as anti-aircraft sites. On January 19, USS LOUISVILLE (SSN-724) became the first U.S. Navy submarine to launch a TOMAHAWK cruise missile in combat while submerged in the Red Sea. Also, on January 19, another Navy "first" was the combat use against Iraqi targets of the new Standoff Land Attack Missile (SLAM) from A-6 Intruder and A-7 Corsair II aircraft based on USS JOHN F. KENNEDY (CV-67) and USS SARATOGA (CV-60). The battleship USS MISSOURI (BB-63) used its 16-inch guns in action on February 3 for the first time since the Korean War providing naval gunfire support for Marines against Iraqi emplacements.

HUMANITARIAN EVACUATIONS 1990-91

Following the August 2, 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the build-up of U.S. and allied forces was called **OPERATION DESERT SHIELD**. At the same time **DESERT SHIELD** build up was underway, the Navy-Marine Team was involved concurrently in two major humanitarian emergency evacuation operations. **OPERATION SHARP EDGE** lasted from June 1990 through January 1991 with Navy amphibious ships and Marine helicopters evacuating 2,609 people including 330 Americans from Liberia's strife-torn capital city of Monrovia. On January 4, 1991, **OPERATION DESERT SHIELD** amphibious ships and Marine helicopters commenced the evacuation of Americans and foreign nationals from Mogadishu, Somalia during a civil war. The evacu-

ation, named **OPERATION EASTERN EXIT**, resulted in the evacuation of 260 people, including 51 Americans, in less than 48 hours from execution orders. The evacuation was carried out at night, when two CH-53 Marine helicopters took off from USS TRENTON (LPD 14) in the Arabian Sea, flew 460 miles, refueling in-flight (at night) twice from Marine KC-130 tanker aircraft.

POST COLD WAR CRISIS OPERATIONS

OPERATION DESERT STORM is the latest example of the need for strong U.S. military forces in the post-Cold War period. The 1990-91 **DESERT SHIELD** and **DESERT STORM** operations added up to 53 Navy-Marine Corps crisis operations since 1980. None of these 1980-1991 crisis operations involved Soviet-U.S. military confrontations. Thus, despite the end of the Cold War, a flexible forward deployed Navy-Marine Corps team with sea-based staying power will continue to be needed in an unstable world.

READY ON ARRIVAL -- FORWARD DEPLOYED NAVAL FORCES

With no U.S. bases in the Middle East area until U.S. forces were invited into Saudi Arabia, the U.S. Navy's forward deployed U.S. Middle East Force ships, a continuous presence since 1949, were immediately put on alert as **OPERATION DESERT SHIELD** began on August 7, 1990. Within hours of receiving orders, the forward deployed USS INDEPENDENCE and USS DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER Battle Groups were quickly dispatched from the SEVENTH FLEET (Indian Ocean) and SIXTH FLEET (Eastern Mediterranean) to the Gulf of Oman and Red Sea respectively. The carrier battle groups provided ready naval air power to deter Iraqi forces from invading Saudi Arabia. As Army General Colin L. Powell, Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff has stated, "When we began our (Desert Shield) deployments on August 7, 1990, we had only a Naval presence in the region consisting of the Joint Task Force Middle East and the recently arrived USS INDEPENDENCE Carrier Battle Group."

SEA-BASED STAYING POWER

When the decision was made to initially send a Marine Expeditionary Force (I MEF), two Marine Expeditionary Brigades were airlifted to Saudi Arabia, and their heavy equipment (including tanks, ammunition and other supplies for 30 days) arrived via two squadrons of Maritime Prepositioning Ships (MPS) (five ships from Diego Garcia and four ships from Guam). The first Diego Garcia-based Maritime Prepositioning Ship began offloading in Saudi Arabia on August 15, 1990. Thus, the Maritime Prepositioning Ship provided the Marines with immediate sea-based sustainability or staying power. The 4th MEB at Camp Lejeune, NC, a completely self-sustained amphibious force with organic Marine aviation, ground combat, combat support and command elements, left East Coast ports aboard 13 Navy amphibious ships, including USS NASSAU, USS GUAM, and USS IWO JIMA.

With the large-scale mobilization of follow-on forces, subsequent deployments to project land combat power from the Navy-Marine team ensued. I MEF was reinforced, ultimately encompassing both the 1st and 2nd Marine Divison as its ground combat element; the reinforced 3rd Marine Aircraft Wing (3rd MAW) as its aviation combat element; and the reinforced 1st Force Service Support Group (1st FSSG) as its combat service support element. Principal reinforcement for 3rd MAW came from 2d MAW, and for 1st FSSG, from 2d FSSG. The third MPS squadron was deployed from the East Coast to support the Marines. Additionally, the 5th MEB and the 13th Marine Expeditionary Unit

(Special Operations Capable) entered the theater and joined with the 4th MEB, creating a second Marine Expeditionary force, under the operational control of NAVCENTCOM. The 5th MEB left West Coast ports aboard another 13 Navy amphibious ships including USS TARAWA, USS TRIPOLI and USS NEW ORLEANS. The 13th MEU (SOC) embarked aboard 7 ships including USS OKINAWA, USS OGDEN and USS CAYUGA.

By January 29, 1991, over 90,000 U.S. Marines and over 75,000 Navy personnel were in **OPERATION DESERT STORM.**

SEALIFT

In the **DESERT STORM** Operation, as in previous large logistic support operations, over 95 percent of the heavy equipment, ammunition, fuel, etc. must go via sealift. The Military Sealift Command (MSC), in addition to dispatching the nine Maritime Prepositioning Ships, activated the eight fast sealift cargo ships (T-AKRs), which are on a 96-hour activation schedule, and ten Afloat Prepositioning Force Ships (APF), carrying munitions and supplies for the Army, Air Force and a Navy field hospital. The fast sealift cargo ships loaded the Army's 24th (Mechanized) Infantry Division. The MSC chartered commercial ocean vessels, including the heavy lift ship Super Servant III, to transport three U.S. Navy minesweepers and the newly commissioned Mine Counter Measures Ship, USS AVENGER, to the Persian Gulf. In addition, the MSC called about 40 ships from the Ready Reserve Force to provide needed surge sealift to sustain the support of U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia. This operation, called Sealift I, was so effective that large quantities of combat equipment, that could only be transported by sea, began arriving ashore in one of the most remote areas of the world less than eight days after the activation order was issued.

The MSC responded to President Bush's November 8, 1990 announcement of additional troop deployments with Sealift II, a strategic sealift effort of historic proportions. Ships loaded I Marine Expeditionary Force reinforcements and the Army's 101st Air Assault Division, the First Cavalry Division, the First, Second and Third Armored Divisions, the First Infantry Division and other large corps support units. Combined with Sealift I, by January 24, 1991, these operations encompassed nearly 250 ships and over 360 offloads, totalling 14 billion pounds of equipment and petroleum products.

READY NAVY ASSETS

As the 1990-91 Middle East crisis escalated, strategic commitments required a massive 100 ship buildup for support of U.S. Forces. The Navy's Maritime Intercept Force (MIF), enforcing the United Nations' embargo, by January 29, 1991, had challenged more than 7,000 merchant ships and boarded over 800 with Navy-Coast Guard boarding parties. Six Navy carrier battle groups with embarked airwings and other surface craft deployed quickly to the Middle East area. In August, the USS SARATOGA battle group and battleship USS WISCONSIN transited the Suez Canal to relieve USS DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER which was deployed to the Red Sea. Also, USS MIDWAY relieved USS INDEPENDENCE in the Gulf of Oman. Battleship USS MISSOURI deployed to the Persian Gulf. When **OPERATION DESERT STORM** began, carriers USS AMERICA, USS SARATOGA and USS JOHN F. KENNEDY operated from the Red Sea and carriers USS MIDWAY and USS RANGER and battleships USS WISCONSIN and USS MISSOURI were in the Persian Gulf.

On January 21, USS THEODORE ROOSEVELT joined the forces in the Persian Gulf. Two 1000-bed Navy hospital ships, USNS MERCY and USNS COMFORT, were activated and quickly deployed to the Persian Gulf. The fact that over 100 ships could be deployed and sustained in the Middle East is a tribute to the naval rebuilding program of the 1980s.

TOTAL FORCE - RESERVES

On August 22, the President, in an Executive Order, authorized the call-up of 48,800 members of the Selected Reserves to active duty. Reservists in the order were directed to support **OPERATION DESERT SHIELD** in deployed units or fill critical military support vacancies in the United States or elsewhere caused by regular active duty deployment to the Middle East. Naval Reserve Units subject to call-up included the following mission areas: Medical; Mine Warfare; Combat Search and Rescue; Cargo Handling Battalions; Naval Control of Shipping; Mobile Inshore Undersea Warfare; Naval Construction (SeaBees); Intelligence; Public Affairs; and logistical support. Marine Corps Reserve units included combat and support units. On November 12, a subsequent Executive Order authorized the activation of 72,500 additional reservists, and extended the active duty period from 90 to 180 days. In December, 63,000 more military reservists were authorized and the Navy's ceiling was raised from 10,000 to 30,000. On January 19, 1991, the Navy and Marine Corps' ceiling was increased to 44,000, and the active duty period extended up to one year.

KEY POINTS TO EMPHASIZE

* The **DESERT SHIELD** and **DESERT STORM** Operations are the largest naval operations since World War II, involving the Navy's Middle East Force; six carrier battle groups; the battleships WISCONSIN and MISSOURI; two Marine Expeditionary Forces (MEF); and selected combat logistics force ships for at-sea sustainability. In mid-January 1991, this naval support included over 100 ships and 75,000 embarked sailors and Marines. A thirty-one ship Amphibious Task Force with Marine Air-Ground Task Forces embarked was included in **OPERATION DESERT STORM.**

* In **OPERATION DESERT STORM** a new generation of naval weapons proved their precision capability in combat, including sea-launched TOMAHAWK cruise missiles and carrier-based naval aircraft firing Standoff Land Attack Missiles (SLAM) and laser-guided bombs.

* These ready naval forces were either forward deployed or deployed on short notice due to the past investment of the 1980s in combat-ready forces, including top quality sailors and Marines.

* The strategic sealift forces (including Maritime Prepositioning Ships); Afloat Prepositioning Ships; Fast Sealift Ships (T-AKRs) and Ready Reserve Force (RRF) Ships were ready as planned and keys to supporting **DESERT SHIELD** and **DESERT STORM** operations. Over 95 percent of the supplies arrived by sealift.

* Forward deployed, mobile Navy-Marine Corps forces were first on-the-scene and ready on arrival to conduct a full spectrum of operations from forward presence, to maritime intercept operations, to full scale combat operations, including amphibious capabilities.

* The Total Force regular and reserve concept was exercised during **OPERATION DESERT STORM** and proved that the Naval and Marine Corps reservists are ready to provide critical skills whenever and wherever needed.

* Joint service cooperation between the Navy-Marine Corps team, the U.S. Army, U.S. Air Force and U.S. Coast Guard has been superb -- on the ground, in the air, and at sea. We are all working to bring together our combined arms together to achieve the greatest combat capability possible.

* **DESERT STORM** is a tribute to our All Volunteer Force, our reservists, our families and the family support network, including Family Service Centers, chaplains and the Ombudsman program. Our people are the key to our ready posture in today's Navy-Marine Corps team.

QUOTES

"The liberation of Kuwait has begun." ***Marlin Fitzwater, White House Press Secretary, reading a statement to the nation from President Bush, announcing commencement of Operation DESERT STORM, January 16, 1991.***

"This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and Cold War. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order, a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful, and we will be, we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders. ***President George Bush addressing the nation, January 16, 1991.***

"Peace and freedom do not flourish on their own--they must be defended and even fought for. I hope--indeed I am confident--that this resolute action by the coalition and its courageous servicemen and women will serve notice that the community of nations must not tolerate, in this dawning new age, indiscriminate, violent aggression by one government against another." ***H. Lawrence Garrett, III, Secretary of the Navy, January 22, 1991.***

"The Navy's done a great job supporting the air campaign, and the Navy has flown over 3,500 sorties from our six carriers. They've also launched more than 260 TOMAHAWK missiles. I would be remiss if I didn't mention the readiness of our amphibious forces. We have very large amphibious forces over here, and they are continually training and ready to do the job when called upon to do so." ***General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, Commander-in-Chief U.S. Central Command, January 30, 1991.***

"Once again our Navy is responding to our Commander-in-Chief's call to arms. The American sailor's courage and bravery are a cherished part of our nation's honor and heritage." ***Admiral Frank B. Kelso II, USN, Chief of Naval Operations, in a message to the fleet on Desert Storm, January 17, 1991.***

"In short, the professionalism and expertise of our forces, both Active and Reserve, are the keys to successful execution of the missions that we have been and will continue to be assigned. To date, the performance of our Marines and sailors has been superb. We expected nothing less." ***General A. M. Gray, Commandant of the Marine Corps, in a February 1991 Marine Corps Gazette article.***

DESERT STORM CHRONOLOGY

1991

16 Jan

At 1900 (EST), White House announced that "the liberation of Kuwait has begun!" The offensive action against Iraq, codenamed OPERATION DESERT STORM, is being carried out under provisions of twelve U.N. Security Council resolutions and resolutions of both houses of the U.S. Congress.

Following President Bush's address to the nation, SECDEF Dick Cheney and CJCS General Colin Powell announce at Pentagon briefing hundreds of U.S./coalition airstrikes on missile and anti-aircraft targets in Iraq and Kuwait to "destroy Saddam Hussein's offensive military capabilities"; Cheney reports "initial attack appears to have gone very, very well"; no casualty reports provided.

17 Jan

DOD announces that over 100 TOMAHAWK cruise missiles were launched by U.S. ships in the Arabian Sea and Red Sea, then over 1,000 aircraft sorties (E2-Cs/AWACs-controlled) were flown by A-6s, A-7s, AV-8s, A-10s, B-52s, EA-6Bs, EF-111s, F-4s, F-14s, F-15s, F-16s, F/A-18s, F-111s, F-117As, AH-64s, Saudi/British Tornados, French Jaguars, Kuwaiti A-4s;

CJCS GENERAL Colin Powell reports TOMAHAWK cruise missiles "were extremely effective" (against precision targets where Iraqi air defenses threatened manned aircraft); of all sorties, 80% were effective, 20% in effective due to mechanical/weather problems; Iraqi SCUD missile fixed-sites destroyed, targeting SCUD launchers; Iraqi planes destroyed, but "Iraqi Air Force is still intact"; U.S. engaged in air-to-air battles with Iraqi aircraft; Iraq fired multiple SAMs and anti-aircraft artillery, little or no effect; Iraqi elite Republican Guard units attacked in Iraq and Kuwait; did not target President Hussein, focused on disrupting/destroying command/control network.

Eight Iraqi SCUD missiles impact in Tel Aviv and Haifa, Israel. Seven civilian injuries.

U.S. Patriot missile intercepts/destroys one incoming Iraqi SCUD missile over Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

17 Jan (continuing) 3 USMC/1 USN injured in bunkers in Saudi Arabia by Iraqi artillery fire near Kuwaiti border.

DOD announces the U.S. has lost an F/A-18 and an A-6. The F/A-18 crewman is listed as missing. The U.S. has lost 2 aircraft and has 1 person listed as missing. Coalition forces have lost one aircraft.

SECNAV activates 421 additional Naval Reservists from 36 units.

18 Jan DOD announces 196 TOMAHAWK cruise missiles have been launched. Additionally, 2,107 attack sorties have been flown by USN, USMC, USAF, USA and coalition forces (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UK, Canada, France, Italy) and have been assessed as 80% effective.

USS NICHOLAS (FFG-47), in operations with USA helos and a Kuwaiti patrol boat, engaged and neutralized Iraqi forces firing on coalition aircraft with anti-aircraft artillery and shoulder-fired SAMs from eleven Kuwaiti oil platforms in northern Arabian Gulf. Five Iraqis are killed, 3 wounded and 23 enemy prisoners of war were taken aboard USS NICHOLAS for transfer to USMC holding facility and Saudi Arabian EPW camp.

U.S. has lost two additional aircraft, a USN A-6 and a USAF F-15. The two aircrewmen of the F-15 are listed as missing. The two aircrewmen of the A-6 lost on 17 January are now listed as missing. U.S. has lost 4 aircraft and has 5 personnel listed as missing.

In air-to-air engagements, eight Iraqi MIG-29s and Mirage F-1s are destroyed; two by USN aircraft and six by USAF aircraft.

CINCCENTCOM (D+36 hours): Confirms Iraqi SCUD missiles impact in Israel, 10-12 civilian injuries.

SECDEF declares an airlift emergency, activates Stage II of Civil Reserve Air Fleet (CRAF) plan, authorizing government to contract with civil air carriers to use up to 181 aircraft to move supplies and equipment in support of Operation DESERT STORM.

SECNAV activates 498 additional Naval Reservists from 37 units

19 Jan DOD announces that U.S. troop strength is 460,000 (75,000 USN, 85,000 USMC) and over 100 ships in AOR. 216 TOMAHAWK cruise missiles have been launched and over 4,000 sorties (bombing, combat, attack suppression, refueling) have been flown. Neutralizing SCUDS remains primary target. Air campaign is satisfactory, causing Iraq to move aircraft north; west and southern air defenses are weakening. Campaign is shifting to neutralizing elite Republican Guard troops.

USN A-6s and A-7s successfully launch a Standoff Land Attack Missile (SLAM) against an Iraqi target for the first time.

USS LOUISVILLE (SSN-724) fires the first submarine -launched TOMAHAWK cruise missile in combat history while submerged in the Red Sea. Missile was directed against an unidentified Iraqi target.

DOD announces the deployment of European-based U.S. Patriot surface-to-air defensive missiles, with American crews, to Israel to assist defenses against SCUD missiles.

19 Jan (continuing) DOD reports loss of USMC OV-10. The two aircrewman are listed as missing. DOD also announces loss of USAF F-4G with the crew later rescued in Saudi Arabian desert. U.S. has lost 6 aircraft and has 7 personnel listed as missing.

State Department announces transfer of diplomatic notes with Iraq reaffirming U.S intention to abide by its legal obligations under the 1940 Geneva Convention relative to the protection of POWs, and expects Iraq (a signatory) to reciprocate; second note affirms legal protection from attack on U.S. military hospital ships in regional waters.

Ten Iraqi aircraft (6 MIG-29s, 3 Mirage F-1s, 1 MIG-23) have been destroyed in air-to-air engagements.

President Bush signs authorization to extend call-up of up to one million National Guard/Reserves for up to two years; DOD will implement incrementally raising ceiling on 161,887 National Guard/Reserves currently called up to 360,000. The Navy's authorization ceiling was raised from 30,000 to 44,000, USMC from 23,000 to 44,000.

20 Jan

DOD announces that over 7,000 sorties have been flown.

Iraq launches nine SCUD missiles against Saudi Arabia. Two SCUDs aimed at Dharhan and six aimed at Riyadh are intercepted by U.S. Patriot missiles. One SCUD lands in Gulf waters off Dhahran.

Five additional Iraqi aircraft have been destroyed in air-to-air engagements for a total of fifteen (10 MIG-29s, 4 Mirage F-1s, 1 MIG-23).

DOD reports the loss of a USAF F-15 and two USAF F-16s. DOD reports 4 additional personnel listed as missing. U.S. has lost 8 aircraft and has 11 personnel listed as missing.

DOD announces that, to-date, 19 anti-ship mines have been discovered and destroyed in the northern Arabian Gulf. DOD also announces that there have been 6,968 intercepts and 830 boardings.

DOD announces that Iraqi artillery battery was destroyed by USN A-6 and USAF A-10 aircraft. USMC and USA troops continue in defensive mode in forward positions and there has been no direct ground confrontations.

SECNAV activates 498 additional Naval reservists from 26 units.

21Jan

DOD announces over 8,000 sorties have been flown; air operations focus continues on neutralizing fixed/mobile SCUD launch sites and troop concentrations. Coalition forces aircraft losses total 8, including 2 noncombat-related losses.

U.S. ships have conducted nearly 7,000 maritime interceptions operations in regional waters. No direct ground confrontations.

DOD reports the loss of a USN F-14 and a noncombat-related loss of a USA Apache helo. Two additional USN personnel are listed as missing. U.S. has lost 10 aircraft and has 13 personnel listed as missing.

21 Jan (continuing) U.S. warns Iraq will be held accountable for mistreatment of U.S. prisoners of war after Iraq announces captured Americans will be placed at strategic target sites as "human shields."

6 Iraqi SCUD missiles fired into Saudi Arabia in three attacks over 12 hours. U.S. Patriot missiles intercept two SCUDs, one landed in the sea northwest of Al Jubayl, two others fell into the desert. No injuries.

USS THEODORE ROOSEVELT (CVN-71) Carrier Battle Group arrives on station in the Persian Gulf region.

22 Jan

DOD announces that over 10,000 sorties have been flown, no U.S. aircraft lost in air-to-air engagements. Oil storage tank fires started by Iraqis in Kuwait having little effect on air operations.

USAF special operations forces recovered one crewmember of USN F-14 downed on 21 January. Second aircrewmember is missing.

4 USN A-6s attacked and disabled an Iraqi T-43 class ship--capable of laying 20 mines--in the northern Arabian Gulf. Vessel was seen sinking.

U.S. ships attacked 3 Iraqi patrol boats, disabling one, and chasing off two others. 3 additional mines were found and destroyed.

Iraqi launches SCUD missile against Israel. U.S. Patriot missile crew had a generator problem, Israeli Defense Forces fired a Patriot missile. SCUD impacted in Tel Aviv killing 3 and wounding nearly 100.

U.S. troop strength has increased to 474,000 (Iraqi - 545,000) and there are 165,797 Reserves/National Guard recalled (13,303 Navy, 22,048 USMC).

23 Jan

At D+7 days, 12,000 sorties have been flown (6,000 attack, 6,000 support); USAF F-16 downed by artillery fire over Kuwait; pilot ejected over Persian Gulf and was rescued by helicopter from USS NICHOLAS. DOD reports 2 noncombat-related aircraft losses: USMC AV-8B Harrier in training accident, pilot killed, and USA AH-64 in ground mishap, no injuries. 14 total U.S. aircraft lost: 11 fixed wing (9 from hostile groundfire) 3 helos (noncombat).

USN A-6s disable an Al Qaddisiyah-class Iraqi tanker that had been collecting and reporting intelligence data, setting off three explosions, and killing three. A-6s also attacked and sank a Winchester-class hovercraft being re-fueled by the tanker, and a Zhuk patrol boat.

Elements of USA's 3rd Armored Cavalry skirmished with Iraqi patrol near Saudi border, two U.S. soldiers slightly wounded, treated and returned to duty. 6 Iraqi soldiers taken prisoner and transferred to holding area.

SECDEF Dick Cheney and CJCS General Colin Powell assess first week of Operation DESERT STORM: Objectives are being achieved and campaign has achieved air superiority over Kuwait and Iraq; have destroyed Iraq's two operating nuclear reactors and is neutralizing Iraqi ground radar/air defenses. Air-to-air engagements are no match. Warns Iraq still has significant military capability, may be "hunkering down", expecting range of responses including air strikes, more SCUDs, ground attacks or terrorism. Will continue air campaign as part of overall land,

23 Jan (continuing) air and sea campaign, with goal to "cut off the Iraqi army and kill it."

5 Iraqi SCUD missiles fired at Saudi Arabia (2 Riyadh, 2 Dhahran, 1 at King Khalid Military Center). U.S. Patriot missiles successfully intercepted four, one fell into gulf waters. No injuries. In second attack, 1 SCUD is intercepted over Israel by U.S./Israeli Patriot missiles. No injuries.

24 Jan

DOD announces 15,000 sorties (8,000 combat, 7,000 support) have been flown and more than 220 TOMAHAWK cruise missiles have been launched at Iraqi targets. Air strikes are directed at SCUD missile launchers, lines of transportation and communication, control sites and airfields. At Al Quara West airfield, 3 Soviet-built TU-16 Badger heavy bombers were caught on the ground, ready to take off, and destroyed. Coalition has been joined by forces from Qatar and Bahrain. The UK has lost a Tornado. Two crewmembers are missing.

USN A-6s attacked and destroyed an Iraqi Spasilac minelayer. An A-6 sank an Iraqi Zhuk-class patrolboat and another Iraqi minesweeper hit an Iraqi mine while attempting to evade the A-6 fire. Twenty-two survivors were taken from the sea by a helo from USS CURTS (FFG-38), near the island of Jazirat Qurah. During rescue, helo comes under attack, returned fire from Iraqi forces on the island, killing 3. 29 additional Iraqis subsequently surrendered. 51 enemy prisoners of war were taken into custody, and the island is reclaimed. Also, A-6s and F/A-18s attacked the Umm Qasr Naval Base, hitting four Iraqi ships.

In first air-to-air engagement between Saudi Arabian and Iraqi aircraft, a Royal Saudi F-15 downed 2 Iraqi F-1s (armed with Exocet anti-ship missiles and bombs). To-date, 19 Iraqi aircraft have been destroyed in air-to-air engagements, with no U.S. or coalition losses.

U.S. ships continue multiple operations including locating and destroying 25 mines to-date in the northern Arabian Gulf.

Using Harpoon anti-ship missile, Royal Saudi vessel sinks an Iraqi minelayer in northern Persian Gulf. No survivors reported.

U.S. ground forces continue to be attacked by sporadic Iraqi artillery fire, but no injuries or damage. No direct ground confrontations. Troops continue maneuvering for any possible engagement at Saudi-Kuwaiti border.

DOD announces U.S. troop strength has increased to 475,000 (75,000 Navy, 90,000 USMC).

Elements of IV Marine Expeditionary Brigade, V Marine Expeditionary Brigade, and 13th Marine Expeditionary Unit, embarked on ships from Amphibious Task Groups Two and Three, are conducting amphibious exercise Operation Sea-Soldier IV, the largest amphibious force assembled since the 1950 landing at Inchon, Republic of South Korea.

25 Jan

DOD announces 17,500 sorties have been flown (a record 2,700 today) and 236 TOMAHAWK cruise missiles have been launched. Iraq has lost 43 aircraft, 19 in air-to-air engagements, 24 on the ground. The U.S. has lost 10 aircraft to ground fire and the coalition has lost 7 aircraft, including 5 UK Tornados hit by anti-aircraft fire flying low-level missions to crater airfields. The total of 17 aircraft losses represents two-tenths of 1 percent of all combat missions flown to-date.

The U.S. has lost an F/A-18 in non-combat operations. The aircrewman ejected over the Persian Gulf and was recovered safely.

U.S. ships engage an Iraqi vessel laying mines near Sea Island Terminal, setting part of terminal and surrounding water afire.

Iraq has dumped several million barrels of oil into the Persian Gulf from the Sea Island crude oil tanker loading terminal, off the coast of Kuwait. 5 pre-positioned Iraqi tankers in the occupied Kuwaiti port of Mina al Ahmadi have been drained of oil, and oil is being pumped from storage tanks ashore through an underwater pipeline into the gulf. Described by DOD as "an act of environmental terrorism", the spill is approximately 20 miles long, 3 miles wide, and three feet deep, and threatens to foul the intakes of Saudi Arabia's desalinization plants as well as the gulf.

U.S. troop strength in the region has increased to 482,000. To-date, 192,965 National Guard and Reservists have been recalled to active duty (14,702 Navy, 22,142 USMC). Fifteen percent of U.S. servicemembers in the DESERT STORM field of operation are Guard and Reserve.

Iraq fires 3 SCUD missiles at Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. U.S. Patriot missiles successfully intercept, but warhead debris kills at least one person, 23 injured. In a second attack, 7 SCUDs impact in Tel Aviv and Haifa, Israel, killing one person, injuring dozens.

SECNAV activates 298 additional Naval Reservists from 41 units.

26 Jan

DOD announces 20,000 sorties have been flown as the air campaign's focus shifts from strategic interdiction to battlefield preparation, with targeting on military storage facilities, military production facilities, Republican Guard troop fortifications and SCUD launchers. Bomb damage assessments confirm significant destruction of Iraqi biological/chemical production capability.

Total of Iraqi aircraft destroyed in air-to-air engagements climbs to 22 as USAF F-15s down 3 Iraqi MIG-23s.

USN aircraft attack an Iraqi patrol boat in Kuwait harbor. Boat last seen burning. A-6s have engaged and left a TNC-45 patrol boat burning.

DOD announces that at least a dozen Iraqi MIG-29s/F-1s and a dozen transport aircraft have landed in an undisclosed location in Iran, a declared neutral country. DOD ascertaining whether Iraqi planes are seeking a safe haven from bombing attacks, whether this is a mass defection or a husbanding of resources for future combat operations.

An estimated 120 million gallons of oil continues to spew into the Persian Gulf from the Sea Island Terminal, and the oil slick -- partly afire from January 25 engagement between USN and Iraqi patrol boat -- is now 31 miles long and 8 miles wide. ASD (PA) Pete Williams denounces deliberate spill as "indis-

26 Jan (continuing) criminate environmental war" causing catastrophic environmental damage to entire Persian Gulf region, and refutes Iraqi allegation that U.S. or coalition sabotaged facility and caused spill. U.S. is sending a team of U.S. Coast Guard, NOAA and EPA oil pollution and environmental experts to scene to assist Saudi Arabian efforts to contain the spill.

U.S. Marines stage biggest artillery attack of the war, firing a battery of 155mm howitzers at Iraqi troops six miles inside Kuwait.

Three U.S. Marines, members of the First Marine Division, were killed and seven injured when two LAV-25 Light Armored vehicles accidentally collided as the Marines were returning from a raid mission along the Saudi-Kuwaiti border. To-date, U.S. non-hostile deaths are 10, 14 are missing, and 3 have been wounded. Hostile deaths remain at 0.

Iraq fires a SCUD missile at Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, intercepted by U.S. Patriot missile. In a second attack, three SCUDs are launched at Haifa and one SCUD at Tel Aviv, Israel. All were intercepted by U.S. Patriot missiles. This latest salvo brings to 45 total SCUD launches.

U.S. troop strength has increased to 483,000 in the region.

Enemy Prisoners of War (EPW) to-date: 110, in U.S. facilities awaiting processing to Saudia Arabian EPW camp.

27 Jan DOD announces that USAF F-111s attacked pipelines feeding the Sea Island Terminal with GBU-15 laser-guided bombs to stem the flow of oil, now 35 miles long and 10 miles wide, into the Persian Gulf, and to ignite oil and burn off pollutants. The attack specifically targeted system of pipes that regulate oil flow from storage tanks to the terminal called manifolds. Oil flow has apparently drastically slowed, and fire should burn out in about 24 hours.

Over 22,000 sorties have been flown, including attacks on 3 SCUD missile launch sites, Republican Guard troop emplacements, bridges, lines of communications and shelters. There have been no U.S. aircraft lost in the past 48 hours.

Four Iraqi MIG-23 aircraft have been destroyed in air-to-air engagements with 2 USAF F-15s near Baghdad. Iraqi aircraft losses in air-to-air engagements to-date total 26.

USN A-6s attack and destroy an Iraqi ship, and coalition naval forces continue to hunt Iraqi patrol and mine-laying boats in the northern Arabian Gulf and near Bubiyan Island. To-date, 8 Iraqi vessels (1 oil platform service ship, 2 patrol boats, 1 tanker, and 4 unknown) are presumed destroyed, and 10 (4 mining vessels, 1 hovercraft, 3 patrol boats, and 2 unknown) have been sunk. 2 additional mines have been located and destroyed in the northern Arabian Gulf.

39 Iraqi aircraft, including 23 in the past 24 hours, have landed in Iran. Iran announces that to protect its neutrality, any warplanes landing within its borders would be confiscated and held until end of hostilities.

U.S. Patriot missiles intercept 6 Iraqi SCUD missiles aimed at Saudi Arabia and Israel. 51 SCUDs have been launched to-date.

28 Jan

DOD announces more than 24,000 sorties (about 50% attack strikes) have been flown as air campaign focuses on Iraqi command and control, counter-air ops, interdiction, airfields, SCUD sites, Republican Guard fortifications, and battlefield preparation.

DOD also announces the U.S. has lost an AV-8B. The USMC crewman is missing, the 15th U.S. crewman. A USAF F-4G reported lost on January 19 has been reclassified from non-combat loss to combat loss after examination of the wreckage determined that the aircraft had sustained battle damage sufficient enough to cause the crash.

The status of seven U.S. aircrewmen has been redesignated from Missing to Prisoner of War. The seven include Lieutenant Jeffrey N. Zaun, USN; Lieutenant Colonel Clifford M. Acree, and Chief Warrant Officer Guy L. Hunter, USMC.

DOD announces that a total of 80 Iraqi aircraft have relocated to Iran. Aircraft ferrying is being characterized as "possible defections" as a consequence of air campaign that has achieved air superiority and neutralized Iraqi counterattack. Flight operations have been conducted from only 3 of Iraq's 66 airfields, numbering 30 sorties, 25 to Iran. DOD appraisal is that "Iraq is unable to offer any organized air resistance." Aircraft will be monitored to assure non-return to conflict. Iraqi aircraft relocate from central and northern Iraq, out of range of U.S. and coalition aircraft to intercept, however four were engaged on January 27 and destroyed by U.S. F-15s.

USN A-6s have attacked Iraqi ships at Bubiyan Channel, at the Umm Qasr Naval Base, and in Kuwait harbor.

U.S. ships continue maritime interception operations, diverting the RED SEA ENERGY after an inspection team found 160 railroad cars which were inaccessible. The German-flagged freighter, enroute from Greece to Aqaba, Jordan, was diverted to another port. To-date, coalition diversions total 37, 7,020 intercepts and 837 boardings. The U.S. has conducted 490 of these boardings.

USMC and coalition aircraft attack an Iraqi convoy inside Kuwait and destroyed 24 tanks, armored personnel carriers and trucks.

U.S. ground forces continue to receive sporadic artillery fire along the Kuwaiti border, and have engaged in counter-battery artillery missions.

DOD announces oil, estimated to have totalled 460 million gallons, appears to have stopped flowing from the Sea Island Terminal, however, still monitoring.

Iraq launches one SCUD missile at Saudia Arabia. Intercepted by U.S. Patriot missile, south of Riyadh. A second SCUD fired at Tel Aviv, Israel, fell in a West Bank open field without causing injuries.

29 Jan

DOD announces that over 700,000 coalition air, ground, and naval personnel are present in the theater of operation, and over 110 coalition combatant ships are participating. U.S. troops number over 490,000.

29 Jan (continuing) Over 27,000 sorties have been flown and 256 TOMAHAWK cruise missiles launched as air campaign targeting priorities continue to be command and control, airfields, SCUD locations, lines of communication, Republican Guard areas, and battlefield preparation.

Naval forces are conducting strike operations, surface surveillance, and combat air patrols. A-6s have attacked and destroyed two Iraqi Silkworm missile launchers. Naval aircraft again attacked Iraqi ships and port facilities at Um Qasr Naval Base. F/A-18s destroyed control centers at an oil refinery at Basra.

USAF F-15s have shot down an Iraqi MIG-23, the 27th enemy aircraft downed in air-to-air engagements.

In the first major ground confrontation, Iraq mounts a four-pronged raid across Kuwaiti border. Near Al Wafra, U.S. and coalition forces engage a mechanized battalion with Cobra gunships and fixed wing aircraft, and repulse the attack, destroying 10 tanks, losing 3 light armored vehicles. North of Ras Al Khafji, at just before midnight, another Iraqi battalion crossed the border. U.S. AC-130s and Cobra helicopters destroyed 4 tanks, 13 vehicles. Fighting continued for control of Khafji through the night. Forty more Iraqi tanks crossed the border, and engage U.S. Marine light armored infantry. Attack was repelled, but eleven Marines were killed in action, the first ground combat casualties of the operation. Two Marines were wounded. A total of 33 enemy tanks and 28 APCs were destroyed.

U.S. ground forces continue to receive sporadic artillery fire, engage in small skirmishes with Iraqi troops along the Kuwaiti border, and conducting artillery and counter-battery missions, firing hundreds of rounds and anti-tank missiles on Iraqi outposts in Kuwait.

U.S. Marines of the 13th Marine Expeditionary Unit, deployed from USS OKINAWA (LPH-3), assault and capture Umm al Maradim Island, 12 miles off the coast of Kuwait. Marines plant the Kuwaiti flag, and destroyed anti-aircraft weapons and artillery stored on the 400 meter-by-300 meter island. This is the second island reclaimed for the Kuwaiti government by the coalition.

Navy helos search Maradim Island investigating reports of Iraqis offering to surrender, and were fired upon by approximately 20 Iraqi small craft with rocket-propelled grenades and automatic weapons. Returned fire, sinking 4 boats, damaging 12. A-6s engaged fleeing boats.

80-90 Iraqi aircraft (35%, civilian, 65%, fighters/bombers) have now flown into Iran.

DOD announces that the fire has been extinguished at the Sea Island Terminal, and the oil flow from the terminal has stopped. Additionally, the oil slick is breaking up.

USCENTCOM officially begins first transfer of 36 Iraqi Enemy Prisoners of War to Saudi Arabian control.

To-date, 200,948 National Guard and Reservists have been recalled to active duty (15,093 Navy, 22,141 USMC).

30 Jan

At D+14, DOD categorically summarizes operational status:

*Targets - 26 leadership targets have been struck with 60 percent severely damaged or destroyed.

One third of Iraq's command, control and communications facilities are destroyed or inoperative.

Power plants and telecommunications sites have been hit. One fourth of Iraq's electrical generating facilities are inoperative, 50 percent adversely affected.

Twenty-nine air defense systems have been hit with more than 800 sorties.

*Air-to-air combat - 29 Iraqi aircraft destroyed with no coalition losses.

*Airfields - Thirty eight of 44 targeted airfields have been bombed in over 1,300 sorties (some multiple strikes). At least nine airfields are inoperative.

Over 70 hardened aircraft shelters have been destroyed. Forced Iraqi aircraft to hide in residential areas, moved to roads or flown to Iran. "Everytime an Iraqi airplane takes off the ground, it's running away."

*Bridges - Thirty-three of 36 targeted bridges have been bombed in over 790 sorties.

Kuwaiti theater of operations has been isolated by strikes on railroad and highway bridges.

Iraq's resupply efforts have been degraded from 20,000 to 2,000 tons daily. Highway traffic severely diminished.

*Strategic Locations - All 31 targeted nuclear, chemical and biological facilities have been attacked with over 535 sorties (primarily TOMAHAWK cruise missile and precision-guided missiles). All nuclear facilities have been destroyed, including the Baghdad Nuclear Research Center. Over half of biological and chemical facilities have been heavily damaged or destroyed.

*Republican Guards - Elite forces have been target of about 300 air sorties daily. 28 B-52s dropped 470 tons. On 29 January, 21 B-52s dropped 315 tons. 178 trucks confirmed destroyed, and 55 artillery and 52 tanks have been destroyed or damaged in past 36 hours. Also, A-6s, F-16s, and F-15E air strikes are resulting in multiple secondary explosions in ammo storage revettments. 125 revettments are confirmed destroyed in northern Kuwait, along with armored personnel carriers, missiles and self-propelled artillery tubes.

*Naval operations - Navy has flown over 3,500 sorties from six carriers and have launched over 260 TOMAHAWK cruise missiles. 46 Iraqi naval vessels have been sunk or disabled and 74 enemy prisoners of war have been captured in two engagements. Iraqi naval forces operations severely degraded. Also, maritime interception operations are continuing with over 7,000 intercepts to-date.

*SCUDs - Over 1500 sorties have been flown, destroying all 30 fixed sites and all major Iraqi missile production facilities. Patriot missiles have engaged 33 SCUDs, 33 destroyed.

30 Jan (continuing) Saudi Arabian National Guardsmen and Qatari tanks engage a column of Iraqi infantry and tanks in Ras al Khafji. After a protracted battle, Iraqis are forced out of the town with help of U.S. Marine AH-1 Cobra gunships and artillery.

Navy A-6s attack three Iraqi landing craft in the vicinity of Shatt al Arab Channel, leaving 2 ships dead in the water. The other ship fled. A-6 re-attacks a patrol boat in the northern Arabian Gulf. The boat was set ablaze and left burning. A-6s attack patrol boats at a pier at Umm Qasr Naval Base, sinking one, damaging the other. In the vicinity of Bubiyan Island, Navy aircraft engage 4 military vessels, sinking 3 patrol boats and damaging a landing craft. To-date, approximately 60 enemy vessels have either been sunk or damaged.

USS CURTS rescues 20 enemy prisoners of war from an Iraqi Polnochny amphibious landing craft sunk by USN A-6 and UK Lynx helos in the northern Arabian Gulf. EPWs are in good health with minor injuries. To-date, 95 EPWs are in U.S. control.

31 Jan DOD announces that over 32,000 sorties have been flown (2,600 today) with no losses of U.S. aircraft. Coalition air, ground and naval personnel now exceed 705,000. U.S. troop strength now exceeds one half million.

Republican Guard positions have been hit with over 350 tactical fighter strikes and over 10 B-52 strikes. Supply interdiction attacks continue on traffic backlog along the Baghdad to Basra road. Many vehicles were left burning.

U.S. and coalition tactical aircraft continue to engage tactical armor and infantry positions north of the Ras al Khafji area and along the Kuwaiti Coastal Highway.

Sporadic skirmishes in Ras al Khafji between U.S., Saudi and hold-out Iraqi troops until secured at 1400. Two 6-man U.S. Marine reconnaissance teams who had been trapped in the town directing artillery strikes were recovered.

Two U.S. soldiers, one male, one female, were reported missing in Saudi Arabia. Not related to Khafji battle.

Naval combat air patrols, surface surveillance, strike and mine search operations continue. To-date, 37 mines have been located and destroyed.

Iraqi SCUD missile is fired at Israel, but falls harmlessly in unpopulated area on the West Bank.

1 Feb DOD announces that over 34,000 sorties have been flown (2,500 today), with 19 tactical air strikes and 5 B-52 strikes totalling 600 sorties on Republican Guard fortifications along the Saudi Arabian-Kuwaiti border. 300 sorties targeted Iraqi armor and infantry postions along the border. Also, 278 TOMAHAWK cruise missiles launched to-date.

A USAF AC-130 has crashed in Kuwait while on a combat mission on January 31. 14 crewmembers are listed as missing. To-date, 23 MIAs.

DOD reports the destruction of another SCUD missile site. January 31

1 Feb (continuing)

launch toward Israel was observed by 2 U.S. aircraft, and attacked site, destroying launcher, 2 trailers and 7 support vehicles.

Naval air strike operations resumed at the Uum Qasr Naval Base. At the Min al Bakir oil terminal, an A-6 attacked a patrol boat, leaving it burning. Helos picked up an additional 15 enemy prisoners of war from the Cor al Amiya oil terminal who were apparently survivors from Iraqi naval vessels engaged over the past 48 hours. Navy helos involved in EPW operation reported no oil coming from or in vicinity of oil terminal or Min al Bakir platform. Oil slick appears to be broken up, 4 miles long and 1 mile wide.

Iraqi troop and armor border movements are being observed, but not considered a "massive troop buildup" or major offensive.

Iraqi tanks have fired on an observation post along the border. Five tanks fled under fire from U.S. artillery.

U.S. Army unit engages in a short firefight with an Iraqi unit, exchanging small arms fire before disengaging contact. No injuries.

DOD reports over 500 enemy prisoners of war have been captured after the siege at Ras al Khafji.

SECNAV activates 504 additional Naval Reservists from 51 units.

2 Feb

DOD announces 37,000 sorties have been flown (2,600 today), focused on targeting Republican Guard positions, strategic targets and targets of opportunity.

A USN A-6 with two crewmembers and a USAF A-10 with 1 crewman has been shot down by anti-aircraft fire. The three crewmembers are listed as missing.

U.S. naval operations continue with an attack on the Al Kalia naval facility. One Iraqi Exocet-capable patrol craft was directly hit with two laser guided bombs, while a second aircraft launched a string of 12 500-pound bombs across a second patrol boat which also went into a building on the pier generating several secondary explosions. Helos from the USS NICHOLAS engaged four Iraqi patrol boats near the Myerdam Island, destroying one, damaging two. Also, A-6s scored a direct hit with two laser-guided bombs on a patrol boat in the Kuwait City harbor. 83 Iraqi naval craft have been sunk or damaged to-date. Senior commanders now conclude that with the destruction of all Iraqi patrol craft capable of delivering missiles, Iraqi naval forces are considered to be combat ineffective.

2 Iraqi SCUD missiles are fired at Tel Aviv, Israel. One landed possibly in Jordan, the other in an unpopulated area of the West Bank. No injuries, damage minimal. One SCUD was intercepted over Riyadh, Saudi Arabia by a U.S. Patriot missile. Falling debris injured 29 people.

U.S. planes attacked another SCUD missile site, destroying 3 vehicles.

DOD announces that one Marine has been killed and two wounded when their convoy which was returning from an artillery operation was hit by cluster bomb munitions apparently from "friendly fire."

3 Feb

DOD announces that over 41,00 sorties have been flown (2,500 today), 480 solely against Republican Guard fortifications, in addition to airfields and hardened aircraft shelters. The latter targeting has resulted in the destruction of 68 additional Iraqi aircraft. Also, 25-35 major bridges have been destroyed or damaged resulting in continuing resupply interdiction.

The Navy's battleship USS MISSOURI fired eight 1.25-ton shells from its 16-inch guns at a prefabricated concrete command and control bunker Iraq was moving into Kuwait, destroying the bunker. The barrage, totalling 18,000 pounds of high explosives, marked the first combat firing of the MISSOURI's 16-inch guns since the Korean War, and was in support of Marines and coalition ground forces.

U.S. has lost three additional aircraft in non-combat operations, a USMC AH-1J Cobra, a USMC UH-1 Huey helo, and a USAF B-52. The two crewmen of the AH-1J, which crashed in Saudi Arabia while returning from an armed combat escort mission on February 2, are listed as killed in action. The 4 crewmembers of the Huey are listed as killed in action. Three crewmen of the B-52, which crashed in the Indian Ocean while returning from a combat mission have been recovered, while three other crewmen are missing.

DOD announces that evidence concludes that a U.S. aircraft accidently hit a Light Armored Vehicle killing 7 Marines during the January 29 battle at Khafji. This "friendly fire" accident is ascribed to the mis-identification of the USMC vehicle and its close proximity to comparably-configured Iraqi armored vehicles during "very intense, very close" combat. The four other Marine KIAs, in another LAV, are believed to have been hit by Iraqi fire.

Enemy prisoners of war are 800 to-date, in U.S. and Saudi EPW compounds.

No hostile naval activity, reconfirming Iraqi naval capability has been neutralized.

4 Feb

DOD announces that over 44,000 sorties have been flown -- "that's approximately one bombing sortie for every minute of the DESERT STORM operation" -- (2,700 today), including 250 sorties and six B-52 strikes on Republican Guard troop positions.

U.S. aircraft also hit targets of opportunity, including a USMC AV-8B attack with Rockeye anti-tank bombs that destroyed or damaged 25 Iraqi tanks, and a strike on a truck convoy detected moving at about 0400. In addition, 3 SCUD missile sites were hit and several support vehicles were damaged.

There has been no hostile activity by Iraq's naval forces.

Two U.S. personnel and a Saudi national were injured when unknown persons fired several 9mm rounds at the bus they were riding in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia. DOD states this shooting was "a possible terrorist attack."

5 Feb

DOD announces that SECDEF Dick Cheney and CJCS General Colin Powell will make their fourth visit to Saudi Arabian theater for a progress assessment of OPERATION DESERT STORM.

Over 47,000 sorties have been flown (2,800 today) and 284 TOMAHAWK cruise missiles launched with targeting focused on Republican Guard emplacements (400 sorties, six B-52 strikes) and logistics interdiction.

USS MISSOURI launched two naval gunfire salvos in support of Marines, firing 6 rounds of its 16-inch guns and destroying an Iraqi artillery battery, damaging another, and neutralizing four others. In a second salvo, the MISSOURI fired 28 16-inch rounds against a radar control site complex, completely destroying it.

Navy A-6s attacked Silkworm anti-ship missile sites at Uum Qasabah. Hits on two launchers and several control and support vehicles were confirmed.

USMC AV-8Bs bombed and strafed a 25-truck convoy, causing multiple secondary explosions. Strikes have also hit resupply convoys backed up attempting to cross bombed-out bridges between Baghdad and Basra.

U.S. aircraft are poised to attack any active SCUD missile sites, but no attacks either on sites or SCUD launches. Numbers of SCUD launches have decreased, only 4 this week, 57 to-date.

Iraqi aircraft flew ten sorties, ferrying ten additional fighters and transport aircraft to Iran. Total to-date, 110.

There has been no hostile activity by Iraq's air or naval forces. Iraqi ground troops continue limited probing/reconnaissance actions with some small arms fire and sporadic artillery fire.

Enemy prisoners of war to-date total about 817, with 25 additional Iraqis, including two officers, surrendering in Khafji.

Saudi Arabia has arrested six suspects in the February 4 bus attack on U.S. and Saudi nationals in Jiddah.

SECNAV activates 528 additional Naval Reservists from 43 units. To-date, 211,146 National Guard and Reservists have been recalled to active duty (15,376 Navy, 22,634 USMC).

6 Feb

DOD announces that over 49,000 sorties have been flown (2,500 today), with A-6s, F-15s, F-16s and B-52s targeting Republican Guard fortifications every three hours around the clock. 650 sorties have also hit convoys and assembly areas to isolate Iraqi troops and shape the Kuwait Theater of Operations for any future engagements. Bridges, roads and railroads are being targeted and retargeted to interdict troop resupply. 42 bridges have beeen destroyed or extensively damaged, 70% of Iraqi supply lines have been cut.

Two patrolling F-15s intercepted 4 Iraqi fighters transiting to Iran, and shot down 2 SU-25s and possibly downed 2 MIG-21s. Three other Iraqi fighters crossed into Iranian airspace before further engagement. To-date, 120 Iraqi planes (95 fighters, 25 transportation) have flown to Iran. 33 Iraqi aircraft have been downed in air-to-air engagements

6 Feb (continuing) with no U.S aircraft losses, to-date. An Iraqi helo was also destroyed by two F-14s.

USS MISSOURI has destroyed 2 artillery emplacements and a radar site with another 16-inch gun barrage in support of Marines. The battleship also damaged four artillery emplacements.

Marines and other troops continue ground maneuvers, and there have been numerous Iraqi reconnaissance probes. Contact has been minimal.

Six Iraqi soldiers, including two officers, surrendered to Marines near border. Eleven Iraqis surrendered to USA troops. Enemy prisoners of war now total 850.

U.S. aircraft attacked and destroyed trucks carrying a SCUD missile and mobile missile launchers. There have been no SCUD missile attacks on three consecutive nights.

Updated 6Feb91

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 3/25

NOTE FOR: EDE HOLIDAY
DAVID DEMAREST

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you for your:

Information ☐

Action ☑

Thank you.

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc: The Chief of Staff
Gen. Scowcroft
Ron Kaufman

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03a. Memo	POTUS to Phil Brady Re: End of Desert Storm (1 pp.)	03/25/92	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Aarhus, Carol
Subseries: Alphabetical File
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Persian Gulf [2]

Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)
By JL (NLGB) on 6.9.05

Date Closed:	12/10/2004	**OA/ID Number:**	13864-007
FOIA/SYS Case #:	S; 1998-0099-F	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:	2005-0480-S	**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 3-25-92

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: Phil Brady

Send the attached response on the end of Desert Storm to:

Speech writers at EOB and
at Campaign.

Surrogates should be given this answer-advise campaign of that.

gb

4

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03b. Memo	Secretary of Defense to POTUS Re: Questions about the end of the war (1 pp.)	03/25/92	~~P-5~~	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Aarhus, Carol
Subseries: Alphabetical File
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Persian Gulf [2]

Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)
By CAP (NLGB) on 1/19/09

Date Closed:	12/10/2004	**OA/ID Number:**	13864-007
FOIA/SYS Case #:	S; 1998-0099-F	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:	2005-0480-S	**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

March 25, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Re: Questions about the end of the war

At your request, I am attaching the answer I use when I am asked in public forums why we ended the war when we did, instead of going on to Baghdad.

It says we stopped the fighting when we met our objectives, and it argues that going on to Baghdad would have bogged us down in Iraq with no clear military objective.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03c. Paper	Re: Q&A on end of the Persian Gulf War (1 pp.)	n.d.	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Aarhus, Carol
Subseries: Alphabetical File
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Persian Gulf [2]

Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)
By JL (NLGB) on 6.7.05

Date Closed:	12/10/2004	**OA/ID Number:**	13864-007
FOIA/SYS Case #:	S; 1998-0099-F	**Appeal Case #:**	
Re-review Case #:	2005-0480-S	**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

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Q&A on end of the Persian Gulf War

Q. Why did you end the war when you did, instead of going on to Baghdad to get Saddam Hussein?

A. It was never part of our mission to take Baghdad. We stopped the war when we achieved our objectives -- to liberate Kuwait and destroy Iraq's offensive military capability, its ability to threaten its neighbors. That was the mission agreed to by Congress, the United Nations, and our coalition partners, and supported overwhelmingly by the American people.

We ended the war when the enemy was defeated. It was a unanimous recommendation of Secretary Cheney, General Powell, and General Schwarzkopf.

To then ask American troops to continue their combat operations, to continue the killing and the destruction, was not something we were eager to do. There is a basic decency to our men and women in uniform. They quickly made the transition from being warriors to being angels of mercy, taking care of the thousands of surrendering Iraqi prisoners. The pictures of those young Americans caring for the Iraqi soldiers were some of the most poignant images of the war.

If we had kept going, we would have gone beyond what we said we intended to do, beyond what our coalition partners agreed to, beyond what the UN Security Council signed up to, and beyond what the Congress and the American people approved. We entered the war with clear-cut military objectives.

We certainly had the military capability to go on to Baghdad, but for what purpose? To get Saddam Hussein? I doubt that he would have waited at his palace for us to drive up and get him. So we would have needed to send a very large force and might well have faced intensive combat inside the city. The artillery, tanks, and air power that performed so well for us in the open desert would not have been very useful inside a major city. That would have cost us dearly in terms of additional casualties. And I'm not sure what we would have done with Baghdad, once we had it.

But once we had prevailed and had toppled Saddam Hussein's government, we presumably would have had to stay there and put another government in place. And what would that have been: a Suni government, a Shia government, a Kurdish government, or another Bathist regime? How long would US forces have been required to say in to prop the government up? And how effective could it have been if the government we put in had been perceived as a puppet of the US military?

My guess is that if we had gone to Baghdad, we'd still have US forces there today. And to involve American forces in a civil war inside Iraq would have been a quagmire, because we would have gone in there with no clear-cut military objective. It's just as important to know when <u>not</u> to use force as it is to know when to use it. And we got it right both times.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release January 16, 1991

TEXT OF A LETTER AND REPORT FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE PURSUANT TO SECTION 2(B) OF PUBLIC LAW 102-1

January 16, 1991

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Pursuant to section 2(b) of the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (H.J. Res. 77, Public Law 102-1), I have concluded that:

1. the United States has used all appropriate diplomatic and other peaceful means to obtain compliance by Iraq with U.N. Security Council Resolutions 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 669, 670, 674, 677, and 678; and

2. that those efforts have not been and would not be successful in obtaining such compliance.

Enclosed is a report that supports my decision.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

cc: The Honorable Robert H. Michel
Republican Leader

The Honorable George J. Mitchell
Majority Leader

The Honorable Robert J. Dole
Republican Leader

Attachment

Report for Use in Connection with Section 2(b) of the Joint Congressional Resolution Authorizing the Use of Military Force Against Iraq

The report that follows is a summary of diplomatic and other peaceful means used in an attempt to obtain compliance by Iraq with the twelve UN Security Council resolutions relating to its invasion and occupation of Kuwait. It is not a definitive rendition of these means, because the Administration cannot, of necessity, include at this time all the factual data that would support a complete historical record. This report, therefore, should be considered in light of formal and informal information already provided to the Congress and that which will be provided in the future.

1. Background

For over five and half months, the international community has sought with unprecedented unity to reverse Iraq's brutal and unprovoked aggression against Kuwait. The United States and the vast majority of governments of the world, working together through the United Nations, have been united both in their determination to compel Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait and in their strong preference for doing so through peaceful means. Since August 2, we have sought to build maximum diplomatic and economic pressure against Iraq. Regrettably, Iraq has given no sign whatever that it intends to comply with the will of the international community; nor is there any indication that diplomatic and economic means alone would ever compel Iraq to do so. Instead, Iraq has continued to reject the relevant UN Security Council resolutions and refuses to recognize them.

From the beginning of the Gulf crisis, the United States has consistently pursued four basic objectives: (1) the immediate, complete, and unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait; (2) the restoration of the legitimate Government of Kuwait; (3) the protection of U.S. citizens abroad; and (4) the security and stability of a region vital to U.S. national security. In pursuit of these objectives, we have sought and obtained action by the UN Security Council, resulting in twelve separate resolutions that have been fully consistent with U.S. objectives.

The last of these twelve resolutions, UN Security Council Resolution 678 of 29 November 1990, authorizes UN Member States to use "all necessary means" to implement Resolution 660 and all subsequent relevant resolutions of the Security Council, and to restore international peace and security in the area, unless Iraq fully implements those resolutions on or before January 15, 1991.

The nearly seven week "pause of goodwill" established in UN Security Council Resolution 678 has now passed. Iraq has taken no steps whatever to fulfill these requirements. Iraq has forcefully stated that it considers the Security Council's resolutions invalid and has no intention of complying with them at any time. Iraqi forces remain in occupation of Kuwait and have been substantially reinforced in recent weeks rather than withdrawn. Iraq has strongly and repeatedly reiterated its annexation of Kuwait and stated its determination that Kuwait will remain permanently a part of Iraq. The Iraqi closure of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait has in no way been rescinded.

In short, the Government of Iraq remains completely intransigent in rejecting the UN Security Council's demands -- despite the exhaustive use by the United States and the United Nations of all appropriate diplomatic, political, and economic measures to persuade or compel Iraq to comply.

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This has been a truly international effort. More than two dozen other countries have sent their own military forces to the Gulf region, including more than 250,000 troops. They have given or pledged substantial funds and other assistance to us for our operations, including over $8 billion in calendar year 1990 alone. They have taken on the responsibility for assisting those nations that have suffered the most from the effects of international sanctions against Iraq and higher energy prices. As additional costs are incurred during 1991, we will look to our allies to shoulder their fair share of our military expenses and exceptional economic assistance efforts.

2. Diplomatic and Political Actions

The extensive diplomatic and political efforts undertaken by the United States, other countries, regional organizations including the Arab League and the European Community and the United Nations to persuade or compel Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait have not succeeded. The UN Security Council and General Assembly have overwhelmingly and repeatedly condemned the Iraqi invasion and demanded Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. The Security Council has invoked its extraordinary authority under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, not only to order comprehensive economic sanctions, but to authorize the use of all other means necessary, including the use of force. The Security Council has directed other UN organizations (e.g., the International Atomic Energy Agency) to take appropriate actions toward the same end within their areas of competence, and they have done so where relevant.

The President, the Secretary of State and other U.S. officials have engaged in an exhaustive process of consultation with other governments and international organizations. The Secretary of State alone has, since August 2 of last year, held more than 250 meetings with foreign heads of state, foreign ministers and other high foreign officials. He has traveled over 125,000 miles in the course of these contacts. While this extensive diplomacy has been very successful in maintaining international solidarity in support of our objectives, it has not caused the Government of Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.

Most recently, on January 9, the Secretary of State met at length in Geneva with the Iraqi Foreign Minister, who in six and one-half hours of talks demonstrated no readiness whatever to implement the UN Security Council resolutions. The Iraqi Foreign Minister even refused to receive a diplomatic communication from the President intended for Saddam Hussein. On January 13, the UN Secretary General was rebuffed by Iraq for a second time, in this case in a direct attempt to persuade Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait peacefully. Many other heads of state, foreign ministers and private persons have made similar attempts. In short, the international community has in an unprecedented way directed the full scope and vigor of its political and diplomatic means to produce an Iraqi withdrawal.

These exhaustive efforts have produced not the slightest indication of any intention by Saddam Hussein to meet the demands of the international community for immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. For our part, the Administration made clear that there could be no reward for aggression lest we undermine prospects for an expanded constructive role for the UN Security Council and for a new, more peaceful world order. Attempts to link resolution of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait with other issues were rejected on the grounds that these issues were unrelated to Iraq's aggression and that such efforts would only serve to divert attention from the immediate challenge posed by Iraq.

3. Economic Sanctions

Since August 2 (in the case of the United States) and August 9 (in the case of the Security Council and the other UN Member States), comprehensive economic sanctions have been imposed on Iraq, prohibiting all trade and financial transactions with Iraq, with the exception of goods for a very limited category of essential humanitarian purposes. These sanctions have since August 25 been backed by an extensive maritime interception effort involving warships of many states, and since September 25 by rigorous controls on air traffic to and from Iraq. The United States and other countries have engaged in tireless efforts during this period to uncover and defeat attempted evasions of these sanctions around the world, whether by direct attempts to pass through the allied interception cordon or by the use of financial and trade intermediaries.

Our efforts have resulted in a very substantial reduction of the volume of trade to and from Iraq, and significant shortages in Iraq's financial resources. The most serious impact on Iraq thus far has been on the financial sector, where hard currency shortages have led Baghdad to take a variety of unusual steps to conserve or obtain foreign exchange. The sanctions have shut off 97% of Iraq's exports and more than 90% of its imports and have prevented Baghdad from reaping the proceeds of higher oil prices or its seizure of Kuwaiti oil fields. The departure of foreign workers and the cutoff of imported industrial inputs has caused problems for a variety of industries.

Notwithstanding the substantial economic impact of sanctions to date, and even if sanctions were to continue to be enforced for an additional six to twelve months, economic hardship alone is highly unlikely to compel Saddam to retreat from Kuwait or cause regime-threatening popular discontent in Iraq. Due to a reduction of domestic consumption, cannibalization of Kuwaiti facilities, smuggling, and use of existing stockpiles, the most vital Iraqi industries do not appear to be threatened. The price of foodstuffs for the Iraqi population has sharply increased and rations have been reduced, but there is still access to sufficient staple foods, and new supplies are being injected from the fall harvest and smuggling.

While we might succeed in substantially reducing the overall Iraqi supply of food and other essential consumer commodities, Saddam Hussein has made clear his willingness to divert such supplies to his military forces, even at the cost of severe deprivation of his civilian population. Even if the international community were prepared to deprive the Iraqi civilian population of food, there is no reason to believe that this would change Saddam Hussein's policies.

The ability of Iraqi armed forces to defend Kuwait and southern Iraq is unlikely to be eroded substantially over the next six to twelve months even if effective sanctions could be maintained. Iraq's infantry and artillery forces probably would not suffer significantly, since Iraq could maintain the relatively simple Soviet-style weaponry of these forces. Low-technology defensive preparations could also be expanded. Iraq's armored and mechanized forces would be degraded somewhat, but Iraq has large stocks of spare parts and other supplies that would ameliorate this effect. Iraqi air forces and air defenses would likely be hit far more severely by continued effective sanctions, but in any case, Iraqi air defense and air forces would play a limited role -- in relation to the ground forces -- with respect to Iraq's ability to hold Kuwait.

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In short, while sanctions might degrade to some extent the operational readiness of some portion of the Iraqi armed forces, it is clear that Iraq would still retain very large and powerful land and air forces, as well as substantial capability to replace ammunition and other essential replacement items. Delay would also have important military consequences that might make any eventual military action more costly and increase U.S. and coalition casualties. Iraq has already exploited its five-month occupation of Kuwait to increase significantly its ability to resist coalition efforts to restore that country's sovereignty and to increase further its already formidable military capability. Iraq has increased the size of its forces in the Kuwait Theater of Operations by 450,000 personnel and has increased the overall size of its armed forces by mobilizing many thousands of combat veterans and reservists. Additional time has already permitted the Iraqis to extend and reinforce their fortifications along the Saudi border; more time would only make these defenses more formidable. Delay also would give the Iraqis more time to further develop, produce and weaponize weapons of mass destruction, thus making any eventual conflict more destructive and strengthening Iraq's ability to coerce other nations with the threat of mass destruction. Delay may also degrade the readiness of coalition forces.

In short, international sanctions have not caused Iraq to comply with the January 15, 1991 deadline in UN Security Council Resolution 678, or to retreat from its insistence that its annexation of Kuwait is permanent. Even if the world community were able to maintain the current high level of success in sanctions enforcement, these economic results would not produce such compliance.

Further, the longer the sanctions continue, the more likely it is that leaks in the sanctions enforcement system will develop, that intermediaries will devise ways to circumvent sanctions, and that Iraq will find means of using its own resources to fill critical shortfalls. Even more important, if the coalition fails now to carry through on the UN Security Council's demands for immediate Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, there will be strong pressures and temptations on various countries to ease their enforcement of sanctions and to compromise on demands that Iraq meet existing objectives fully and unconditionally.

In summary, diplomatic and economic pressures have not diminished Iraq's intransigence despite five and one-half months of unparalleled international effort, and continued reliance upon them alone could risk achieving the basic objective of bringing about Iraq's complete and unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait.

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TIMELINE

7TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The New York Times

March 3, 1991, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 4; Page 2; Column 1; Week In Review Desk

HEADLINE: Phases of War: From Trespass to Destruction

GRAPHIC: Photos: Invasion and Outrage: Iraq invades Kuwait on Aug. 2 and annexes it. President Saddam Hussein orders foreigners to stay as Arab and Western nations align against him.

Parade of Hostages: By preventing war, Mr. Hussein tells his "guests," "you will all be heroes of peace." (CNN via Agence France-Presse)

Bush's Pledge: "This will not stand. This will not stand, this aggression against Kuwait."

Forces Gather as Diplomacy Falters: A coalition of 28 nations sends more than half a million troops as a stream of petitioners and the United Nations try to convince Mr. Hussein to withdraw. (Associated Press)

Eleventh-Hour Failure: After meeting for six hours with Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz of Iraq on Jan. 9, Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d's first word sums it up: "Regrettably . . ." (Pool photo via Associated Press)

The Air War Explodes: After Jan. 16, images of smart bombs, Scuds and Patriot missiles inundate the world. Air raids send Israelis to sealed rooms and Iraqis to bomb shelters. (Department of Defense via Reuters/Associated Press)

Unrelenting Numbers: "Today is day 37," Lieut. Gen. Thomas Kelly says on Feb. 22. "There have been a total of 72 Scud launches so far. . . . For sorties, the coalition total is now 91,000-plus. . . ."

The Final 100 Hours: After his ultimatum is ignored, President Bush unleashes ground forces in a deadly crescendo as Iraq resorts to a scorched earth policy.

Bush Declares Victory: "Kuwait is liberated. Iraq's army is defeated. Our military objectives are met. This war is now behind us." (Agence France-Presse)

Surrender by the Thousands: "We're not afraid," a young Iraqi soldier says. "We're just tired of war." (Pool photo via Associated Press)

Hussein Claims Victory: "The harvest in the mother of battles has succeeded. . . . The greater harvest and its yield will be in the time to come. . . . O valiant Iraqi men! O glorious Iraqi women!" (Pool photo via Associated Press)

Fire and Maneuver: "We did what could best be described as the 'Hail Mary' play in football," Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf says. "When the quarterback is desperate for a touchdown at the very end, what he does is, he steps up behind the center, and all of a sudden every single one of his receivers goes way out to one flank."

Map/Diagram: Endgame, The ground war

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(c) 1991 The New York Times, March 3, 1991

The bait, Aug. 3--Jan. 17: Allied forces take positions opposite Kuwait, as other American elements noisily practice maneuvers designed to suggest an amphibious landing.
The trap, Jan. 17--Feb. 25: Secure that Iraqi planes are no longer able to see them, heavy allied forces shift west. On Feb. 24, allies attack across the entire front.
The noose tightens, Feb. 25--27: Allied divisions, resupplied from advance bases in Iraq, wheel east to engage Republican Guard units as Arab forces and U.S. marines take Kuwait City and its aiport.

TYPE: Caption

SUBJECT: Terms not available

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8TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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March 1, 1991, Friday, BC cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 2883 words

KEYWORD: Gulf-War-Day-by-Day

BODY:

Day 12, Sunday, Jan. 27:

Two F-15s shot down four Iraqi MiG-23s southeast of Baghdad, the top U.S. field commander said. No U.S. planes were lost in the past 48 hours, the allied command said.

A total of 39 Iraqi aircraft flew to neighboring Iran since the war began, the allies said. This included 23 - most of them fighter aircraft - in the past 24 hours.

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney conceded that air attacks alone would not drive Iraq from Kuwait. But Cheney said the final go-ahead for a ground war remained "a presidential decision."

The White House ruled out financing the war with a new tax. Budget Director Richard Darman said upwards of $$40 billion had been pleged thus far by members of the anti-Iraq alliance. Estimates on the cost of the war ranged as high as $$1 billion a day once ground forces were committed.

Day 13, Monday, Jan. 28

More than 80 fighter-bombers from Iraq's air force found refuge next door in Iran, the U.S. military said. Iran said it would impound the Iraqi planes until the war ended.

The Iraqis reported that captured pilots have been injured in air attacks on "populated and civilian targets in Iraq." The Baghdad government says more than 320 civilians have been killed in Desert Storm air raids.

The U.S. command said its pinpoint air strike on Kuwaiti oil facilities may have turned off the source of the vast spill that is devastating the Persian Gulf.

Iraq fired more Scuds at Saudi Arabia and Israel. Patriot defense missiles knocked out an incoming Scud over the Saudi capital, Riyadh. Parts of another fell on Arab villages in the occupied West Bank.

CNN's Peter Arnett interviewed Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and said Saddam claimed his missiles have chemical, biological and nuclear capability.

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Day 14, Tuesday, Jan. 29

Iraq claimed that allied prisoners of war were hit in coalition air raids and that at least one was killed in an attack on a government building. There was no independent confirmation.

The allies reported that Allied warplanes caught an Iraqi military convoy moving across the open desert in southern Iraq the night before and destroyed 24 tanks, armored personnel carriers and supply vehicles.

The United States vowed to shoot down any Iraqi plane that tried to rejoin the war after taking refuge in Iran. The Pentagon said about 90 Iraqi fighter-bombers and transport planes flew to Iran.

In Washington, Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander A. Bessmertnykh said a cease-fire could be called if Iraq took "concrete steps" to withdraw from Kuwait.

President Bush, in his State of the Union address, assured Americans that the war will be won.

Day 15, Wednesday, Jan. 30

The first major ground battle of the war was fought in and around the frontier port of Khafji in the northeast corner of Saudi Arabia. Eleven U.S. marines were killed and two wounded (in the battle that started at 10:30 p.m. local time, 2:30 p.m. EST), the first American ground forces to die in battle in the Persian Gulf War.

Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf said that two weeks of bombing raids forced Iraq to abandon centralized control of its air defense. He said the allies have supremacy over Iraqi skies. Allied forces had destroyed all of Iraq's nuclear reactors, half of its biological warfare plants, and chemical storage and production sites, he said.

Most Americans said the military should increase its control over reporting of the war, according to a poll from the Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press. The telephone poll, done Jan. 25-27 among 924 adults by Princeton Survey Research Associates, had a sampling error of 4 percentage points.

The allied military commander threatened to bomb an Iraqi site reported to be the source of a new oil slick in the Persian Gulf.

In New York, the Dow Jones industrial average climbed 50.50 to 2,713.12, its highest close since it stood at 2,748.27 on Aug. 15.

Day 16, Thursday, Jan. 31:

Allied troops took back the coastal town that saw the Persian Gulf War's first sustained ground fighting, the military said. However, Iraqis continued to shell Saudi, Qatari and American forces, according to Western reporters in Khafji, a town eight miles from the Kuwaiti border in the northeast corner of Saudi Arabia.

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Israel said an Iraqi Scud-type missile struck the occupied West Bank, but there were no reports of injury or damage. The attack (about 6 p.m. or 11 a.m. EST) was the eighth Iraqi missile attack aimed at Israel since the war began.

Two soldiers - a man and a woman - not directly involved in the fighting at the northern Saudi port of Khafji were missing. Army Spec. Melissa Rathbun-Nealy, 20, was the first female soldier reported missing in action in the war. She disappeared near the Kuwaiti border with Army Spc. David Lockett, 23.

Day 17, Friday, Feb. 1:

The U.S. military command on Friday confirmed reports that an AC130-H gunship crashed behind Iraqi lines and that all 14 aboard were reported missing. Allied command spokesman Gen. Pat Stevens said the gunship was in hostile territory when it sent out an emergency signal before crashing.

Saudi and Qatari troops ferreted out Iraqi units driven back to the northern fringes of Khafji. Baghdad, which first described the battle as an Iraqi victory, acknowledged in a military communique that Iraqi troops had withdrawn from Khafji. Iraqi border positions were being hit in hundreds of sorties by Desert Storm bombers, the U.S. command said. Giant B-52s joined in pounding the Iraqi troops.

The New York stock market settled for a mixed showing in a busy session, ending the week with a net gain of 71 points in the Dow Jones industrial average. The Dow slipped back 5.70 to 2,730.69 Friday. Bond prices rose sharply. The dollar lost ground and gold moved mostly lower. Oil prices eased.

Day 18, Saturday, Feb. 2:

Iraq fired at least one Scud rocket at Saudi Arabia early Sunday (12:55 a.m. or 4:55 p.m. Saturday EST), and the U.S. Patriot air defenses destroyed the incoming missile over Riyadh, witnesses said. Iraq has fired 28 missiles at Saudi Arabia and the same number at Israel - including one Saturday (around 8:30 p.m. or 1:30 p.m. EST) that caused no injuries or damage.

Day 19, Sunday, Feb. 3:

An Air Force B-52 bomber and a Marine Cobra helicopter gunship crashed in separate incidents, killing at least two U.S. airmen and leaving three missing, the U.S. military said. Both crashes apparently were not related to combat.

Investigators have found that seven Marines were killed by a missile fired by an American warplane during a fierce armor battle along the Kuwaiti border last week, the U.S. military said.

The allied air war passed the 40,000-sortie mark.

White House Budget chief Richard Darman said the government forecasts the war will cost the United States $$15 billion, with an additional $$51 billion coming from the allies for the first three months of 1991.

Day 20, Monday, Feb. 4:

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Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani made a surprise offer to hold direct talks with both Iraq and the United States to try to end the Persian Gulf War. Allied warplanes pounded Baghdad before dawn. Witnesses said communication centers, government offices and industrial installations were hit.

Marine light armored vehicles exchanged cannon and small arms fire with Iraqi troops in Kuwait, Marine officials said. No casualties were reported.

President Bush proposed a $$295 billion military budget for fiscal 1992 that scales back strategic weapons geared to a once formidable Soviet threat and plans for conflicts like the Persian Gulf War. The budget does not include any of the costs of the military buildup in the Persian Gulf or the expense of war.

Day 21, Tuesday, Feb. 5:

Allied aircraft bombed Baghdad and Saddam Hussein's hometown of Tikrit. Radio Baghdad issued a terrorist call to arms, ordering attacks against Iraq's enemies and broadcasting what may have been coded instructions to agents abroad.

President Bush said he is sending Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Gen. Colin L. Powell to the Persian Gulf to report on a conflict he said is "going very well indeed."

Iraq's Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz, in a letter to Iraqi newspapers, said Iraq's civilian casualties have risen to 428 killed and more than 650 wounded.

Syria and Iraqi forces exchanged fire near the Saudi border, in the first reported combat by Syria in the Persian Gulf War.

Day 22, Wednesday, Feb. 6:

U.S. warplanes shot down four Iraqi jets fleeing to Iran, and a U.S. Navy F-14 Tomcat knocked down an Iraqi helicopter skimming along the northern Saudi border.

Iraq announced it was severing diplomatic ties with the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Egypt and Saudi Arabia - the leading members of the coalition that is trying to oust Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

Allied bombers continued to unload tons of explosives on Iraq's Republican Guards the highly feared soldiers at the rear of Iraqi lines.

A Saudi military spokesman said one of three Iraqi patrol boats was sunk when Iraqi troops attempted to sneak into the town of Khafji again this time by water. The remaining two boats retreated.

Iraq claimed that 150 civilians, including 35 children, had been killed in a single air raid on the southern city of Nassariyah.

Day 23, Thursday, Feb. 7:

The allies pounded Baghdad with bombs and missiles for 12 hours overnight. Iraqi officials said the raids on Baghdad killed 22 civilians and injured many others.

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Two allied F-15s shot down two Iraqi planes fleeing to Iran. One U.S. Army UH-1 Huey crashed from non-combat causes, killing one soldier and injuring four others

A gunman assassinated an American civilian employed at an air base in Adana, Turkey, used for bombing raids on Iraq. A terrorist group said he was killed because of the Persian Gulf War.

Day 24, Friday, Feb. 8:

Allied bombers demolished a major communications center in Baghdad and completed the destruction of a key bridge across the Tigris River.

In Washington, President Bush said the King Hussein had complicated U.S.-Jordanian relations by moving "way over into Saddam Hussein's camp." The White House said up to $$55 million in foreign aid earmarked for Jordan was being reviewed.

Day 25, Saturday, Feb. 9:

About 20 percent of Iraq's big guns and armor in Kuwait and southern Iraq were confirmed destroyed, the U.S. command said. It also said that despite poor weather, the U.S. and allied pilots continued to pound positions in that area, flying 2,400 sorties, for a war total of 57,000 missions.

President Bush's top two military advisers met with field commanders to decide when and where to launch a ground attack. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, talked for eight hours with Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, and other U.S. military leaders.

Relentless coalition bombing runs have turned the 340-mile highway connecting Baghdad and Amman, Jordan, into a deathtrap, according to an Associated Press correspondent who drove to Baghdad on Friday.

The skies over Baghdad were quiet, in contrast with recent days, an AP correspondent reported from the battered Iraqi capital.

Day 26, Sunday, Feb. 10:

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney gauged the damage done to Iraqi ground forces by non-stop bombing raids. "I'm sure you could find some divisions that may be down by as much as 40 percent," he said after consulting with field commanders in Saudi Arabia.

The Americans lost their first jet in combat in more than a week. A Marine Corp AV-8 Harrier was downed over southern Kuwait Saturday, and the pilot was missing, the U.S. command said.

Allied pilots flew 2,800 sorties, including 650 in Kuwait, for a war total of nearly 60,000 missions. The air over Iraq and Kuwait sometimes is so crowded with allied jets, it's harder to coordinate than air traffic over Los Angeles, Atlanta and Dallas combined, a U.S. military briefer said.

President Saddam Hussein praised what he called Iraqi strength and steadfastness in the face of more than three weeks of allied bombing,

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Baghdad's news agency reported.

Day 27, Monday, Feb. 11:

U.S. and allied jets stepped up the air war with hundreds more bombing runs against Iraqi targets. The city of Basra, strategic heart of Iraq's defense, was believed all but cut off.

Following a White House meeting with Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and joint chiefs chairman Gen. Colin Powell, both just back from Saudi Arabia, President Bush said the air war "will continue for a while."

As for a ground offensive, Bush said, "We're not talking about dates."

A Scud missile was fired at Israel and another at Riyadh, the Saudi capital. Israeli authorities said the Scud there fell into a deserted area in the central part of the country. Patriot interceptor missiles destroyed the incoming Scud near Riyadh. No damage or injuries were immediately reported in either place.

Day 28, Tuesday, Feb. 12:

An Iraqi missile destroyed a house in a prosperous urban neighborhood in Israel, slightly injuring six people, authorities said.

Marine and naval gunners combined their fire with U.S. air strikes to pound Iraqi tanks and artillery massed in southern Kuwait. Below the border, battle-ready American units shifted and maneuvered as they readied for ground war.

Allied warplanes blasted an Iraqi convoy of armored vehicles and trucks in Kuwait, and demolished a government ministry in Baghdad that is led by Saddam Hussein's cousin.

American pilots on "Scud patrol" claimed they destroyed up to four Iraqi missile launchers in western Iraq, U.S. officials said.

President Bush conferred in Washington with the defense chiefs of Britain and France. Britain's defense minister said there was still "work to be done" in air attacks weakening Iraqi forces before the allies launch a full-scale ground war.

Day 29, Wednesday, Feb. 13:

Allied warplanes destroyed an underground shelter in Baghdad and officials there said 500 civilians were killed. The United States called it a military command center, not a bomb shelter.

The Bush administration declared that Saddam Hussein "kills civilians intentionally" and suggested he allowed Baghdad residents to use the structure hit by U.S. bombs in hopes of shielding a military bunker.

A Saudi F-5 Tiger 2 was lost on a mission over Iraq and the pilot was missing, said Saudi military briefer, Col. Ahmed al-Robayan. It was the second Saudi plane lost.

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Iraq's foreign minister, Tariq Aziz, will fly to Moscow to meet with Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, a Soviet spokesman said. A Soviet envoy's talks with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in Baghdad "give cause for hope," the spokesman said, without elaboration.

Day 30, Thursday, Feb. 14:

Two crewmen of a U.S. Air Force EF-111 were killed when their plane went down in northern Saudi Arabia, apparently after being damaged in combat, and a British Tornado bomber was lost while attacking Iraqi airfields. Its two crewmen were listed as missing.

The U.S. command, in response to the death of hundreds of civilians in Wednesday's Baghdad bombing, said it was looking for new ways to limit such casualties - possibly including advance announcements of its targets.

The Iraqis said it was only a civilian bomb shelter. But U.S. officials said they had indisputable evidence, from radio intercepts, reconnaissance photos and other sources, that the concrete facility was being used as a military command-and-control center. They said they were unaware it harbored any civilians.

Two Iraqi Scud missiles fell on the isolated town of Hafr el-Batin, demolishing an auto-repair shop and house, and slightly injuring four Saudi civilians. Allied officers said the missiles apparently broke up in flight.

The U.N. Security Council opened debate on the Gulf War in its first closed-door session in 15 years. Iraq's envoy condemned the U.S. bombing deaths of civilians in Baghdad and gave no sign Iraq would vacate Kuwait. The council adjourned after 3 hours of debate.

Day 31, Friday, Feb. 15:

Iraq offered a strings-attached plan for a Kuwait pullout Friday, but President Bush dismissed it as a "cruel hoax" and the hour-by-hour bombing went on.

CBS News reporter Bob Simon and three crew members who disappeared in the northern Saudi desert last month have been held in Baghdad for two weeks, CNN reported.

The Security Council met in closed session to discuss Iraq's conditional offer to withdraw from Kuwait. Some nations said the Iraq statement merited a cease-fire. Others dismissed it as a ploy to buy time.

Day 32, Saturday, Feb. 16:

Two U.S. A-10 Thunderbolt jets were reported shot down while attacking Iraqi Republican Guard positions in northwestern Kuwait. Both pilots were listed missing.

Allies flew 2,600 air sorties during the last 24 hours. More than 700 were over the Kuwaiti theater, and 170 targeted the Republican Guard.

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The Associated Press, March 1, 1991

American attack helicopters made their first nighttime raids on Iraqi positions in the Gulf War, the U.S. Command said.

Iraqi foreign minister Tariq Aziz was due for talks in Moscow Monday, on the heels of Soviet envoy Yevgeny Primakov's discussions with Saddam Hussein in Baghdad.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

5 March 1992

UPDATED INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVE DEMAREST
SPEECHWRITERS
RESEARCHERS

FROM: JEANNIE BUNTON

SUBJECT: RESERVIST/GUARD PARTICIPATION IN ODS

At the height of Operation Desert Storm the following numbers of Reservists and National Guards were called up:

ALASKA:	109	Reservists
	21	National Guard
	140	TOTAL
ALABAMA:	3,748	Reservists
	4,268	National Guard
	8,016	TOTAL
CALIFORNIA:	13,813	Reservists
	1,629	National Guard
	15,442	TOTAL
FLORIDA:	7,738	Reservists
	1,478	National Guard
	9,216	TOTAL
GEORGIA:	5,061	Reservists
	4,761	National Guard
	9,822	TOTAL
ILLINOIS:	5,174	Reservists
	1,203	National Guard
	6,377	TOTAL
LOUISIANA:	3,650	Reservists
	5,947	National Guard
	9,597	TOTAL
MARYLAND:	3,474	Reservists
	794	National Guard
	4,268	TOTAL

MISSISSIPPI:	1,853 Reservists	
	5,213 National Guard	
	7,066 TOTAL	
OKLAHOMA:	2,039 Reservists	
	1,598 National Guard	
	3,637 TOTAL	
S. CAROLINA:	3,871 Reservists	
	2,066 National Guard	
	5,877 TOTAL	
TENNESSEE:	3,918 Reservists	
	2,793 National Guard	
	6,711 TOTAL	
TEXAS:	10,835 Reservists	
	1,999 National Guard	
	12,342 TOTAL	
WISCONSIN:	3,536 Reservists	
	1,303 National Guard	
	4,839 TOTAL	

[The numbers may be 10-15% low; of these numbers, there is no way to tell how many were actually "in country"]

SOURCE: CHRISTINA FERRANDINO, SYSTEMS AND ANALYSIS DIR.
RESERVE AFFAIRS - MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL
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