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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13709  
**Folder ID Number:** 13709-002

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**Folder Title:**  
John Warner Fundraiser 3/8/90 [OA 6854]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>

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To Stephanie

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Time 1:20

**WHILE YOU WERE OUT**

M. Phil Smith - Press Sec.

of Sen. Warner's office

Phone 224-6290 Christa

TELEPHONED	PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU	WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU	URGENT	

Area Code      Number      Extension

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message Returning a call you  
placed to Susan McGill  
Rem Dickinson

Operator \_\_\_\_\_



AMPAD  
EFFICIENCY®

23-021 CARBONLESS

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Gorman  
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John Dalton  
James Slessinger  
John Marsh  
Louis Powell  
Lody Astor  
Walter Reed  
Booker T. Washing  
George C. Scott

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Blessey  
1/17z

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH  
FOR  
VIENNA, VIRGINIA  
THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1990

EVENTS:

Staff Photo with Senator Warner Fundraiser Guests  
Fundraiser Dinner for Senator John Warner

DRESS:

Men - Business Suit  
Women - Cocktail Dress

CONTACT:

Office of Presidential Advance  
John G. Keller, Jr. - 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator  
Lucy Muckerman - 202/456-7565

ADVANCE:

Ed Cowling - LEAD  
Chris Molineaux - PRESS  
Karl Solterer - USSS  
Bruce Caughman - MIL. AIDE  
Mitch Ross - WHCA  
Brian Davis - HMX

WEATHER:

Mid 20's

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

FOR

VIENNA, VIRGINIA

THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1990

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

5:45 pm For those Guest and Staff not manifested on Marine One, vans will depart West Basement en route Pentagon Landing Zone. Please board Nighthawk II or III upon arrival.

5:55 pm Those with own transportation should arrive Pentagon Landing Zone. Please board Nighthawk II or III upon arrival.

6:10 pm Nighthawk III departs Pentagon en route Vienna, Virginia.

6:20 pm Nighthawk III arrives Landing Zone, Vienna, Virginia.

6:15 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart White House en route Vienna, Virginia.

HELICOPTER ASSIGNMENTS:

Marine One

THE PRESIDENT  
Mrs. Bush  
A. Card  
M. Fitzwater  
T. McBride  
D. Valdez

Doctor  
Mil. Aide  
2 USSS

Nighthawk II (departs from Pentagon)

S. Rogich  
J. Parmer  
J. Wray  
P. Swift  
WHCA T/O  
Medic  
6 USSS

Nighthawk III (departs from Pentagon)

J. Allison  
WHCA A/V  
2 WHTV  
USSS  
14 Press

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

6:25 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Landing Zone, Vienna, Virginia and proceed to Motorcade.

6:30 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Motorcade and depart Landing Zone en route Sheraton Premiere Hotel.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead

Spare

T. McBride  
Doctor

LIMO

THE PRESIDENT  
Mrs. Bush

Follow Up

Control	A. Card S. Rogich Mil. Aide
Support	M. Fitzwater J. Parmer D. Valdez Medic
Staff I	All Remaining Staff

(Drive Time: 2 Minutes)

6:32 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Sheraton  
Premiere Hotel and proceed to Junior Ballroom.

Met by:

The Honorable John Warner  
U.S. Senator

Mr. Joel T. Broyhill  
Salute Dinner Committee Member

Mr. Bruce Gottwald  
Salute Dinner Sponsor

Ms. Kathryn Colgan  
Second District Co-Coordinator  
Senator John Warner 1990 Committee

Dr. Frank Royal  
Salute Dinner Sponsor

Mr. Warner Dalhouse  
Salute Dinner Vice Chairman

Mr. George P. Shafran  
Finance Chairman  
Senator John Warner 1990 Committee

Mr. Earle C. Williams  
Salute Dinner Vice Chairman

Mr. and Mrs. Daniel M. Ross, Sr. (Elizabeth)  
Owner, Sheraton Premiere Hotel

Mr. Brian M. Mulholland  
General Manager, Sheraton Premiere Hotel

EVENT: STAFF PHOTO WITH SENATOR WARNER FUNDRAISER GUESTS

OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHER ONLY

- 6:35 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by Senator Warner, arrive Junior Ballroom and THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush begin participation in Staff Photo.
- 6:55 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush conclude participation in Staff Photo and, accompanied by Senator Warner, proceed to Holding Room.
- 6:56 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by Senator Warner, arrive Holding Room and hold briefly.
- 6:58 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by Senator Warner, depart Holding Room and proceed to Off-Stage Announcement Area.
- 6:59 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by Senator Warner, arrive Off-Stage Announcement Area and hold briefly.

EVENT: FUNDRAISER DINNER FOR SENATOR JOHN WARNER

OPEN PRESS

RUFFLES AND FLOURISHES

OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

HAIL TO THE CHIEF

BRIEF REMARKS

Page Four

7:00 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by Senator Warner, are announced into Ballroom, proceed to Head Table and are seated.

7:01 pm "Americana" by Moe Bandy

7:05 pm Mr. Paul Laxalt, Former U.S. Senator, introduces Senator Warner

7:07 pm THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Brief Remarks by Senator Warner.

7:12 pm THE PRESIDENT gives Brief Remarks.

7:22 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Brief Remarks and, accompanied by Mrs. Bush, departs Grand Ballroom and proceeds to Holding Room.

7:23 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Holding Room and hold briefly.

7:26 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Holding Room and proceed to Motorcade.

7:28 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Motorcade and depart Sheraton Premiere Hotel en route Landing Zone.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 2 Minutes)

7:30 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Landing Zone, Vienna, Virginia and proceed to Marine One.

7:35 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Marine One and depart Landing Zone, Vienna, Virginia en route White House.

HELICOPTER ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival, except:

Nighthawk II

Add B. Kilberg

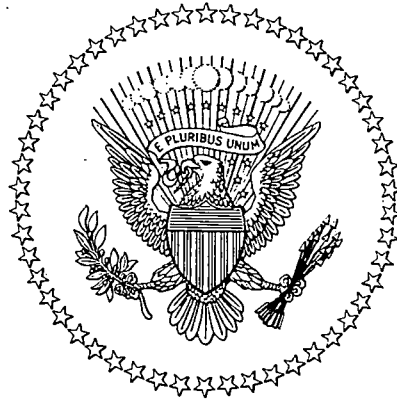
(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

7:45 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive White House.

REF.  
J81  
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WH

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES

# Ronald Reagan



1986  
(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK II—JUNE 28 TO DECEMBER 31, 1986

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1989

blood and skin biopsy tests. Physicians can predict the severity of the disease in each patient, allowing those affected to make better informed health care plans for the future.

In addition, scientists have developed a method for replacing the enzyme that Gaucher's patients lack. Growing knowledge about genetic structure may someday enable scientists to transplant a normal gene into a patient's cells to replace the defective gene. But more remains to be learned before such procedures are perfected.

Voluntary agencies work side by side with government scientists in the effort to promote research on ways to treat and ultimately cure Gaucher's disease. In the work of these agencies, and that of the investigators they sponsor, lies the hope that we will one day conquer this genetic disorder.

To enhance public awareness of Gaucher's disease, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 352, has designated the

week beginning October 19, 1986, as "Gaucher's Disease Awareness Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of that week.

*Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning October 19, 1986, as Gaucher's Disease Awareness Week, and I call upon the people of the United States to observe that week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.*

*In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eleventh.*

RONALD REAGAN

*[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:58 a.m., October 20, 1986]*

*Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 20.*

## Statement on the Death of President Samora Moises Machel of Mozambique

October 20, 1986

It was with deep regret that we learned of the death of the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Samora Moises Machel. I wish to extend to the Government and people of Mozambique the condolences of the American people in the loss they have suffered. President Machel led his people with courage and unfailing determination in the long struggle for Mozambique's independence and nonalignment.

President Machel understood the urgent need for cooperation in the interest of peace in southern Africa. His agreement to

Nkomati accord with South Africa was a courageous milestone in the effort of all the peoples of southern Africa to live together in mutual security and good will. He was a voice for moderation in the region.

Since his meeting with President Reagan a year ago, President Machel dedicated his government to improving relations between Mozambique and the United States. We hope to work closely with his successors to continue the improvement in our bilateral relations and to further the cause of peace in southern Africa.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Steph B.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Andrew Card  
FROM: JOSEPH W. HAGIN  
SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

EVENT: Attend Fundraising Reception and Dinner for  
Senator John Warner

DATE: \* <sup>8</sup> March ~~12~~, 1990 ~~Monday~~ Thursday

TIME: 6:30 p.m.

DURATION: One Hour

LOCATION: \* Sheraton, Premier Hotel, Tysons Corner

ATTIRE: Business suit

REMARKS REQUIRED: Reception-Photos  
Dinner- Brief Remarks

MEDIA COVERAGE: Closed Reception

FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION: Yes

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION: Speak prior to dinner and depart

CONTACT: \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE: OFFICE \_\_\_\_\_ HOME \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

Ed Rogers	Marlin Fitzwater	David Bates
James Cicconi	David Demarest	David Valdez
Fred McClure	Jean Lamb	USSS - PPD
Susan Porter Rose	Sig Rogich	Gary Walters
Patty Presock	John Keller	WHCA Audio/Visual
Chriss Winston	Tim McBride	WHCA Operations
Laurie Firestone	J. Bonnie Newman	C. Boyden Gray
William Kristol	Paul Bateman	John Herrick
Jackie Kennedy		
LRF 1/24/90		

\* **REVISED**

2 pages

Worne - Fundraiser

Susan McGill - in Sean's office

no opposition

up to \$1000

Phil Smith - Press Sect 224-6290

Main Issue

Arms Services & Defense  
Rus's Licutenants on Def. budget

Environmental

Clean Air

Highway Act - next yr - traffic

in NDRD

Intelligence - speaking on behalf of Admin

Dr Ding - he was source of support  
for his mother - who died @ 93

problems of aging  
price of prescription drugs

crime drugs - 2 week  
education - 2 week

^

REVISED

Sen's brother - Charles Libner  
337-5243 (h)  
623-7761 (w)

(Smith/Blessey)  
8 A.M.  
February 27, 1990  
WARNER

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WARNER FUNDRAISER  
TYSON'S CORNERS, VIRGINIA  
THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1990

Senator Warner. Fellow Republicans. Ladies and gentlemen.  
\_\_, thank you for that kind introduction.

As always, it's good to be back in one of Virginia's fastest-growing cities. // ((Even though I should tell you: I don't know if it's true, but there's a rumor that the name "Tyson's Corners" will soon be changed to "Buster Douglas Corners.")) //

((That would be appropriate, of course, since the man we honor tonight is a fighter and an athlete. // In fact, I knew he was here when I saw a horse being valet-parked outside.)) // He has been an advisor I rely upon -- a great Senator of a great State. And his record deserves overwhelming re-election -- John Warner. //

As you know, John is Virginia's senior elected official. But more than that, he's a Virginian. And he represents that unparalleled blend of qualities that led John Adams to write Patrick Henry, "We all look to Virginia for examples." //

The first of these qualities is honor. As Casey Stengel would say, "You can look it up": Virginia boasts a tradition of conscience and public honesty. Not once in this century has a statewide elected official even been brought before the Bar. Virginians demand -- and get -- integrity from their officials.

((Let me share a story that illustrates this tradition. Happened in 1978 -- Republican convention, Richmond. // Four men vying for the GOP Senate nomination -- no one could get a majority. Late Saturday night -- one ballot following another.

((Finally, about 11:30, an aide suggested an idea. "Mr. Warner," he said, "a lot of these delegates won't participate on a Sunday, and not many are backing you. Just filibuster 'til midnight." // John Warner's response spoke eloquently about his character: "I'd rather lose the nomination than win it that way."

((You know the rest of the story: John lost, and promptly endorsed Dick Obenshain. The next month, Don died in a plane crash -- and John was nominated and elected. He stood tall in victory -- and even taller in defeat. John Warner is a symbol of Virginia at her best.) //

Today, those Virginians who supported others in '78 know John better -- and support him. They support him, first, because of this fidelity to honor. Second, because of another quality which makes him, as Adams said, an "example" for America: Experience almost unrivaled in the United States Senate. //

Listen to his roll call: Graduate of Washington & Lee and UVA. // And how 'bout those Cavs in the NCAA. // Served in three wars. Been Secretary of the Navy -- and a great Director of the Bicentennial Commission. // And since 1979 John's been such a superb U.S. Senator that a certain local paper praised "his breadth of insight and attention to detail." // Just goes to show you: Even The Washington Post can be right. //

of course

((Truth is: It's this very experience which has made John Warner one of only two people who qualify as my senior, intimate advisors with a shock of white hair. // Right, Barbara? // In fact, when I told her I was going to a fundraiser for a man who always stands out on TV because of his hair, Barbara said, "I didn't even know Phil Donahue was running for <sup>office</sup> something.")) //

He's not. But John Warner is. He's running as a voice of common sense -- that third quality which so typifies Virginia. Running on priorities like national defense. The environment. Education, child care, and freedom from drugs and crime. Great goals -- obtainable. But only through leadership that brings straight talk and calm thought to this Decade of Decision.

SP  
NY  
→

First, we want a strong America -- for a strong America is an America at peace. Some talk of a peace dividend. Well, there is no greater dividend than peace itself. John Warner can -- and already is -- ensuring peace as ranking Republican on the Senate Armed Forces Committee. // And the thing is: John takes his role seriously. // He has the only parking space at the Capital with a tank parked in it. //

Historically, no State has more supported a stronger national defense than Virginia. Today, no Senator better understands that defense than John Warner. He knows that arms control must be done -- but done right. For he is the only member of the Senate who ever negotiated an executive agreement with the Soviets on national security. And a man whose advice I value on START and our defense budget. John and I are both Navy

pretty strong for president  
long  
times, something about trying  
more in spirit, a  
the world coming together  
visiting  
Alan

men. So in an age of historic change, let's keep his anchor in the United States Senate. //

Next, I need John to help achieve a clean America. Here in Northern Virginia, you know all the obstacles to a pure environment. ((One, of course, is the problem of traffic density. One guy told me he faces a daily battle against bumper-to-bumper conditions, irate drivers, crashes, and gridlock. And it's even worse after he gets out of his driveway)). //

Our Administration wants to combat environmental abuse. So we have sent Congress legislation to reduce urban smog, acid rain, and air toxics -- the first rewrite of the Clean Air Act in over 10 years. // And to create a kinder, gentler America, we have proposed legislation to increase child-care choice through tax incentives, not Federal intervention. When it comes to our kids, John and I want Virginia's parents to decide. //

Finally, let me focus on two priorities crucial to Virginia and the Nation: Education and crime and drugs.

Last month I announced the 1990 National Drug Control Strategy -- Phase II of the drug policy we unveiled last year. // We're asking Congress to spend over \$10 and 1/2 billion in Fiscal Year 1991 for education, treatment, interdiction, and enforcement -- about a 70 per cent increase since I took office.

John Warner supports this strategy. Just as he supports such Phase II steps as an expansion of the death penalty for drug kingpins. // And our budget request to increase Federal assistance to States and localities in drug use, prevention,

treatment, and law enforcement. // Let others soft-pedal the need to be hard on crime. Our policy will achieve a far greater end: The need to take back the streets. //

Finally, we must take back our schools for America's kids. Which is why last fall at the University of Virginia I convened an unprecedented event -- this Nation's first Education Summit.

From that summit arose the education goals I announced last month. We must ensure that every student in America starts school ready to learn. And we must see that each school has an environment where kids can learn. That means making every school drug-free. // Our graduation rate must be no less than 90 percent. And we must make diplomas mean something. So we want U.S. students to be first in the world in math and science achievement by the year 2000. And we must guarantee that each American is a skilled, literate worker and citizen.

John Warner understands that education is America's most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and can become. For he understands America -- and our priorities as a people. What's more, how to achieve those priorities. Through honor, experience, and common sense: A metaphor for Virginia.

For more than three centuries, this Commonwealth has been an "example" to America. Just as Senator John Warner has been an example to us all. So let's roll up our sleeves. And keep in the Senate this man who has so enriched his Commonwealth. God bless you, God bless America, and let's keep John Warner the Senior Senator from the great State of Virginia.

35TH CASE of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Federal News Service

JANUARY 12, 1990, FRIDAY

SECTION: NEWS MAKERS &amp; POLICY MAKERS

LENGTH: 5346 words

HEADLINE: CB

PRESS CONFERENCE BY

SENATOR JOHN WARNER (R-VA)

ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO CENTRAL AMERICA

SENATE RADIO TV GALLERY

KEYWORD: SEN. WARNER-01/12/90

BODY:

SENATOR JOHN WARNER (R-VA): (In progress) -- El Salvador. Nicaragua denied me a visa, although I was able to join with Senator Dodd at the airport in Nicaragua to meet with a number of groups, primarily religious groups, to hear their viewpoints with respect to matters in that country and primarily in relation to the killing -- the tragic killing of the nun.

Now, with that background, I'll just open up for questions.

Q The Panama operation, you assessment of it? How did the military do?

SEN. WARNER: I think it was one of them most remarkable examples of the coordination between the various branches of the military services. Great credit is owing the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chief, General Thurman and General Steiner and right on down to every foot soldier, male or female that participated in the operation. There remains some questions with regard to whether our intelligence, particularly HUMINT, was adequate. And on the whole the military operation was an excellent example of coordination and I think it manifests the improvements that we have achieved as a consequence of the Goldwater-Nichols Act. Q Senator, what's your impression of how the Cristiani government is handling the murder investigation?

SEN. WARNER: Yes, Senator Dodd and I met extensively with members of his government, the Defense Minister, the senior military officers, and then with President Cristiani himself. We also walked through every step of the scene of the tragic killing of the priests. In my judgment, it is manifestly clear that this was a carefully-planned operation. It was not just an indiscriminate killing by a bunch of troops ravaging about in the darkness. They knew exactly how to get in. They knew where they were. They dragged them out, mercilessly slaughtered them, and then departed.

President Cristiani assured Senator Dodd and me that he was leaving no stone unturned to get to the bottom of this tragic loss of life. We also went to the headquarters, where there is a consortium of investigators from all over the world, from the FBI, from Scotland Yard, and they too are sifting through the evidence.

We were assured by the Minister of Defense and the chief of their armed forces that the firmest of disciplinary action would be taken against the officers, assuming that the evidence holds up and they are convicted. They will be tried in a civil court, as opposed to a military court.

Yes?

Q Senator Warner, how high in the military may the involvement here be? Did you talk about that with President Cristiani?

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SEN. WARNER: We stressed the fact that if there were senior military officers involved, they had to be held accountable. There are reports that at least one senior military officer is now under detention, several middle-grade officers, and up to 30 to 40 enlisted personnel.

Q What do you think the fallout will be for US aid and specifically military aid if these cases are not pursued to conclusion, and did you gentlemen talk with Cristiani about that?

SEN. WARNER: Very explicitly. We said to President Cristiani, as we did to the defense officials, that unless this particular case is pursued fully and that justice is meted out if there are convictions, the likelihood of further military assistance from the United States becomes doubtful.

Q What type of timetable have you set for the current (?) Salvadoran judicial system to --

SEN. WARNER: That's a pertinent question. We -- I pressed on that with the Secretary of State, who was my dinner partner at the dinner, as well as the President, and you cannot get a clear timetable. And in defense of Cristiani, and he indeed is a man of courage, it is a separate branch of his government, and much like our President -- our President cannot dictate to the judicial branch the schedules that they must follow.

Q Do you expect an attempt to put strings on military aid in the next budget, and what do you --

SEN. WARNER: I think, until such time as this case has run its course, it would be unwise to predict exactly what we would do. But I do know that the Senate, and I'm sure the House likewise, perhaps more so than the Senate, will scrutinize this case very, very carefully. And it will -- this case will be the balance that could tilt it one way or another.

Q Senator, back to Panama. Could you outline your concerns over the kinds of intelligence, or the intelligence --

SEN. WARNER: Again, it falls into the area of human intelligence. We simply did not have a clear knowledge of what they call the Dignity Forces, where they were operating, their chain of command. There was also a considerable difficulty encountered with learning from their communications. We had the most modern of equipment to go into the military system, but the Dignity Forces were using Radio Shack equipment. And surprisingly, those little hand -- they call them bricks -- radios posed quite a problem for our military. But on the whole, I think our military did very well, and I hope America welcomes back with open arms the men and the women who fought courageously in that area.

Q Was the problems with intelligence -- were they -- did that contribute to the high number of Seals and special force people that were killed?

SEN. WARNER: No. I think that operation -- that was a special one, and we walked over that area very carefully, and they met unanticipated resistance. By and large, the officer corps of the PDF laid down their weapons and fled and left this fight to the enlisted men, both in the PDF and, to a somewhat lesser extent, in the Dignity Forces.

Q (Off-mike.)

SEN. WARNER: Beg your pardon?

Q Chairman Les Aspin seems to be quite critical of what he called -- (inaudible) -- planning on the -- (inaudible) -- of the operation. In other words, there was no real concerted effort made to put the Endara government in place in a manner that it could carry forth.

SEN. WARNER: Well, I don't know what else could have been done. The Endara government was sworn in. When I was there we met with President Endara and his two vice presidents and they seemed to be in full charge and were receiving that support that they asked for from the United States.

Now there is the question of the coordination between the Departments of State

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and Defense with regard to this military operation, and I think it's best to let the Secretaries of State and Defense first come out publicly and give us the details of the procedure they set up to coordinate, and then perhaps Members of Congress might have some views. But until such time as they have been given an opportunity to explain the steps they took to coordinate, I think it's in fairness not wise to criticize.

Q Senator, what's your view on the use of women in combat in Panama, and that this opened the door now for broader use of women in combat?

SEN. WARNER: Both Senator Nunn and Senator Robb and I made a point of talking with a number of the women who performed very well in combat. As a matter of fact, I think they -- there was no question -- there was no question when they went into this operation that they would live up to their professional training and capabilities, and no one expected any less than the fine professional manner in which they discharged their obligations.

Now with respect to future legislation, I think it's wise that Congress, on a regular basis, begin to look at the role of women in the military and to determine what areas we might be able to expand their training and their advancement. They should be given opportunity in every sense to equally compete with men, but in terms of the fundamental precedents which have thus far guided the Congress in determining their role in combat training, it does not appear to me that the experience in Panama will chance those precedents.

Q So you don't see a more extensive use of women in combat situations then, based on Panama? There are some who say that they should be treated just the same as men, that there may indeed be a legislative push on that.

SEN. WARNER: Well, as we look at the increased use of special operating forces, as we look at the problems that threaten the United States, basically Third World confrontations, isolated instances of terrorism, men and women are going to be on an equal footing. But in terms of such planning as we may have with regard to, say, frontal, major military operations as we experience in World War II, of course, the likelihood of those types of operations now becomes less and less in view of the unfolding events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. But nevertheless, in those scenarios, it seems to me the precedent still remains. And that's why I think it's important that Congress review this situation because the emphasis in terms of our threat now is shifting more and more to Third World terrorists and situations like Panama where combat operations take place right within civilian communities as opposed to neatly drawn lines of defense in previous military engagements.

And therefore women, under their training, should be trained and given the responsibility to deal with those situations the same as men and likewise be recognized for their professional achievements in those areas on the same basis as men. I'm somewhat disturbed about this inability of the Army to give them the proper recognition that certain infantry men are taking. That's sort of tangled up in a web of regulations and I hope the Secretary of the Army can untangle that because I think they should receive the same recognition as men for their performance in Panama.

Q So, Senator, are you saying essentially that women should get the same training but maybe they shouldn't be facing the same dangers as men?

SEN. WARNER: I'm saying the following: That the changing threat towards this country, again, Third World terrorism, limited actions, special operation forces, mobility, in many of these situations men will be given professional responsibilities equal to women, or vice versa. And therefore, we've got to make certain that they get the training that is adequate so that they can discharge their professional responsibilities and also take care of themselves and their fellow soldiers, be they women or men.

Q Is that something that's not happening now? Do you think women aren't

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getting the same training?

SEN. WARNER: Well, take this particular scenario: The one individual, the officer Bray, was given training as a specialist in military police. But I don't think there's any distinction between the risk that she took fighting in an city environment than the infantrymen 100 yards away. So when we give them responsibilities, be it communications, intelligence, military police, or otherwise, which are likely to take them into the proximity of a battle situation and where they're accepting the same risks as the combat infantrymen, then I think their training has to be equivalent.

Q You're saying not that she shouldn't have been there, but if she was there, she should have had infantry training to go along with --

SEN. WARNER: She should -- I wouldn't try and characterize the training as infantry training. But my point is as follows: If you're going to take women -- and we are -- training them in intelligence, logistics, communications, military police, and put them into an environment which has combat scenarios, like Panama, and they're subjected to the same crossfire, the same sniper fire as are the men, then they better damn well be trained to take care of themselves, not only as individuals but the officers and men under the command.

Q Senator Warner --

Q So do you generally support the use of women in combat?

SEN. WARNER: Generally speaking, I think it's unwise to train large numbers of women in our armed forces for the combat role that we have experienced in wars heretofore. But again, the threat is changing and we have to revisit this situation and reexamine it, because these women, particularly my escort officer, was -- they were subjected to the same risk, by and large, as were men in this operation.

Q Should they have been subjected to that risk?

SEN. WARNER: I think so. They're trained, in many respects to take the risk; they're willing to accept it. But in terms of training a large number of women for combat, infantryman jobs, combat engineer, certain areas of the Navy like submarines, certain ship-board assignments, in my judgment we still should not train women for those billets.

Q So you see a limited combat role for women? Is that the way --

SEN. WARNER: I don't know that we can define it in a few sentences here. I think I've explained it about as clearly as I can at this time, and it clearly points up the need for Congress to go back and receive the expert advice of our military commanders to determine whether or not additional legislation is needed and additional specifics with respect to training.

Q Senator Warner, do the existing restrictions on women in combat as a practical matter limit what they can do in the military, limit their career opportunities?

SEN. WARNER: Well, that is a subject that's open for debate. It's clear that traditionally, the combat arms training in the military have led to wider fields of advancement. But that does not mean that other fields of advancement in the military have in any way been circumscribed to women. To the contrary -- roughly 10 percent of the men and women in the -- the total number of armed forces today -- is women, and we see advancements to the grade of flag and general officer which, I suppose, is the capstone of the career in the minds of many. Now, that's open to them in many of the professions.

But the fundamental precedents that have guided the Congress for these many years, in terms of training large numbers of women for combat arms responsibility, or for duty aboard certain types of naval vessels, or for the operation of certain type of aircraft -- primarily tactical fighter aircraft -- I don't think lessons from Panama will justify any changes there.

But I reemphasize that these women in that engagement accepted the same risks as men in discharging their professional responsibility under MOSS of logistics

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and training, intelligence and the like. And we've got to make sure, given the likelihood that again they'll be faced with the same risk as men in those scenarios, that they receive adequate training.

Q Senator Warner?

SEN. WARNER: Yes?

Q Regarding this urban combat that you were discussing, Ramsey Clark and other individuals have raised allegations of concerns that there was an inordinate level of civilian casualties that have yet to have been reported or discovered. Did you make any effort or examine those allegations in that situation?

SEN. WARNER: We did in great detail. And General Thurman presented to Senator Nunn and me, just before Senator Nunn departed, a detailed breakdown of the civilian casualties. And I asked the question -- I thought that would have been made public by now. Has it not?

Q (Off mike) -- yesterday or the day before.

SEN. WARNER: Beg pardon?

(Cross talk.)

Q 220 is what Secretary Cheney --

SEN. WARNER: What's that?

Q 220 is the number that the Defense Department --

SEN. WARNER: Well, I'll go back today and perhaps make a release on that because the figures I saw were somewhat higher. But they don't approach the figures that former Attorney General Clark or Jesse Jackson have used.

When the Senate delegation went to these combat areas, the commanders -- not only the general officers, but the captains, the lieutenants and the sergeants accompanied us. And time and time again, the American servicemember, man and woman, took risks to prevent collateral damage to property and, above all, to the persons, the civilians. And I hope they're given full credit for that. And I take great umbrage at statements that they went in there in a manner to inflict damage on civilians and civilian damage when the contrary is the case, and they accepted personal risk to discharge their mission.

Now one other point -- Senator Robb -- I want to commend him. He asked the commanders to walk us through every single step that preceded the investigation of the embassy. And we met with the officer who actually conducted that operation. And Senator Robb, as the troop commander, carefully walked him through every step; and I'm certain that the Senator from Virginia has said this thus far, and I join him, it is our judgment that the military personnel involved in the seizure of weapons in the Nicaraguan house -- I'll call it a house for the moment -- conducted themselves in a professional manner and took every precautionary step possible to ensure that their mission was being done pursuant to orders from higher command.

They waited outside of the house until the higher command sorted out the address and the information in possession of the Americans -- and I say both Defense and State -- before he entered that house. He reported the existence of the seal, which was clearly visible and was still there when Senator Robb and I visited. And when he went in the house, they said that it looked more like a fraternity house than a residence for an embassy in terms of the shambles -- the mattresses were all over the floor, the house had more people in it than beds could accommodate, it was a mess. And it's very doubtful in my mind that this was the primary residence of the ambassador from Nicaragua. As a matter of fact, the ambassador couldn't even identify the number, the house address, when first interrogated by the officers as they approached the house.

Q Do you disagree with Mr. Bush then that it was a screw-up?

SEN. WARNER: It was a screw-up, but --

Q I heard that --

SEN. WARNER: You're right. It was a screw-up, but it was not the foot

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soldiers that went in that house. They, on a real time basis, reported every bit of the factual information back up the chain of command. The screw-up occurred, if in fact it was, and I'm not sure that at this point in time it's exactly clear what information was in the possession of the United States with respect to the whereabouts of the Nicaraguan embassy.

But this search was predicated on information given by an American citizen over a period of two days in which he identified four houses, and each one of those houses had a cache of arms. And this American citizen gave an eyewitness account of seeing arms go in and out of this residence on more than one occasion, and he characterized it, in the vernacular of the neighborhood, that this house was the K Mart of the weapons distribution in that area.

But I'm here to defend the soldiers that conducted that operation. If there was a screw-up, it was the inability of the Defense and State officials to sort through the information they had with respect to the location of that embassy.

Q Senator?

SEN. WARNER: Yes?

Q Mr. Aspin was critical of the use of the Stealth fighter in the Panamanian operation. What's your view?

SEN. WARNER: I disagree with him. Again, here is a clear example of careful planning and it was determined that we did not want to bomb the barracks and kill a lot of people, rather that we could use precision bombing in a proximity of, say, 50 yards -- I mean, we've shown the area -- 50 yards and so stun and disorient the occupants of the house that they became less effective militarily. That operation was carried out. That bomb dropped within 15 feet of where it was supposed to go and the remnants of that force in that house came out severely disoriented and were not able to perform their military responsibilities in terms of resistance.

Q Another piece of equipment couldn't have dropped a bomb in that fashion?

SEN. WARNER: We were told and I concur that this piece of equipment is the best. Perhaps some other piece could have done a fair job, but we didn't want to take risks of collateral damage. The military made the right decision.

Q Senator, were there any bombardments of the neighborhood of San Miguelito or Chorrillo, the residential neighborhoods?

SEN. WARNER: Well, there possibly were some, but again, I think every effort was made to limit the collateral damage. Now, the community in the vicinity of the Comandancia which was so severely damaged and burned, it was represented to us both by Panamanians and Americans that that was largely done by mobs and people who simply wanted to burn the neighborhood down and it was less a product of the military engagement.

Yes, sir?

Q Senator, you were in Managua but I don't know what -- who you talked to there, but what effect did you pick up that the invasion had on the political process in Nicaragua? Simply, did it help or hurt? Is it more of a pain? Has it in some way perhaps helped Ortega?

SEN. WARNER: I was denied entrance into Nicaragua and therefore I was not able to make that assessment. But let me point out that in each of the countries that I visited together with other senators, no one, and I visited with the top military officials, I visited with the top heads of state, or government as the case may be, no one raised Panama with me or complained. As a matter of fact, to the extent there was discussion of Panama, it was after I raised the subject and said that in my judgement the President of the United States did the right thing and it had overall benefits to the hemisphere. And then there might have been some discussion. And that's with the acting president of Honduras, President Arias of Costa Rica, President Cristiani, and I could list them all.

Q Sir, did you come away with any idea of what the US might be looking at in

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terms of reparations for Panama?

SEN. WARNER: I wouldn't use the word "reparations." I would simply say that at this time, the Bush administration is assessing what assistance it can financially give to that area. And I'll leave it up to them to establish the figure, and then, of course, Congress will have a voice in the matter. But, I am confident that we will do the right thing.

Q Do you think that we would be making any sort of -- recommend any sort of compensation for the people killed?

SEN. WARNER: That -- that remains to be seen. Those details have to be sorted out by the Department of State.

Q Senator, what's your view of the stability and the Endara government's ability to maintain control there without large-scale US assistance?

SEN. WARNER: We met, as I said, with President Endara and his two vice presidents, and that trio is an impressive group. They must establish themselves in the eyes of the Panamanian people as well as the governments in that hemisphere as an independent government -- independent of the United States of America, and that is why I'm hopeful that other nations will join the United States in giving assistance. But, above all, they've got to be perceived and actually function as an independent government to survive.

Q Are you confident they can do that?

SEN. WARNER: I'm -- I don't know. I think based on my limited contact with them and what I have learned thus far, that, yes, they will be able to achieve it.

Q (Off mike) --

SEN. WARNER: Sure.

Q -- that Endara was sworn in on a US military base, then we would concur that the perception might be that this is a US puppet government?

SEN. WARNER: No. Those are details, and don't get lost in them. There was no really other place to swear them in. A military operation was about to begin; it was late at night. Couldn't set up an inaugural ceremony on the capital steps. We simply had to get on with the -- allow that government to take its legal position as a consequence of the vote that was taken and begin to perform in a parallel way with the military action.

Q Senator, do you not think there is need for another election though to make sure that there is no US influence in this case?

SEN. WARNER: Well, certainly not I think within the next few months time. Give them an opportunity to go ahead. Now, maybe a plebiscite on some issue or something like that. But, I best leave that question to the Department of State. I think they're going to be able to function. But, at some point, a plebiscite or a vote or a referendum could be very helpful.

Q Any reaction to this change, procurement, reform plan that he put out yesterday? "Radioshack" -- would you suggest that to him?

SEN. WARNER: Well -- (laughter) -- you know, I served in the Department under three secretaries and I worked with four since then, and I think that he's moving in the right direction. We're obviously going to have a scaling down of defense spending, and he has to look for areas within which to achieve efficiencies. Some 40,000 people are projected to be taken off the payrolls between now and 1995, and I assume that that's achievable. Q On that line (?), Senator, do you expect -- (off mike) -- SEN. WARNER: No, I don't think at this time you could predict where, geographically, these cuts would come. I'm just hopeful that Secretary Cheney moves up and seizes the opportunity now to prioritize the armed forces of the United States. All too often we've just gone one-third, one-third, one-third, amongst the three branches, the three military branches or departments, as the case may be, since the Marines is a department of the Navy. And now is the chance to reorient and restructure in accordance with the threat as it is perceived today and for the decade to come. And to

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me, that requires an emphasis on mobility, on special operating forces, and smaller units. Yeah? Q (Off mike) -- will there be any change in the way the military and CIA trade or exchange or don't exchange, as the case may be, information for future -- SEN. WARNER: Yeah, we met both with CIA people and military intelligence people. I think there was a sharing of all of the intelligence. Q Do you think -- so there was in this -- SEN. WARNER: There was in this operation. Q -- with the CIA? SEN. WARNER: The shortfall was on both sides -- again, human intelligence. But you could say the same in the Middle East. Certainly in the Lebanon situation we've always been short on that. There are certain areas of the world where it's extremely difficult to get that human intelligence and this, regrettably, proved to be one. Q But there is a mechanism for the CIA to -- SEN. WARNER: Much better exchange of intelligence between the military and the CIA in this operation. Q Senator, did you discuss the upcoming drug summit with the leaders that you met and any indications that the Panama operation would have for the future in the drug operations -- SEN. WARNER: Well, I think that we need to involve more and more of our military assets in the drug war. President Bush and Secretary Cheney are moving in that direction. There is this problem for the moment of the naval task force in relation to the waters off Colombia, but I'm hopeful that that can work out. Q Did you have a chance to meet with the contra leaders when you were in --

SEN. WARNER: I did. I spent a day down in the contra camps.

Q Did you learn anything else about the shooting of the nuns --

SEN. WARNER: Only that -- well, did I learn anything else? I asked specifically. I went into the headquarters of the contra camps and looked at their maps, which presumably are kept up to date, and the units that I visited -- and I'm told that other units were not in that operating area. But I hasten to point out, there's so much armament in all of South America -- I mean, Central America. It's becoming an armed camp. We turned up 70,000 -- 77,000, plus arms in Panama. All of these countries now have infiltration of arms and insurgents, and it's just extremely difficult to determine who perpetrated that murder on the nun.

Now, I did meet in the airport with two Nicaraguans, young man, who were produced by religious groups who alleged to have witnessed the following. One -- that they were on their way on a fishing trip. They were apprehended by people they represented as being the Sandinistas. They kept them in confinement for a number of hours. Hid them in one spot, under guard, and then they heard shooting. Their guards fled. They fled into the hills. The next morning, they came down from the hills, and they went to a house where the bodies were -- of the shooting -- and that geographic location was very near the geographic location where they were apprehended and confined for a period of time. So, it lends to some evidence -- if it's credible -- to a circumstantial case.

Q Senator?

SEN. WARNER: Yes?

Q I'd like to comment about the civilian casualties, even if you have a higher -- a little bit higher figure than the than first one, the 220, do you have impression -- you think that given the intensity of the fighting, given the type of operation, it's rather low, no?

SEN. WARNER: I stand by the -- what I saw and what I learned, and that is the armed forces of the United States did everything they could to limit the civilian casualties.

Q Senator, you mentioned very briefly the use of the military in drug interdiction and drug activities. Wouldn't you like to see that -- that operation that is now on hold off the coast of Colombia go ahead to patrol for interdicting drug activities?

SEN. WARNER: I think the operation as planned by the Secretary of Defense,

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utilizing certain American ships and aircraft operating off those ships could become another very valuable part of the interdiction effort, as performed by the military in coordination with other civilian agencies of this government, and I'm hopeful it can go forward.

Q What seems to be the problem? Is it that we perhaps didn't consult with our allies --

SEN. WARNER: That -- those are the reports that I've received. I have no information beyond a question of coordination. All I know is that Central America and indeed, South America, historically have been very sensitive to what we call the "Doctrine of Intervention," and this perhaps was perceived as another move in that direction. But the courage being displayed by the leaders of the Colombian government, primarily its President -- it's just a historic thing that we're witnessing.

Q Thank you.

SEN. WARNER: On the Virginia scene, I intend to go down tomorrow at the invitation of the Governor-elect to participate in that inauguration, and I wish to say to my colleague from Virginia, I wish him the best of luck; to the extent that Governor Wilder has good fortune, all Virginians share in that good fortune.

Q What is he going to have to do to be a good governor, Senator? What can we look forward to? What can we look for?

SEN. WARNER: Well, his immediate problem of course, is the budget situation and Governor Baliles, who I think discharged his responsibility very ably over the years has presented him with a budget, he will have to now put his own changes on that budget, but we wish him well.

I mean it's in the interest of our Commonwealth that we have a good, strong governor. I have known Governor Wilder personally for many, many years. We have always had a close working relationship, professionally -- a few political differences along the way but we have always managed to make those differences secondary to the interests of the state and good government, and I look forward to looking for him.

Q Where were you when you heard that he said that there might not be a challenger for you this year?

SEN. WARNER: Well, at that time I was down in the contra camps getting ready for battle. But I would simply say in response to that that this is his weekend, and I withhold any comment on that. Let him shine in his well-earned hour of glory, and perhaps after that we'll enter into a little bit of political dialogue.

Yes?

Q Has Coleman decided whether he wants to seek that Federal Judge's seat?

SEN. WARNER: We're still consulting on that.

Thank you.

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PRESS CONFERENCE WITH  
SENATOR SAM NUNN (D-GA) AND SENATOR JOHN WARNER (R-VA)  
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## BODY:

SEN. WARNER: (In progress) -- command or control over any sizable military units and that indeed the two units which are of concern still have just disappeared and we don't know where they are and we're doing everything we can to find them, but presumably when we do, they'll just lay down their arms, because there's basically no coordination or control by Noriega.

SEN. NUNN: The problem to me now --

Q How do you know that he's not controlling them?

SEN. WARNER: Well, we can't go into that. Just accept the fact that we have clear evidence he's not controlling anything any more. He's clearly a fugitive.

SEN. NUNN: The problem now is not as much -- I don't think the problem now is organized, large units. The problem is random thuggery, random violence, PDF forces who now perhaps are in their own homes with weapons. America doesn't want to have to go into a house-by-house search in a country like Panama. That would not be something we would desire. So that's the big challenge now rather than organized elements.

Q While the PDF is being reconstituted, should our forces in Panama start performing a police function? Is that the duty now, to restore law and order?

SEN. NUNN: I don't think there's any choice now, because, in effect, the police force was the Panamanian Defense Force. I don't think we have any choice. It's not desirable, but I think it's necessary and I believe even in the first stages of the Panamanians reconstituting their own forces, the US MPs will be involved. What I hope we will do is put our forces in there that are trained as policeman and law enforcement people and that is the MPs and not our combat forces whose mission and whose training is to search and destroy. There is a fundamental difference between a police function and a military combat function. I think that there's no better example of that than in the Middle East and we do not want to have to use our combat forces as police officers if it is at all avoidable.

Q Were you given any figures on civilian casualties or -- civilian or PDF casualties?

SEN. NUNN: The estimates we got were broad and not very precise. I don't think we'd add anything by trying to remember those. I don't remember them.

Q Did your briefing focus on the legitimacy of the invasion to begin with, or are you also asking then how long is this going to last?

SEN. NUNN: Well, we focused on both questions, and as I led off by saying, I had already concluded this was justifiable under the circumstances we faced. And the evidence today, particularly the increasing irrationality of General Noriega, leads me to conclude that this was justified. I had already

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concluded that, but it was strengthened --

SEN. WARNER: I likewise had concluded that and stated it, but this hearing certainly reinforced -- (audio break) -- President of the United States had clear cause for doing it. And when it's revealed -- some of the evidence, that our troops have now seen (?) in connection with Noriega, particularly he was heavily involved in witchery; he was heavily involved in drugs -- they've seized caches of drugs and money and there's a very large safe that they're endeavoring to open now, and we don't know what's in there. But there's all sorts of evidence turning up confirming the President's decision to go in.

Q So the question of how long --

Q You said earlier "given an opportunity to leave." What did you mean?

SEN. NUNN: I can't hear but one of you -- (inaudible).

Q You said General Noriega was given an opportunity to leave. What did you mean by that?

SEN. NUNN: My understanding is he was given a diplomatic alternative to leave the country and to go to a country that did not have extradition.

Q Are you suggesting that he was warned by the United States about this?

SEN. NUNN: I do not know whether he was warned or not, but any rational person -- (audio break) -- was going to very severe consequences for him personally.

SEN. WARNER: That point's an important one, but I think the Chairman would agree with me, the evidence came before us doesn't indicate just the United States was involved. But other nations were involved in trying to present a convincing case to him: You've got an option, Mister, to shove off and go to a haven and spend your dollars and possibly not experience extradition back.

But his psychology, his neurotic tendencies were beginning to overcome him and destabilize him to the extent that clear evidence indicates he'd pushed those options aside, hunkered down, and determined to cross that line which he had adhered to in the past of not seeking Americans as targets of opportunity and now beginning to seek Americans and American interest and the Canal as targets of opportunities.

Q Who extended that offer, and when was it extended?

SEN. WARNER: As far as I can determine from the evidence, a number of nations were involved. It simply wasn't the United States.

SEN. NUNN: I think you have to ask the administration that question.

Q But was this -- this was a diplomatic effort initiated by the United States?

SEN. WARNER: All I can say, it wasn't solely the United States, in my judgment.

Q (Off-mike) -- reaction to the Romanian coup, real quick. The coup in Romania this morning, the takeover of that government.

SEN. NUNN: Well, I don't think there could be better news than if the President of Romania were taken off of his throne. That has been one of the most repressive regimes in the world. Senator Warner and I, matter of fact, visited over there two years ago. I came back immediately and voted with the majority to cut off Most Favored Nation treatment on trade with them. It was a repressive Stalin-like regime. Because they were independent of Moscow for years, the United States had maintained friendly relations with them. But, the people in Romania have suffered enough, and I hope that they will have a change of government very promptly.

Q Back to the question of how long, Senator? Did that come up in the briefing? I mean, are you asking?

SEN. NUNN: I'm just hearing --

Q Are you concerned about that?

SEN. NUNN: I'm sorry, I'm getting two questions --

SEN. WARNER: Perhaps this lady in the back -- she's been waiting.

Q Were you told -- some Pentagon sources indicated they doubt Noriega will ever be found. What was the -- what were told on that?

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SEN. NUNN: Well, as time goes by, it gets more difficult. The trail gets colder and that kind of thing. But, I certainly do not -- at this point, I'm not pessimistic. I'm not optimistic either. We just have to wait and see.

Q Are you worrying about us getting bogged down there, gentlemen, at all? Is that a big concern?

SEN. NUNN: Well, obviously, the reconstitution of the police forces there is very important. The legitimacy -- establishing the legitimacy of the Endara government, independent of the United States, is very important. Restoring their economy is very important. Short-term humanitarian aid is very important, so that people there who have been hungry who have not had sufficient means to support themselves and their family are accorded those means. All of those things are very important, and that -- the answer to those questions will determine whether we get bogged down or not.

Q Can you --

SEN. WARNER: The bottom-line -- the bottom-line is, will the Panamanian people come up and support this government? And every effort is being made by our government to help them economically, to safeguard them. And now, the question is, will these people rally with the courage of the people we're seeing in Eastern Europe and Romania to come to the forefront and support this government so that they can have a former democracy.

Q -- give us an indication of whether that's happening or not, whether the people of Panama are rallying behind the government?

SEN. WARNER: Well, one thing that was clarified, this looting seems to be clearly the result of the people that were allowed to get out of jail, the Dignity Forces -- that misnomer -- but nevertheless, the Dignity Forces, and the Panamanian people themselves have been so repressed economically to the point of cruelty, that really they almost had no recourse to get some food and some essentials. And therefore, I don't think you can point your finger just broad-based to all Panamanians --

Q Senator Warner --

SEN. WARNER: -- it's a small group.

(Cross talk.)

Q One sector that is noticeable -- very noticeable -- for not rallying behind our action --

SEN. WARNER: Beg your pardon?

Q One sector that is very noticeable for not rallying behind our action are the Latin American countries. What do you make of that and what long-term effect is this action bound to have on our Latin American relations?

SEN. WARNER: Well, you know, I remember so vividly when President Reagan made the decision to go into Libya, and there was an uprising almost among a lot of factions in the country saying -- criticizing him publicly, and privately calling up and say, "Hey, we're glad you did it." I think much the scenario is taking place now. Publicly, there's indignation, but privately, the communications are, "President Bush has showed courage. He did the right thing. You achieved the result that the OAS has not been able to achieve, namely to get rid of Noriega and his forces. Now, let's come together."

Really, much depends on how these Latin American, South American countries begin to support the people of Panama economically, possibly contribute some security forces to help them in the basics of restoring civil order. There's a tremendous challenge to these countries today to try and put in the past this question of imperialism from the North and intervention -- the doctrine of intervention -- and be realists and say, "Look what's happening in Eastern Europe and we'll respond to this challenge and help the poor people of Panama."

SEN. NUNN: Let me add one point to that. I think the OAS theoretically has a

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point that we have to take cognizance of, but as a practical matter, until that organization gets its own house in order and starts being able to have some degree of influence on events in that region of the world instead of simply issuing declarations, then it's not going to be very effective. The ideal situation would be to have an effective Organization of American States that really concerned itself with human rights abuses, with the democratic process in more than theory by taking strong steps when you do have a thug loose in that region of the world, to curb his activities through collective action. But until they do that, then unilateral action from time to time will be regrettable, but necessary.

Q Senator Nunn, the efforts to get Noriega out by diplomatic means, was that just in the last few days before --

SEN. NUNN: I can't give you a timeframe. I really do not know the timeframe.

Q Senator Nunn, any information on possible hostages or Americans, and isn't that the nightmare scenario they could become bargaining chips? The president referred to that yesterday himself.

SEN. NUNN: Well, my own feeling is that America needs to reduce its number of dependents down there. My own feeling is we need to reduce our overall visibility in Panama. We do not want to appear to be nor do we want to be an occupying force. We have a large number of people out there with arms that have been in -- were part of the defense forces. We don't know how many weeks or months it's going to take to bring those people either into legitimate roles or to curb their possible violence. And so the longer we keep a large number of American dependents there, the more targets we have.

The hostage situation right now is vague to me. It was difficult for me to discern exactly how many we have. I think it's probably difficult for the military forces to also, but they're doing everything they can to as they find that we have hostages to see that they are released. And I think we'll have to continue doing that for a while. But we do have a danger there. I see that kind of danger as more than any kind of -- much more danger than any kind of organized opposition.

Q Senator Warner?

SEN. WARNER: Yes.

Q Senator Nunn, could you talk a little bit more about this diplomatic option that was offered to Noreiga. When was that offered to him and who offered it?

SEN. NUNN: I know the US government was involved, but I do not know the details. We didn't get into that in great detail, but my point was that he was offered a diplomatic alternative and that he did not avail himself of that opportunity. And I think given his increasingly irrational conduct, his belligerent statements, his threatening statements and, indeed, beginning about a week or two ago the follow through on those statements by some of his own defense forces, we had every reason to believe that the violence was going to escalate if we did not take action.

Q Was the offer made before the declaration of war? Did it come before that time? You said he crossed the line after the --

SEN. WARNER: No. I said he crossed the line -- to the extent that we covered this -- listen, in my judgment it's beyond the jurisdiction of this committee. It's more or less in the area of the Department of State and therein rests the answers. We simply said mention was made of it, and it was my impression that there were several countries involved to the extent there was a deal. And we don't have the details. We don't have the details. Go elsewhere to find them.

Q Do you know --

SEN. WARNER: But the point was this man clearly had an option. He decided not to exercise it, decided to stay there, and was taking actions directly against Americans and American interest.

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Q Senator Warner --

SEN. WARNER: And that was known to the President at the time --

Q This is an option he was given within the last few weeks?

SEN. WARNER: I would think it certainly preceded the President's decision to go in.

Q Wouldn't that have tipped him off?

Q Senator Warner?

SEN. WARNER: Yes.

Q I mean, wouldn't the option have tipped him off plus the fact that C-130s were landing every ten minutes the day before the invasion? Where was the surprise there?

SEN. NUNN: Well, we didn't have complete surprise. We did not have complete surprise and that's the reason we have so many of the Panamanian Defense Forces out there that aren't accounted for now. But making this kind of a step and achieving complete surprise would be almost unprecedented. It would be very difficult to do.

Q Senator Warner?

SEN. WARNER: Yes.

Q But we don't have an extradition treaty with Panama do we?

Q A quick question about --

SEN. NUNN (?): I think we do not.

Q -- your earlier comment about the use of drugs by Noriega and perhaps involvement in witchcraft. Did I understand that correctly?

SEN. WARNER: When they broke into his headquarters in the Comandancia -- what do they call it? The Comandancia -- whatever it is.

Q That's right.

SEN. WARNER: They found there large quantities of drugs, large quantities of cash, and evidence that he frequently participated in seances with people who practice witchcraft. Now that just shows the profile of this man and the bizarre nature of his personality, and how the President and other world leaders, in looking at him, had to take that into the risk assessment. What next is this man, who's on a borderline case, presumably, of going across the line, going to do next? And subsequent to the President's decision, they found evidence of a plan involving up to 200 to 250 of the Dignity Forces were going to strike specifically American civilians at some point where they were housed.

SEN. NUNN: I think --

Q Are you saying --

SEN. NUNN: I think that, to put that in perspective, that these things were found after the decision had been taken.

SEN. WARNER: That's correct. I said after the decision. I beg your pardon?

Q Would you use the word "insane"? You were -- "irrational" has been used here.

SEN. WARNER: We'll stop at "irrational." I don't presume to be a psychiatrist.

Q How much drugs? Was it hundreds of bales of marijuana or --

SEN. WARNER: Quite a number of kilos and quite a large -- it certainly wasn't something I think they were just using internally for their own kicks. This was a part of it.

Q (Inaudible.)

SEN. WARNER: I beg your pardon? Cocaine. Cocaine.

Q Cocaine.

Q Any indication of personal use by Noriega?

SEN. NUNN: I don't know.

SEN. WARNER: We don't know.

SEN. NUNN: I don't know that. My own feeling, though, is that we need to put this whole drug thing in some degree of perspective. The big countries where we have a problem with drugs are Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia. That's the drug

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problem. Panama is a player. Noriega was a player. But no one should make the mistake of believing that, once we capture Noriega, if we do, that we're going to have a noticeable effect on the drug program. It's too big for that. He was primarily a cash conduit, a safe haven -- providing safe haven. He was not what I would call a real kingpin. He was a player; he deserves to be punished for that; but we ought to keep it in perspective.

Q It appears that he was at Transits (ph).

(Cross talk.)

SEN. NUNN: Beg pardon?

Q Did the administration give you some indication beforehand that they suspected that some of his irascible behavior, based on intelligence reports, stemmed from his drug use?

SEN. WARNER: No one's mentioned that he personally used drug use. That information does not come --

SEN. NUNN: No, that was out --

SEN. WARNER: No, it's ironical that when they went into his operating headquarters, there was a large cache of drugs and a sizable amount of cash. There remains a safe which, as we're speaking, is being entered. Now, what's in that safe, soon, presumably, you'll know.

Q Senator --

SEN. WARNER: I understand that our forces are going to invite the press to give a personal inspection of these items that have been seized.

Q Senator, what about your assessment of the legality from an international law point of view -- the legality of the American action?

SEN. NUNN: My own assessment is that when your property -- under treaties -- is perceived to be in danger, and we have specific authority under the Panama Canal Treaties that was made even more explicit by amendments in the Senate; when your own personnel who have unique rights in Panama -- much more than we have in any other country in the world, and I believe that that needs to be focused on -- we have more rights there than we have any other place in the world because of these treaties -- when they start to be threatened; when you have the leader of the country that has basically ignored the will of the people, basically taken away the election from the people and declared himself the supreme ruler; when you have a legislative body of the nation declaring that there is a state of war that exists; and when you have Noriega himself -- so-called "Supreme Leader" -- saying that he would sit on the side of the Panama Canal and watch American bodies float by -- to me, all of those things added together indicate that we did have legal justification for what we did.

Q Senator, you said, though, there was no surprise there --

SEN. NUNN: So -- as I was saying, there was no surprise -- not a complete surprise -- the element of surprise was not complete; there was some surprise.

Q So was this diplomatic effort in part responsible for that in tipping our hand?

SEN. NUNN: Oh, I think the diplomatic effort was probably ongoing for some time. In fact, there was some of this activity going on way back in the Reagan administration, so I don't connect the element of surprise with the diplomatic activity. I don't make that connection.

Q Senator, do you believe that Noriega has continue a guerrilla kind of campaign from wherever he's hiding?

SEN. NUNN: The military is optimistic that's not going to happen. I am hopeful they're right. I do believe, though, that guerrilla activity does not have to be conducted in a jungle. You can have guerrilla activity in cities. And the hardest kind of guerrilla activity is when people have arms in cities, when they occupy jobs during the day and perhaps become thugs or terrorists or snipers at night. So I think we'd have some continuing danger there. I'm hopeful the

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military's right. I'm probably not as optimistic as they are.

Q In your estimation, how long can American forces stay in Panama before the mood in this country shifts away from that and as well in Panama?

SEN. NUNN: Well, I think that depends on events there and we'll just have to wait and see, but as I said several times in the course of this interview, I think it's important that we lower our profile, consistent with what we've got to do to maintain order there and I think it's important that we not become a permanent occupying force in reality or in perception.

Thank you.

Q Thanks for your patience, Senators.

## ANNOUNCEMENT SPEECH

### OPENING REMARKS

### DEFENSE/PEACE DIVIDEND

As we move into this exciting new decade, many opportunities to improve the quality of life for all Americans must be seized.

Pressing demands at home to fulfill the goal of equality for all persons, to allow senior citizens to maintain a meaningful life, to preserve and restore our environment, to resolve our transportation infrastructure crisis, and to place our nation's resources fully behind all means to eliminate illegal drug use and trafficking must be met.

The preservation of our natural resources and the clean up of our land, air and water will remain a high priority as I continue my service on the Environment and Public Works Committee.

Virginians deserve air that is safe to breathe, water that is safe to drink and oceans that are safe for our children to swim in. We have made great progress in implementing protections for our environment, but we must do more.

No other environmental problem demands action more than providing cleaner air for Americans to breathe. Poor air quality threatens the public health of all Americans and particularly our children and the elderly, who are most susceptible to lung diseases. We are close to ending more than ten years of inaction on this issue with an effective control strategy for air pollutants. We must also recognize the potential financial burdens on jobs, our ability to respond to the demands of a growing urban populations and the availability of technology to meet new Federal air quality standards.

The restoration of the Chesapeake Bay will remain one of my primary goals because of the Bay's recreational resources and the livelihood it produces for many Virginians. The Chesapeake Bay continues to service growing tanker traffic to Hampton Roads and points north. Every precaution must be taken to guarantee the safety of the vessels, the first-rate qualifications of the ship's personnel. In the unfortunate event of an accident, local, state and federal officials must have the resources necessary to respond promptly and effectively. Through landmark oil spill liability legislation which I am supporting, added protections will be available.

As more of our financial resources are devoted to environmental protection and cleanup, it is clear that we cannot immediately tackle every need. To ensure that we make the best use of available funds, I have introduced the National Environmental Strategy Act. More coordination among the various Federal agencies with jurisdiction over environmental issues is essential and priorities must be set to guide our environmental decision-making. To strengthen this coordination effort and fully reflect environmental policy in our national agenda, the Environmental Protection Agency must be elevated to a cabinet level position.

Also through my position on the Environment and Public Works Committee, I pledge to work for improvement of Virginia's transportation infrastructure and for Federal funding to meet these needs. The 1992 Highway Aid Bill will soon be before the committee. As a member of the Subcommittee responsible for drafting the bill, I will be there to protect Virginia's interests and return needed Federal dollars to Richmond.

The deterioration and gridlock on our nation's federal highways and bridges demand a re-evaluation of funding of our infrastructure needs. Urban and suburban highway systems are simply breaking down under the huge loads of traffic. The result is hardship for commuters and obstacles to interstate commerce. This delay translates into reduced productivity, lost income and time and money ill-spent.

The Gridlock Relief for Interstates Program, the GRIP bill, I am sponsoring will provide \$2 billion for four years for urban and suburban areas with congested interstates. To supplement road construction needs, this legislation encourages expanded use of mass transit, carpooling and van pooling -- alternatives that must be more utilized.

To the women in Virginia, I pledge to continue my fight for equal opportunity, equal recognition and equal pay.

In Virginia, fifty percent of the women with children under the age of six work outside of the home. Nationwide, women comprise 57 percent of the paid labor force, and that figure is growing every day.

The call for safe and stimulating child care environments for our children must be answered. Early in the 1990s, Congress will pass a child care program. I will work to ensure that assistance is provided directly to families who can then select the child care provider that best meets their needs -- whether that be licensed child care centers, church-sponsored programs, or private, home-based care givers.

Ahead in the 1990s we also see enormous challenges to providing quality health care for Americans. Through my service on the Special Committee on Aging, the demands of long-term health care for older Americans will have my continued attention. Over 30 million Americans are being denied full access to health care because they lack health insurance coverage.

The U.S. Bipartisan Commission on Comprehensive Health Care -- the Pepper Commission -- will soon be reporting to the Congress on recommendations to assist the uninsured. Also, we must expand our attention from the uninsured to those without enough coverage, particularly elderly persons facing long term care needs.

I believe strongly in the "aging in place" philosophy which promotes the provision of home care services to enable the elderly to remain in their homes as long as possible. Any effective long-term care proposal should initially be based on the home setting with residential nursing care as the last alternative.

To all older Virginians, I pledge that, as in the past, I will honor our obligations under the Social Security System. In no way will I accept or condone any proposal which threatens the long term income security of 40 million elderly and disabled beneficiaries.

To young Virginians and those with families, I support efforts to provide incentives to encourage personal savings and to provide relief to first-time homebuyers. Individual Retirement Accounts must be modified to allow for the withdrawal of funds without financial penalties for persons to purchase their first home. Family Savings Accounts, a plan for tax-free savings, are an attractive idea to help provide families with a security net for large, future financial commitments, such as college education or extended medical care costs.

Our national commitment to rid this nation of the use of illegal drugs and the criminal activities associated with drug trafficking must remain steadfast. Through crackdowns on the supply lines and innovative rehabilitation and educational programs to eliminate the demand, we are continuing a three pronged attack on our war on drugs.

No segment of society, no individual, is immune from this crisis. The proliferation of illegal drugs contributes to the rising crime rate, cripples able citizens through addiction, reduces productivity in the workplace and threatens the future of our children.

To hold drug users accountable for their actions and to deter young people from the temptation of drugs, I am sponsoring the Drug Offender's Drive Privileges Suspension Act to give states the authority to revoke the drivers license of persons convicted of drug offenders.

I have also sponsored legislation, which is now law, to allow law enforcement agencies in Virginia to share in drug asset seizures. This gives local and state police added resources to strengthen the programs against drug users and traffickers.

Prosecution and incarceration of drug related crimes must be met with certain and swift punishment. To assist in alleviating the overcrowding of prisons, I have authored legislation requiring the Department of Defense to identify the availability of military property in Northern Virginia suitable for a regional correctional facility.

RAIL 2-6-90

## Free Ride

It's official. Yesterday, Senator John Warner formally opened his campaign for a third term. The results will be in before a ballot is cast. Unless a Democratic savior rises from the mists like Lohengrin and his white swan, Warner will run unopposed.

Thus Virginia will face its third straight senatorial non-election. Six years ago Warner ran against Edythe Harrison; two years ago Chuck Robb ran against Maurice Dawkins. This year Warner will run against a no-name

at best, or against "no one" at worst.

It detracts not at all from Warner or Robb to suggest that uncontested campaigns serve neither their interests nor the state's. Elections without serious competition lack the democratic touch. All politicians should feel electoral heat. Virginia has enjoyed robust elections for Governor. Perhaps someday it will experience a senatorial thriller.

Warner's popularity and his immense war chest discourage potential challengers. If he steered any more toward the meaningless middle, he would be pulled over for straddling the yellow line. Veterans of I-95 know that Virginians never pass on the Left, so Warner is safe on that flank. And the state's conservatives spend too much time running each other off the road to pass him on the Right.

Virginia's habit of holding elections year after wearying year shares the blame. When a gubernatorial contest ends, a senatorial one begins. It grows old. Well, at least Warner's free ride means an election-benumbed state will be spared another round of fatuous commercials.



Warner



# OPINION

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BLACKSTONE, (VA.), COURIER-RECORD  
Thursday, February 1, 1990

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## Warner serves well

Virginia Democrats are out looking for one to run against Republican Senator Warner. So far they haven't found any and they say they don't want to run anyone who can win. Why do they want to run anyone in the first place?

Senator Warner is Virginia's senior senator and he is doing an outstanding job and he is in the news, focusing attention on Virginia.

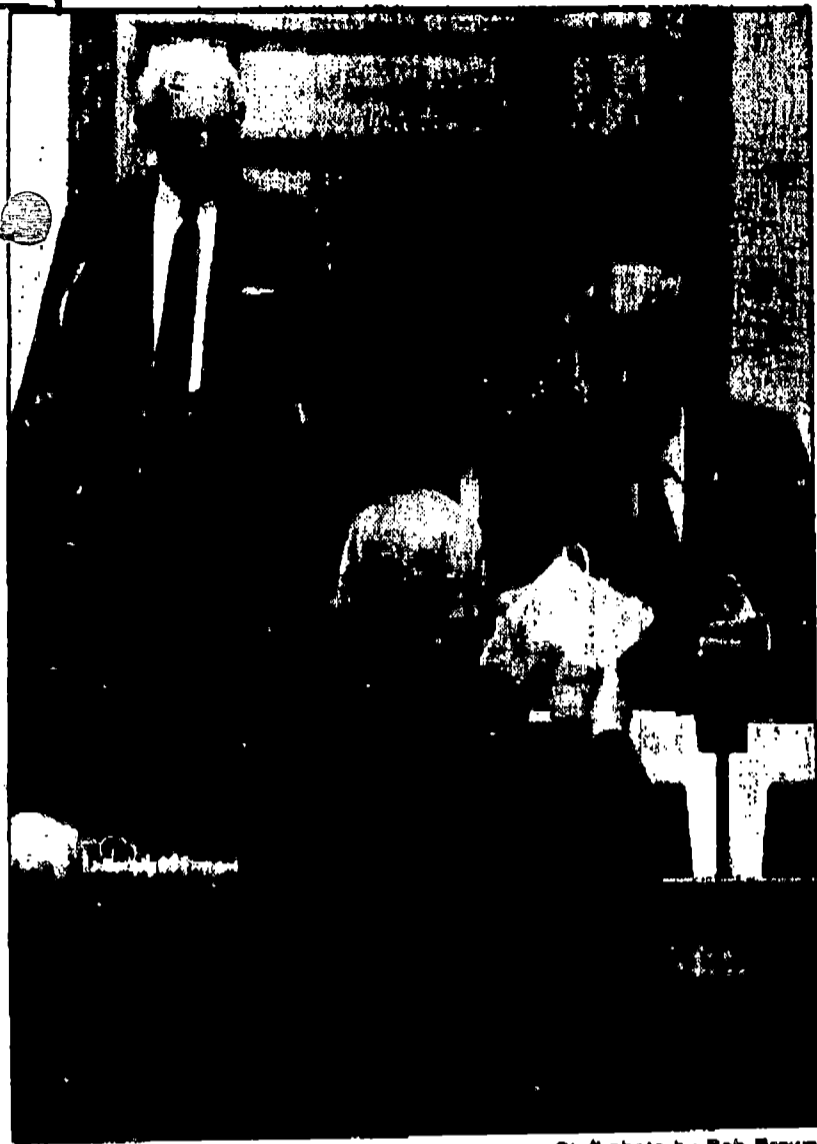
He looks after Virginia, seeing that members of Congress understand this vital role in defense. As a former Secretary of the Navy, he understands the importance of our armed services. At the same time he understands the importance of economic development. He takes time to visit around the state

and to inform himself on matters of vital interest to his constituents. He has come to Blackstone and to Fort Pickett numerous times to help solve problems and to give advice.

Virginia's senior senator is a patriotic American who continues to uphold the principles that are important to Virginians. He happens to be a Republican. That is the only reason state Democrats are hoping they can find a strong candidate. Even the most partisan Democrat should be able to see that it would not be in the best interests of this state or this nation to lose Senator Warner's valuable service. It is understood and appreciated by the great majority of Virginia voters.

RTD

2-6-90



Staff photo by Bob Brown

**A GIFT FOR GAFFE** — U.S. Sen. John W. Warner hands up a gift intended for House Speaker A.L. Philpott (rear) from "Elizabeth Taylor." Philpott had introduced state Supreme Court Justice Elizabeth Lacy as Elizabeth Taylor, the movie star and former wife of Warner, during Gov. L. Douglas Wilder's inauguration ceremony. The box contained pipes from Warner, a former smoker.

## Warner starts race in lonesome way

By Jeff E. Schapiro  
Times-Dispatch staff writer

Sen. John W. Warner, the only Republican in statewide office, yesterday formally opened his bid for a third term amid growing signs that he might not face Democratic opposition.

"I will run a vigorous campaign, irrespective of what the other party may do," Warner, 62, said at a combination news conference-rally at the State Capitol.

The lack of an opponent notwithstanding, Warner opened his campaign as a prohibitive favorite. He has high name recognition and a treasury that already contains about \$750,000.

"He won't draw a heavyweight opponent, if [the Democrats] decide to run someone," 5th District Rep. Stan Parris, a Republican, said of Warner. "It may be the deputy sheriff of Dinwiddie County."

Though Democrats conceded yesterday that their chances of finding a nominee are fading fast, they again

his distaste for Republican Party politics, largely sounded a bipartisan message that has become his signature and annoys GOP activists.

With the decline of the Soviet empire hastening calls for defense cuts, Warner signaled that he would guard against reductions that could threaten the state's economy.

Virginia is among the nation's top recipients of defense dollars.

"Virginia needs someone with seniority — someone with experience to protect the state's interests as we bring down spending," said Warner, a former Navy secretary and the ranking Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee.

On abortion, Warner said that he opposes the procedure but also opposes a constitutional amendment banning abortion. President Bush favors such an amendment.

Warner, who has voted for and against federal financing for abortion since going to the Senate in 1978, supports parental consent for teenagers seeking abortions.

In his announcement, Warner

## GOP senator begins race by himself

Continued from first page

cratic Gov. L. Douglas Wilder last fall because of his support of abortion rights.

Warner, a foe of the Equal Rights Amendment, promised "equal opportunity and equal recognition for women," though he again refused to say whether women should be admitted to Virginia Military Institute, the target of a federal civil rights complaint.

Warner also announced that Mary Vaughan Gibson of Chesterfield, an abortion rights supporter and president of the Virginia Federation of Republican Women, would serve as campaign chairwoman.

Though still assembling his campaign apparatus, Warner is again likely to use Ed DeBoit as his poll taker and media adviser, said administrative assistant Susan Magill.

Bush will be the featured guest at a Warner fund-raising dinner in Northern Virginia on March 8.

VA PILOT  
2-6-90  
page 1 of 2

## Warner opens campaign to keep U.S. Senate seat for a 3rd term

By Warren Fiske  
Staff writer

RICHMOND — Republican John W. Warner launched his campaign for a third term in the U.S. Senate on Monday as Democratic leaders, conceding they have no strong challengers, contemplated giving Warner an unprecedented free ride this fall.

"Clearly, Sen. Warner will be a strong favorite, even if he is challenged," said Paul Goldman, chairman of the state Democratic Party. "As of today, I do not know of anyone who is serious about challenging him."

Last month, Goldman appointed an 11-person committee to search for a candidate. The panel is expected to meet with party leaders Saturday to discuss prospects and the possi-



Sen. John W. Warner

*May get a free ride*

bility of letting Warner go unchallenged.

Democrats faced a similar vacuum when Warner last ran for re-election in 1984. They gave the nomination to Edythe C. Harrison of Norfolk, a former state delegate from Norfolk whom Warner trampled in the general election with 70 percent of the vote.

Goldman and Gov. L. Douglas Wilder, the titular leader of the state party, say it may be preferable to concede the election this year than mount token opposition again.

"The dominant sentiment in the Democratic Party is pragmatic," Goldman said. "I don't think the party wants to run just for the

Please see **WARNER**, Page A3

## WARNER

*continued from Page A1*

sake of running."

Democrats have never failed to put up a candidate for the U.S. Senate, said James R. Sweeney, a history professor at Old Dominion University.

"This doesn't mean that the Democratic Party is in a state of decline," Sweeney said. "It's simply testament to Warner's popularity and the power of incumbency."

Warner, 62, is the only Virginia Republican to win a statewide campaign in the 1980s.

As he traveled the state Monday to launch his re-election bid, he sought to further discourage Democrats by announcing he has built up a \$750,000 campaign war chest and scheduled a \$1,000-a-head fund-raiser with President Bush in Northern Virginia on March 8.

During a 30-minute news conference in Richmond, which was followed by trips to Norfolk and Roanoke, Warner stressed his status as senior Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee.

"It is crucial that Virginia have a strong, clear voice as the size and shape of our defense budget is debated in years to come," he said.

Despite recent anti-communist upheavals in Eastern Europe, Warner said the United States should remain cautious about withdrawing troops from the region "until we can see whether there will be stability."

Warner said his other Senate committee assignments are also advantageous to Virginia. He works on panels dealing with problems of aging, foreign intelligence, the environment and public works.

He said he personally opposes abortion, but supports public funding for the procedure in cases of rape, incest or when a mother's life

would be endangered by continuing a pregnancy. "I'm not going to take my office as U.S. senator to superimpose my views of abortion on others," he said.

Generally, Warner has been regarded as a moderate during his 11-year Senate career, building a bullish record on defense and a middle-of-the-road record on social policies. In 1988, he was one of the few Republicans to break with then-President Ronald Reagan and oppose the confirmation of Robert Bork to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Warner received an undergraduate degree from Washington & Lee University and a law degree from the University of Virginia. He served as secretary of the Navy from 1972 to 1974 and as director of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission from 1974 to 1976.

He was first elected to the Senate in 1978, defeating Democrat Andrew P. Miller by a scant 4,721 votes. He became the Republican candidate that year after GOP nominee Richard D. Obenshain was killed in a plane crash.

Warner, now a bachelor, has been married twice. In 1957, he married Catherine Mellon, the only daughter of philanthropist Paul Mellon. In a divorce 15 years later, Warner received a fortune, including a Middleburg estate where he lives and a mansion in Georgetown, which he later sold.

In 1978, he married actress Elizabeth Taylor, who helped him in his first Senate campaign. They divorced several years later.

This year, there is one declared candidate against Warner: Nancy Spannaus of Leesburg, a disciple of political extremist Lyndon LaRouche, who is serving a jail term for fraud.

Although Spannaus is running as a Democrat, Goldman said there is no chance that the party will nominate her.

VA PILOT

2-6-90

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Roswell T 2-6-90

# Warner kicks off campaign

By ROB EURE  
POLITICAL WRITER

Republican John Warner announced his bid for a third term in the U.S. Senate Monday, as Democrats acknowledged they have no strong candidate to challenge him.

"Clearly, Senator Warner will be a strong favorite if he's challenged," state Democratic Party Chairman Paul Goldman said. "As of today, I don't know of anyone serious about challenging John Warner."

Warner said he will not assume he can win re-election without opposition. He boasted of nearly \$750,000 in campaign money and announced that President Bush will attend a Northern Virginia fund-raiser for him next month.

"I am told there is a possibility they may not put up a candidate," Warner told a news conference in Richmond. "I would accept that decision in all humility."

He said he expects to have

## Democrats scrambling to find challenger for Senate seat

raised between \$1 million and \$1.5 million by the late spring, when he is expected to gain the Republican nomination at a state convention.

This is the second time Democrats have scrambled for a candidate to challenge Warner, a former secretary of the Navy who narrowly won the Senate seat in 1978.

In 1984, Democrats turned to Edythe Harrison, a little-known former delegate from Norfolk. Warner won with 70 percent of the vote.

Monday, as he began a two-day swing around the state to formally announce a candidacy that was expected, Warner struck the themes of experience and seniority that an incumbent enjoys.

He said his seat as the senior Republican on the Armed Services Committee would help him protect

Virginia's stake in the military budget.

"We need a voice of experience, a voice of seniority to protect our state's interests in this period of declining spending" on defense, Warner said.

Warner said any federal savings in defense spending should be applied to the budget deficit.

Warner also took an essentially pro-choice stance on abortion, one at odds with Bush, who favors a constitutional amendment to ban abortion.

"I personally am opposed to abortion. But I am not going to take my office to superimpose my personal position on other people's decisions," Warner said. "I am going to listen carefully to both sides each time I am required to vote."

Warner, who also serves on the Special Committee on Aging, the Environmental and Public Work Committee and the Select Committee on Intelligence, said he would concentrate on programs for senior citizens, tougher environmental laws, and equal opportunity for women in his next term.

Warner also announced Max Vaughan-Gibson, president of the 3,000-member Virginia Federation of Republican Women, will chair his re-election campaign.

Democrats are scheduled to meet in Richmond on Saturday and are expected to discuss whether the party plans to field a candidate against Warner.

So far, Rosnoke Sen. Garry Macfarlane is the only Democrat who has expressed an interest. Macfarlane said several weeks ago that he would look for between \$1 million and \$5 million in contributions before getting into the race and top party leaders have called his candidacy unlikely.

# Local

## Obituaries / Business

# Sen. Warner kicks off re-election bid

By GEORGE PAASWELL  
Staff Writer

SUFFOLK — Republican Sen. John Warner, announcing his campaign Monday for re-election to a third term, said he would "fight hard to maintain a strong Navy."

Speaking at a dinner here, Warner termed the Navy's request to build more submarines and ships "justifiable."

Warner also called for deposed Panamanian strongman Gen. Manuel Noriega to stand trial, despite concerns he would divulge national security secrets.

A four-year, \$46 billion Navy spending plan released last week calls for building 79 ships, including eight \$1.5 billion SSN-21 Seawolf submarines. The plan comes as defense officials debate the possibility of reduced defense spending in the wake of upheaval in Eastern Europe.

"The Navy is essential to keep the sea lanes open," Warner said, adding that "there is no lessening of a need to maintain mobility at sea."

Warner made these comments Monday night at the annual dinner of the Suffolk Chapter of the Hampton Roads Cham-

ber of Commerce.

Earlier in the day, he kicked off his 1990 campaign in Washington, D.C., and made campaign stops in Richmond, Roanoke, and Norfolk.

After Monday's dinner, he planned to head for Charlottesville, where he will begin a second day of campaigning today. He will also visit Danville and Harrisonburg before returning to the Senate.

"As we begin to scale back the overall size of our defense structure, we will need to continue spending for what I call mobility — mobility on the sea

and in the air," Warner said.

Warner said it is important for the United States to keep a strong showing of force to protect the "sweeping tide of democracy" in Eastern Europe.

The senior Republican senator on the Armed Forces Committee and a former secretary of the Navy, Warner said the United States should not unilaterally cut troop strength in Europe, and that any cuts should result from negotiations with the Soviets, he said.

On the subject of Noriega, Warner said that during his tour of Panama after the U.S. in-

vasion, he went through Noriega's homes and saw "extensive libraries and plenty of files" likely to contain information about Noriega's dealings with the Central Intelligence Agency.

"I don't doubt that he does have good records," Warner said. "But it's the assessment of those of us involved that he must be brought to trial. If he divulges material that is injurious to some American people, so be it. He must be brought to justice."

Noriega worked for the CIA during the years President ■ Please see Warner, B3



Sen. John Warner  
... more subs "justifi

## Warner

Continued from B1  
George Bush was head of that agency. It has been alleged that during that time, he also had strong ties with the drug-dealing Medellin Cartel in Colombia.

Warner took a moderate stance on the issue of abortion, saying Monday that though he is "personally against it," he believes the government should pay for abortions in the case of rape, incest or if childbirth threatens the life of the mother.

"But if it's to choose sex, then the government should not fund it," he added.

On that issue, Warner is out of sync with his party, which opposes using tax money for any abortions.

Warner said Mary Vaughan Croson, president of the 3,000-member Virginia Federation of Republican Women, will be chairwoman of his bid for another six-year term.

The Virginia Democratic Party is expected to announce Saturday whether it will field an opponent to the popular lawmaker. If Democrats skip the contest, it would be the first time this century a Virginia Senate candidate ran unopposed, Democratic Chairman Paul Goldman said Monday.

The Associated Press contributed to this story.

WT

Feb. 6, 1990

# Warner says he'll seek a third term

By John E. Smith  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Virginia Sen. John W. Warner, buoyed by a \$750,000 campaign war chest and little likelihood of a serious opponent in the upcoming election, announced his candidacy yesterday for a third term in office.

Mr. Warner, a Republican, said at a morning news conference that Virginians would be well served by sending him to Capitol Hill for another six-year term.

"Seniority in Congress means an ever more experienced, ever stronger voice for Virginia in the councils where vital issues affecting the future of our commonwealth, our nation and our world are debated and decisions are made," he said.

Twelve years ago, Mr. Warner won his Senate seat by 5,000 votes, the narrowest margin in a U.S. Senate race in state history.

But in 1984 he got 70 percent of the vote in a race against Democrat Edythe C. Harrison. And no one is yet challenging his third bid.

"There's no one I know of who's considering the race, but that could change tomorrow," said Paul Goldman, acting chairman of Virginia's Democratic Party.

Nevertheless, Mr. Warner said he would campaign vigorously — "irrespective of the competition." He said he already has raised about three-quarters of a million dollars for the contest.

see WARNER, page B2

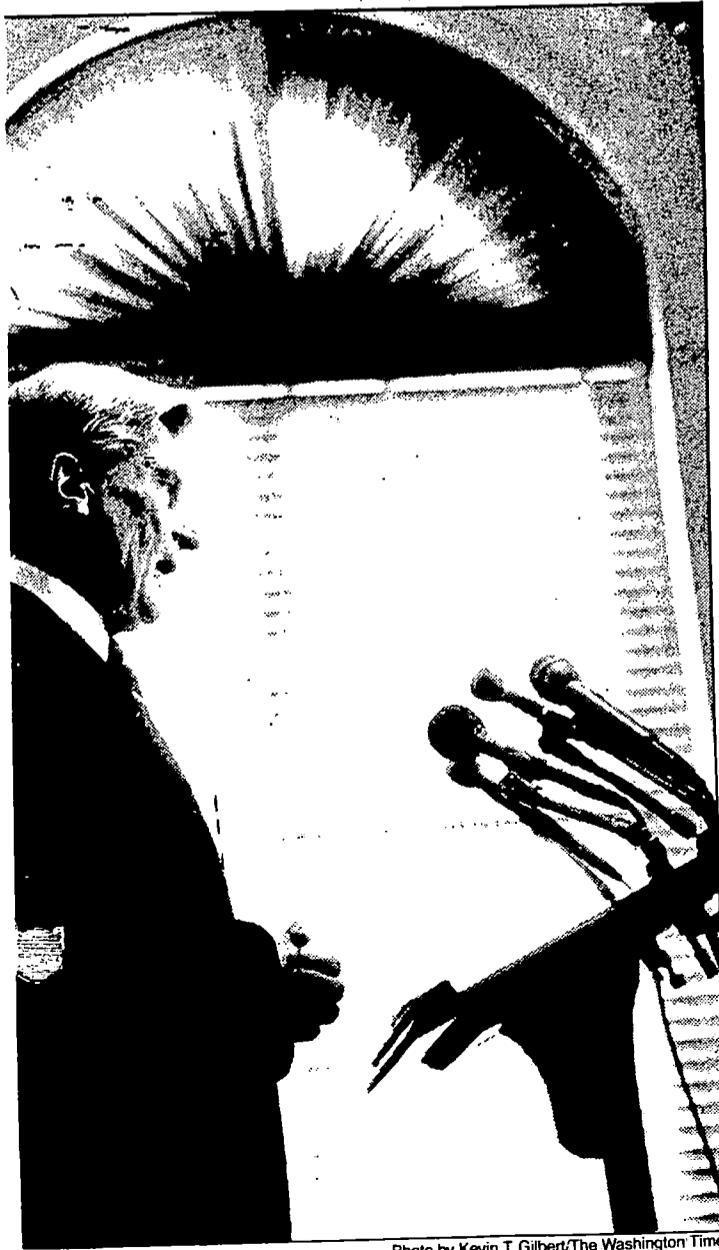


Photo by Kevin T. Gilbert/The Washington Times

Warner, Virginia Republican, announced his campaign for a third term.

## WARNER

From page B1

His 1989 campaign finance report, released Friday, shows he has raised far more money than any other member of Congress from Virginia, Maryland or the District. His campaign took in a total of \$531,546 last year, including about \$300,000 from political action committees.

Mr. Warner, who turns 63 later this month, also has significantly more cash on hand than any of the other area lawmakers. He closed last year with a campaign balance of more than half a million dollars — hundreds of thousands of dollars above the levels maintained by other area legislators.

He also intends to put his face in front of the voters. He began a campaign swing through the state yesterday and has planned a high-profile fund-raiser for March 8 at the Sheraton Premiere Hotel in Tysons Corner, with President Bush and his wife, Barbara, scheduled to be his special guests.

During his career in government, Mr. Warner has become known for his public and private lives. His personal life has been marked by marriages to heiress Catherine Mellon and actress Elizabeth Taylor, both of which ended in divorce.

He also attracted national headlines during the Senate hearings for embattled Defense Secretary nominee John Tower and Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork. As the ranking minority member of the Armed Services Committee, Mr. Warner became particularly active during the Tower hearings, appearing on national newscasts almost daily.

And after the debate ended over

### SEN. JOHN WARNER



Political Party: Republican

Born: Feb. 18, 1927, in Washington.

Professional: Lawyer, secretary of the Navy under President Nixon, 1972-74.

First elected: In 1978, as a substitute for the Republican candidate, Richard Obenshain, who was killed in a plane crash. He then defeated Democrat Andrew Miller, a former Virginia attorney general.

Committees: Ranking minority member of Armed Services; member of Environment and Public Works, Select Committee on Intelligence and Special Committee on Aging.

The Washington Times

the Supreme Court nominee, Mr. Warner voted against his party line and Judge Bork, becoming the only southern Republican to do so.

Mr. Warner apparently is prepared to continue to occasionally buck the party line. Calling himself "pro-choice with limitations, pro-life with exceptions," Mr. Warner said he favors the use of federal funding for abortions in cases of rape, incest and when the mother's life is endangered — a position opposed by his Republican president as too broad.

Looking to the future, Mr. Warner said his top priorities over the next decade will be to advocate health care and income needs of senior citizens, tough environmental laws and innovative solutions to traffic gridlock.

# Warner To Seek Third Term

## Republican Senator Eases Anti-Abortion Stance

RICHMOND (AP) — U.S. Sen. John W. Warner, R-Va., staked out a more moderate position on abortion Monday than the one espoused by the Republican Party as he announced plans to campaign for a third term in Washington.

Warner said he would support public funding for abortions in the case of rape or incest or when the life of the mother is endangered. The GOP opposes using taxpayer funds for abortions.

"I personally am opposed to abortion. But I am not going to take my office to superimpose my personal position on other people's decisions," Warner said at a Capitol news conference. "I am going to listen carefully to both sides each time I am required to vote."

Abortion was a key issue in the fierce contest between Democratic Gov. L. Douglas Wilder and Republican J. Marshall Coleman last year. Coleman's strict anti-abortion stance may have cost him votes among moderate Republicans, poll-takers said.

Warner said Mary Vaughan Gibson, president of the 3,000-member Virginia Federation of Republican Women, will be chairwoman of his bid for another six-year term. Warner said he will raise only as

much money, probably between \$1 million and \$1.5 million, as needed to finance the campaign.

The Virginia Democratic Party is expected to announce Saturday whether it will field an opponent to the popular lawmaker. If Democrats skip the contest, it would be the first time this century a Virginia Senate candidate ran unopposed, Democratic Chairman Paul Goldman said Monday.

"I am told there is a possibility they may not put up a candidate," Warner said. "I would accept that decision in all humility."

Warner said he plans to use his position as the top-ranked Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee to protect Virginia's sizable stake in the military budget.

"Virginia is fortunate in having a very major part of its economy dependent on (the military,)" Warner said. "Now in a period of declining spending, it is vital to have experience and seniority to protect our state."

Warner also ticked off his other

committee assignments, including the Environment and Public Works Committee, which this session is debating clean air legislation and next year will take up the federal highway bill.

"It would be a fox and hounds kind of race . . . We would have to be chasing him from behind," Democratic spokeswoman D.K. Starr said of opposing Warner. Ms. Starr said party leaders will meet privately Friday night to decide strategy.

Warner trounced former Del. Edythe Harrison in 1984 despite an expensive Democratic campaign. Ms. Starr said a Democratic challenge this year would cost at least \$2 million.

Warner first won election when he squeaked by former state Attorney General Andrew P. Miller in 1978. Warner was the substitute Republican candidate that year, after GOP nominee Richard D. Obenshain was killed in a plane crash.

AUGUSTA COUNTY'S NEWSPAPER

# THE DAILY NEWS LEADER

STAUNTON, VA., 24401, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1990

## Warner to seek re-election

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year. Coleman's strict anti-abortion stance may have cost him votes among moderate Republicans, poll takers said.

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LEDGER STAR  
2-6-90

## Warner opens campaign for third term in Senate

By Warren Flake  
Staff writer

RICHMOND — Republican John W. Warner launched his campaign for a third term in the U.S. Senate on Monday as Democratic leaders, conceding that they have no strong challengers, contemplated giving Warner an unprecedented free ride this fall.

"Clearly, Senator Warner will be a strong favorite, even if he is challenged," said Paul Goldman, state Democratic Party chairman. "As of today, I do not know of anyone who is serious about challenging him."

Last month, Goldman appointed an 11-person committee to search for a candidate. The panel is expected to meet with party leaders Saturday to discuss prospects and the possibility of letting Warner go unchallenged.

Democrats faced a similar vacuum when Warner last ran for re-election in 1984. They gave the nomination to Edythe C. Harrison of Norfolk, a former state delegate from Norfolk whom Warner trampled in the general election with 70 percent of the vote.

Goldman and Gov. L. Douglas Wilder, the titular leader of the state party, say it may be preferable to concede the election this year than mount token opposition again.

"The dominant sentiment in the Democratic Party is pragmatic," Goldman said. "I don't think the party wants to run just for the sake of running."

Democrats have never failed to put up a candidate for the U.S. Senate, said James R. Sweeney, a history professor at Old Dominion University.

"This doesn't mean that the Democratic Party is in a state of decline," Sweeney said. "It's simply testament to Warner's popularity



Sen. John W. Warner

*May get a free ride.*

and the power of incumbency."

Warner, 62, is the only Virginia Republican to win a statewide campaign in the 1980s.

As he traveled the state Monday to launch his re-election bid, he sought to further discourage Democrats by announcing that he has built up a \$750,000 campaign war chest and scheduled a \$1,000-a-head fund-raiser with President Bush in Northern Virginia on March 8.

During a 30-minute news conference in Richmond, which was followed by trips to Norfolk and Roanoke, Warner stressed his status as senior Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee.

"It is crucial that Virginia have a strong, clear voice as the size and shape of our defense budget is debated in years to come," he said.

Warner said his other Senate committee assignments are also advantageous to Virginia. He works on panels dealing with problems of aging, foreign intelligence, the environment and public works.

while his opponent, who qualified in neither of those respects, was the adored creature of the same barnacle-laden traditionalists who mean to keep VMI the way it is.

Mary Sue won no friends among Democratic Party regulars with her languid re-election campaign; she had a lock against a resoundingly mediocre opponent and she made no attempt to hustle votes for L. Douglas Wilder, who needed all the help he could get. With her ploy on VMI she seems certain to further alienate the progressive wing of the party and, of course, most of the women in the state.

The attorney general has again cast her lot with the good ol' boys, but what she doesn't seem to understand is that these old boys are getting older and older and older in four-year increments.

## Warner redux

IT'S BEGINNING TO look as if John Warner can stay in the Senate until he turns up his toes or chooses to retire.

Warner looks more like a senator than anyone who's held the job since James G. Blaine, and in his 12 years in office he has done a tolerably good job. He has solid conservative credentials, has vigorously defended the Navy-related jobs in Tidewater from budget cuts, and has worked well with members of both parties (notably Gerald Baliles when he was governor) on issues of concern to Virginia.

Still, Warner is no rocket scientist, no visionary statesman, and there is no good reason for him to be so assured of re-election that the Democrats probably won't even dig up an opponent for him this year. Nobody can reasonably hope to raise enough money to pierce the public consciousness and give Warner a run for his millions. If Warner runs unopposed, give half the credit to him and half to the sorry state of the nation's campaign-finance laws.

to achieve better management of the impacts on transportation, facilities, services and the environment. It sought to correct also some unintended uses such as locating general office buildings in industrial areas.

Over 200 court cases to overturn the zoning action by the Fairfax supervisors have been filed by various developers, builders, landowners or combinations thereof. Now the same antagonists want vesting legislation too — a guarantee of absolute land rights regardless of the public interest — and before any court verdict.

The legislature's fair-play tradition needs to be upheld now — with no party favored and the disputes all aired in court. The legislature should not be judge and jury, and the courts have been chosen by the antagonists to make these judgments.

Any changes in the laws curtailing local government control over development now would, in effect, tie the hands of and pull the rug out from under Fairfax County and local governments in Virginia generally.

RUTH H. DELL  
Alexandria

## Downzoning only degrades county

Editor, *The Journal*:

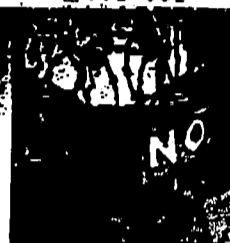
Downzoning doesn't work. Look at the facts:

■ Downzoning raises land prices. If we restrict development, we increase the value of land by making it scarcer. That means higher costs for everyone — higher home prices, higher rents and higher business costs.

■ Downzoning increases traffic. As land prices increase in Fairfax County, development will move farther out to adjacent counties. More commuters will drive in from even more distant locations — real urban sprawl. By comparison, today's traffic is child's play.

■ Downzoning diminishes the quality of life. If we reduce growth in development, we reduce growth in jobs as well. People who rent will move outside the county. With fewer jobs and people, the tax base won't grow. Transportation improvements will slip; essential services will go wanting.

Whenever government interferes with the free market in this way, the



## What's for redline

Editor, *The Journal*:  
North Old Town in Arlington is not the only "black pizza" in Northern Virginia where one cannot get pizza delivered to one's door ("Delivery no longer in the sky," Jan. 25).

We in the Hume Springs neighborhood of Arlington cannot get pizza delivered by Domino's, even though we live within the delivery radius shown on Eads Street in Arlington City. The store refuses to deliver here, although not one delivery driver has been seen in our neighborhood. But Domino's and other pizza companies, like Domino's, redline Hume Springs. They either cannot or do not articulate, other than to say, "used to congregate in the streets."

But those days are long gone. People of this neighborhood cooperated with police

results are unpredictable and contrary to the original intent. I think downzoning will save the county from development, but in fact, it will aggravate the high land prices and congestion.

If we want to solve these problems, we don't want zoning.

H. STEVE

## Taxpayers have reached the limit

Editor, *The Journal*:  
Kudos upon your editorial says enough" (Jan. 26)!

# ... perfectly clear

"Do you believe in credit? Loan me five dollars."

Sign at a Richmond Highway service station.



ACCOMPANIED by his daughter, Virginia Warner, U.S. Sen. John Warner, R-Va., who has announced his plans for re-election, leaves his plane after landing at Shenandoah Valley Regional Airport Tuesday afternoon. Warner stressed the importance of local concerns like farming in addition to national issues.

(Photo by Sam Carter)

DNL Staunton 02/07/90

# Will Warner be unopposed?

By SCOTT M. LANGSTON  
Staff Writer

Some questions have arisen about who, if anyone, the Democrats will choose to challenge incumbent Sen. John Warner, R-Va.

Warner announced his campaign for re-election Monday, and the Virginia Democratic Party is expected to announce Saturday whether it will field an opponent. According to Democratic Chairman Paul Goldman, should Warner run uncontested, it will be the first time this century a Virginia candidate runs unopposed.

According to Augusta County Democratic Committee Chairman Raymond R. Hensley, the chances are Warner will be unopposed.

"At this point, I don't think anyone will run against him," he said. "The state (Democratic) Central Committee, as I understand, will make an announcement Saturday on whether or not they will field someone to run."

Staunton Democratic Chairman Thomas E. Roberts said he hasn't heard anything. "(Former Gov. Gerald L.) Baliles seems to be out of it," he said. "I haven't heard anything locally."

Waynesboro Democratic Chairman William Heatwole said he was at the party's annual reception in Richmond Jan. 30, and did not hear one name mentioned. "To be truthful, it didn't even come up," he said.

"I've not heard anyone seriously mentioned since Baliles took himself out."

Warner himself may be part of the reason the Democrats aren't in such a hurry to challenge his campaign.

"He has made efforts to represent all the people in the state, not just the Republicans," said Roberts. "In fact, he has angered some Republicans on some of his stances."

Heatwole said it wasn't that Warner couldn't be beat, "but who do we have? No one is willing to come forward and challenge him. Baliles was the one person with a chance, but he's been in public service a long time.

"Virginia politically has become a moderate state, and John Warner is a moderate-type Republican."

Hensley said Warner is "doing a good job for both parties."

Still the question remains: Should the Democrats run someone, even if that candidate has no chance of winning?

Roberts said yes. "Personally, if we can find someone to run, we should because the two-party system is important. Also it's good for the party to work together," he said. "The problem, of course, is it costs so much. It is very hard to do a limited campaign."

Hensley, however, said he feels running someone may not be such a good idea. "The situation being what it is, I think it's best not to run anyone," he said. "If somebody comes along and says, 'Hey, I want to run,' then we'll work with them.

"He is the incumbent, so he does have an advantage."

Wednesday  
February 7, 1990

# Local/State

B

## Warner stops in city to propel campaign to top

By SAM McDONALD  
Staff Writer

Republican Senator John Warner stopped off Tuesday morning at the Danville Regional Airport, where he received an old wooden airplane propeller as a gift and presented word of his re-election campaign, which took off Monday.

About 60 supporters met Warner at the terminal, where renovations are nearly complete.

"I first saw that propeller when I was campaigning (in Danville) with John Dalton back in 1977," Warner said. "This is one of the most prized possessions in my life."

He had seen the propeller hanging on the wall of Rem Air Inc. offices. Mike Rembold, Rem Air's president, made a short speech.

"It's yours," Rembold said.

Warner explained, "I always wanted to be a pilot. I love the romance of the old days of biplanes and white scarves."

Afterward, Warner said his seniority will make him valuable in the Senate if re-elected.

Warner, the ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee, said he will protect the state's interests as the ax falls on federal defense spending.

He noted that a large fraction of Department of Defense contracts are awarded to Virginia companies.

"Someone needs to be there to make sure Virginia gets treated fair and square," Warner said. He is in his 12th year as part of the state's congressional delegation.

Care should be taken in cutting the defense budget, he said.

"What is the defense budget? It's human beings like you and me," Warner said, answering his own question.

"We need to care for these people."

Change in Western Europe, while positive, breeds

*'I always wanted to be a pilot. I love the romance of the old days of biplanes and white scarves.'*

U.S. Sen. John Warner, R-Va.

instability, he said.

"We still have to remain strong."

Warner supports the President's plan for a continued military presence in Europe, coupled with a reduction in nuclear weapons. But with general military cuts likely, Warner said he wants to help Virginia businesses which must be weaned from government contracts.

He also referred to the apparent lack of powerful Democratic opposition.

"We're going to run our campaign just as tough and just as hard as if there was an opponent," he said.

LaRouche candidate Nancy Spannaus is running for the race's Democratic nomination.

Warner was vague when asked if he would support legislation to thwart rising cable television rates.

"I lean toward protecting the rights of people in rural areas," Warner said. "I want to protect people who have satellite dishes."

Warner serves on three committees besides Armed Services: Environment and Public Works, the Special Committee on Aging, and the Select Committee on Intelligence.

A press release lists the senator's priorities for the 1990s. The list includes security for the nation's elderly; tougher environmental laws, innovative transportation ideas, equal opportunity for women, and strong national security.



Photo by Leon Townsend  
Sen. John Warner, R-Va., hefts a wooden small-aircraft propeller with the help of Mike Rembold of Rem Air, a private operator, and Pete Rea of the Danville Regional Airport staff.

# Danville Register & Bee

Tuesday, February 6, 1990

## Warner makes it official: He's going for term No. 3

By LAURA E. BLAND  
Staff Writer

RICHMOND — Touting a campaign based on the environment and transportation, Republican John Warner launched his bid for a third U.S. Senate term Monday.

Flanked by members of the Virginia General Assembly and his daughter, Virginia, during a Capitol news conference, Warner foresaw the 1990s as a decade of special challenges facing the commonwealth.

The U.S. senator, who will be 63 years old

in a few days, outlined five priorities for the coming decade. They include: health care and income needs for the elderly, tougher environmental laws, solutions to transportation problems, equal opportunity and recognition for women and strong national security against drug trafficking and military threats.

"The environment and transportation are key to the survival of the commonwealth of Virginia," said Warner, who is from Middleburg.

See WARNER, Page 2A



JOHN WARNER

### Warner Continued from Page 1A

On the issue of abortion, Warner said he is personally opposed to abortion but would favor federal funding for abortions in the case of rape, incest or where the life of the mother is endangered.

"I wouldn't use this office to superimpose my beliefs on others," said Warner of the abortion issue. "I feel it is my own responsibility to examine my conscience and to listen to both sides. There is not unanimity on either side."

Mary Vaughan Gibson, president of the 3,000-member Virginia Federation of Republican Women, will chair the Warner re-election campaign.

Gibson and the organization have been trying to revamp the GOP's image as a party catering only to pro-life advocates.

A separate issue on which Warner declined to comment directly yester-

day was whether Virginia Military Institute should admit women.

The U.S. Justice Department has said it will sue VMI if it does not change its policy; the school's board of visitors said Monday it would stick by its male-only format.

Warner said he had met unofficially with U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburg, who "made it clear he had an affirmative duty to bring action."

The Senator would not comment further on the case.

Meanwhile, Warner highlighted several areas in which he has netted seniority and respect from Republicans and Democrats alike.

He currently sits on the Special Committee on Aging, which is searching for solutions to issues involving prescription drug-pricing disparities, health insurance, medical care and long-term nursing home care.

A10

Daily Press, Friday, Feb. 9, 1990

# Daily Press

Hampton Roads' Morning Newspaper

Joseph D. Cantrell  
President and PublisherJack W. Davis Jr.  
EditorMyrtle S. Barnes  
Administrative EditorWill F. Corbin  
Managing EditorWilliam A. Malineux  
Editor of Editorial Page

## Editorials

### Warner says again

All good baseball teams have a stopper, a pitcher they can count on to win every time he goes to the mound, the guy who'll keep the team from tumbling into a long, fatal losing streak.

John Warner is the stopper for Virginia's Republican Party. His announcement Monday that he will seek a third term in the Senate was all but the equivalent of saying he will serve a third term in the Senate. Certainly the Democratic Party can do little to stop him.

Warner's strength is a welcome relief for Republicans, still humbled by their third straight thrashing in statewide elections last year. In fact, he's such a strong candidate that the Democrats may not even offer opposition this November. That would be a shame, because no elected official should go unchallenged.

But there is the real world to consider. Senate campaigns are long and expensive, and if they are poorly run

both the losing candidate and the losing party are embarrassed. One has to look back only to 1988 and the puny effort Maurice Dawkins and the GOP mounted against Sen. Charles Robb to see the proof of that.

The Democrats had their own "Dawkins" in the person of Edythe Harrison, who was slaughtered by Warner in 1984. Remembering that humiliation, and contemplating Warner's huge advantages with just 10 months until the election, the Democrats may not have any choice but to give Warner a free pass.

That will say less about the strength of the two parties than about the popularity of Warner. Democrats might have had a chance to beat the senator had former governor Gerald Baliles decided to challenge him, but that was not to be. Warner now looks so formidable that Republicans can probably start celebrating their first victory of 1990.

VA PILOT  
2-9-90

CAMPAIGN '90

## One-candidate 'race'?

**J**ohn Warner may have been Virginia's accidental senator a dozen years ago, but today he's so solidly entrenched on Capitol Hill that the state's Democratic leaders have hinted the party may not contest his reelection nine months hence.

In 1978, he won the Republican senatorial nod after the GOP convention's choice, Richard D. Obenshain, died in a plane crash. Mr. Warner rode then-wife Elizabeth Taylor's glamour to a Wilder-thin victory over Democrat Andrew P. Miller.

Once in office, he traded his celebrity image for the look of statesmanship. Over two terms, he has built his popularity on hard work, influence in defense matters, a

moderate conservatism that doesn't offend — and an inclusive, largely bipartisan approach that, Republican hard-liners complain, may work well for Mr. Warner but does little for his party. Indeed the 1980s were fallow years for the state GOP. Though the senator himself won reelection in 1984 with 70 percent of the vote, Democrats today hold four of the Old Dominion's five statewide elective offices.

Even Democrats say he has been a most adroit politician.

But is Mr. Warner losing his magic touch? Even if he has no opposition, he says, he plans to run "a vigorous campaign." Spare us, Senator. Please!

VA PILOT

2-11-90

page 1 of 2

## LaRouche disciple, eyeing Warner's seat, gets snub

By Warren Flake  
Staff writer

RICHMOND — Unable to find a credible opponent for U.S. Sen. John W. Warner, Virginia Democratic leaders on Saturday were confronted by a band of disciples of imprisoned political extremist Lyndon LaRouche, who angrily insisted that they have a candidate.

Shouting anti-communist epithets, several LaRouche followers were pushed out of a meeting of the Democratic State Central Committee amid demands that the panel consider the candidacy of Nancy Spannaus of Leesburg, a LaRouche

disciple who has been campaigning as a Democrat for a year.

The protest began when state Democratic Chairman Paul Goldman announced that a search committee failed to find "a viable Democrat" to oppose Warner this fall.

"That's a lie," Spannaus shouted. "There is a qualified Democrat that wants to win."

About a dozen supporters of LaRouche, who is serving a 15-year prison term for mail fraud and conspiracy stemming from his fundraising activities, yelled demands that Spannaus be heard.

Please see LaROUCHE, Page A5

2-11-90

page 2 of 2

*John Warner certainly isn't a right-wing conservative, but he gets the Christian conservative vote because he's a Republican. He gets a lot of Democratic votes. He gets black votes. When you put it all together, he has one of the best coalitions in the state.*

Del. Alton H. Smith Jr., D-Frederick

creative private law practice.

Three weeks ago, Goldman appointed a 16-member search committee to sound out other potential nominees. The panel approached all five of Virginia's Democratic congressmen, Lt. Gov. Donald S. Beyer Jr., Attorney General Mary Sue Terry and several prominent state legislators.

"Right now, I know of no serious candidate who has is interested in running for the Democratic nomination," Goldman said, announcing that he has disbanded the search committee.

Democrats have until June to put up a candidate.

At issue now is whether Democrats should mount token opposition to Warner. Goldman and L. Douglas Wilder, the title

leader of the party, argue against that, recalling that in 1984, Warner trounced former Del. Edythe C. Harrison of Norfolk with 70 percent of the vote.

"I don't think there's any moral obligation to find a candidate," Goldman said. "If someone wants to run just for the sake of running, they ought to enter the local marathon."

But some party leaders disagree.

"I think voters deserve a choice," said John J. McGlennon, Democratic chairman for the 1st

Congressional District. "We don't have a candidate who's a sure bet, but if we could find someone who could run the type of campaign that would make us proud, that would be good."

What became clear Saturday is that Spannaus will not be that candidate. The Democratic leaders passed a series of rules that make her nomination a virtual impossibility. The procedures would require her or any potential nominee to receive a large measure of grass-roots support from Democratic organizations across the state before the state party would even agree to hold a nominating convention.

"The rules are pretty well rigged against me," said Spannaus, 46. She said she is likely to continue her candidacy as an independent.

Spannaus, who has edited LaRouche publications for 20 years, argues that banks are conspiring to bankrupt the United States and other nations and says drugs and Satanism are responsible for a

"fundamental loss of morality in our nation." She accuses the federal government of trying to suppress her views by holding her husband and LaRouche as "political prisoners."

In 1986, LaRouche and several top aides were charged with defrauding more than 1,000 contributors of about \$1 million.

LaRouche, who has run several times for president, contends that he is the only person who can save the world from nuclear disaster. His organization blames many of the world's ills on plots by the Soviet secret police, the queen of England, "the dope lobby," and Jewish groups.

LaRouche has long sought to infiltrate the Democratic Party. In 1986, one of his disciples unexpectedly won a crowded Illinois Democratic primary for lieutenant governor.

"They're not Democrats," said Goldman. "They haven't supported our candidates. I don't think anyone should be fooled."

The Virginia party has never failed to put up a candidate for the Senate, said James R. Sweeney, a history professor at Old Dominion University.

But Warner, 62, poses a special set of problems. He is the only Republican to win a statewide election since 1962 and has received national attention through his role as the senior GOP member of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Warner, who officially launched his re-election bid Monday, has further discouraged Democrats by announcing that he has a \$750,000 war chest and has scheduled a \$1,000-per-person fund raiser with President Bush in Northern Virginia on March 8.

"He's hard to beat," said Del. Alton H. Smith Jr., D-Frederick, one of the Democrats' leading fund raisers. "John Warner certainly isn't a right-wing conservative, but he gets the Christian conservative vote because he's a Republican. He gets a lot of Democratic votes. He gets black votes. When you put it all together, he has one of the best coalitions in the state."

Democrats had hoped former Gov. Gerald L. Baliles would oppose Warner. But Baliles, who left office last month, opted for a in-

E a gavel a col of Lees-podium the din: mems and he ser- ve came to her? Ogden Commu- John are de- sting 10 guards pushed rters to trespass husband, five-year and con- ith LaR- it quietly some er- ise drab

RTD 2-11-90

# Democrats fail to get candidate

Continued from first page

poll in the fall, said in a prepared statement that his campaign would not be affected by the Democrats' plans.

"If the Democratic Party elects not to endorse a candidate, I will accept that decision with humility," he said. "Between now and the election in November, I will travel extensively across the state, listening to Virginians' views on how we can improve government."

Democrats scheduled caucuses April 21 and 23 to pick convention delegates. The convention will be canceled if the majority of pre-filed delegates said no candidate should be nominated or if no candidate is backed by a minimum of 30 percent of the delegates.

Should the convention be called off, the Central Committee could select a nominee by a two-thirds vote. The committee would have to act by the June 13 deadline for parties to pick congressional candidates.

Candidates for the nomination would have to file with the party by March 15, though Democrats said they did not expect a prospect to emerge. Wilder has said he would not support a throwaway candidate.

"I would be very surprised if anyone could meet the [30 percent] threshold," said George H. Gilliam of Charlottesville, the 7th District Democratic leader.

Former Del. Edythe C. Harrison of Norfolk, who was easily defeated by Warner six years ago, said, "The real issue is that 99 percent of all senators are returned because of incumbency. . . . The problem is that nobody can raise the money."

Former Gov. Gerald L. Baliles, currently the only Democrat viewed as capable of amassing the money and organization for a Senate race, declined a chance to battle Warner to earn a reported \$225,000 a year as a partner at a Richmond law firm.

Early public opinion polls suggested that Warner would easily defeat the Democrat.

In a potentially embarrassing twist, Democrats virtually demurred on the race just hours before a speech by Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell, D-Maine, at the party's annual Jefferson-Jackson Dinner here.

Of 33 senators facing re-election this year, Warner is the only one without a prospective opponent, said Larry J. Sabato, the University of Virginia political scientist.

Sabato and others have speculated that the Democrats' reluctance to

"There was no Democrat who wanted to run for the Senate and there was no viable candidate."

— Paul Goldman, Democratic chairman

## Democrats surrender to Warner

by Jeff E. Schapiro  
Times-Dispatch staff writer

Virginia Democrats yesterday all but conceded a third term to Sen. John W. Warner, conceding that they can't find a challenger to the popular Republican.

State Democratic Chairman Paul Goldman told the Central Committee, the party's governing body, that a 16-member search committee concluded that "there was no Democrat who wanted to run for the Senate and that there was no viable candidate."

Goldman, a confidant of Gov. L. Douglas Wilder who helped achieve the third Democratic sweep of the decade, said, "Our prospects are better in some years than others."

Still, Democrats will go through the motions of picking a nominee in what is viewed as little more than surrender by consensus.

It would be the first time in the modern political era that Virginia Democrats have not run a Senate candidate. In 1976, Republicans declined to oppose Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind.-Va. The Democratic nominee, Elmo Zumwalt, a former chief of naval operations, handily lost to Byrd.

Warner, who has raised about \$1,000 and received an 81 percent approval rating in a Times-Dispatch

continued on page 5, col. 1



File photo

Paul Goldman  
Confidant of governor

ty for its tactics against Wilder.

"This is payback time," Sabato said.

The procedures adopted by the central committee were designed to satisfy the federal Voting Rights Act as well as prevent the nomination from falling to Nancy Spannaus, a follower of political extremist Lyndon H. LaRouche Jr. who disrupted yesterday's meeting.

When Goldman said the party had no opponent for Warner, Mrs. Spannaus shouted from the back of a conference room at the Richmond Marriott, "That's a lie!" She was shouted down by the committee, which recessed briefly so hotel guards could escort Mrs. Spannaus and two men from the room.

Mitchell used his speech at last night's dinner at the Richmond Marriott to plug the possible presidential candidacy of Sen. Charles S. Robb, D-Va.

"Earlier tonight, I met Billy Thomas," said Mitchell, apparently referring to lobbyist, party activist and Robb booster William G. Thomas.

"I never met him before," Mitchell said. "Billy Thomas said to me, 'I supported Chuck Robb for lieutenant governor, I supported Chuck Robb for governor, I supported Chuck Robb for senator and I'm going to support Chuck Robb for president.'"

"I believe Billy, and all of us, are going to get that chance," Mitchell continued. "I think Chuck Robb ought to be on the next ticket of the Democratic Party."

# Warner

FROM PAGE A1

no Democrat who wanted to run."

Spannaus, sitting in the back of the room, rose to her feet and said, "That's a lie. There is a Democrat."

When Goldman ruled she was out of order, the LaRouche followers stood and hollered, "Let her speak. Let her speak. If you are going to hand over the election to Warner, at least let her speak."

When Goldman refused, they began hurling epithets.

"This is not a party; this is a country club. This is a party of exclusion," Ogden shouted. "You're no better than communists."

Some in the Spannaus group called out criticisms of the Bush administration and Warner — as well as Democratic Attorney General Mary Sue Terry, who coordinated an investigation and prosecution of LaRouche operations in Virginia.

As Spannaus, Ogden and some in the LaRouche group worked their way to the front of the room, the party regulars on the committee stood and turned their backs to them. A couple, including former state Sen. Jim Jones of Abingdon, yelled "Boo! Boo! LaRouche!" to the LaRouche people still at the rear of the room.

Once security guards had led the LaRouche people away, the central committee quietly adopted a delegate selection plan and called for a June 9 state nominating convention that may not occur.

While party leaders said the plan allows for the possibility that a "viable" Senate candidate will materialize, it says any Democrat interested in taking on the popular Warner must step forward by March 15 or the convention will be canceled.

The plan, fashioned by the party's steering committee Friday night, includes new rules that would block any attempt by Spannaus to get the Democrats' nomination.

If the Democrats fail to field a U.S. Senate candidate this year, it would be the first time in this century. There has not been an uncontested Senate race in Virginia since 1960, when the Democratic candidate was Harry F. Byrd Sr.

Goldman insisted that the party was not ruling out the options for southerners such as Roanoke state Sen. Granger Macfarlane to decide to op-

pose Warner.

Macfarlane said earlier that he might do it if he could be assured he would have the party's support and adequate financial backing. But Goldman said he has gotten no indications that Macfarlane is seriously interested.

At a news conference last month, Wilder suggested that the Democrats would be wasting their time, energy and money by fielding an opponent for Warner unless they found a candidate who had a realistic shot at winning.

Goldman said that since he was named temporary party chairman in January, he has talked to party regulars throughout the state without hearing anything encouraging. "There's a very strong current of pragmatism among Democrats from the grass roots to the top" that they don't have such a candidate this year, he said.

"Right now, I know of no one, no Democrat, no serious candidate who is interested in running for the

Democratic nomination. Obviously you can't beat somebody with nobody," he said.

Asked if he personally had tried to recruit, the new party chairman said, "I haven't tried to talk anybody into it or out of it. It's not my responsibility to give somebody fire in the belly, to make someone want to seek this office."

Goldman said he feels no "moral obligation to go out and hogtie, lasso, drag somebody into it" just to give Warner token opposition.

"If someone just wants to run for the exercise, they ought to enter their local marathon," he said.

As for the confrontation with the LaRouche Democrats, Goldman said he did not feel he had lost "the P.R. edge" by having it happen minutes after he became the party's leader.

"There comes a time when you have to stand up to people who want special treatment, people who want disruption. . . . All we did was enforce our rules."

## Roanoke T 12-11-90 Democrats lack Warner opponent

By MARGIE FISHER  
RICHMOND BUREAU

RICHMOND — The state's Democratic Party central committee gave strong signals Saturday that it isn't likely to have a candidate to oppose U.S. Sen. John Warner, R-Va., this year, then became embroiled in a melee when it refused to hear Lyndon LaRouche follower Nancy Spannaus make a case for her candidacy.

About a dozen people wearing "LaRouche Democrat" buttons disrupted the central committee meeting with shouts of "communists!" and "Grand Old Party!" after the Democrats' new state chairman, Paul Goldman, ruled that Spannaus could not address the gathering.

Several of the LaRouche followers stormed to the front of the hotel meeting room to denounce Gold-

man and other party officials.

The confrontation, which lasted less than 15 minutes, ended when hotel ballhops and security personnel were called to evict the LaRouche Democrats from the room.

One, Alan Ogden of Leesburg, angrily resisted until security guards shoved him to the lobby and threatened to call the police if he did not leave the hotel immediately.

The ruckus started moments after Goldman had been elected chairman and had begun a report on a search committee's inability to find a viable candidate to challenge Warner for re-election.

Goldman, handpicked by Gov. Douglas Wilder to lead the party, said the 16-member search unit had put out feelers in all the state's congressional districts and "there was

PLEASE SEE WARNER/A7

RNL 2-10-90

## Democrats won't run opponent to Warner

By Tyler Whitley  
News Leader staff writer

Virginia Democrats, at a meeting interrupted by followers of political extremist Lyndon H. LaRouche Jr., decided today not to oppose Republican John W. Warner in the U.S. Senate election this year.

Nancy Spannaus of Leesburg, a LaRouche follower who wanted to run as a Democrat, was evicted by hotel guards from a room at the Richmond Marriott Hotel, where the party's State Central Committee met today.

Also ejected was Alan Ogden, a former Richmonder who was a perennial candidate in the 1960s.

The noisy protest by a handful of LaRouche supporters in the back of a crowded room interrupted what was to be a peaceful meeting of the committee.

The failure to find a candidate represents the first time in modern Virginia history that the Democratic Party has not fielded a candidate in a U.S. Senate election.

Paul Goldman, Gov. L. Douglas Wilder's hand-picked state party chairman, told about 150 Democrats gathered here that a search committee had failed to find a candidate and that no one had offered himself as a candidate.

Goldman, who had been interim

chairman, officially was elected chairman today.

Warner, who is seeking his third term, is extremely popular. Democrats acknowledged long ago he would be hard to beat.

Democrats had hoped former Gov. Gerald L. Baliles would run against Warner. Baliles decided late last year to return to private life when his term expired last month.

Wilder signaled Democrats just after his inauguration that he did not favor running a candidate unless the party could win. That appeared to dim any chances the party would seek an opponent for Warner.

"We have nothing to apologize for," Goldman said today.

As for the disruption by the LaRouche group, Goldman said the state party is "the most open, most 'small d' democratic party in the country."

The meeting had rules of procedure, and the LaRouche people did not follow them.

After the LaRouche supporters walked to the front of the room to shout their disapproval of the process, regular Democrats turned their backs. When they did not leave, hotel guards were summoned, and they were escorted from the room.

RNL 2-12-90

## Though lacking foe, Warner is planning to travel and listen

By Tyler Whitley  
News Leader staff writer

U.S. Sen. John W. Warner, R-Va., says he will continue to travel about the state "listening to Virginians' views on how we can improve government" despite the fact he likely will be unopposed.

State Democrats decided on Saturday not to oppose Warner. Shortly after that, the senator issued a statement saying, "I will accept that decision with humility."

"I have worked hard, and fairly, on behalf of Virginians for more than a decade and I pledge to continue so long as I am privileged to serve them," said the 53-year-old Republican, who is seeking his third six-year term.

The Democratic Party's state central committee left open the possibility of a late-blooming candidate by scheduling caucuses April 21 and 23 to pick delegates to a nominating convention.

Proposed delegates can file on behalf of a candidate, file uncommitted, or, in an unusual procedure, say no candidate should be nominated. If a majority of those filing opt for the last possibility, no convention would be held.

If fewer than 50 percent opt for no candidate, and a candidate is backed by 20 percent of those filing as delegates, a convention would be held.

Democrats say they don't expect to have a candidate.

"I'm not embarrassed," Paul Goldman, the state party chairman, said today.

He suggested that the party learned to be pragmatic during the 1980s, when it swept three races in a row for statewide office.

"This is no Jane Fonda workout," he said, in talking about a race against Warner.

Of 33 senators up for re-election this fall, Warner is the only one without opposition.

The meeting of the state central committee was disrupted briefly Saturday by followers of political extremist Lyndon H. LaRouche. Nancy Spannatis of Leesburg said she was a Democrat and deserved the nomination.

When she and two men persisted in challenging Goldman, they were escorted from the room by security personnel at the Richmond Marriott Hotel.

With little to debate Saturday, Democrats were attracted to Richmond by the party's annual Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner at the Marriott. More than 1,000 Democrats and lobbyists heard the U.S. Senate majority leader, Sen. George J. Mitchell of Maine, plug Virginia's Democratic Sen. Charles S. Robb as a candidate for national office.

"I think Chuck Robb ought to be on the next ticket of the Democratic Party," Mitchell said.

2/28/90 Warner

On aging Special Comm on Aging

✓ We shouldn't tinker w/ S.S.

Ensure  
income  
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to protect  
Purcell  
Dickinson  
224-6682

~~We're fighting inflation -- elderly are first  
to benefit -- their savings won't be eroded  
because we are fighting inflation~~

~~excessive~~  
We are reining in out of control costs  
of Medicare without reducing benefits.  
control Medicare

member Kastenbaum  
protecting Medicare comm

Sen. Warner has not supported Bush's  
Medicare budget

**Charles Warner**

Sailor in the Marines  
couldn't retell any of those stories

enlisted in Navy when 17

I've known Warner for 25 yrs.

~~Jack March~~ Andy Wahlquist (former A.P.)  
835-0929

Mel Laird - Sect. of Def.  
Reader's Digest lost 3 yrs. of Vietnam

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The Associated Press

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October 31, 1989, Tuesday, AM cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 755 words

HEADLINE: Senators Salute Summit Announcement

BYLINE: By LAWRENCE L. KNUTSON, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Summit-Congress

BODY:

President Bush's "saltwater summit" with Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev won applause on Capitol Hill on Tuesday but some Democrats said it will succeed only if Bush discards a "timid" approach to liberalization in Eastern Europe.

Lawmakers of both parties said that a shipboard meeting in the Mediterranean in December should provide a relaxed atmosphere, free of media hoopla, for a serious and wide-ranging effort to make arms control progress and to probe rapidly developing events in Eastern Europe.

One conservative senator, Jesse Helms, R-N.C., dismissed the whole thing as just "more public relations" by Gorbachev.

"I hope that no fundamental decisions of any sort will be made," Helms said.

But his was an isolated opinion.

Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell said he told Bush Tuesday morning that he hopes the meeting "will aid the effort to achieve meaningful arms control at the summit set for next spring."

But Mitchell said the president's announcement does not lead him to take back his criticism that Bush's policies toward the blooming of pro-democracy movements in Eastern Europe have been overly "timid."

"One change the president could begin with is to support aid to Poland and Hungary," Mitchell said, complaining that aid proposals are stalled in the Senate by a Republican attempt to attach an unrelated reduction in capital gains taxes.

"A Saltwater Summit is a good idea," said Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas. "An informal meeting at sea could provide the right atmosphere to get things moving in several channels, including trade as well as arms control."

The Associated Press, October 31, 1989

Sen. Bennett Johnston, D-La., said he was reassured by the announcement of the meeting.

"I think the president has been a bit too timid in his relations with the Soviets and I think this will focus the need to make progress," Johnston said.

"I hope this signals a more aggressive attempt on the president's part to seek to respond to a very positive turn of events," said Sen. James Sasser, D-Tenn. "From my standpoint he's just been nonreactive and not involved on such matters as political freedoms and arms control that have traditionally been the backbone of American foreign policy."

But Sen. Alan Simpson, R-Wyo., the GOP's deputy leader, said: "That kind of stuff about being timid or too cautious bounces off George Bush like a .22-rifle bullet off a tank.

"I think it's a good time to do have a meeting," Simpson said. "George Bush is responding to change."

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., called the development "a very positive thing," adding his hope that the U.S.-Soviet meeting will "stimulate greater speed in moving on the arms control proposal."

Sen. Joseph R. Biden, D-Del., a senior member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said: "The president has obviously got to the point where he feels comfortable with his positions on glasnost and perestroika and developments in Eastern Europe and I think that was what was most needed."

Sen. John Warner, R-Va., called the move "a very wise step," adding, "It's the least they (the two leaders) can do to keep up with rapidly moving developments in Eastern Europe."

Warner was asked if the meeting was a move to "shore up Gorbachev" in view of the many challenges his policies face.

"Absolutely," Warner replied, adding, "We want to see perestroika and glasnost succeed. Right now those two things are being outpaced by events in Eastern Europe. So it was necessary for Gorbachev to sit down with a strong credible leader like George Bush."

Senate Republican leader Bob Dole of Kansas echoed that opinion, saying, "Obviously the Soviets have problems. Obviously this is going to be helpful to Mr. Gorbachev."

Dole said he expects a broad range of issues to be discussed, including the possibility of granting the Soviet Union preferred trade status.

Trade with the Soviet Union has been cramped by the requirements of the Jackson-Vanik amendment which ties improvements to Soviet moves to permit free emigration and travel for Soviet citizens.

Now that the Soviets have made significant improvement in the numbers of people permitted to emigrate, there are many in Congress prepared to lift trade restrictions this year, Dole said.

The Associated Press, October 31, 1989

Several lawmakers suggested that meetings between the Soviet and American leaders be held at least once a year.

"These are two guys who could destroy the world in a flash," said Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt. Doesn't it make sense that they sit down together once a year and at least get to know each other?"

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DECEMBER 12, 1989, TUESDAY

SECTION: FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

LENGTH: 18446 words

HEADLINE: CB

HEARING OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

SUBJECT: NATO WARNING TIME ASSUMPTIONS

CHAIRMAN BY: SENATOR SAM NUNN (D-GA)

WITNESS:

PAUL WOLFOWITZ, UNDER SECRETARY FOR DEFENSE POLICY

216 HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

KEYWORD: SEN.ARMED SERV.CMTE-12/12/89 WOLFOWITZ

BODY:

SEN. NUNN: The committee will come to order.

For the last three years it's been the practice of the Armed Services Committee to begin our work at the beginning of each session of Congress with a series of policy and strategy hearings. Through these hearings we try to understand and analyze some of the fundamental assumptions on which our national security policy, our military strategy, and ultimately, our defense budgets are based. At the beginning of 1987 the committee conducted 16 hearings on our national security policy and its military strategy component. In 1988, we focused on NATO strategy. During the past year the committee held a series of hearings on the implications of the reforms in the Soviet Union on the United States and our allied security. The dramatic changes taking place in Eastern Europe and in US-Soviet relations make it even more important that the committee reexamine some of the basic assumptions underlying our national security policy. Senator Mitchell recently contacted Senator Pell, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and myself, to request that the Armed Services Committee and Foreign Relations Committees conduct a series of hearings on the implications of the changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe for our foreign and national security policy. Senator Pell and I both readily agreed to the Majority Leader's request, and our committees will closely coordinate our hearing efforts over the next several months. We don't anticipate now having many joint hearings, but we will perhaps have some, and we will certainly be working very closely together as we did in the INF Treaty a couple of years ago. Senator Warner and I have discussed this at length, and he fully concurs in these plans. These hearings are designed to provide a conceptual framework or base line for Congress' review of the President's foreign policy and national defense budget proposals for fiscal year 1991. I ask unanimous consent that a statement we released on this subject be entered into the record, and it will be, without objection.

There are a number of questions which I believe need to be asked by our committee, and certainly by the Department of Defense and the Executive Branch over the next several months before we start reviewing the details of the President's fiscal year 1991 defense budget and the new five-year defense plan. Just a few of the changes that have occurred certainly are of great interest to us and raise all sorts of questions.

What are the fundamental assumptions of our national security and what are the

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changes that have taken place in the last six months to a year? How much change has there been in the Soviet capability? What is the Soviet threat now, based on those changes? What are the allies' plans in the future? What are the arms control plans -- not only CFE 1 but what conceptually are we thinking about in CFE 2? How reliable are the Soviet Union's Warsaw Pact allies -- the nature of the changes that have taken place, of course, in Poland and Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria, the political changes as well as the military changes?

What are the implications of the German reunification discussions for the security and stability of Europe? That's certainly got to be a major focus point -- focal point. How should NATO respond politically, economic and militarily to the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe? What changes if any should the United States make in our current deployment and capability of our own military forces? And, of course, we'll need to be updated on the threats we face in other parts of the world, including Asia, Persian Gulf and so forth.

Also, we certainly want to know what changes the Soviets have made in their force deployments that would have a bearing on our alliance with the Japanese and also, of course, the threat that the South Koreans face from the North Koreans.

So, we have a lot of territory to cover at the beginning of next year. Mr. Wolfowitz, you don't have to gulp this morning. I'm not going to expect you to know the answers to all of those questions today, but I did want to give you a forecast of questions to come.

During these hearings, the committee will hear testimony on key aspects of our national security policy and military strategy from senior officials in the Defense Department, State Department, representatives of the US intelligence community, from US military commanders in the field, from top US military leaders, as well as outside experts from both the United States and Europe and Japan.

I want to welcome this morning the Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, Mr. Paul Wolfowitz. He is accompanied by witnesses from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the intelligence community. We'll be asking them to address the process by which the Defense Department is assessing changes and the threats to our national security and making adjustments to our military strategy and our defenses force structure and budget.

In addition, I've asked Mr. Wolfowitz to address the specific issue of warning time in Europe and its impact on our force structure and force planning. I ask unanimous consent that a November 30th letter from me to Secretary Cheney on this hearing be entered into the record, and it will be without objection.

Recent newspaper articles based on classified information -- at least it appears to have been classified information -- suggest that the Defense Department has accepted new estimates of the amount of warning time that the United States and our NATO allies would have before a full-scale Soviet attack in Europe.

Assumptions about warning time of a possible Soviet attack in Europe are fundamental in terms of equipping and deploying US forces in the United States and Europe. Changes in the assumptions on warning time can have a very significant impact on our planning and NATO planning to meet and counter the threat.

And also, it has an immense effect on our overall budget priorities.

So I've asked our witnesses this morning to discuss the results of recent studies on warning time in Europe -- which were discussed in detail in recent newspaper articles, and I hope as much of this can be discussed publicly as possible, particularly in light of the fact that evidently the whole reports have been turned over to the media; the extent to which the revised

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assumptions about warning time have been accepted by the senior leadership of Defense Department; whether these revised warning times have been adopted by our NATO alliance in terms of force goals and operational planning; and whether these revised assumptions are being considered in preparation of the fiscal year 1991 -- fiscal year 1991-95 five-year defense plan. The Committee intends to conduct as much of this hearing as possible in open session. We'll reserve a brief period at the end of the hearing for a discussion of classified issues, if necessary, and we'll conduct that portion of the hearing in the Intelligence Committee hearing room next door.

I would also like to note that although the members have been notified of this hearing about a week ago, the final details were worked out in recent days and a number of senators who would like to be here have notified me that they had previous plans, and others who have tried to get here have run into weather problems. So we will not have everyone here who would like to be here.

Senator Warner, before we go into testimony, do you have any opening remarks.

SEN. WARNER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Just proceed, thank you.

SEN. NUNN: Mr. Wolfowitz, I think you have the scope of the hearings now, and we really are sort of telling you where we're going in the future, but we'd like for you to tell us what your plans are in terms of how you're assessing these changes, what we're doing in terms of threat reassessment, net assessment, and how you're going to be able to proceed next year, but particularly addressing the recent reports that have come out about warning time.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the opportunity to be here this morning. I appreciate also your acknowledgement that that long list of questions are not all going to have to be addressed here this morning. But in fact, I would say they are the right questions, and they're questions that in fact we're working very actively on in different parts of the Defense Department, even as we speak.

My testimony this morning is focused on the question raised in your letter about warning and some of the related issues about where we see significant changes coming in the Soviet threat in Europe. I have a statement -- I hope there's a copy to you -- there are some small corrections and we'll get a corrected copy up here for the record shortly. I'm going to try to say as much as we can to put these issues in the right context in public. I must say, fortunately, there are some pretty sensitive matters here that have not been handed over to the press. I'm not sure who undertook to unilaterally do some of that. But there's some very sensitive matters under -- that relate to the subject we're talking about, as you know. And if necessary, we may ask you to address those in the closed session. But I will try to talk as much as we can here in public on the record.

We live at a time when the strategic situation in Europe is changing dramatically. Naturally, a period of great change raises fundamental questions about our old assumptions. However, we should begin by recognizing that the change underway in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has been facilitated by the strategy that we and our NATO allies have pursued, a strategy which has demonstrated the futility of the massive Soviet investment in military power during the Brezhnev years.

A combination of NATO's military strength and the strength of its political and economic ideals and principles has brought us to the point where the Soviet leadership is acknowledging the need for fundamental change in their own system. We can feel for the first time the real potential for a more secure future for Europe. If, as we hope, these changes come to fruition, we will be able to take advantage of the opportunities that a less threatening Soviet military capability represents.

The timing of our reactions, however, is delicate. If we attempt to pocket

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too quickly the benefits that we anticipate, then we risk undercutting the very strategy that has brought us to the brink of success, and we could lose those potential gains. The challenge for the United States and its allies will be to maintain a coherent national and alliance strategy throughout this period of chance, adjusting our strategy appropriately as the world changes but not basing present strategy on hoped for future changes or assuming the irreversibility of changes that may be only temporary.

In that connection, we need to distinguish between what has changed already and what we expect to change in the future. We expect in the future to see substantial reductions in Soviet military efforts, particularly in the threat to Europe. And we expect to achieve a CFE agreement that, in my view, it is no exaggeration to say, will fundamentally change the military map of Europe. But those changes are still in the future. Soviet military spending is only just beginning to turn down after having grown considerably beyond the peak levels reached at the end of Brezhnev's rule. We have made remarkable progress toward a CFE agreement, but that work is not yet finished.

One of the things that has changed is our assessment about the amount of warning we could expect to receive of Soviet actions preparatory to an attack on Western Europe. Over the past decade, NATO has improved substantially its conventional readiness and conventional capabilities. As a consequence, and as a national intelligence estimate on warning makes plain, the Soviets will now have to take longer to prepare the forces we believe they would think they need for a sustained, successful offensive thrust into Western Europe. As a result of NATO force improvements, the Warsaw Pact would need more forces to do the same job. Our expectation of greater warning has been reinforced by Soviet unilateral withdrawals from Eastern Europe and by improved intelligence collection capabilities. In short, the trend toward increased preparation time for all-out Soviet attack on Western Europe is clear, although there still remain Soviet options for a limited attack. for a limited attack with little preparation for which we must also plan.

Let me stress, however, that the fundamental reason why we'll expect to have increased warning of Soviet preparation for war is because of the improvements in our own capabilities and those of our NATO allies. If we were to take this improved warning as a reason to cut back on our own readiness, then we could easily lose the longer warning times. That is why we need to be extremely cautious about changing the planning factors about the amount of warning we assume we will have in developing our plans for NATO reinforcement. Let me elaborate on that just a little. Our goal is not to build a reinforcement plan that requires the use of all of the warning that we think we would get in the most likely kind of Soviet attack, but rather to build a plan that denies the Soviets significant military advantages throughout a period of possible buildup. It is because NATO has improved its capabilities to the point that an unreinforced attack would be too risky for the Soviets that we now expect they would take more time to reinforce. If we were to relax our posture too much to take advantage of additional warning, we could end up creating incentives for a Soviet attack to come earlier, with less warning.

What we wish to avoid, and in my view the most dangerous situation, would be one in which the Soviet Union believed it could gain a decisive military advantage in a crisis by moving quickly, and that this advantage would disappear later in the crisis. This is what we are trying to avoid by not reducing NATO's capabilities too soon. This is precisely the type of situation that is widely understood to have converted a small crisis in Southern Europe in Serbia in 1914 into the conflagration that was World War I.

That is the basic reason we are not now recommending a change in the warning planning factor, i.e. the minimum time we expect to have to send initial air

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and ground reinforcements to Europe. We intend to revisit this decision as the strategic situation becomes clearer, and particularly in the event a CFE agreement is achieved. However, no matter how much we are hopeful that beneficial change will continue in Eastern and Central Europe, that unilateral reductions will continue as promised by the Soviets, and that a CFE treaty will be negotiated and implemented within the President's timetable, these things are not yet assured.

Having said that, let me say that this does not mean we are ignoring possibilities to take advantage of longer warning if we get it. Even before the new estimate was final, we had begun investigating ways to take advantage of longer warning times by seeking measures that would enhance deterrence in a crisis, yet would not be understood by the Soviet Union as provocative. It was precisely such a study, Senator, that was in fact leaked, and led to the impression that we were changing our whole warning posture. But let me underscore, what we were looking at were those kinds of limited measures that could be taken to enhance deterrence in a crisis without, on the other hand, sending a signal to the Soviet Union that we ourselves were preparing for war. That last condition underscores what I would call the difference between warning as used by the intelligence community, and useable warning as it would have to be viewed by a decisionmaker or a planner. A posture that is not overly sensitive to warning can provide us with an insurance policy, particularly against the kind of unpredictable events that we might see in Eastern and Central Europe.

For example, if, as was reported only recently, the Soviet Union were to bring their forces in East Germany to a higher state of readiness, we would not have today to risk taking steps that might be misinterpreted as provocative. Because we have significant forces in place, and because those forces maintain a high level of readiness, we do not have to quickly react with potentially destabilizing moves such as bringing additional forces to Europe, or engaging in large-scale urgent training to raise the readiness of those already in place. That is an important factor for stability.

If this sounds cautious, I'll plead guilty, but that does not mean that we do not envision much larger reductions in the threat, and hence the possibility of much larger adjustments in our own strategic posture as we look four or five years into the future.

As we look down the road, we see much greater changes in the military environment in Europe. Internal pressure to reduce Soviet defense spending is likely to increase, not decrease. The successful negotiation and implementation of a treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe will create an altogether new military environment, greatly reducing Soviet offensive options, and allowing the United States, together with its NATO allies, to shape an effective defense at lower levels.

If during this time we were to see as well the consolidation of democratic regimes in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, East Germany, we would have witnessed -- we would have both witnessed and played a vital role in an unprecedented refashioning of the European security landscape.

At the same time, some caution is still in order. We have all seen reports that we knew months ago that Soviet defense spending was declining. In fact, let me say, at that time back in the spring there was still no evidence that Soviet spending reductions had actually occurred, although we expected they would occur.

Against the backdrop of Soviet spending increases of 3 percent per year during the first four years of the Gorbachev period, it was not unreasonable to await firm evidence before making adjustments to our own defense programs. This is particularly true since our own defense spending declined 11 percent in real

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terms over the same period. What were only possibilities in early 1989 did not justify changes in our defense spending or posture. As the administration has made clear, we are now beginning to see evidence of a decline in Soviet defense effort. Even so, it is still important to keep in mind the incompleteness and reversibility of many of these changes.

The basis for reductions in US and other NATO forces has to be actual reductions in Soviet forces due to a CFE agreement and due to Soviet reductions to their own defense budget. It will take several years for these changes to take place. To the extent that we have to start planning on making US cuts to make the maximum use of scarce resources, we will be planning something whose implementation needs to be contingent on strong evidence that the anticipated Soviet reductions are actually undertaken.

The fact remains that even under a CFE agreement, the Soviet Union will be entitled to forces sufficient to amount an attack on a scale far exceeding those which characterized the forces in the Second World War. Indeed, the Joint Chiefs and General Galvin's staff, as well as our own allies, are currently hard at work assessing relative force structure options, post-CFE.

It is critical in a time of great change like this one that we maintain a prudent hedge against uncertainties. Our strategy of patience and strength has brought us to the verge of a new security arrangement in Europe. I am sure that everyone would say also that it is incumbent on those who forge Western security policy to have the courage to respond to demonstrable changes in the threat. But we do live in a time of paradox. Precisely, the magnitude of the changes that we are seeing in front of us introduce a fundamental unpredictability into the situation in Europe. Paradoxically, these momentous changes in the Soviet Union, in the countries of Eastern Europe, and even in the countries of Western Europe themselves open up great uncertainties for the future along with great possibilities.

As an institution NATO provides an important means of coordinating an implementing such a diverse strategy and maintaining a structure in Europe that facilitates the process of peaceful change. It remains the one place where North American and European democracies can join together in considering the comprehensive management of basic issues that arise from ongoing change in Europe. The United States intends to make full use of NATO for that purpose. Let me conclude, Mr. Chairman, by saying that the United States must above all play a role as a steadying and guiding influence on that process of change. That is the message we are hearing from our friends in Europe, East and West alike. We intend to proceed not in fits and starts but steady and sure in our conviction that we can have both greater stability at lower force levels in Europe and greater confidence that abrupt shifts in events do not lead to military instabilities along the way.

Our force posture in Europe as well as the mix of those forces will change over time as a result of the CFE process and as a part of the inevitable adjustment that we must all make to the changing strategic relationship between ourselves and the Soviet Union. But it is equally important that these changes occur predictably and in full consultation with our allies.

Thank you for your patience.

SEN. NUNN: Thank you, Mr. Wolfowitz.

General Butler, do you or Mr. Allen have any opening remarks?

GEN. BUTLER: No, sir.

MR. ALLEN: No, sir.

SEN. NUNN: Mr. Allen.

Mr. Wolfowitz, let me start by getting to the subject of the Washington Post article, which I assume was a report of a classified study, but in that Washington Post article, it -- this was within the last ten days, two weeks,

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and I know you've already referred to it, so you know the one I'm talking about. I don't have the date of it, but it said -- quote from that article -- "The intelligence community believes we would have some 33 to 44 days of warning time," end quote.

Can you verify that that's either accurate or inaccurate?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Let me first, Mr. Chairman, make the difference between the document that was reported on in the Post, which was an internal DOD document, not an intelligence assessment, but that basically took a charge from former Secretary Carlucci to say, if we have longer warning time, how might we take advantage of additional warning to improve our readiness during an uncertain period when some warning indications come but we want to react in a way that's non-provocative? So, in a sense, the anticipation of greater warning was an assumption going in to that study, not a product of the study.

The --

SEN. NUNN: So the study was not focused on how much warning time we are supposed to have?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: No. It was focused on how to take advantage of longer warning where --

SEN. NUNN: Where did that assumption of a longer warning come from?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: That's come from a variety of indications that we've been acquiring over the last --

SEN. NUNN: But it wasn't just drawn out of the air somewhere.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: It was not just drawn out of the air, and, in fact, those kinds of indications led to an intelligence community assessment of warning which, in fact, was completed only last month, I believe, and which did, in fact, lead to judgments that we would have longer warning. But to get into detail about what the precise time lines in that are is something we would have to do in closed session.

SEN. NUNN: All right. Let's stay away from the details of it, but let me get to the procedure of it, then. What I'd like to know is when did the intelligence community conclude that our warning time needed to be expanded; that we had more warning time than we had originally thought we had. When was that conclusion reached?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I believe that conclusion was in the middle of November.

(Aside.) Is that correct --

MR. ALLEN: We completed an estimate on warning at the end of September, sir.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: The end of September.

SEN. NUNN: At the end of September of what year?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: This year.

MR. ALLEN: 1989, sir.

SEN. NUNN: When did you start that study? I know it's a continuous thing to a certain degree, but that study had to be started at some point.

MR. ALLEN: We put it on our production plan in 1988 and we began the drafting in May of 1989.

SEN. NUNN: So, it was underway then about nine months to a year, is that about right?

MR. ALLEN: Well, the actual drafting was only about three months and coordination occurred in August and final approval at the end of September, 1989.

SEN. NUNN: All right. Now, that -- I assume what you're saying is that a part of the information in that study, which was not finalized until September of '89, was plugged in as an assumption on the other study that related to reacting to warning time and what the effect of warning time. Was that assumption in that Washington Post reported report plugged in from the study Mr. Allen is now alluding to?

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MR. WOLFOWITZ: I think not from the study, but it was plugged in from the same kind of evidence that led to the study Mr. Allen's talking about. In other words, people were beginning to get indications that a -- we might observe very early stages of a Soviet buildup. And the question Secretary Carlucci asked, I presume, was, "Well, if we observe those things, but we're unsure about what they mean, how could we take advantage of that in a way that's non-provocative?"

SEN. NUNN: So, what you can say and have said here today is that now the intelligence community is agreed, I assume, on the fact that we now have a longer warning -- substantially longer warning period before any attack would occur in Central Europe. Is that a fair assessment?

MR. ALLEN: I'll just -- I can't comment on the -- in this -- in public session on the findings of the estimate. I can only refer to what Secretary Wolfowitz has already said in relating to his opening statement.

SEN. NUNN: Well, I thought that's what he just said --

MR. ALLEN: That's what he -- he said that, yes, sir. But beyond that, the content and how we derived warning times, the data on which we base those warning times gets us into a classified environment.

SEN. NUNN: But, Mr. Allen, how much damage is done by the leak in the paper that went into those details and gave a specific number of days?

MR. ALLEN: There were some details to which we are assessing the damage. I view it as a serious -- potentially serious to sources and methods.

SEN. NUNN: Mr. Wolfowitz, are you all undertaking any kind of examination as to how that was turned over?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: We have an investigation underway. We are very concerned about that leak, Senator.

SEN. NUNN: Let me go on to the unclassified part of that, one of the few parts of that study -- and we do have a copy of it now. We did not before, but we do now. The unclassified paragraph states, quote, "The intelligence assessments used for this study were all completed well before the Gorbachev statement, that he intended to withdraw six tank divisions and 5,000 tanks from Eastern Europe," end quote. That was unclassified. Is that correct, Mr. Allen? Can you verify that?

MR. ALLEN: There were studies completed on which we drew in drafting the estimate which were important building blocks, yes.

SEN. NUNN: So, I'm asking you though, were -- was this assessment made before Mr. Gorbachev announced he intended to withdraw six tank divisions and 5,000 tanks from --

MR. ALLEN: There was no official national foreign intelligence board approval of a new warning estimate until the end of September. There was not an official document representing the views of the director in the intelligence community.

SEN. NUNN: But, my question is whether you can say whether this is accurate or not, and let me read it to you again, and this is unclassified in your report. It says, "The intelligence assessments used for this study were all completed well before the Gorbachev statement, that he intended to withdraw six tank divisions and 5,000 tanks from Eastern Europe," end quote. My question to you is, is that an accurate statement?

MR. ALLEN: That's an accurate statement. We drew on previous studies, but we also looked, of course, into the future in the estimate, to some degree to, to the next year or so.

SEN. NUNN: Well, in other words, the intelligence assessments of longer warning time then had to be completed before December 7th, 1988, because that's when he made his announcement.

MR. ALLEN: I will say that the overall judgments on specific warning times were not officially approved until September following intense coordination in August where there was intense debate. So, I would say that that unclassified

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statement overstates a degree there was consensus. There was very intense debate over warning times.

SEN. NUNN: But, the only thing we've got that we can talk about in public is not accurate.

MR. ALLEN: I don't think it reflects the total story of the preparation and the coordination process.

SEN. NUNN: Well, here's the point. We don't get a copy of the study. It leaks out in the paper. We hear nothing about it during the budget deliberations last year. The study itself has an unclassified statement that says it was completed before Mr. Gorbachev made his announcements which was December the 7th, 1988. And here we are a year later, and we still can't even talk about it, and we never have even received it and wouldn't have had it without the leak in the paper.

Now, this is fundamental business, gentlemen. The warning time derives strategy -- strategy derives budgets. So, I'm asking you, now, if we've got this kind of performance based on the last 12 months, what can we expect with the changes that have taken place in the last -- next few months? Are we going to be sitting here in about 1993 and finding out the assessment in 1993 of what's transpired in Eastern Europe in 1989?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Senator, first of all, there's a difference between what this document refers to as intelligence assessments, and the kind of agreed community assessment that goes into the paper that was concluded in September. This was not a paper that attempted to represent agreed intelligence community views, and it did not, but it said it was trying to get ahead of the power curve, and not wait until every "i" was dotted and every "t" was crossed to begin thinking about what the implications were.

I don't believe it's been any secret that we have anticipated improvements in warning time, and I can't give you chapter and verse, but I can certainly recall testimony in which people have said, we think as a result of a number of changes, including the Soviet unilateral withdrawals, that we would have greater warning of an attack. And I know specifically when I've been asked what is the significance of these Soviet withdrawals, which is something additional to this statement here, I said it reinforces an impression we already have --

SEN. NUNN: There's no doubt about that, but this study was done before those announced unilateral withdrawals.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: -- an impression we already have, even before the withdrawals, that we would get more warning of a Soviet attack.

And in fact, we undertook within DOD, on the sort of scale that has certainly made it no secret, that one of the two major planning studies Secretary Cheney requested as part of the defense planning guidance was a study on warning and its implications for strategy. And one of the outputs of that was specifically in urging by a number of -- by the DOD leadership to the intelligence community to please hurry up and finish the NIE so that we could in fact have an agreed basis for making a reassessment.

So, there's not been any attempt to be secretive about it. There has been an attempt to get ahead of the power curve and start thinking before every last bit of agreement is achieved, but there is also a process that the community goes through to come to an agreed assessment.

SEN. NUNN: Well, I'll come back to it, but in January and February of 1988, we had hearings on the INF treaty.

At that time, Senator Quayle asked General Galvin, and I'm quoting this -- this is General Galvin, head of the NATO -- US forces and NATO.

This is quoting then-Senator Quayle: "My question is, since 1967 when we adopted flexible response as a strategy, has the conventional balance gotten worse or

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gotten better?"

General Galvin's reply: "It has gotten somewhat worse." That was in 1988. I asked General Vuono, head of the US Army, February 3rd, 4th, 5th hearings -- this is my quote: "I'd like to get your views, particularly, General Vuono, your view relating to the conventional trends in Europe over the last 20 years. Yesterday General Galvin was asked whether the conventional force trends in Europe have improved or grown worse since 1980, and he said they've grown worse. Do you agree with that? I'm talking about relative balance now, not simply improvement, but relative, NATO to Warsaw Pact." That's all a question. General Vuono: "I would agree with that, Mr. Chairman. Although we have made, I think, some great strides within our own conventional capabilities, they have not been as significant as I would like to have seen them in comparison to the Soviet Union."

So we have in '88 basically the top military people telling us the trends have gotten worse. So, you know, I'm not trying to rehash history here, but I'm trying to see where we're going. Let me ask this question, and then I'll defer to Senator Warner. How long -- I'm not talking about the content -- but how long is it going to take us to plug into our national intelligence estimates, and our threat assessment, and our net assessment, and our strategy, and our budget? And that's what we have to deal with here, is the budget and we'll be dealing with it in January. How long is it going to take the Defense Department and the intelligence community to plug these changes in, so that when we are asking you questions about the budget in January, February, March of 1990, we are confident that we are up to date? Will you be ready then?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Senator, it depends on which changes we're talking about. We could do some of it a lot faster if we could get the Soviets to be more forthcoming about what their own plans are. We're trying to do a lot of guessing here about where they're heading in the future, and if we didn't have to guess, it would be a lot easier. One of the things, however, on the positive side that CFE provides, I believe, is a framework to start planning on where we will be three or four years from now, something that we haven't had in the past. And one could argue that even that is risky because the agreement is not yet wrapped up, and there is a philosophy that says if you start to plan on the basis of an agreement, you may lose the leverage that you need to get it. But I think in fact, we're heading into an era where that's basically going to have to provide the planning framework for where we are in the future, and it's very helpful.

How far -- I think, we are already working on how much to factor warning and improved warning into our planning and our budgeting, but for the reasons that I gave you, we do not see major gains to be made from the amount of increased warning that we're seeing right now. I mean, take the crudest example. If we were to say, because of this additional warning, we could forget about our M-plus-10 reinforcement requirement and essentially forget about airlift and get everything to Europe by sea, the new NIE on warning would take that time of warning down to 10 or 14 days. The point I tried to make in my opening statement, the reason we have more warning is we have succeeded in building up our reinforcement capability to get our forces to Europe more quickly, and if we relax that, we may find we lose the warning time.

What will make a much bigger difference in terms of warning and quite a few other things are actual reductions, and CFE is going to produce some very large actual reductions.

SEN. NUNN: Can you say, Mr. Wolfowitz, whether the December 1988 intelligence assessments -- which we've established that these assessments were basically made before then, even though it wasn't finalized until 1989 -- were they used and taken into account in preparing the budget that we've passed this year?

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MR. WOLFOWITZ: I believe they were. Obviously, when you get down to the question of the overall significance of a particular change, different individuals are going to weigh them different ways. And I can't answer for every person who's come up here and testified, but you referred to some comments earlier. I think there is a paradox here. On the one hand, our early capability against the Soviet Union has improved. I don't know if General Vuono or General Rogers in early 1988 would have already agreed with that. I suspect they would agree with it today.

SEN. NUNN: General Galvin -- no, it was General Galvin then.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: But on the other hand, the total size of the Soviet threat has increased relative to NATO's, beyond what it was at the time Gorbachev came into power. The Soviet military is bigger now than it has ever been, and I believe it's bigger relative to NATO than it has ever been. But it doesn't reach that point until a considerable period of mobilization.

So, depending on what period in the crisis you take the threat, the threat may be relatively improved or relatively worse. What we'd like to see is a situation where it's relatively lower throughout any possible crisis.

SEN. NUNN: Well, I hope we can be assured in the coming weeks that what we have when we come here to deliberate next year's budget will be an up-to-date net assessment, an up-to-date intelligence assessment, an up-to-date strategy based on that, and a budget that reflects both the threat assessment and the strategy. Otherwise, we're just out here deliberating on a 295 [billion dollar] to \$300 billion budget without having taken into account the real world. That will make our job on the floor of the Senate, and I'm sure the counterparts in the House would say the same thing, almost impossible. To try to go out on the floor and defend a budget that is not based on current developments in the world, in this atmosphere, is going to be very difficult.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Senator, I would venture that you'll have a budget that's not only based on current up-to-date information, but that attempts, as best we can, to anticipate far bigger change beyond the present. But let me emphasize that we are in a period of very rapid change, and whatever is current and accurate today is going to be quickly overtaken by events. And it's going to be a tricky matter to get our timing exactly right, so that we don't lag too far behind events but on the other hand we don't undermine the process by over-anticipating them.

SEN. NUNN: Well, I understand the difficulty, but we are talking about now an example of where we are just finding out about basic intelligence information that was arrived at in 1988 -- December 1988 -- that is pretty fundamental. Senator Warner.

SEN. JOHN W. WARNER (R-VA): Mr. Chairman, I join you in asking for a closer degree of cooperation on a real time basis. Coincidentally, the group here this morning on this committee are also on the intelligence committee, and as such we have access to these documents which go into your budget formulation. But the bottom line around here is the credibility the chairman and I and other members of this committee have with our colleagues in the Senate. And when we go to the floor in a persuasive way to gain support for the President's budget request, we've got to speak to our colleagues, and indeed to others who are following the budget process, in a manner that attaches credibility to our remarks and representations. And if, after persuading the Senate to go along we find out that the information that we were given is not timely, and indeed circumstances have changed it, it erodes our credibility and our bases to support the President's budget process.

Let me go to a couple of particular questions. I have had the opportunity here in the last 10 days to go through Eastern Europe, into Czechoslovakia, to East Berlin with the Arms Control Observers Group. It was interesting, we --

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particularly in Prague, we talked to some young people and their families were divided in this sense, part of the young members of the family were marching in the streets, other members of the family were serving in the armed forces. I find it very difficult to believe that the effectiveness of those forces remains very high, that is the Warsaw Pact forces composed of, for example East German citizens, Czechoslovak citizens, Polish citizens. In your threat assessment, how are you going to evaluate the effectiveness of that component of the Warsaw Pact forces represented by the young people of those nations whose brothers and sisters are now marching in the streets in the cause of freedom and democracy?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I think one of the significant strategic changes that is taking place even faster than we anticipated has been in fact the reduction in military capability of the non-Soviet Warsaw Pact armies. Not only for the reason that you just mentioned, Senator, but also in ways that are in a sense more tangible and harder to reverse.

The Poles, I believe have demobilized a significant fraction of their army. They reduced a very significant fraction of their tank force, as we see similar trends in other East European countries. So clearly the contribution that the non-Soviet allies would make to a Warsaw Pact threat has got to be considered lower now than in the past. However, let me say two things, number one, it has been the Soviet army that is the most important part of that threat; and number two, we have not -- when it comes to constructing our own forces and our own strategy, we have largely -- for our own reasons, not been able to match the Soviets and the Warsaw Pact as they build up. So every loss of a tank division on the Soviet side doesn't mean one gain that we can pocket. It may mean in fact a lower level of risk in a posture that we might want to leave more or less the same.

SEN. WARNER: Gorbachev has taken both sides of the issue about the Warsaw Pact in the sense that at one time he said he wants to keep it, another time he talks about disillusion. I think at Malta, he now wants to keep the Warsaw Pact and thereby allow us to continue to support NATO. I think it's essential we continue to support NATO.

What's the likelihood, given the deterioration of the non-Soviet forces in Warsaw Pact nations, of his just dissolving the Pact as a strategy to put pressure on NATO and simply making bilateral arrangements with the various nations -- Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia -- to enable him to remain there with his forces and have his lines of communications open, yet have this trump card, say just prior to the June summit, of saying, "I've dissolved the Warsaw Pact forces, not let's see what you're going to do in terms of reducing NATO?"

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I think the fundamental point is that NATO and the Warsaw Pact are not equivalent. NATO is an alliance of sovereign states. We are in the NATO countries by invitation of our allies. And the NATO military posture is not a threat to anyone. I think what we're seeing, in fact, is a task that in sometimes even explicit admission by the Soviets themselves that NATO does not pose an offensive threat to the East.

And I think we are achieving an understanding among our allies that no matter what happens in the East, while NATO may be able to go to much lower levels of forces and may be able to change significantly our whole character, that the basic structure of NATO is going to continue to be relevant. I think if the kinds of developments you describe take place, it could significantly enhance security in Europe, but on the condition that Western Europe with American participation maintains a basic collective security structure that NATO has provided.

SEN. WARNER: Well, I certainly hope that we can follow through with that policy. NATO's essential. We're where we are today in large part because of that alliance.

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MR. WOLFOWITZ: I agree strongly with you, Senator, and we're going to have to work hard I think to make sure that that is the view that prevails.

SEN. WARNER: It was interesting to note that the four ambassadors -- of the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and Great Britain -- met in Germany here recently in connection with the agreements in the aftermath of World War II regarding the division of Germany. Could you summarize briefly what those agreements are, and the extent to which the four powers are going to adhere to them as this question of German reunification proceeds?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: All right. Let me -- that's a terribly important question, and for that reason, I'm going to give you a general answer and get back to you with some more for the record, if I might, because I don't want to get any of the details inaccurate. But, basically, I would say, as President Bush said when he spoke to the NATO allies last Monday after Malta, that the commitments and responsibilities of the four powers are an essential part of what has got to be worked out in any ultimate security arrangements for Europe. And I think, to some extent, it is a residue from World War II, but it is a residue that leaves some important responsibilities that have got to get clear, and we're seeing that right now today in Berlin. But, let me, if I may, give you a more detailed answer for the record.

SEN. WARNER: Fine. I foresee a collision course coming, quickly, on the residuals of those agreements and the desire within the German nation to reunify. And I would hope that you could clarify that and we could follow it carefully.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I don't think it has to be a collision at all, Senator.

SEN. WARNER: Well, it may not be. But it could well be.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: And in fact, I believe -- I would note that after President Bush spoke, the first person to respond and to welcome his comments was Chancellor Kohl himself.

SEN. WARNER: Given that we're going to have some reductions in the armed forces and we're planning the budget, how do you recommend to the Secretary of Defense that those forces be restructured? From a personal opinion here, I think we ought to emphasize mobility, both at sea and in the air, the ability to continue our concept of forward deployment, but the forces at home have to be in a posture that they can be moved quickly in terms of reinforcements. I guess my bottomline question is, are we going to continue this basic one-third, one-third, one-third for the military departments or are we going to seize this opportunity at long last to reexamine roles and missions and to allocate among the military departments more directly in line with a future strategy predicated on, I would think, greater mobility?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I think the short answer is, Senator, we are looking at revisiting a great many fundamental assumptions, including the one you just mentioned. And I think when Secretary Cheney comes up here to present the 1991 budget, he's going to have some things to say, not only about how those changes may already be ones we want to reflect in 1991, but I think even more importantly how we want to build toward those changes in the -- during the next six-year defense program, which we will start reviewing this spring. But, in fact, we are working right now on the guidance to the services for developing those programs. And that guidance envisions precisely the kinds of issues that you talk about.

I would note that that -- there's a lot of logic in the personal opinion that you expressed, but on the other hand, if we look at forces specifically designed for Europe, if we look at the trends already in terms of warning time, and then if we add into it the way in which a CFE agreement will further slow the timelines for Soviet buildup, I think in the case of Europe, we're looking at the possibility of having at least some of our reinforcements for Europe be

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slower arriving and perhaps even at lower readiness.

SEN. WARNER: Mr. Secretary, Europe indeed is important, but we are a global power and our threat is a composite of many situations, not just Europe, and I'm sure you're well aware of that. We've got the terrorism issue, which has not subsided. We've got the Third World contingencies, which could grow on us. And therefore, as we reconfigure the armed forces of the United States, Europe is important, but indeed we've got to take into consideration 360 degrees of threat focused on this nation and those of our allies.

My last question, Mr. Chairman, would be the extent to which the Secretary could advise us on the issue of German reunification. It would seem to me that it would be essential that whatever is the final result, certainly West Germany, or the residual, or however you characterize it, has got to be a major component and player in NATO. We simply cannot let that nation join and then disappear as a valuable partner in the overall strategic balance in Europe.

What are some of the parameters that you think the reunification could take place [within] and at the same time Germany remain a valuable partner of NATO?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Senator, let me just emphasize, not only do I agree with you, but more importantly, President Bush agrees with you and made precisely that point when he spoke to the NAC (?) last week. I think having said that, to start speculating about what precise forms that would take when we're talking a unification process whose shape is still not clear, would be indeed very premature. And in fact, I think the emphasis right now today has got to be on how to ensure that East Germany in fact moves on to a democratic course, because that's really the precondition for everything else.

SEN. WARNER: Mr. Secretary, I wish I had the quote in front of me, but some famous person said, he turned to another individual and says, "I've got to leave now because the crowd is getting out in front of me and I'm the leader of the crowd," if I can reconstruct it for the record.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: That was Tocqueville speaking about the 1848 revolution.

SEN. WARNER: That's got it. But the point is that you pick up the paper this morning and the question of reunification is moving along at a rapid pace, and we just can't sit back and slowly calculate this. I think we've got to move out and establish for those persons how, under concept of free elections in both East and West Germany, we would hope that they would bring about their desired result -- free peoples desiring to get together will eventually get together. And I think the earlier we set down those parameters, the better.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Well, that was precisely the spirit in which President Bush laid down some parameters in the NAC, one of which was Germany's continued commitment to NATO. But the more detail you go into, the more you start to create the possibility that I think you were concerned about with the four-power agreement, that instead of facilitating the process, we're throwing all kinds of obstacles in the way.

So I think you want those parameters to be -- cover as much as is absolutely essential and leave the rest to the German people to decide.

SEN. NUNN: Thanks, Senator Warner. Senator Glenn. Senator Cohen.

SEN. COHEN: Mr. Wolfowitz, was this DOD report available to -- in a printed form, document form, to any of the committees on the Hill?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: You mean, was it actually made available, or --

SEN. COHEN: Yes.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Not that I'm aware of.

SEN. COHEN: I just wanted to be certain of that, because from time to time the finger of accusation is always pointed to Capitol Hill about leaks of classified information. And I think it ought to be clear that this document was never presented to any committee on the Hill.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I'm happy to be clear about that. I wish I could be as

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absolutely certain that it didn't leak from anywhere in our building, but I would be dismayed if it had. As I told Senator Nunn, we are investigating right now to try to see if we can find the source of it.

SEN. COHEN: Does the Office of Management and Budget have access to a document?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: If you want me to check the distribution, I could. It's the kind of document that in fact probably did get fairly wide distribution in the Executive branch.

SEN. COHEN: Well, it's only of curiosity because of the question that has been raised: Was the document deliberately leaked to support OMB's decision within the administration to cut defense spending rather substantially, or was it leaked by the Department of Defense in order to preemptively justify the cuts that were going to be recommended?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Well, it -- in my view, it doesn't support either conclusion, but I -- I despair of figuring out the motives of somebody leaking this, Senator.

SEN. COHEN: In terms of talking about warning time, I think what you were suggesting is that from the time that the Soviet Union would mobilize to the time of a potential attack, somewhere along that spectrum, depending upon what the US response is, we would have either more advanced notice, or the Soviets would delay the point of attack. So, you were predicating, I think, the warning time, based upon US responses to Soviet mobilization.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: No --

SEN. COHEN: That's what I thought you were saying, that we have more warning time today because of NATO -- greater NATO capabilities. And therefore, since we have greater capabilities in the way we have structured our forces, that therefore we would have greater warning time. Am I wrong in that?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: You heard me correctly, but let me explain exactly why it works that way. The warning time that's being talked about, on its face, appears to have nothing to do with NATO capabilities. It is simply the time that it would -- that we expect we would first see the indications of a Soviet preparation for attack, to the time that that attack might actually occur. But the major reason for the revision and the assumptions is because we now think that the Soviets would wait longer and build up their forces more because they think that the opposition would be more formidable.

Am I clear now?

SEN. COHEN: Well, I thought that's what I said, that we have along that spectrum between mobilization and attack, the Soviets -- the time is stretched out because the --

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Okay, I'm sorry.

SEN. COHEN: -- Soviets now look at our capability and therefore have decided they can't mobilize too rapidly without really --

MR. WOLFOWITZ: And I didn't hear you clearly. The answer is yes, then.

SEN. COHEN: Yes, there has been in part not only to Soviet changes but also in terms of US and NATO capability enhancements.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I would say primarily for that reason, correct.

SEN. COHEN: More so than Soviet force deployments? More so, perhaps than Soviet force readiness?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: More so than improvements in intelligence collection, although that's part of the picture also.

SEN. COHEN: Well, I raised this because it -- the entire issue about a longer warning time calls into question the rationale. Do we need, for example a C-17 transport plane, a very expensive piece of equipment? Do we need to place a continued emphasis upon fast sea lift as we have in recent years?

As I understand it, what you would say is that it's by virtue of the availability of these new systems, or the potential availability, that we now have a greater chance for stability in vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, and that we

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are now more or less locked into continuing these systems for the foreseeable future, otherwise we would find ourselves, if you look at your rationale, we would find ourselves back to where we were with the shorter warning time because if you didn't have the fast sea lift, if you didn't have the reinforcement capability of the C-17, that changes the equation again. Now, the Soviets are in a position to have a shorter period of time between mobilization and attack because the West has less capability.

SEN. COHEN: I understand.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Now, whether we can exploit that, back in budget terms, without making the risk go back to the same old --

SEN. COHEN: It's a risk factor question of how long. The question will be how long must we maintain the same level of support for the NATO alliance at these levels if in fact the warning time is longer, that the risk is less. Or do we find ourselves right up against the argument, saying the moment you start changing the programs to effect the strategy, then we're back to a more dangerous, destabilizing situation. So are we locked in -- how long are we locked into the current program, and that's something that we're inevitably going to debate --

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Senator, if we're in a world where the only thing that was changing was warning time for the reasons we have discussed, I would say we probably would -- I would tend to say that's an improvement that we have achieved in the balance, and we should hang onto it. But in fact, we are not in that world. We're in a world where we expect a great deal more positive change. And I think the combination of all those changes will allow us to revisit fundamental assumptions about how fast we have to reinforce.

SEN. COHEN: Will it be the Defense Department's position that, as you've indicated just a moment ago, that we ought not to be totally preoccupied but primarily preoccupied with NATO in terms of our force structure that we have -- we still remain an island nation. We still have many trouble spots in the world. We're still going to have to have highly mobile forces. The likelihood is that we're going to have to have more sea-based, sea-oriented forces with a loss of troops in various parts of the world, land-based troops, so that we have a continuation of many of the programs for purposes other than NATO?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I think outside of NATO, unfortunately, one can't see the same kind of reduction in threat that we expect to see in Europe, and in fact, in some cases, one sees some increases. However, it is the fact that the overwhelming, the largest share of our defense effort goes into our efforts in Europe, and I suspect even in a radically restructured European security arrangement, we'll still find a very large share of our defense efforts going to NATO. But the relative share, the proportional share going to non-NATO areas, I believe, is going to be larger.

SEN. COHEN: This may be a matter of some dispute in terms of the availability of this information to committees on the Hill, but I am informed that members of the Intelligence staff have had access to at least the intelligence community's assessment -- changing assessments -- of warning time for the past year or two. Whether or that has ever percolated up in the form of a national intelligence estimate is doubtful. I don't think it has. But there has been information in fact communicated to the staff members of the Intelligence Committee for the past year or better.

MR. ALLEN: That is correct, sir.

SEN. COHEN: That's all I have for now, Mr. Chairman.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I would -- I appreciate your saying that, Senator. There's really been no attempt to hide this, and in fact, the kind of document that we're talking about here in the age of the xerox machine is the sort that is probably readily available to people with clearances. Unfortunately, it seems

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to be a little too available to people without them.

SEN. NUNN: Let me clarify any -- any indication on the hiding. I'm not in any way indicating I think somebody has secretly stowed this away. What I'm worried about is the bureaucratic delays in trying to get a national intelligence estimate, first of all, done and agreed to, and then what I'm saying plugged into the defense budget and the strategy. And I think that the indications are that the time lag here is such that the changes we see occurring now, if we repeat this past performance, are not going to be plugged into our real budget planning for another two years. That's what bothers me. Somebody's got a real challenge to tackle.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: That's a fair point, but I guess I'd also point out that because that process of getting the intelligence estimate is sometimes a slow one, we don't always wait until it's completed to look at what we think are going to be results and start looking at some possible conclusions. That was precisely what Secretary Carlucci did.

When we did the national strategy review back in the spring, we, in fact, considered what might be the budgetary gains from relaxing our warning assumptions. And the basic conclusion was a small relaxation isn't going to get you very much and a large relaxation is going to get you into exactly the problem Senator Cohen was talking about.

So, we don't wait for every "i" to be dotted and every "t" to be crossed to take account of these things, but your point about the process being a slow one is fair, and we've tried to kick it ourselves.

SEN. NUNN: If Senator Glenn would just yield one point on this point, you say on page -- well, point five of your testimony, quoting you, "This is -- that is the basic reason we are not now recommending a change in warning planning factor; that is, the minimum time we might have to send initial air and ground reinforcements to Europe." And you go on to say, "We intend to revisit this decision as the strategic situation becomes clear, particularly in the event a CFE agreement is achieved." So, you're basically saying we are not changing the threat assessment, based on this warning time increase. Is that what you're saying?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: That is correct.

SEN. NUNN: Okay. If you're not doing that, how is Secretary Cheney announcing that we're going to have substantial budget cuts based on reduced threat?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Because of what I said. I think the much more substantial reduction in the threat is what's going to come as a result of a CFE agreement, which is going to eliminate 30,000 Warsaw Pact tanks from east of -- (inaudible)

SEN. NUNN: So he's recommending budget cuts this year, based on an anticipated outcome of a CFE agreement at the end of next year, is that right?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Let me try to state it as well as I can. I mean, there have been a lot of stories about cuts. What we have been looking at in DOD is basically to take the view that if we see an environment out in 1994 where we can have significantly reduced forces, then we ought to look today at what that environment's going to look like, look at what the changes would be, and think about backing some of those changes into the present so that, for example, we don't spend money today on capabilities that in fact we're not going to want four years from now.

That doesn't mean he's proposing radical budget cuts this year. And he -- in fact, we don't have a budget yet this year. He'll be up to present it to you in a month. And he'll talk then about how this 1991 budget relates to those larger changes we expect in the future. But, that's the kind of dynamic planning we're trying to do now.

SEN. NUNN: Well, basically, you're saying he's doing with intuition what you

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do not want to do with any formality? You're not -- you've got -- you've got greatly increased warning time by your own assessment, but you're not plugging it into the planning factor, and you've got the Secretary of Defense basically making projections based on his intuition of whether the CFE talks are coming out. I mean, isn't it better to make the changes in the threat assessment?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: No, Senator. Take, for example, the fundamental question of our reinforcement goal of getting 10 divisions in Europe in 10 days. I mean, that is a fundamental planning factor; it is related to warning. If we would attempt to relax that a little bit, it would not make a significant difference in the budgets. I mean, there may be some changes that, in fact, we could recommend right now based on some slight relaxation. If we were to attempt to relax it substantially and let's say give up the idea of reinforcing by air and do all of our reinforcement by sea, then, in fact, our warning time would disappear. We'd go back down to unreinforced Soviet attacks and we'd be in a very dangerous situation.

SEN. NUNN: I understand that. But, when we have this budget presented in January -- and it's going to be coming down for the first time in a long time by the President's own submission; it's been cut by Congress over the last four or five years -- what are we going to base the reductions on? If you're not changing the planning factors, if you're not changing the basic threat assessment, I don't understand what you're basing the budget cuts on.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Well, let me say, I think the biggest reductions are not the ones that will come this year, but the ones that will come three or four years from now based on changes that we expect to be much bigger three or four years from now --

SEN. NUNN: But, you're making very substantial cuts this year.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: The President hasn't made any decisions about this year's budget, and until he does, I can't tell you whether this is substantial or not or what they're based on.

SEN. NUNN: We've already seen a number reported in the Washington Post.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Not everything in the Washington Post is accurate, Senator.

SEN. NUNN: Well, I've heard that, and confirmed by many people in the administration. I just --

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Well, the numbers I've seen in the Washington Post, if you plot them on a graph, are very big four or five years from now, and relatively small this year.

SEN. NUNN: What's the number, 292.15?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: That's a number I've seen in the paper, yes, Senator. (Scattered laughter.)

SEN. NUNN: We just don't seem to be making the budget based on threat. That's -- that's the puzzling thing. It looks like we're back to intuition, an intuition by the Secretary of Defense as to what the outcome of arms control talks are going to be. I don't say that shouldn't be considered. But, I'm saying that when you get fundamental changes -- and greatly increased warning time is a fundamental change, there is no doubt about it.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: It is a fundamental change, but it's --

SEN. NUNN: And when you get that, then why doesn't the building accept that and start revising the threat assessment and make it on a logical basis? That would make the whole budget process logical. But, maybe that's something we don't ever want to do.

Let me yield. Senator Glenn.

SEN. GLENN: Well, let me follow up on that a little bit. We have to be legislative partners in this. But, we can't do legislation by leaks. If you do, you just invite everybody under the sun to set up their own defense budget, and then we have all these fusses about what's going to be cut and what isn't

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going to be cut. I don't know that we really have a clear answer to what was in the Chairman's letter, yet.

Let me ask a couple of questions specifically. Has this revised warning time been adopted by NATO?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: No it has not, Senator. That's one of the processes that's underway at the moment, is an examination of our assessment of warning with those of our allies who have their own sources of intelligence, and frankly their own planning factors that they use.

SEN. GLENN: Will this -- will these revised assumptions be the basis for the '91 budget and for the '91 to '95 fit-up?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Clearly the revised threat assessment is going to be something we have in mind as we do the '91 budget and as we do the fit-up beyond that. But for the reasons that I have explained in my statement, what the intelligence community estimates in terms of available warning is not the same thing as what a decisionmaker or planner wants to assume in terms of usable warning. Therefore, we don't simply take an intelligence estimate and turn that into our planning factor. We base our planning factor on how we think our own capabilities will produce a situation of lowest risk.

SEN. GLENN: General Butler, did the JCS have this estimate in December of '88?

GEN. BUTLER: I'm not sure which estimate you're referring to, sir, but I can tell you that we worked closely with the intelligence community and OSD policymakers and the formulation of current plans based on the kind of information that the intelligence community has been putting together.

MR. ALLEN: Senator Glenn, those were some building blocks on which we drew in order to complete the warning estimate in September. There were other factors on which we drew which were not -- certainly not completed in December '88, including some national estimates. The Joint Staff and General Butler and his staff have all of our estimates.

SEN. GLENN: Well, did DIA agree with these revised warning time assumptions?

MR. ALLEN: The warning estimate that was completed in September is a consensus document of the intelligence community of the United States.

SEN. GLENN: And DIA did not dissent from that, General Butler, is that correct?

GEN. BUTLER: Sir, I'd have to defer --

MR. ALLEN: No, sir.

SEN. GLENN: How many other studies do you know of that are like this that are leakable items here that we are going to find as a surprise one of these days? Have we been given access now, or have the proper committees here been given access to studies like this that are going to affect our deliberations come late January when we have to start working on the next budget?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Senator, I can't assure you about leaks. We deplore them as much as you do and we're trying to deal with what is --

SEN. NUNN: Let me ask you, these are very basic fundamental things, warning times, what we can rely on as the Chairman has pointed out, we have to deal with transportation and very expensive systems to cope with revised warning times or lack thereof. And I am just concerned that there are other studies like this that we'll hear about a year and a half from now that we won't have -- be able to take advantage of when we start our budget hearings after the first of the year.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Senator, we're making an attempt in a time of enormous strategic change to be as forthcoming as we can, so that we can build a national consensus about how to respond to these changes, because I think everyone would acknowledge it is a period that is really history-making, and I think it's important that we move forward together, executive branch and Congress together.

SEN. GLENN: This report was out in -- classified study in May, the administration, all during the year clear up until late September, Secretary

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Cheney was still saying September 27th, quote, "Despite all the rhetoric about reducing their military budget, Soviet defense spending has actually increased an average of 3 percent per year in real terms since '85," and it wasn't until late last month that senior administration officials stopped public assertions of higher Soviet military spending. Now is that just a coincidence that that stopped after we had the budget passed for the year?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Senator, that happened because somehow it wasn't until November that the CIA felt they could predict what Soviet spending would be for 1989, and you'd have to ask them why in fact they can do it before the year is over, but I talked to them in detail and I am persuaded of that.

At the same time that Secretary Cheney made those comments, and I have made those comments, we have also been saying over and over again that the Soviets promised to cut their defense budget, and that in this particular case, not because we tend to believe their promises but because of the enormous budget pressure they are under, we expect their budget to come down. But until this year it had not come down yet, while ours had been coming down since 1985. Those are all points that we made.

Cheney was the first person to announce publicly what is probably the single biggest reduction in Soviet defense effort, and that was back in September when he announced the major reduction in tank production. So, you know, contrary to some newspaper stories that will take a particular quote and then suggest we've been misleading, I think if you look at the total record of what's been said, it's been a very honest attempt to try to present a complex and changing picture to the American public.

SEN. GLENN: We have to start dealing with this about five or six weeks from now, regardless of what happened in the past, on a study that -- classified study in May and whether it leaked or didn't leak, and all that stuff. What can you tell us -- can you comment on what we are actually seeing right now, today, in Soviet defense spending?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: We think that in 1989, largely because of reductions in conventional spending, not in strategic forces, that we will see a slight reduction in Soviet defense spending for '89 as opposed to '88.

SEN. GLENN: In what particular --

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Bear in mind this is by our own estimates. The Soviets do not give honest estimates of their own defense spending and we are forced to do a lot of guessing and a lot of indirect measurement. If our measurements are correct, their spending increase during the first four years of Gorbachev rule, by about two to three percent a year, while ours were declining by about the same amount. But starting in 1989, we think due to things like the reduction in tank production, that their expenditure is finally going to start to decline. If you say "How much will it decline in the future?" There is not a lot to go on. Gorbachev says that over the next two or three years it will go down 14.2 percent. They are very precise, it's always "point two percent," but when you ask, "Well, how much is the budget?" We're not quite sure. The figures they publish, we think, underestimate by about half.

SEN. GLENN: What other areas beside tank production have gone down?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I -- I'd have to get you the details for the record, Senator. But, particularly, as I said, in conventional forces, and particularly in ground force equipment production, strategic forces expenditure, I believe, is estimated at this point, which is, remember, two months before the year is over even, is estimated to be about level. And I believe expenditure on naval forces modernization is about level. But, we could get you -- I am sure the agency can get you an estimate --

SEN. GLENN: Okay. I'd appreciate that for the record, if you could, please. What reductions --

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MR. WOLFOWITZ: It would have to be classified, may I emphasize.

SEN. GLENN: Yes. Okay. Fine. Whatever. What reduction in manpower do we see them making? Do we have estimates of that -- for the coming year so we'll know whether we have to match that or not in some way?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I believe with the overall reduction -- unilateral reduction -- that Gorbachev announced is a 10 percent reduction, which on the one hand may not sound like a large percentage, but that means almost half a million men, they are so big. A lot of that will come from the Soviet Far East. There's a big reduction on the Chinese border.

SEN. GLENN: Do we see those actually occurring yet?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: We do see them occurring, and I can't tell you -- again, I can tell you for the record exactly at what point they are. But, I'd also emphasize, we can't afford to match them. We didn't match them as they built up to a five million man armed forces, and we can't match them soldier for soldier or tank for tank as they build down.

SEN. GLENN: Can you give us an estimate of the nature of their forces? Are they going to more mobile forces? Are they still with the heavy set-piece land warfare-type forces that we've been concerned about in Europe? Can you give us the nature of the new Soviet military?

GEN. BUTLER: That's one of the imponderables, Senator, that leads to the kind of uncertainties that Mr. Wolfowitz outlined here. The Soviets have discussed at some length, principally in declaratory forms, their intentions to go to a defensive-defensive doctrine and to restructure their cadres.

SEN. NUNN: General, could you pull that mike up just a little?

GEN. BUTLER: Yes, sir. But, at this juncture, we have not seen anywhere near the kind of concrete evidence of how the Soviets will either take the unilateral cuts. And certainly, what they might propose to do in the aftermath of CFE reductions as a basis to change our own strategy or force posture.

SEN. GLENN: Will there be new intelligence estimates given to us at the same time or about the same time as the new budget is received here on Capitol Hill?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I assume that the time the budget comes up that the current intelligence assessments will be made available. Whether that's precisely it, for example, in the case of the process we just talked about, it doesn't mean that every agreed assessment is necessarily complete at this point.

SEN. GLENN: Well, what I'm concerned about is that we are left right now with a year-old May -- classified study in May or whatever, unless this is revised. Now, I'm concerned that we have a lot of changes here going on and that we have the very latest information that is concurrent with the submission of the new budget.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Well, Senator, that assessment -- revised assessment on warning is available right now if you want it. In classified session, we could go over the details of it this morning.

SEN. GLENN: My time is up, Mr. Chairman.

SEN. NUNN: Thank you, Senator Glenn.  
Senator Warner?

SEN. WARNER: Mr. Chairman, I would simply once again come back to the credibility of what we're trying to do. Now, we're going to act on another document to your strategy report which is to accompany the budget. Is that going to be a warmed over item or is that going to reflect in real time the changes in the world?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Senator, we try not to have warmed over documents. We try to do things in real time, but let me underscore real time is changing faster and the pace is almost dizzying. And trying to get it right so that we don't move too fast but that we still move is the challenge. And we will give you the best and most up-to-date that we can, but that doesn't mean that we're going to assume

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that the whole world has changed when, in fact, we haven't seen those changes yet.

SEN. WARNER: Back on a little note of trivia here, I had a quick bit of research done on that quote. I'm going to put that quote up in my office. The accurate quote is "There go the people. I must follow them, for I am their leader." The quote is attributed to a man named Alexander Ladru-Rollin, who was a leader in the February revolution of 1848 in France.

But I really think it's one of those things you ought to pin up on your wall -- (laughter) -- because we can talk in neat terms of threat strategy, translated into dollars in the budget, but outside the halls of Congress are some very active constituents in growing large numbers. And unless we have a real tight -- as Senator Glenn said -- partnership with the President, predicated on sound, real-time information, we might see that constituency get way out ahead of both the leaders in the Executive branch and the Legislative branch.

So, I want to support the President. And I think the sentiment around here is we all want to keep pace. We don't want to let these events outpace the arms control, which is a unique chapter in our history that we have right now, in the history of the world to make good, credible, balanced, verifiable arms control agreements and reduce these forces. So, it's going to take a lot of strength and muscle power around here, in my humble judgment, to hold the dike. Get that arms control process completed before we realize whatever peace dividend may be reached. So, so much for that. And I'll pass this up to you for your --

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Thank you, Senator.

SEN. NUNN: Senator Cohen?

SEN. COHEN: Mr. Wolfowitz, Senator Glenn asked you what was the reaction of our allies to the shorter -- or longer warning time that we now have, and you said that we are currently discussing this with them?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I believe that's correct. (Aside.) Charlie, can you speak to that?

MR. ALLEN: Yes, Senator Cohen. We have briefed NATO's military committee, I and my colleagues, on the estimate, in a closed session.

SEN. COHEN: Am I correct that at least two countries are showing some strong resistance to the notion of having a longer warning time -- or accepting our assessment about having a longer warning time?

MR. ALLEN: I think that this will be a subject of considerable discussion with our NATO allies, particularly when we get into MC-161 discussions and deliberations here in the spring. There are two countries, yes, that do not totally share our conclusions.

SEN. COHEN: And the reason they don't -- is there any reason why we can't talk about those two countries in open session?

MR. ALLEN: I would prefer not to, sir.

SEN. COHEN: Well, let's call them X and Y. Is their -- the reasons that X and Y are reluctant to accept this new, revised warning time because of domestic politics, in part?

MR. ALLEN: I wouldn't want to characterize that. I think there are some honest and genuine differing perceptions on capabilities of Warsaw Pact forces.

SEN. COHEN: Well, let me just deal in hypotheticals for the moment. Let's suppose that we start cutting back. Senator Warner has fired a shot, a warning shot saying unless we're able to predicate our budget upon sound intelligence, sound planning, then we're not going to be able to hold a line. Constituents will demand that we make massive or substantial reductions well beyond what might be militarily prudent. Assume we find ourselves in the situation where, perhaps, let's say, that Germany, by way of example, starts looking at US cutbacks, we start cutting back on our programs.

I can foresee the SPD, maybe even the Greens saying, well, look what the

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United States is doing, they're cutting back on various programs and we should go further. And the pressure will be on domestically in that country, I would imagine, to cut even further unilaterally. Is that not a realistic possibility?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: It's a real concern, Senator. It's why we've put such a stress on consulting closely with our allies about our plans.

SEN. COHEN: And if they, in turn, start cutting back, I know that Senator Nunn has issued his own warnings about our troop reductions being a ceiling and not a floor; that if we see other countries starting to make unilateral reductions, we may be in a position when it comes up for the defense authorization bill to start making even further reductions, not to take our reductions as an absolute guarantee that that number of forces will remain intact in NATO.

So we have a situation in which, if we start making reductions without tying it to a specific strategy which is based upon an up-to-date, real-time intelligence assessment, if we have that

situation, we start making cuts which could come on the Floor, Europeans, Germany, in particular, might respond unilaterally, we in turn respond to that, and you have really the dissolution of the Alliance almost on a unilateral, tit-for-tat basis.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: You're definitely right to warn of that, and I think that's a reason why we need to work even all the harder to achieve what Senator Warner described in terms of a reasonable consensus about where we're going. I would not be as alarmist, though, as that scenario describes. I think we're doing reasonably well in developing that consensus. I think the kind of reception that Secretary Cheney got at the Defense Planning Committee in Brussels, the kind of reception the President got after the Malta meeting reinforces my conviction about that. And it is partly a matter, too, that we need to move some or we'll lose control of the whole process.

SEN. COHEN: It's not just a question of persuading the leadership. I think we have a situation, especially in Europe, where the leaders may be very solidly behind maintaining our

current posture, and which the people are leaving. They're outrunning that. They're saying we don't want it anymore. We've gone too far. There's no threat. So, I think there's going to be even more pressure in the European states -- countries than here domestically in -- for several months.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I think you're probably right about that.

SEN. COHEN: What would be the prospects of seeing a reunified and relatively disarmed Germany? What kind of dangers would that pose in your judgment?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I think it would seriously weaken the whole Western collective security system, and I believe it's that system that, in fact, provides the stability and the peaceful environment in which we can contemplate enormous change taking place without having to worry about it.

SEN. COHEN: Is it your judgment that President Gorbachev also feels that way?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: It's a little hard to say, but I would say the sense one got in Malta was yes, and that sense is reinforced by the events earlier, which I think one of your colleagues referred to, that after an initial period when they were making speech after speech about the dissolution of the blocs, they backed away off of that and he even warned people against doing it. So, I think maybe they will see some advantage in that measure of stability, but I would underscore, whether they see an advantage or not, it is an advantage and we've got to keep hammering away at that.

SEN. GLENN: Bill was done.

SEN. COHEN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

SEN. NUNN: Senator Glenn.

SEN. GLENN: I'm concerned about the budget reflecting strategy and not the other way around, the budget getting out in front of strategy. And just saying

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because we've always had a budget of so and so, why now we'll just have a percentage cut of so and so. And we're in a -- as you pointed out earlier, we're in a very, very rapidly changing time period here. Is the budget we're going to get in January, is it going to reflect all the events of the last three months? The budget is already put to bed in the Pentagon. We know that. It's just being hassled out over at OMB now. Is it going to reflect what really has occurred in the last three months?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: You mean what's occurred in Eastern Europe, Senator?

SEN. GLENN: Yes.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Well, I can't forecast precisely what the president is going to decide and what the secretary is going to bring up here. I think, in fact, the kinds of events that we've seen in Eastern Europe, while they are dramatic and in the long term they may be significant, I think are a little too quick to factor them immediately into defense posture and start regulating your defense posture on that basis. I do believe that the 1991 budget and even more the six-year defense program beyond that is going to reflect the kinds of changes that we expect to see taking place in the future. We're trying, in fact, precisely to do as you say, not to just make percentage cuts across-the-board, but in the era of scarce resource, to take the cuts in areas where, in fact, the threat has declined so that we have the resources for the kinds of contingency Senator Cohen was talking about, that if anything may be worse in the future.

SEN. GLENN: Where all these things come together -- for the foreign policy decisions, the defense decisions, the intelligence decisions -- is at the NSC level. Has the Defense department been receiving guidance on what they would like to see in this next year's budget and what our military strength should be in next year's budget?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: There have been extensive discussions with the President, with Secretary Cheney and General Powell, and with the National Security Advisor. There's been -- I can't tell you exactly how many, Senator -- but very intensive discussions about precisely these issues.

SEN. GLENN: Along this line of directing where the thrust of the new budget reflecting the changed strategic situation in Europe.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Yes, Senator.

SEN. NUNN: Thanks, Senator Glenn. Senator Cohen, do you have any other --

SEN. COHEN: Well, just the point I don't know that has been clarified yet, Mr. Chairman, and that is, how we handle this with respect to our NATO alliance. Now, here we are, in the middle of trying to get an agreement or a consensus on our NIE as such, to get them to accept our assessment of warning time, and apparently, that's going to be difficult -- it's not going to be simply a matter of snapping our fingers and saying, "We've got the intelligence. We've got the military capability which now makes it less likely that the Soviets could mobilize an attack in a very short period of time." If there is reluctance within the NATO alliance to accept this new estimate, certainly it's going to be equally difficult, it seems to me, to get them to change NATO doctrine as far as our force structure is concerned.

So, it's not something that's going to happen overnight, it's something I agree -- all of us are concerned -- it's how we put the program together. But, I think that it's not fair to characterize the administration's policy at this point as not being responsive and moving rapidly enough if we can't have our allies acting in concert with us. I think it's going to take some time. We have to put more pressure on perhaps to accelerate the negotiations with meetings or consultations or whatever you want to call them. But, I don't know that we can change our doctrine and our strategy and do it unilaterally and still maintain the integrity of the NATO alliance. It's going to -- it seems to me, we've got to bring them in as part of it and that's not moving as rapidly

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as one would anticipate. Is that a fair statement, Mr. Wolfowitz?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I'm not sure it's moving particularly slowly. I mean, we want them to move in concert with us, but we've also got to think about moving in concert with them. They have considerations that we've got to look at. And there is this difference, Senator, which has come up several times in the course of discussing our own posture between what your intelligence community believes you'll have in terms of intelligence warning and what your planning factors are going to be, and for us a crucial variable in deciding the planning factor is this question of what means do we use for reinforcement. For some of our allies that's not the critical variable.

SEN. COHEN: Let me -- what happens if X and Y don't accept our intelligence estimates?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Each country can make its own unilateral decisions about warning time.

SEN. COHEN: Assuming X and Y don't accept it, we move forward with changing our own strategy?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I -- it would depend on exactly what not accepting it means, and it would depend on what kind of changes we propose to make.

SEN. COHEN: Well, if they don't accept the estimates and they decide they don't want to accept a change in doctrine, where does that leave us?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I guess I'd like to cross that bridge if we get to it, Senator, but in fact I believe you can have some coordination on the kinds of force posture you want even if two different countries are making somewhat different assumptions about the warning that will get you there.

SEN. COHEN: I was only suggesting, Mr. Wolfowitz, it's a bit more complicated than simply saying, "We've got a new national intelligence estimate that changes our view of how much warning time is involved." And if we don't have our allies -- the key allies involved in NATO -- to accept that, there's going to be reluctance, it seems to me, for them to integrate their force structure in a way that we think is desirable.

And that is going to complicate it somewhat, so it's not as easily done as one would like to see. That's all I'm saying.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: That is absolutely right.

SEN. NUNN: Senator Cohen, one historical footnote here. We may stipulate for the record that country X is not Brunei. (Laughter.) Last time --

SEN. COHEN: And more than \$10 million is involved.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: That's right. (Laughter.)

SEN. NUNN: Mr. Wolfowitz, we talk about warning time. Senator Cohen's point is well taken about the NATO alliance and how long it gets to take -- how long it takes to change things there. But isn't it really true that some of our allies never have accepted the shorter warning scenario to begin with?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: That's correct. There are different assessments --

SEN. NUNN: We've had -- it's not like we all have the same assessment now, is it?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: No, we don't. And in the end, what we need to have is coordinated force planning so that by whatever means we get there, we have some agreed plans about how we will reinforce and what roles we will each perform.

SEN. NUNN: Isn't it also true that a number of the NATO nations have always believed they had -- we had a longer warning time that we have, so that this reassessment moves more nearly toward their position, rather than away from it?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: That's correct of some of them, Senator, and others who have said it's shorter. There's a spectrum. And that spectrum, I believe, is tied not to domestic politics so much, Senator, as to the fact that there -- for some of them they are not distinguishing between warning in the strict sense of intelligence and warning in the sense of how they structure their forces.

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And for some of them it's terribly important to maintain, for example, the right mix between active forces and reserve forces, to focus on that short warning.

SEN. NUNN: Let me ask a question of Mr. Allen. Mr. Allen, without getting into great detail on the substance, but I do need to get some impression from you on this. We hear in public all the time from our NATO commanders, and I think with some considerable reason, that NATO runs out of ammunition in, quote, "days not weeks or months," end quote. Numerous countries run out of ammunition in very short periods of time. That has not appreciably changed in the last couple of years.

Have you taken that into account in basically increasing the warning time based on improved Allied capabilities, the sustainability levels?

MR. ALLEN: No, we have not discussed the sustainability. We talk about how the Soviet military planners would look at the force needed for a successful employment against NATO --

SEN. NUNN: You're talking about the initial thrust?

MR. ALLEN: That's right, up unto the point of attack. We do not address sustainability. That of course is addressed and we are struggling with that whole issue of sustainability.

SEN. NUNN: You working on that one now?

MR. ALLEN: Other senior officials, other senior intelligence officials have been looking at that issue.

SEN. NUNN: Can we expect something on sustainability, both of our forces and the Soviet forces, or which way is it?

MR. ALLEN: It would be on the Soviet forces and Warsaw Pact forces. I am not certain of the completion date of that particular effort, because that's a very complex, and also a very contentious issue as I understand.

SEN. NUNN: It seems to me, to get a real assessment of warning time you'd have to take into account the sustainability of our own forces. Are you saying the Soviets are simply going to measure the initial thrust and not look at how long the forces can be maintained on the Allied side?

MR. ALLEN: Soviet military planners take into account all aspects of US and NATO forces, and looking at the force and weight needed to attack NATO. They also, of course have to look at how long it takes them to mobilize, how long it takes them to move, they have to look at the readiness of their forces and their capabilities for offensive operations, as well as the manning levels. So there are a whole series of factors that a Soviet planner would have to address in order to determine how much time, as the Secretary said, would be required to prepare his forces what would be a successful attack.

SEN. NUNN: Mr. Wolfowitz, let me just ask you a couple of final questions here, see if we can capture where we are now.

First of all, I guess you would agree with me that warning time is a fundamental factor in terms of planning, strategy, budgets, and so forth?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I do agree it's fundamental, Senator, but I also think that it's importance is sometimes exaggerated in some of the stories that we've read for reasons that I tried to explain in my opening statement.

SEN. NUNN: But you agree that it is a very important factor?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Very important.

SEN. NUNN: Now would you agree that the warning time that you have does have an effect on strategy?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Yes, I do.

SEN. NUNN: And would you agree that strategy has an effect on budget?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Yes, I do. I'd say by the way also, Senator, strategy and budget have an effect on warning time. We are in a circle here, which I've tried to say over and over again, and that's one of the reasons why --

SEN. NUNN: But see, what you're assuming there is that if you change your

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warning time your budget automatically goes down. That's not necessarily the case. If you couldn't meet the standards under the previous warning time, having additional warning time doesn't necessarily mean you're going to cut the budget.

We've never been able to meet the warning time to short warning. We've never been able to get our assets over there in time, we've never had enough air lift, we've never had enough sea lift, and what I sense creeping in over there in the building, pardon me for putting it this way, is a reluctance to change the planning factor because you think Congress and everybody is going to then assume we're going to greatly reduce the budget. So what you're doing is reducing the budget without changing the planning factor. And you're losing your logic and you're making the whole situation worse. I don't say that -- I don't think you should start with the assumption that just because you've changed the warning time, the planning factor, that everybody's going to conclude up here on the Hill that we're going to have to have massive budget cuts.

I know, and I think a lot of people -- I know Senator Cohen and Senator Glenn and others who've followed this -- that we've never been able to meet the short warning factor. So the fact that you raise it as a planning factor does not mean that you're going to automatically have budget cuts. But the fact that you are not taking account, in effect, and state that you're not going to take into account the new warning time as a planning factor means that your own budget process loses some of its credibility.

I don't whether I'm making my point clear or not.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I -- Mr. Chairman, I think what you're saying is that the warning time has finally caught up with our shortfalls.

SEN. NUNN: That's right.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Yeah.

SEN. NUNN: That's right. It's -- we're getting into a more realistic posture because we have additional warning time. But if the building over there is taking the position you aren't going to change any planning factors, I don't know what -- what do we need intelligence estimates for? I felt intelligence estimates were supposed to be plugged into the planning factors. But you've got a new intelligence estimate out now and you basically are saying you're not going to plug it in.

I don't understand it. I think it's something we can go on and on about it but I think it's something you all ought to reexamine between now and January.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Senator, it's true we have never met our M+10 reinforcement goal but we've made substantial progress in that direction and we've improved our capability significantly. And it's that improvement, I believe, that's gotten the Soviets' attention and has produced the longer warning time that we're able to talk about today.

So, if you talk about changing the planning factor, does it mean changing the planning factor -- just say, well, stop where you are now because that's pretty good? Okay --

SEN. NUNN: See -- that's what you're assuming. This is how we get in trouble. Everybody sort of hedges over here on this side of the river so that -- because you think --

MR. WOLFOWITZ: No, no -- we're not talking about the river.

SEN. NUNN: -- the reaction on the other side of the river --

MR. WOLFOWITZ: We're talking about what signals we want to send to the people who're preparing service budgets and putting them together, and what sort of reinforcement goals we want to set for them. And, and -- do you want to, in fact --

SEN. NUNN: But you're not going to meet that -- what do you call it -- M+10?

MR. WOLFOWITZ: We, we --

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SEN. NUNN: You're not going to present him with the five-year plan you have now.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: That's correct but we come a lot closer than we did before.

SEN. NUNN: But why not make it realistic, based on the threat? And then you might even be able to achieve it.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: If you, in fact, adjust it all the way to the warning that we expect to have, Senator, there are all kinds of things that you could just do away with. And in the process, you'd be dependent on a very slow-reacting posture that would get you into trouble. So I believe there is some room to adjust the planning factor in ways that may actually have useful impacts on our planning and on our budget, but it doesn't mean we take a number that comes out of the intelligence community and plug it in, and say now it's --

SEN. NUNN: I'm not saying you have to take the exact number. You may want to -- but you're saying you're making no adjustment, that's what you're saying here.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Well, I'm not saying no adjustment, I'm saying we have to be very careful about how we adjust, and we can't make -- we don't yet see some broad way to simply change the factor from 10 days to 12 days, let's say, and have that be useful. We perhaps, with better analysis, will come up with a way to do that.

SEN. NUNN: We might even find if we adjusted that warning time planning factor, that we might be in better sync with our allies. My impression -- and I'd have to go back and look at countries X, Y, Z and others -- but my impression is that we've always had a shorter warning time than they have. I've happened to have agreed with that shorter warning time; I think that that has been more realistic than their assessments. But I believe that by coming to a more realistic planning factor now in warning time, we'd be moving more towards a coherent NATO position.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Well, we'd be moving closer to some, but away from some others. And we might be encouraging some to go into excessive reliance on reserves, which again creates -- (inaudible) --

SEN. NUNN: Well, based on what I read from Germany, coming out of Germany, and they've said it in the paper -- we don't have to give them any encouragement. They're moving with a five-year plan to dramatically cut their forces.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Yes, but you know, Senator --

SEN. NUNN: Which is what I was worried about last September when they were saying it wasn't going to happen.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Well, that's exactly what you're trying to warn against with your amendment, and which we've been trying to push against.

SEN. NUNN: They are now saying, subject to arms control -- I think that's wise. I hope they stick to that.

Senator Glenn, do you have (any more?)?

SEN. GLENN: I do, indeed. I just want to make one statement here.

We wrote into this year's defense authorization bill a requirement for a study that I think can be one of the most important studies we've done in a long time in the context of the time and the changes in Europe, and that was this review of the total force concept and the split of functions between the regulars and Reserves and the Guard and whatever. And it's been 13 years that that policy has been in effect; we have never examined it thoroughly.

And here we are at a time when we know we're going to be reducing our forces.

And that's much tougher than building forces, when you decide what to cut.

That's tougher than when you have a big blank checkbook and everybody is building.

And we know that some of the things that we've done in the past have just flat-out not worked, and others have been superb. You take Air Guard and Reserve and all those -- they've been performing their functions, and quite often out-compete the regular squadrons, or at least they're on a par with

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them, they're excellent. You take the Army Reserve now, the ground forces, and they're 45 percent not combat-ready.

And we can't go on just playing like this doesn't exist, which we have over the past four years that we've been talking about it. The combat support units, combat service support service support units just aren't there, if we really went to war; and when we're reducing is a time when we can change some of these things.

We're talking about warning time, we're talking about mobility of getting forces around the world, we're talking about a time for mobilization. We can't -- we can't make those judgments on this committee unless we know what roles are going to be performed by the regulars and by the reserves. And at a time when we're trying to reduce our budgets, there's going to be a big hue and cry to put more in the reserves, more in the reserves, more in the reserves, because it's a little bit cheaper. It's also maybe not necessarily what we ought to do as far as being combat ready for certain scenarios.

And I think we said that that study should be done by the end of this year.

It's due to us on December 31st -- of '90, rather, I'm sorry. Not this year, but on '90. And I think -- I don't think we can wait that long.

I think we need to be working very closely together on that study as we go along so we get some guidance out of it this year. Because this year is going to be a critical year. I don't have any doubt that we're going to start some major cuts this year. I think some of them will be premature. I agree with the Pentagon position that we don't want to move too fast on some of these, but I also know when the tide's here, we're not going to be able to shovel it back out to sea either.

And we're going to make some cuts. I don't have any doubt about it. I want those cuts to be educated cuts. And we're not going to be able to do that unless you give us this total force policy study concept on what's working and what isn't.

Medical -- we say 80 -- we assigned -- just to give an example -- 80 percent of combat medical comes from the reserves, and yet we're short 71 percent doctors, we're short 66 percent nurses. That translates to 7,000 doctors and 31,000 nurses short. That's not what we have; that's short, if we went to combat right now.

And you've sat in the war games and you know when you get to that point in the war games where you have casualties, why then you go to this old rhubarb of saying, well, we're going to rely on host nation support in this for the rest of this game. At the same time, we know realistically the host nation has their own casualty problems at that point. That's just one little example.

We need to examine these things so we know how to cut so we wind up with forces that are best tailored to the scenario -- the scenarios we see most likely in the future that we're preparing for.

And so, that isn't a question as much as just a plea to please get the people over there going on this study and work with us on this and keep us informed on it, and let's work together. It's going to be manpower, it's going to be mobility, some of it will be hardware, some of it will be transferring forces from the regulars to the reserves, some of it that isn't working may be transferred reserves to the regulars. But as we have this opportunity to mold whatever smaller force we're moving toward, we've got to do it in an educated way.

And that's what that total force concept study was supposed to do. And we need that. We can't wait till the end of '90 to get that thing. We're going to have to work together on it, I think, as we go along through this year. So, I hope you can carry that message back to the Secretary and whoever will listen over there because we want that to be a very thorough study. It can give us

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guidance for the future.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: We will do that, Senator.

SEN. NUNN: Thank you, Senator Glenn. Let me join in supporting Senator Glenn's plea on that, Mr. Wolfowitz. I hope this study will be reviewed by your office very carefully and by you because it is a key.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: We will do so.

SEN. NUNN: We will not have the executive hearing today. We wanted to get as much of this out in public as we possibly could. Mr. Allen and General Butler, we will hear from you later though, and I think now you have a good idea of what we'll be asking you when we do have the executive session.

Mr. Wolfowitz, thank you for being here. We appreciate you being here and we've, I think, clarified some points. And I hope you'll take into account some of the points made here today.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Thank you, Senator.

SEN. NUNN: And thank the Secretary.

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## The Associated Press

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HEADLINE: With Cold War Thaw, Public Likely To Demand a 'Peace Dividend'

BYLINE: By WALTER R. MEARS, AP Special Correspondent

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Walter Mears

## BODY:

The search for the elusive peace dividend is under way, and in an election year, with the Cold War thawing, the government is going to have to deliver one in 1990. After watching the Berlin Wall come apart, the voters are likely to insist on defense cuts more drastic than the administration deems wise.

Even though Pentagon planners say real savings are not likely to flow from events in the Soviet Union and its freed satellites until later, the peace dividend is too politically appealing to be postponed.

"When the tide's here, we're not going to be able to shovel it back out to sea, either," said Sen. John Glenn, D-Ohio. He forecasts major cuts but worries that some may be premature.

A Republican senator suggests the Pentagon should recall the words of Alexander Ladru-Rollin, a leader in the French revolution of 1848: "There go the people. I must follow them, for I am their leader."

Reduced defense spending next year will have more to do with the demands of deficit reduction and with plans that already were in place than with the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe and the arms cuts now under negotiation with the Soviet Union.

The budget benefits that flow from those changes will come later, in 1991 and beyond, Pentagon planners say. But patient, cautious business as usual won't satisfy the political demands of the year ahead.

"We can talk in neat terms of threat strategy, translated into dollars in the budget, but outside the halls of Congress are some very active constituents in growing large numbers," said Sen. John W. Warner, R-Va. "And unless we have a real tight ... partnership with the president, predicated on sound, real-time information, we might see that constituency get way out ahead of both the leaders in the executive branch and the legislative branch."

The Associated Press, December 14, 1989

Warner made that observation at a Senate Armed Services Committee hearing last week. Senate Democratic leaders have asked that panel and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to consider the changes in the Communist bloc and weigh their impact on spending.

The new year will bring dozens of congressional inquiries in both House and Senate as lawmakers look at potential savings and debate what to do with the money.

That debate may produce more sound than substance. At the end of every war, hot or cold, there's a wave of optimistic speculation about what will be done with the resources that no longer have to be spent on the military. The results don't match the expectations, sometimes because of postwar recessions, sometimes because the money has to go to old, unmet needs or to new ones that stem from the conflict just ended.

Former President Ford says any money freed by the easing of the Cold War should go directly into deficit reduction, not into new federal spending.

President Bush has said that would be his plan. But he also has said it is premature to be talking about a peace dividend.

Ford said there wasn't any after the Vietnam War. He said it was absorbed by federal spending. It also was absorbed by a soaring inflation rate.

"We really never saw any beneficial result with the cutback . . . after Vietnam," he said at an American Enterprise Institute forum. "It scares me that we'll make the same serious error when it comes to whatever dividend you get."

President Bush is expected to propose a \$292 billion Pentagon budget for the fiscal year that begins next Oct. 1, less than the last administration budget sought, but more than Congress actually approved for the current budget year. Not much dividend there.

The administration warns that changes in the East and arms cuts promised by Moscow are incomplete and reversible. "If we attempt to pocket too quickly the benefits that we anticipate, then we risk undercutting the very strategy that has brought us to the brink of success," Paul G. Wolfowitz, undersecretary of defense, told the Senate hearing.

Wolfowitz said he'd plead guilty to caution, and that the Pentagon can foresee more substantial cuts in four or five years.

With department stores selling chunks of the Berlin Wall as \$10 Christmas gifts, caution and patience are going to be hard to maintain.

"Unless we're able to predicate our budget upon sound intelligence, sound planning, then we're not going to be able to hold a line," said Sen. William Cohen, R-Maine. "Constituents will demand that we make massive or substantial reductions well beyond what might be militarily prudent."

EDITOR'S NOTE - Walter R. Mears, vice president and columnist for The Associated Press, has reported on Washington and national politics for more than 25 years.

Listen to his roll call: Graduate of Washington & Lee and UVA. // And how 'bout those Cavs in the NCAA. // Been Secretary Secretary of the Navy -- and a great Director of the Bicentennial Commission. // And since 1979 John's been such a superb U.S. Senator that a certain local paper praised "his breadth of insight and attention to detail." // Just goes to show you: Even The Washington Post is sometimes right. //

((Truth is: It's this very experience which has made John Warner one of only two people who qualify as my senior, intimate advisors with a shock of white hair. // Right, Barbara? // In fact, when I told her I was going to a fundraiser for a man who always stands out on TV because of his hair, Barbara said, "I didn't even know Phil Donahue was running for something.")) //

He's not. But John Warner is. He's running as a voice of common sense -- that third quality which so typifies Virginia. Running on priorities like national defense. The environment. Education. Transportation. Care for our children and our elderly. Freedom from crime and drugs. Great goals -- obtainable. But only through leadership that brings straight talk and calm thought to the 1990s.

First, we want a strong America -- for a strong America is an America at peace. Some talk of a peace dividend. A reminder: There is no greater dividend than peace itself. John Warner can -- and already is -- ensuring peace as ranking Republican on the Senate Armed Forces Committee. // ((And the thing is: John

# John Warner Speech - Acknowledgements

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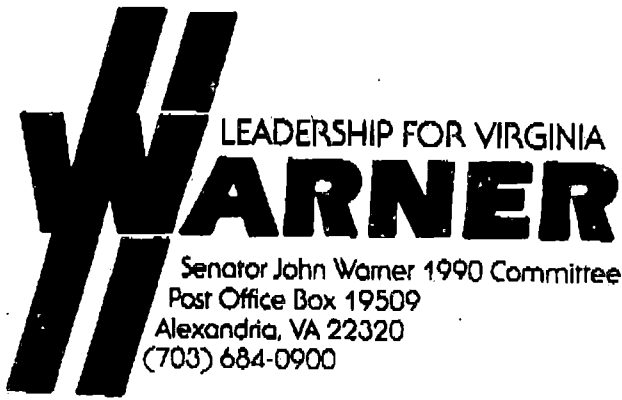
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## Lenin statue gets the heave-ho

By CATHERINE AAMS

BUCHAREST, Romania (UPI) — It took nearly as long as the revolution itself, but engineers finally succeeded Monday in knocking down a 7-ton statue of Lenin that symbolized communist rule for three decades.

The provisional government gave engineers the go-ahead to remove the monument Saturday after a weeklong hunger strike and anti-communist demonstrations around its base on Free Press Square.

But Lenin turned out to be as tough a foe as Nicolae Ceausescu, the hard-line communist dictator who was driven from power Dec. 22 and executed three days later.

About 300 people cheered as the 20-foot-high bronze figure was finally hauled off its pedestal with steel cables looped in a noose around its neck. The imposing figure had stood in the square of the national press offices for 30 years.

Engineers tried to pull the statue down on Saturday, but it refused to budge. They finally used blow torches to painstakingly sever the iron bars pinning Lenin's feet to the huge marble platform.

As two cranes lifted Lenin clear of the pedestal on Monday, an Orthodox priest in black robes jumped onto the marble block and raised a large gold crucifix to the applause of the crowd.

But Lenin's steely black likeness gave workers trouble to the end.

"Look Lenin won't lie down," shouted a spectator as engineers struggled to bring the figure, dangling above the crowd, to the ground.

Part of the crowd scattered as the statue suddenly lurched menacingly toward them. It was brought to rest a few moments later.

Now that it is finally vanquished, the monument, daubed with yellow paint by protesters, is expected to join Stalin in storage until its fate is decided.

Some say it will be melted down and molded into church bells.

Other more cynical bystanders joked that the government is probably planning to relocate the statue at a more prominent site — perhaps in the capitol.

"It's a diversion by President (Ion) Iliescu," said architect Maricus Popescu, 36, of the government's decision to remove the monument.

"The statue has no importance for us. More important is the building behind. That's the real symbol of communism," he said, pointing to the government-run newspaper offices considered by some critics to be the seat of political propaganda.

Gorton Carruth and Eugene Ehrlich



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# THE HARPER BOOK OF AMERICAN QUOTATIONS

40 All good books are alike in that they are truer than if they really happened and after you are finished reading one you will feel that all that happened to you and afterwards it all belongs to you.

ERNEST HEMINGWAY, *Death in the Afternoon*, 1932.

41 The first thing naturally when one enters a scholar's study or library, is to look at his books. One gets a notion very speedily of his tastes and the range of his pursuits by a glance round his bookshelves.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, SR., *The Poet at the Breakfast-Table*, 1872.

42 The foolishlest book is a kind of leaky boat on a sea of wisdom; some of the wisdom will get in anyhow.

Ibid.

43 The mortality of all inanimate things is terrible to me, but that of books most of all.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, letter to Charles Eliot Norton, April 6, 1903.

44 No book is of much importance; the vital thing is, What do you yourself think?

ELBERT HUBBARD, in *The Philistine* magazine, published from 1895-1915.

45 This will never be a civilized country until we expend more money for books than we do for chewing-gum.

Ibid.

46 The only reason for the existence of a novel is that it does attempt to represent life.

HENRY JAMES, "The Art of Fiction," in *Partial Portraits*, 1888.

47 As long as mixed grills and combination salads are popular, anthologies will undoubtedly continue in favor.

ELIZABETH JANEWAY, quoted in Helen Hull, *The Writer's Book*, 1950.

48 I cannot live without books.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in a letter to John Adams, June 10, 1815.

49 Books constitute capital. A library book lasts as long as a house, for hundreds of years. It is not, then, an article of mere consumption but fairly of capital, and often in the case of professional men, setting out in life, it is their only capital.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in a letter to James Madison, September, 1821.

50 The pleasant books, that silently among  
Our household treasures take familiar  
places,

And are to us as if a living tongue  
Spake from the printed leaves or pictured  
faces!

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW, dedication, *The Seaside and the Fireside*, 1849.

51 The love of learning, the sequestered nooks,  
And all the sweet serenity of books.

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW, "Morituri Salutamus," *The Masque of Pandora*, 1875.

52 For books are more than books, they are the  
life

The very heart and core of ages past,  
The reason why men lived and worked and  
died,

The essence and quintessence of their lives.

AMY LOWELL, "The Boston Athenaeum," *A Dome of Many-Coloured Glass*, 1912.

53 All books are either dreams or swords,  
You can cut, or you can drug, with words.

AMY LOWELL, *Sword Blades and Poppy Seed*, 1914.

54 Books are the bees which carry the quickening  
pollen from one to another mind.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, "Nationality in Literature," a review of Longfellow's *Kavanagh*, published in the *North American Review*, July, 1849.

55 What a sense of security in an old book which  
Time has criticized for us!

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, "Library of Old Authors," *My Study Windows*, 1871.

56 To produce a mighty book, you must choose a  
mighty theme. No good and enduring volume can

of rare intellect, we  
e read.

ges of a book written

"The Man of  
graphical Sketches,

you do not see more  
fore; you see more in

Number Can Play,

thousand years hence  
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the same comfort.

fairs of a Bibliomaniac,

ny Books.

Poor Richard's Almanack,

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ld in general.

Hampshire," *New*

ned. They won't burn.

USWOLD, *Essays on*

uts between the two cov-  
roperty; whatever of him-  
is his private property, as  
written a word.

untry *Living and Country*

undly is to be condemned  
profits little by what is

Reading," published  
Item, April 22,

New York: Today, partly cloudy and cold. High 34. Tonight, partly cloudy. Low 25. Tomorrow, cloudy, cold, flurries possible. High 34. Yesterday: High 40, low 23. Details are on page D7.

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## DEMOCRACY FORCES EXPRESS OPTIMISM AS RUSSIANS VOTE

### BIG CITIES' EARLY TALLIES

#### Many Independents Reaching Runoffs of Local Elections in 3 Slavic Republics

By **BILL KELLER**

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, March 4 — Voters in the Slavic heartland of the Soviet Union went to the polls today in an exercise of limited democracy that pitted an array of grass-roots challengers against the vast Communist Party patronage network.

Pro-democracy groups said tonight that based on early, sketchy returns, they were hopeful of ousting the old guard Communist rulers of Moscow, Leningrad and other cities, and of creating bastions of political and economic freedom.

More than a million seats in local and republic councils and assemblies were at stake in the Russian republic, the Ukraine and Byelorussia, three republics that account for most of the Soviet land mass and for 70 percent of its population.

#### A Wider Real Franchise

It was the first time that the principle of competitive elections was extended to the local councils, which are being given extensive new powers to carry out, or thwart, the greater political and economic liberties approved in Moscow.

The balloting offered greater and wider electoral choices than voters in these areas have ever enjoyed, but these were not multiparty races. Instead, seats were being contested by old-fashioned Communists seeking to cling to power, newer-style Communists seeking to replace them, and people who are not party members.

The stiffest resistance from the old guard was in Byelorussia, where the party apparatus was unabashedly using every artifice of law and politics to thwart the opposition. [Page 6.]

#### Runoff Voting in 2 Weeks

Official returns were not expected before Monday, and the full outcome will not be clear until runoffs in two weeks, but opposition groups said the first reported precincts confirmed their optimism.

Returns reported by opposition poll-watchers in Moscow and Leningrad showed that advocates of greater democracy were poised to win both city councils and most of the cities' seats in the Russian Parliament, but only after a second round of voting.

Several leading party officials were

Continued on Page A8, Column 4

Soviet Union

# In Minsk, the Candidates of Dissent Stand Up to a Bare-Knuckled Party

By FRANCIS X. CLINES  
Special to The New York Times

MINSK, U.S.S.R., March 4 — The candidate had been well smeared by broadsides stuffed at the last minute into the mailboxes of the tenement warrens of Communism in the dawn of Election Day in Byelorussia.

As he raced floor to floor through the tenements, trying to set the record right, Gennadi I. Grushevoy rang doorbells, begging surprised, suspicious people at their partly open doorways to ask him questions about the truth.

"I've come to tell the truth, comrades," he said, frantically trying to protect his reputation from the handbills' allegations of Nazism, and to shield his insurgent's campaign from defeat at the hands of the local Communist Party.

For all the Soviet political dissidents' pain and struggle, this Election Day was encouraging for them in making clear the party's deepening desperation in its attempt to stay alive and dominant.

In the Byelorussian republic, run by perhaps the most resistant and formidable party machine, voters could witness fledgling, stunted democracy forcing a perversely encouraging phenomenon into Soviet politics: the opposition was putting poll watchers on guard in large numbers against widely held fears of vote corruption by the government itself.

"We expect the party is resorting to widespread fraud," said Zyanon Paznyak, a leader of the insurgent Popular Front of Byelorussia, who likened the party to a cornered animal thrashing dangerously.

"These fights can only make us stronger," he said, accusing the provincial police and others of trying to interfere with the poll watchers. But he said they were determined to witness any shaved totals, invented voters, even ballots cast from the graveyard — the nefarious stuff of established democracies that heretofore had been unnecessary in the 98-percent landslides of the party's old monopoly victories.

**'The Power of Words'**

"We are just learning what democracy is," said Mikhail Tkachev, a candidate and deputy chairman of the Popular Front. "We are fighting for it against a bare-faced 'partocracy,' and believe me, it is not easy. But we are doing it without bloodshed. We believe in the power of words."

As voters went to the ballot box across the Slavic heart of the nation in the Ukraine and Russian republics as well as here, no Communist Party was putting up a more head-on fight, declining to pander to or flirt with the opposition as in other regions. In the last two months the bosses of the Byelorussian machine used every rule and more in the party-scripted official election law to try to keep serious challengers from the voting lists.

For weeks, patronage loyalists in



The New York Times/March 5, 1990

Voters went to the ballot box in the Ukraine and Russian republics as well as in Minsk.

tributing opposition platforms were arrested.

But the opposition was only more emboldened. The Popular Front, denied republic registration to print its own pamphlets, trucked in anti-party tracts printed in the more sympathetic Baltic republics. Imaginative young nationalists wheeled a funeral urn right up to the government center as a convenience into which loyalists were invited to face the future and "throw away your party cards."

The party finally reacted to such stings by having its stalwarts in the republic parliament pass an outright ban, two days after the ballots were set, on

**'We are just learning what democracy is,' a dissident says.**

voters' selecting any candidates of the most challenging insurgent groups running under the banners of the Popular Front, the Society for the Byelorussian Language and the Ecological Union.

At this, the public rebelled and demonstrated peacefully a week ago, even spontaneously seizing broadcast time on the party-controlled television station to accuse the party of gross abuse of the democratic process. The party finally retracted the ban after the opposition prepared to complain directly to the United Nations.

**'The Big Cheeses Must Hide'**

"Now the big cheeses must hide in the farthest boondocks," exulted Va-

ment in an obscure, supposedly safer rural district. The government gave two new tractors to the local farm collective, but the insurgents were saying the bribery was no match for their corps of poll watchers dispatched to the village for the occasion.

Ivan I. Lipsky came into the front's headquarters Friday night with a black eye, a swollen nose and a big smile, certain that the thugs who had set upon him as he campaigned were emissaries from a desperate party apparat.

"The party has ignored all the laws about fairness and packed the press with lies," he said, describing the insurgents' handicaps. "All the party people in my neighborhood were given a day off to deliver pamphlets while the rest of us had to work. You cannot have true pluralism until we have a fair election law."

**A Legacy From Chernobyl**

The party has denied the charges of pervasive fraud and claimed its practices were fair and according to law — a law dictated by the party through the Communist-dominated republic parliament, the 360-member chamber the insurgents are challenging in today's vote.

"Only people with strong nerves, the fighters, made it this far," said Pyotr v. Sadovsky, a candidate, Popular Front leader and author of some of the most articulate demands aroused by the Byelorussian public's escalating fears about the Chernobyl nuclear plant explosion four years ago.

Most of the radiation clouds drifted onto Byelorussian farm communities, and the villages are still being haphazardly evacuated, residents complain, by an all too secretive Government.

"A year from now we will have caught up with the democratic progress of the Baltics," Mr. Paznyak contended, noting that the popular front was less than a year old and was proscribed by the government, yet was giving the party a fight in which, by some estimates, insurgent candidates might take half the seats in the parliament.

**An Insurgent Agenda**

Mr. Paznyak looked ahead to an insurgent parliamentary agenda that will include the thorough disestablishment of the party from government, a move to a market economy rather than the dictated plan of the national government, and the first steps toward an economic confederation of like-minded reform governments that insurgents say will sooner or later come to power in the Soviet Baltics and the Ukraine.

Such plans seemed well beyond the tenement horizon as Mr. Grushevoy anxiously rang voters' doorbells to respond to the handbill that smeared him as a Nazi sympathizer. Listeners at the doorways soon were agreeing that he was the victim of another ham-handed Communist tactic.

"Seventy years of Communism and



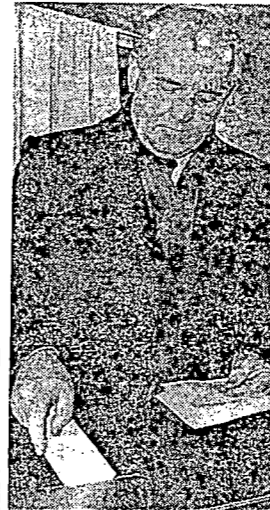
Boris Yeltsin, the maverick reformist deputy, at a polling place in Moscow with his wife, Naina.

## Reformers Optimistic After Soviet Voting

Continued From Page A1

reportedly eliminated from the running in Leningrad, but in Moscow, the Communist Party leader, the current Mayor and at least one regional party secretary were said to have advanced to the runoffs.

Boris N. Yeltsin, already an opposi-



tion leader in the Soviet national legislature, was reported far ahead in his contest to represent Sverdlovsk in the Russian Parliament, a post he hopes to parlay into the presidency of the largest republic.

At polling places in Moscow, voters interviewed today seemed nearly unanimous in their desire to remove the vast Communist Party bureaucracy that they blame for keeping the country poor and under rigid control, although many were bewildered about whom to trust in place of the old guard.

"If you don't know much about the candidates, you look at what they do," said Svetlana Popova, a programming engineer, as she emerged from a schoolhouse polling place in southern Moscow. "If it's the secretary of a party committee or the director of some bureaucracy, you scratch out the name right away."

**'The Others Are Compromised'**

She was voting down the line for the slate endorsed by an alliance called Democratic Russia, which promises to goad President Mikhail S. Gorbachev toward full democracy and a market economy, and supports slates made up of non-party candidates and dissident Communists.

"All the others are compromised in our eyes," said Marina Frukova, the wife of a military officer, interviewed in northern Moscow. "Look around you. Materially we have empty shelves, and morally we have dishonesty and hypocrisy."

A year ago, competition was intro-

outside polling places to air their discontent.

"Gorbachev is still a child of the Stalin epoch," said A. E. Kuzyakova, a 52-year-old office worker who voted the Democratic Russia ticket. "His first years in the Politburo, he made no attempt to improve things. O.K., he had no allies. But Sakharov had no allies, and we know now how he suffered for us."

The name of Andrei D. Sakharov, the human rights champion who died in December, seemed to be election-day magic, with many voters invoking his name to explain the qualities they wanted in their representatives, or to praise candidates who had been associated with him.

In the absence of legal parties, the Communists have been challenged by various movements espousing democratic, nationalist or patriotic themes.

The Democratic Russia alliance appeared to be by far the best organized, electoral force in Moscow, distributing election day palm cards in mailboxes and using the newspaper of Mr. Yeltsin's parliamentary opposition group to advertise its slate.

In Leningrad, the unpopular party leader, Boris Gidasov, declined to run for local office. But an alliance called Democratic Elections '90 said that

**The old guard still has a few tricks, like**

# In Russian Farm Village, Issues Are Down to Earth

By ESTHER B. FEIN  
Special to The New York Times

YEKIMOVKA, U.S.S.R., March 4 — By noon today, when the morning shift had finished tending the dairy cows on the state farm in this small village, nearly all the eligible voters had cast their ballots at the polling station. Only 14 holdouts remained, mostly those who were still out doing their chores.

But no matter. Their choices would have no effect on who would be chosen to the new rural council that for the next five years will govern the 685 residents of the five settlements that make up this dairy and grain farm in central Russia. The council has 21 positions and exactly 21 people were nominated for those slots.

The candidates were nominated by their neighbors, said Valentina V. Litovchenko, chairman of the rural council and an unopposed candidate in today's election. "The population is very small here. Everybody knows everybody else."

## No Insurgents Visible

The political insurgents who are using today's elections to try to shake the status quo in cities around the Soviet Union are nowhere to be seen in this snow-crested pocket of Russian farmland, where people seem comfortable with the traditional paternalism of rural Soviet life.

Faced with multiple candidates vying to represent them in the Russian republic's parliament, people here were so taken aback that the farm's election commission set up chairs around the polling station for people to sit down, read the lists and gather their thoughts before entering the voting booth.

Here the issues of election day are not major reforms of the country's political system, the emergence of a nationwide multiparty system or even changes in the way the farm is operated. Instead, Yekimovka's residents pressed the candidates they nominated to bring them three tangible benefits: a shopping complex, a new kindergarden with a swimming pool and renovation of the dilapidated local hospital.

"We live here on the farm very differently from the way they live in the city," said Pyotr Kocherzuk, who has spent the last 14 harvests driving a combine on this farm, and his winters running any other machinery.

Mr. Kocherzuk is a man fairly contented with his work on the farm and with the life his wife, Maria, has made



The New York Times/Esther B. Fein

"We live here on the farm very differently from the way they live in the city," said Pyotr Kocherzuk, who works on a state farm in Yekimovka, U.S.S.R. He and his wife, Maria, consider the fact that they have spent nine years waiting to buy a car to be a symbol of how the upper echelons of power have abused their positions for personal gain.

for them in their two-room apartment, and he seems filled with a lot of the idealism that brought him here from another state farm in Soviet Kazakhstan.

## 'Many Years' Wait for a Car

This jovial and effusive man is not bothered by being told, season after season, what to plant and how much of it to plant, or by living in an apartment when he would really rather have "a small one-story house, with a little garden, a dog, some piglets and a cow." He was not even bothered that the rural

council chairman burst in unannounced on his leisurely Sunday afternoon, foisting foreign visitors upon his family.

What irks Mr. Kocherzuk is that he has spent nine years waiting in line to buy a car, and he fears at age 48 that by the time his turn comes to buy one, "I'll be so old, I'll be good only for an armchair."

Although he considers himself apolitical, Mr. Kocherzuk's difficulty in buying a car is a symbol to him of how the upper echelons of power have abused their positions for personal gain and

convenience. As he sees it, cars and other hard-to-find items are snapped up by party apparatchiks and divvied up among their families and acquaintances.

So although only vaguely familiar with organized political opposition groups, like Democratic Russia and the Interregional Group of Soviet Deputies, he used the one election where he had a choice to make a statement against Communist power.

In the race for the Russian parliament, Mr. Kocherzuk snubbed all the party and Government leaders and voted for a local doctor who had once treated him, because "someone who works himself understands labor and people better. The higher-ranking guys have all drifted away from the people."

## Some Comfort, but Little Choice

Mr. Kocherzuk's unfruitful quest to buy a car is typical of the troubles described by other people who live and work the reluctant land here in Yekimovka. They seem to enjoy the prescribed life of a state-run farm, with its limited set of choices, including whom to vote for in today's elections.

By the standard of many Soviet farms and villages, and even compared with some cities and towns, life here is comfortable. The apartments have hot and cold running water and heat, the farm shop is well stocked with its own cheese, sausage and meat and with other unusual items, like infant formula, instant soup and detergent.

But the orchestrated life that shields people here from much decision-making does not protect them from the serious shortages that plague Soviet citizens. And to them, these issues of everyday life were far more important on election day than whether they had a choice of candidates, or whether a radical bloc of deputies would win control of the Russian parliament.

Tatyana and Anatoly Buchkov and their three small children have been living next door to the Kocherzucs for two years. But in that time, the only furniture they have been able to buy is a kitchen table, a desk, a few chairs and two beds. One room in their three-room apartment has nothing but a rug and a television set.

"Not even beds and mattresses for all the children, although we have the money to buy them," said Mrs. Buchkov, who is quick with a smile despite her young family's desperate situation. "Why should I give much thought to elections? People in Government talk and talk and they don't do anything."

The turnout today appeared to be much lower than that last year — under 70 percent, according to unofficial estimates — reflecting confusion at the large number of little-known candidates and some disenchantment with the results of last year's dose of democracy.

## Limitations of the Vote

The elections fell well short of the unhindered, multiparty democracy already under way in several countries of Eastern Europe. Rivals to the Communist establishment are not yet allowed to organize as formal parties here, so they operate hand to mouth. Meanwhile, the Communists in some places pulled out all stops to assure victory for their candidates.

In Tula, south of Moscow, authorities were caught several days before the elections with printed sheets of election results, the Soviet youth newspaper Komsomolskaya Pravda reported. Embarrassed election officials reportedly explained that the tally sheets, which showed Communist Party officials winning handily, had been printed as a test.

Even in places like Moscow and Leningrad, where the democracy advocates mounted comparatively sophisticated campaigns, they were hampered by a thicket of Communist-written election laws, and by a seemingly deliberate effort to keep voters baffled as to which candidates were loyal to the ruling party.

President Gorbachev was not a candidate in local elections, but he stopped outside his polling place and confirmed to reporters that he "will not decline" nomination to a new, more powerful presidential post that he wants the Soviet Parliament to create.

Mr. Gorbachev was often a target of unsparring criticism as voters stopped

early returns showed Communist officeholders being spurned all over the city.

Newspapers and magazines sympathetic to patriotic and Russian nationalist groups also endorsed candidates, but in Moscow, at least, most of them appeared to have little support.

The most promising candidate of the Russian right was Ilya Glazunov, a flamboyant artist who has advocated creation of a monarchist party. Running in the precincts of northern Moscow for a seat in the Russian republic's parliament, he appeared locked in battle with a former Moscow prosecutor, Vladimir I. Oleinik, who was backed by Democratic Russia.

Another hard-line contender, Aleksei A. Sergeev, a leader of the conservative United Workers fronts, found some support in southern Moscow.

## A Psychologist Talks Tough

Vladimir G. Aseyev, a psychologist interviewed after voting in the Gagarin region, said he cast his vote for Mr. Sergeev over the Democratic Russia challenger.

"I don't subscribe to the principle 'the more democracy the better,'" he said. "We have extremists, and in some regions there is a certain unreadiness for democracy. Our Asian regions have shown this. We have to beware of instability and chaos."

In the Ukraine, the popular movement called Rukh, which combines human rights, pro-democracy and nationalist groups, reported that 90 percent of its candidates appeared headed for the runoffs.

Vladimir A. Ivashko, who took over as Communist Party chief last year, reportedly advanced to the runoffs against a Rukh candidate.

# Soviets Said to Seal Uzbek City After Clashes

MOSCOW, March 4 (AP) — Security forces reportedly sealed off a city near Tashkent, the Uzbek capital, today after clashes with demonstrators. Officials said at least one soldier had been killed, but a protester reported many dead.

It was not immediately clear what led to the violence in Uzbekistan, the cultural and geographic heart of mostly Muslim Central Asia.

Yadigar Abidov, a spokesman for the Uzbekistan grassroots organization Berlik, said by telephone from Tashkent that soldiers had surrounded the city of Parkent, about 30 miles from Tashkent, and would let no one leave or enter. He said a regional Communist

Party leader had been stoned to death by protesters, but officials denied it.

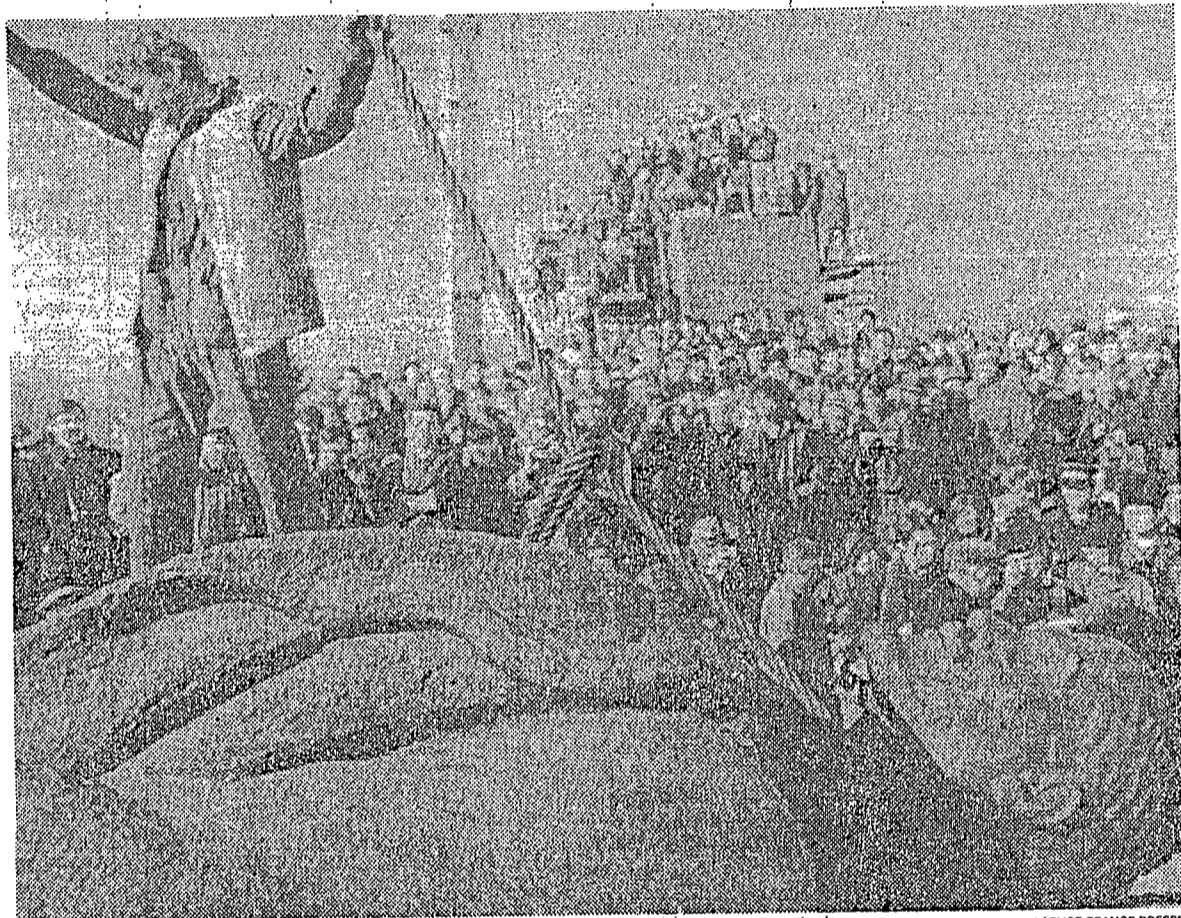
Grigory Kuplin, a spokesman for the Interior Ministry in Moscow, said at least one soldier had died in a clash between demonstrators and Interior Ministry troops Saturday. He said he had no information on other dead or wounded and knew nothing of a curfew in Parkent, a city of 200,000.

The republic of Uzbekistan has been the most recent area of the Soviet Union to erupt in violence as President Mikhail S. Gorbachev loosens decades of tight Kremlin control. Twenty-two people were killed in rioting in Dushanbe, the capital of neighboring Tadjikistan, last month.

# Washington Post

TUESDAY, MARCH 6, 1990

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AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

## DOWN AND OUT IN BUCHAREST

The statue of Soviet founder Vladimir Lenin is pulled down in Bucharest, the Romanian capital, by workers using a heavy-duty crane. The dismantling of the 30-foot, seven-ton bronze statue was described as reflecting a break with the Communist past. People clustered in the background watch from the pedestal where the statue stood.

## Soviet Reform Forces Score Heavily

*Party Stalwarts Humiliated in Elections in Three Slavic Republics*

By David Remnick  
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, March 5—Scores of Communist Party apparatchiks have suffered humiliating election defeats to former political prisoners, environmentalists, strike leaders and other reform advocates, according to results emerging from Sunday's voting for regional and municipal offices in the Soviet Union's three vast Slavic republics.

Among the winners were political maverick Boris Yeltsin, two brothers who helped found the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the leader of the reformist Byelorussian popular front and a scientist who spent years in prison for publishing a human-rights journal. Because of the massive

number of candidates competing for offices in the three republics—Russia, Byelorussia and the Ukraine—there will be hundreds of runoff elections in two weeks.

In many ways, these elections are transitional, bridging the old single-candidate, one-party political system and the rise of a true multi-party system. Unlike last month's elections in Soviet Lithuania—which included candidates from Social Democratic and Christian Democratic groups—Sunday's elections permitted participation by independent political movements, but not officially registered opposition parties.

Despite their organizational disadvantages, independent popular movements such as Democratic

Russia and the Ukraine's Rukh scored numerous electoral victories.

In many races, candidates presented only vague programs, but they could not escape their political pasts. A lifetime of work in the Communist Party generally proved to be the worst sort of liability. But to be a maverick, an independent or, perhaps best of all, a former political prisoner, was usually a winning badge of integrity.

After casting his vote Sunday, President Mikhail Gorbachev said he hoped that the elections would bring "new blood" into the political process. Yeltsin, a former member of the Communist Party's ruling

See SOVIET, A18, Col. 1

# Pro-Reform Movements Prevail

SOVIET, From A1

Politburo who now leads the opposition in the national legislature, won more than 75 percent of the vote against 11 other candidates in the Ural Mountain city of Sverdlovsk.

Speaking in Amsterdam, Yeltsin said today that the victory of independents and reformists provides "the possibility to strengthen reforms and allow new measures to be taken." Yeltsin, who is beginning a seven-nation tour to promote his autobiography, called the vote "a referendum on *perestroika* reforms," and said the results "reflect that people have had it worse, not better, than before."

Yeltsin said he has not decided whether to make a bid for the presidency of the Russian republic, a post now held by Politburo member Vitaly Vorotnikov, a conservative who won his race in a rural district near Krasnodar in southern Russia.

Other winners in Russia include Sergei Kovalyov, who served a prison term in the Brezhnev era for editing the human-rights journal *Chronicle of Current Events*, and Vladislav Starkov, whom Gorbachev threatened to fire from his post as editor-in-chief of the country's most popular newspaper, *Argumenty i Fakty*.

The late Soviet human-rights campaigner Andrei Sakharov described Kovalyov as a man of "exceptional honesty" before Kovalyov's trial in 1974. He was convicted, sentenced to a labor camp and nearly died there, surviving only because Sakharov waged a world-wide campaign to have him transferred to a hospital in Leningrad. Before Sakharov's death last December, he endorsed Kovalyov for a seat in the Russian legislature.

Last year, Gorbachev berated Starkov and suggested he be fired for publishing an opinion poll unflattering to the leadership. Starkov fought back in articles and interviews published abroad, defending himself in large part, he said, by means of "the Yeltsin phenomenon"—that is, "daring to get into a spat with the leadership. The people appreciate that."



BY BRAD WYE—THE WASHINGTON POST

After months of tense negotiations involving party ideologists, his job now appears safe.

In Moscow, a center for dozens of independent political organizations, other legislative winners include Alexander Politkovsky, a frequent host of the popular late-night television program *Vzglyad*, and, in municipal races, two young reformists—Sergei Stankevich, a specialist in Western parliamentary procedure, and Ilya Zaslavski, a disabled textiles specialist who has become an advocate for pensioners and the handicapped.

In Leningrad, a spokesman for the reform group Democratic Elections 90 predicted that its candidates would win 80 percent of the municipal races.

Many of the leaders of the Ukrainian democratic movement Rukh, including poet Ivan Drach, former political prisoners Mikhail and Bogdan Horyn and Vyacheslav Chenovil, won seats in the Ukrainian legislature. The Horyns are the founders of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the republic's leading human-rights

group. Drach said Rukh would probably win a quarter of the republic's legislative seats and become the "creative opposition" to the Communists.

In Byelorussia, which is still dominated by a powerful conservative party apparatus, party leader Yefrem Sokolov won a legislative seat. But opposition leaders gained some victories in Minsk, the capital. The leader of the republic's grass-roots popular front, Zenon Poznyak, and the head of the environmental group Children of Chernobyl, won seats in the legislature.

"It was amazing to watch the process in Minsk," said Sergei Lukyanshikov, a Byelorussian filmmaker. "I stood outside a balloting area and heard old people on a bench, people who have been under the party thumb for years, talking about how they were going to go in and vote for every popular-front person they could find on the ballot."

In runoff elections in Lithuania, the independence movement Sajudis won 18 of 28 seats and now has a secure majority in the republic's legislature.

REMARKS: KUSSUTH SQUARE  
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY  
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

Steph

MR. PRESIDENT, MY HUNGARIAN AND AMERICAN FRIENDS.  
THAT GREAT POET OF THE 1848 REVOLUTION, SANDOR  
PETOFI [SHAHN-DOOR PET-OO-FEE], ONCE WROTE, "LET ME  
ADDRESS YOU IN THE NAME OF MILLIONS." TODAY, LET ME  
ADDRESS YOU IN THE NAME OF MILLIONS WHO CONVEY THEIR  
WARMEST GREETINGS: THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

- 2 -

SIX YEARS AGO, I BECAME THE HIGHEST-RANKING  
AMERICAN OFFICIAL TO VISIT HUNGARY. TODAY, I BECOME  
THE FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO TRAVEL HERE. NOW, AS  
THEN, BARBARA AND I ARE MOVED BY YOUR RECEPTION. AND  
WE THANK YOU FROM THE BOTTOM OF OUR HEARTS.

I WANT TO SAY TO ALL OF YOU THAT I HAVE SEEN FEW  
CITIES LOVELIER THAN BUDAPEST. AND I HAVE SELDOM SEEN  
A CITY MORE ALIVE. ALIVE WITH COMMERCE, CHANGE, AND,  
ABOVE ALL, HOPE.

WHEN THE HUNGARIAN PLAYWRIGHT IMRE MADACH [IM-REH MAW-DAWCH] OBSERVED, "IT IS SO GREAT FREELY TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE GOOD AND SINFUL WAYS," HE WAS DESCRIBING THAT BELIEF -- THE BELIEF THAT OPEN EXPRESSION WOULD CONQUER TYRANNY. AND HE WROTE THOSE WORDS IN THAT TIMELESS LITERARY WORK IRONICALLY ENTITLED, "THE TRAGEDY OF MAN."

MY FRIENDS, OUR MISSION IS TO HELP YOU PROCLAIM THE VICTORY OF MAN. PROCLAIM IT PEACEFULLY, NOT VIOLENTLY.

FOR THE VICTORY OF MAN CAN HELP HUNGARY'S FUTURE BE WORTHY OF HER PAST. AND HELP HUNGARY LIVE FOR WHAT SO MANY IN THE WORLD HAVE DIED FOR: OPPORTUNITY, HUMAN DECENCY, AND SHARED IDEALS.

TODAY, FROM THE STREETS OF BUDAPEST, TO THE GREAT PLAINS, TO THE CURRENTS OF THE DANUBE, AND THE GENTLE TOWNS THAT GRACE ITS BANKS, HUNGARY'S QUEST IS POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC; RELIGIOUS, AND INTELLECTUAL. ITS APOSTLES SAY, WORK WHERE YOU WANT.

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Pedestrians, many taking advantage of the holiday sales, lining up yesterday to struggle over snowbank to get to the sidewalk at 54th and Lexington Ave.

The New York Times / Paul Heston



Traffic near Newark Airport on the New Jersey Turnpike was stalled yesterday by snow. Many motorists on the highway were stranded for hours.

The New York Times / William E. Sauro

# Washington Struck by Its Worst Storm Since 1922

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19 — The worst storm in half a century struck the nation's capital overnight with up to two and a half feet of snow and drifts up to seven feet high. The storm brought transportation, business and Congress to a virtual standstill.

The Civil Service Commission said that the majority of Government workers — those listed as "noncritical" — would not have to report for work tomorrow.

The unexpected mass of fine powdery snow effectively cut off Washington from the rest of the country as all three airports in the area shut down, as bus service stopped for the day and as Interstates 95 and 495, the major superhighways in the area, were blocked by mountainous drifts.

Many of the city's snowplows themselves got stuck trying to clear the streets. A festive air prevailed as hundreds of residents pushed through the hip-deep snow on the sidestreets and strolled on the partly plowed avenues on foot or skis, throwing snowballs and making snowmen in the bright sunshine and above-freezing temperatures.

Nearly every store in the city and at suburban shopping centers was closed, and widely advertised holiday sales were held over for at least a day. Several drugstores remained open for those who needed prescriptions filled and customers were lined up to the doors at a downtown hamburger restaurant.

There were at least two storm-related deaths. A 3-year-old girl died before fire-

men could reach her burning home, and Arthur M. Kuhl, 54, the assistant secretary of the Senate, suffered what was apparently a heart attack while walking to Capitol Hill for the traditional ceremony marking George Washington's Birthday.

Only a handful of Congressmen showed up for the annual reading of Washington's Farewell Address. And a sophisticated \$2 million system that was to televise the reading was not used because too few people showed up to operate it.

Representative William H. Boner, Republican of Tennessee, who lives two blocks from the Capitol, delivered the 1796 address to an audience of four in the House. He was dressed in a red jogging suit and had to borrow a coat and tie from a security officer to conform with House dress codes.

### Warner Delivers the Address

John Warner, Virginia's newly elected Republican Senator, delivered the address in the Senate after hitching a ride to the capital from his Georgetown home aboard one of the scores of tractors still in the city as part of a protest by farmers.

"If George Washington could make it through Valley Forge," he said, "a freshman Senator from his state could certainly tread the path from the Port of Georgetown."

The farmers, whose "tractorcade" protest badly snarled traffic in the area when they arrived two weeks ago, were giving the city a much-needed hand today. "They have been run ragged hauling nurses and doctors to the hospitals and calling out emergency vehicles," Jerry Patton, a farmer from Kansas, said of his comrades.

When the snow began at 4 P.M. yesterday, the forecasters were predicting an accumulation of two to four inches. But as dawn broke and it was still coming down, residents woke up to the heaviest snowfall since 1922. There was 18 to 24 inches in the city and 31 inches in the Maryland suburb of Bladensburg. Gov. Harry R. Hughes called up the Maryland National Guard, on a "limited authorization" basis, to transport the state police to emergencies. "Our cars are absolutely useless," a Maryland police spokesman said.

In the 1922 storm, the roof of the Knickerbocker Theater collapsed under the weight of the 25 inches of snow, killing 95 theatergoers. Early this morning six

workers narrowly escaped death in a similar incident when a 15,000-square-foot warehouse roof in Upper Marlboro, Md., collapsed on 14 beer trucks.

In Washington, the city ordered its 500 buses back to headquarters early this morning after 90 became stuck. Snow blowing onto electric rails closed the two-year-old subway system, which was expected to remain out of service tomorrow. Also closed, for the first time in its history, was Washington's national cathedral, Mount Vernon, George Washington's estate, was closed for the first time in memory on his birthday.

The three airports that were closed were National in Washington, Dulles International in Virginia and Washington-Baltimore International between the two cities. There were four-foot drifts at

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"Things are a little slow," a White House spokesman said, when asked if the President Carter would be delayed in arriving here by helicopter this afternoon from Camp David. For a while, the snowfall blocked land access to the Presidential retreat. But Mr. Carter landed in Washington on time.

Early this morning, the fashionable Georgetown section of Washington took on the air of the main street of a snow-bound New England village. In the usually busy downtown office district, skiers glided down the deserted avenues and explored their silenced city.



After day on the slopes, sledder from New Rochelle, N.Y., headed for home

The New York Times / Joe Rapone

## 151 Arrested in Baltimore Looting; Curfew Ordered

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The New York Times / Paul Hoesfros



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# THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 26, 1990

## NATIONAL GOALS FOR EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

At the historic education summit in Charlottesville five months ago, the President and the Governors declared that "the time has come, for the first time in U.S. history, to establish clear national performance goals, goals that will make us internationally competitive." The six national education goals contained here are the first step in carrying out that commitment.

America's educational performance must be second to none in the 21st century. Education is central to our quality of life. It is at the heart of our economic strength and security, our creativity in the arts and letters, our invention in the sciences, and the perpetuation of our cultural values. Education is the key to America's international competitiveness.

Today, a new standard for an educated citizenry is required, one suitable for the next century. Our people must be as knowledgeable, as well-trained, as competent, and as inventive as those in any other nation. All of our people, not just a few, must be able to think for a living, adapt to changing environments, and to understand the world around them. They must understand and accept the responsibilities and obligations of citizenship. They must continually learn and develop new skills throughout their lives.

America can meet this challenge if our society is dedicated to a renaissance in education. We must become a nation that values education and learning. We must recognize that every child can learn, regardless of background or disability. We must recognize that education is a lifelong pursuit, not just an endeavor for our children.

Sweeping, fundamental changes in our education system must be made. Educators must be given greater flexibility to devise challenging and inspiring strategies to serve the needs of a diverse body of students. This is especially important for students who are at risk of academic failure — for the failure of these students will become the failure of our nation. Achieving these changes depends in large part on the commitment of professional educators. Their daily work must be dedicated to creating a new educational order in which success for all students is the first priority, and they must be held accountable for the results.

This is not the responsibility of educators alone, however. All Americans have an important stake in the success of our education system, and every part of our society must be involved in meeting that challenge. Parents must be more interested and involved in their children's education, and students must accept the challenge of higher expectations for achievement and greater responsibility for their future. In addition, communities, business and civic groups,

and state, local, and federal government each has a vital role to play throughout this decade to ensure our success.

The first step is to establish ambitious national education goals -- performance goals that must be achieved if the United States is to remain competitive in the world marketplace and our citizens are to reach their fullest potential. These goals are about excellence. Meeting them will require that the performance of our highest achievers be boosted to levels that equal or exceed the performance of the best students anywhere. The performance of our lowest achievers must be substantially increased far beyond their current performance. What our best students can achieve now, our average students must be able to achieve by the turn of the century. We must work to ensure that a significant number of students from all races, ethnic groups, and income levels are among our top performers.

If the United States is to maintain a strong and responsible democracy and a prosperous and growing economy into the next century, all of our citizens must be involved in achieving these goals. Every citizen will benefit as a result. When challenged, the American people have always shown their determination to succeed. The challenge before us calls on each American to help ensure our nation's future.

## NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS

### *Readiness for School*

**GOAL 1:** By the year 2000, all children in America will start school ready to learn.

#### Objectives:

- o All disadvantaged and disabled children will have access to high quality and developmentally appropriate preschool programs that help prepare children for school.
- o Every parent in America will be a child's first teacher and devote time each day helping his or her preschool child learn; parents will have access to the training and support they need.
- o Children will receive the nutrition and health care needed to arrive at school with healthy minds and bodies, and the number of low birthweight babies will be significantly reduced through enhanced prenatal health systems.

### *High School Completion*

**GOAL 2:** By the year 2000, the high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.

#### Objectives:

- o The nation must dramatically reduce its dropout rate and seventy-five percent of those students who do drop out will successfully complete a high school degree or its equivalent.
- o The gap in high school graduation rates between American students from minority backgrounds and their non-minority counterparts will be eliminated.

### *Student Achievement and Citizenship*

**GOAL 3:** By the year 2000, American students will leave grades four, eight and twelve having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy.

**Objectives:**

- o The academic performance of elementary and secondary students will increase significantly in every quartile, and the distribution of minority students in each level will more closely reflect the student population as a whole.
- o The percentage of students who demonstrate the ability to reason, solve problems, apply knowledge, and write and communicate effectively will increase substantially.
- o All students will be involved in activities that promote and demonstrate good citizenship, community service, and personal responsibility.
- o The percentage of students who are competent in more than one language will substantially increase.
- o All students will be knowledgeable about the diverse cultures, history, and geography of this nation and about the world community.

***Science and Mathematics***

**GOAL 4:** By the year 2000, U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement.

**Objectives:**

- o Math and science education will be strengthened throughout the system, especially in the early grades.
- o The number of teachers with a substantive background in mathematics and science will increase by 50 percent.
- o The number of U.S. undergraduate and graduate students, especially women and minorities, who complete degrees in mathematics, science, and engineering will increase significantly.

***Adult Literacy and Lifelong Learning***

**GOAL 5:** By the year 2000, every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

**Objectives:**

- o Every major American business will be involved in strengthening the connection between education and work.
- o All workers will have the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills, from basic to highly technical, needed to adapt to emerging new technologies, work methods, and markets through public and private educational, vocational, technical, workplace, or other programs.
- o The number of quality programs, including those at libraries, that are designed to serve more effectively the needs of the growing number of part-time and mid-career students will increase substantially.
- o The proportion of those qualified students, especially minorities, who enter college; who complete at least two years; and who complete their degree programs will increase substantially.
- o The proportion of college graduates who demonstrate an advanced ability to think critically, communicate effectively, and solve problems will increase substantially.

*Safe, Disciplined, and Drug-Free Schools*

**GOAL 6:** By the year 2000, every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.

**Objectives:**

- o Every school will implement a firm and fair policy on use, possession, and distribution of drugs and alcohol.
- o Parents, businesses, and community organizations will work together to ensure that schools are a safe haven for all children.
- o Every school district will develop a comprehensive K-12 drug and alcohol prevention education program. Drug and alcohol curriculum should be taught as an integral part of health education. In addition, community-based teams should be organized to provide students and teachers with needed support.

## NECESSARY CHANGES AND RESTRUCTURING

These goals are ambitious, yet they can and must be achieved. However, they cannot be achieved by our education system as it is presently constituted. Substantial, even radical changes will have to be made.

Without a strong commitment and concerted effort on the part of every sector and every citizen to improve dramatically the performance of the nation's education system and each and every student, these goals will remain nothing more than a distant, unattainable vision. For their part, Governors will work within their own states to develop strategies for restructuring their education systems in order to achieve the goals. Because states differ from one another, each state will approach this in a different manner. The President and the Governors will work to support these state efforts, and to recommend steps that the federal government, business, and community groups should take to help achieve these national goals. The nature of many of these steps is already clear.

### *The Preschool Years*

American homes must be places of learning. Parents should play an active role in their children's early learning, particularly by reading to them on a daily basis. Parents should have access to the support and training required to fulfill this role, especially in poor, under-educated families.

In preparing young people to start school, both the federal and state governments have important roles to play, especially with regard to health, nutrition, and early childhood development. Congress and the administration have increased maternal and child health coverage for all families with incomes up to 133 percent of the federal poverty line. Many states go beyond this level of coverage, and more are moving in this direction. In addition, states continue to develop more effective delivery systems for prenatal and postnatal care. However, we still need more prevention, testing, and screening, and early identification and treatment of learning disorders and disabilities.

The federal government should work with the states to develop and fully fund early intervention strategies for children. All eligible children should have access to Head Start, Chapter 1, or some other successful preschool program with strong parental involvement. Our first priority must be to provide at least one year of preschool for all disadvantaged children.

### *The School Years*

As steps are taken to better prepare children for schools, we must also better prepare schools for children.

This is especially important for young children. Schools must be able to educate effectively all children when they arrive at the schoolhouse door, regardless of variations in students' interest, capacities, or learning styles.

Next, our public education system must be fundamentally restructured in order to ensure that all students can meet higher standards. This means reorienting schools so they focus on results, not on procedures; giving each school's principal and teachers the discretion to make more decisions and the flexibility to use federal, state, and local resources in more productive, innovative ways that improve learning; providing a way for gifted professionals who want to teach to do so through alternative certification avenues, and giving parents more responsibility for their children's education through magnet schools, public school choice, and other strategies. Most important, restructuring requires creating powerful incentives for performance and improvement, and real consequences for persistent failure. It is only by maintaining this balance of flexibility and accountability that we can truly improve our schools.

The federal government must sustain its vital role of promoting educational equity by ensuring access to quality educational programs for all students regardless of race, national origin, sex, or handicapping condition. Federal funds should target those students most in need of assistance due to economic disadvantage or risk of academic failure.

Finally, efforts to restructure education must work toward guaranteeing that all students are engaged in rigorous programs of instruction designed to ensure that every child, regardless of background or disability, acquires the knowledge and skills necessary to succeed in a changing economy. In recent years, there has been an increased commitment to mathematics and science improvement programs. The federal government should continue to enhance financial assistance to state and local governments for effective programs in these areas. Likewise, there has been a greater federal emphasis on programs that target youth at risk of school failure and dropping out. The federal government should continue to enhance funding and seek strategies to help states in their efforts to seek solutions to these problems.

Improving elementary and secondary student achievement will not require a national curriculum, but it will require that the nation invest in developing the skills and knowledge of our educators and equipping our schools with up-to-date technology. The quality of teachers and teaching is essential to meeting our goals. We must have well-prepared teachers and we must increase the number of qualified teachers in critical shortage areas, including rural and urban schools, specialized fields such as foreign languages, mathematics and science, and from minority groups. Policies must attract and keep able teachers who reflect the cultural diversity of our nation. Policies that shape how our educators are prepared, certified, rewarded, developed and supported on the job must be consistent with efforts to restructure the education system and ensure that every school is capable of teaching all of our children to think and reason. Teachers and other school leaders must not only be outstanding, the schools in which they work must also be restructured to utilize both professional talent and technology to improve student learning and teacher- and system-productivity.

#### *The After-School Years*

Comprehensive, well-integrated lifelong learning opportunities must be created for a world in which three of four new jobs will require more than a high school education; workers with only high school diplomas may face the prospect of declining incomes; and most workers will

change their jobs ten or eleven times over their lifetime.

In most states, the present system for delivering adult literacy services is fractured and inadequate. Because the United States has far higher rates of adult functional illiteracy than other advanced countries, a first step is to establish in each state a public-private partnership to create a functionally literate workforce.

In some other countries, government policies and programs are carefully coordinated with private sector activities to create effective apprenticeship and job training activities. By contrast, the United States has a multilayered system of vocational and technical schools, community colleges, and specific training programs funded from multiple sources and subject to little coordination. These institutions need to be restructured so they fit together more sensibly and effectively to give all adults access to flexible and comprehensive programs that meet their needs. Every major business must work to provide appropriate training and educational opportunities to prepare employees for the twenty-first century.

Finally, a larger share of our population, especially those from working class, poor, and minority backgrounds, must be helped to attend and remain in college. The cost of a college education, as a percentage of median family income, has approximately tripled in a generation. That means more loans, scholarships, and work-study opportunities are needed. The federal government's role in ensuring access for qualified students is critical. At the same time, the higher education system must use existing resources far more productively than it does at present, and must be held more accountable for what students do or do not learn. The federal government will continue to examine ways to reduce students' increasing debt burden and to address the proper balance between grant and loan programs.

#### ASSESSMENT

National education goals will be meaningless unless progress toward meeting them is measured accurately and adequately, and reported to the American people. Doing a good job of assessment and reporting requires the resolution of three issues.

First, what students need to know must be defined. In some cases, there is a solid foundation on which to build. For example, the National Council on Teachers of Mathematics and the Mathematical Sciences Education Board have done important work in defining what all students must know and be able to do in order to be mathematically competent. A major effort for science has been initiated by the American Association for the Advancement of Science. These efforts must be expanded and extended to other subject areas.

Second, when it is clear what students need to know, it must be determined whether they know it. There have been a number of important efforts to improve our ability to measure student learning at the state and national levels. This year for the first time, the National Assessment for Education Progress (NAEP) will collect data on student performance on a state-by-state basis for thirty-seven states. Work is underway to develop a national assessment of adult literacy. These and other efforts must be supported and strengthened.

The Governors urge the National Assessment Governing Board to begin work to set national performance goals in the subject areas in which NAEP will be administered. This does not mean establishing standards for individual competence; rather, it requires determining how to set targets for increases in the percentage of students performing at the higher levels of the NAEP scales.

Third, measurements must be accurate, comparable, appropriate, and constructive. Placement decisions for young children should not be made on the basis of standardized tests. Achievement tests must not simply measure minimum competencies, but also higher levels of reading, writing, speaking, reasoning, and problem-solving skills. And in comparing America's achievement with that of other countries, it is essential that international comparisons are reliable. In addition, appropriate, nationally-directed research, demonstration, data collection, and innovation should be maintained and recognized as a set of core responsibilities of the federal government in education. That role needs to be strengthened in cooperation with the states.

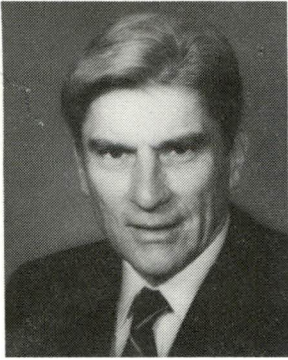
The President and the Governors agree that while we do not need a new data-gathering agency, we do need a bipartisan group to oversee the process of determining and developing appropriate measurements and reporting on the progress toward meeting the goals. This process should stay in existence until at least the year 2000 so that we assure ten full years of effort toward meeting the goals.

#### A CHALLENGE

These national education goals are not the President's goals or the Governors' goals; they are the nation's goals.

These education goals are the beginning, not the end, of the process. Governors are committed to working within their own states to review state education goals and performance levels in light of these national goals. States are encouraged to adjust state goals according to this review, and to expand upon national goals where appropriate. The President and the Governors challenge every family, school, school district, and community to adopt these national goals as their own, and establish other goals that reflect the particular circumstances and challenges they face as America approaches the twenty-first century.

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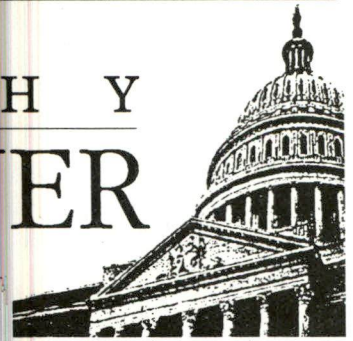
B I O G R A P H Y

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JOHN WARNER

UNITED STATES SENATOR • VIRGINIA

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BIOGRAPHY

JOHN WILLIAM WARNER, Republican from Virginia, was elected to the United States Senate on Nov. 7, 1978, and reelected to a second term on Nov. 6, 1984.

Senator Warner is the ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee, and a member of the Select Committee on Intelligence.

He also serves as a member of the Committee on Environment and Public Works, and a member of the Special Committee on Aging.

Before entering the Senate, Senator Warner carried out special assignments for the United States in government-to-government negotiations on military, scientific, economic, educational and cultural matters, which gave him a background in national security and foreign affairs.

(more)

His experience in the area of defense issues has included service from 1969 to 1973 as Department of Defense representative to the Law of the Sea talks in Geneva.

He later served as Undersecretary of the Navy, from 1969 to 1972, and as Secretary of the Navy, from 1972 to 1974.

His position as co-chairman of the Nunn-Warner Working Group on Nuclear Risk Reduction helped lead to the September 1987 White House signing by Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze of an Executive Agreement establishing nuclear risk reduction centers in Washington and Moscow.

In January 1985, he was appointed by the Senate leadership to serve with a bipartisan group of senators as an observer to arms control talks with the Soviet Union in Geneva.

He was head of the U.S. delegation to the Incidents at Sea Conference with the Soviet Navy, culminating in May 1972 with the signing in Moscow of the "Incidents at Sea Agreement," of which Senator Warner was the principal negotiator and signatory for the United States.

The agreement, covering operational movements of United States and Soviet surface and air naval forces, has been acclaimed as a successful confidence-building measure with the Soviet Union.

Before he was elected to the Senate, Warner also served as national administrator of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration from 1974 to 1976.

(more)

Mr. Warner was appointed a law clerk in 1953 to the late Chief Judge E. Barrett Prettyman of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C.

In 1956, he was appointed an assistant United States Attorney and served for four years in the trial and appellate divisions. From 1960 to 1969, he was in private law practice, specializing in bank, securities and corporate cases.

In 1944, at the age of 17, he left high school to volunteer for the United States Navy. He was released from active duty as a 3rd-class electronics technician in July 1946, and enrolled at Washington and Lee University. He was awarded a B.S. degree in basic engineering in 1949.

He then entered the University of Virginia Law School. In September 1950, he volunteered for another tour of active duty, this time in the United States Marine Corps. He served in Korea as a first lieutenant and communications officer with the First Marine Air Wing.

He was released from active duty in May 1952. He returned to law school and was awarded a law degree by the University of Virginia in 1953.

From 1967 to 1972, he was a trustee of the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral of Mount St. Albans in Washington, D.C., and from 1968 to 1979 he was a member of the Board of Trustees of Washington and Lee University.

(more)

Senator Warner is a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; American Legion; Alpha Chapter of Omicron Delta Kappa, Washington and Lee University, and Emmanuel Episcopal Church, Middleburg, Virginia.

Mr. Warner was born Feb. 18, 1927. He is the grandson of John W. and Mary Tinsley Warner of Amherst County, Virginia, and the son of the late Martha Budd Warner and the late Dr. John W. Warner, a physician and surgeon. He has three children. Senator Warner resides on his farm at Atoka, Virginia.

February 1989

# # #

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Lincoln, Abraham, Pres. U.S., 1809-1865.

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WH

t: **ABRAHAM LINCOLN:**

**His Speeches and Writings.**



EDITED WITH CRITICAL AND ANALYTICAL NOTES

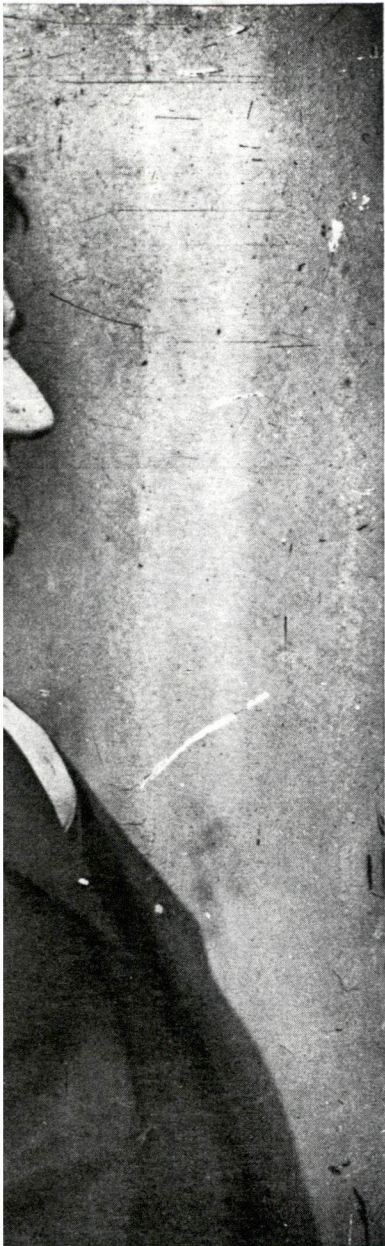
BY Roy P. Basler, AUTHOR OF "THE LINCOLN LEGEND"

PREFACE BY Carl Sandburg



THE WORLD PUBLISHING COMPANY

*Cleveland and New York*



W. B. Brady on February 9,  
in making his design for the  
in the Meserve Collection.

succeed only by concert. It is not "can *any* of us *imagine* better?" but, "can we *all* do better?" Object whatsoever is possible, still the question recurs, "can we *do* better?" The dogmas of the quiet past, are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise—with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

Fellow-citizens, *we* cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance, or insignificance, can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass, will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We *say* we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even *we here*—hold the power, and bear the responsibility. In *giving* freedom to the *slave*, we *assure* freedom to the *free*—honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless.

Abraham Lincoln.

December 1, 1862.

LETTER TO MISS FANNY McCULLOUGH  
DECEMBER 23, 1862

Executive Mansion,  
Washington, December 23., 1862.

Dear Fanny

It is with deep grief that I learn of the death of your kind and brave Father; and, especially, that it is affecting your young heart beyond what is common in such cases. In this sad world of ours, sorrow comes to all; and, to the young, it comes with bit-

terest agony, because it is learned to ever expect it. of your present distress. P time. You can not now re not this so? And yet it is again. To know this, which less miserable now. I have I say; and you need only memory of your dear Father's sad sweet feeling in your you have known before.

Please present my kindest regards to  
Miss. Fanny McCullough

*Fanny was  
lough of the 4th  
ton, Illinois, and  
lough had seen  
and early in the  
Illinois Cavalry  
Carl Sandburg,  
I, p. 617.*

FINAL EMANCIPATION  
JANUARY 1, 1863

Whereas, on the  
year of our Lord one

## ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

DECEMBER 1, 1862

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Since your last annual assembling another year of health and bountiful harvests has passed. And while it has not pleased the Almighty to bless us with a return of peace, we can but press on, guided by the best light He gives us, trusting that in His own good time, and wise way, all will yet be well.

The correspondence touching foreign affairs which has taken place during the last year is herewith submitted, in virtual compliance with a request to that effect, made by the House of Representatives near the close of the last session of Congress.

If the condition of our relations with other nations is less gratifying than it has usually been at former periods, it is certainly more satisfactory than a nation so unhappily distracted as we are might reasonably have apprehended. In the month of June last there were some grounds to expect that the maritime Powers which, at the beginning of our domestic difficulties, so unwisely and unnecessarily, as we think, recognized the insurgents as a belligerent, would soon recede from that position, which has proved only less injurious to themselves than to our own country. But the temporary reverses which afterwards befell the national arms, and which were exaggerated by our own disloyal citizens abroad have hitherto delayed that act of simple justice.

The civil war, which has so radically changed for the moment, the occupations and habits of the American people, has necessarily disturbed the social condition, and affected very deeply the prosperity of the nations with which we have carried on a commerce that has been steadily increasing throughout a period of half a century. It has, at the same time, excited political ambitions and apprehensions which have produced a profound agitation throughout the civilized world. In this unusual agitation we have forbore from taking part in any controversy between

foreign states, and between  
We have attempted no protection. But we have left the  
and management of its course, contemplated by its  
own merits, than to its success and consequences resulting  
theless, complaint on the part of  
just, would certainly be un-

The treaty with Great Britain  
trade has been put into operation  
plete success. It is an occasion  
that the execution of it, on the  
has been marked with a just  
United States, and the right

The convention with  
dues has been carried into  
for that purpose.

A blockade of three months  
be established, and vigorous  
commercial activity like that  
sional mistakes, and inflicted  
nations and their subjects.

A civil war occurring  
and carry on trade under the  
of complaints of the violation  
tend to excite misapprehensions  
reclamations between nations  
preserving peace and friendship  
I have, so far as possible, I  
have been presented by France  
a large and an augmenting  
the government is unable  
protection is demanded by  
many cases in which the  
wrongs from the naval or  
which the governments of the  
redress. I have proposed to

707-5519

22

(Smith/Blessey)  
6 P.M.  
March 2, 1990  
WARNER

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WARNER FUNDRAISER  
TYSON'S CORNER, VIRGINIA  
THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1990  
7:15 P.M.

Senators Warner, Laxalt and Dole, and the other \_\_\_ members here of the United States Senate. Secretaries Lujan and Skinner. Ladies and gentlemen. John, thank you for that introduction. // ((Also, I might add: My introduction to rap.) //

As always, it's good to be back in the heart of America. // We must be at least two or three blocks "outside the Beltway." // And to return to one of Virginia's fastest-growing cities. // ((Even though there's a rumor that the name "Tyson's Corner" will soon be changed to "Buster Douglas's Corner.")) //

((Tonight's guest of honor, of course, is also a fighter and an athlete. // In fact, I knew he was here when I saw a horse outside being valet-parked.) // He has been an advisor I rely upon -- a great Senator of a great State. And his record deserves overwhelming re-election -- John Warner. //

As you know, John is Virginia's senior elected statewide official. But more than that, he's in the Virginia tradition. And he mirrors that superb mix of qualities that led John Adams to write Patrick Henry, "We all look to Virginia for examples."

The first of these qualities is honor. As Casey Stengel would say, "You can look it up": Virginia boasts a tradition of conscience and public honesty. [Not once in this century has a statewide elected official been so much as charged with violating

America the Quaint  
1775

by Edhart

Indicted  
convicted

ambiguous

(804)  
924-  
7992

the public trust. Virginians ask -- and get -- integrity from their statewide officials. //

((Let me share a story that illustrates this tradition. Happened in 1978 -- Republican convention, Richmond. // Four men vying for the GOP Senate nomination -- no one could get a majority. Late Saturday night -- one ballot following another.

((Finally, about 11:30, before the deciding ballot, an aide suggested an idea. "Mr. Warner," he said, "these are principled delegates. A lot of them won't participate on a Sunday, and a good number aren't yet backing you. Just filibuster 'til midnight." // John Warner's response spoke eloquently about his character: "I'd rather lose the nomination than win it that way."

((You know the rest: John lost, and promptly endorsed Dick Obenshain, who later lost his life in a terrible accident. The Party turned to John, and he achieved an upset victory in just 11 weeks of campaigning. First in defeat -- and then in victory John Warner was a symbol of Virginia at its best. //

Today, even Virginians who supported others in '78 are backing John Warner. Honor is one reason. Another is a second quality which this State has cherished throughout its history: Experience almost unrivaled in the U.S. Senate. // //

Ask anyone -- John Warner is among our most respected Senators. // Pick any issue -- invariably, he's there with calm talk and reasoned thought. There's a word for that -- and it's the third quality which makes John, as Adams said, "an example" for America: The wisdom that will be so crucial to the 1990s. //

Nowhere is his wisdom more evident than in foreign policy.  
And nowhere could that wisdom be more important. // Five weeks  
ago I talked in my State of the Union Address of the "Idea called  
America." Well, the "Idea called America" is the idea of  
democracy. // And around the world -- through what I've called  
The Revolution of '89 -- that idea has taken bayonets and barbed  
wire and smashed them into rubble. //

A Hungarian playwright, Imre Madach [IM-reh MAW-dawch], once  
wrote a work entitled, "The Tragedy of Man." Today, we celebrate  
the Victory of Man. Look at Berlin, where a wall is falling.  
And Panama and Romania, where tyrants fell. Look at Poland,  
Czechoslovakia, and Nicaragua. Or, yes, at the events of just  
two days this week. //

Who could have dreamt it? On Monday, Romanians toppling a  
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years. // And in the Soviet Union one day earlier -- another  
sight even Ripley wouldn't believe: That Nation's first multi-  
candidate elections at the local or Republic level. // Think of  
it: Communist candidates accepting the will of popular ballot --  
a ballot which included independent candidates. Even in Moscow,  
totalitarianism is on the wane -- because of a dynamic Soviet  
leader willing, as Lincoln said, "to think anew." And because we  
have been resolute, liberty is on the march -- for a strong  
America is an America at peace. //

Today, John Warner is encouraging peace as ranking  
Republican on the Senate Armed Forces Committee. Where he's

helping arms control get done -- but done right. // John is the only member of the Senate who once negotiated an executive, national security agreement with the Soviets. And I'm looking to him to help guide new treaties and new budgets through this new decade of unprecedented change. // But our Administration has still other priorities -- because change here at home is just as important as change abroad. //

The first is the environment. Last week, we reached agreement with Senate Leaders on the first rewrite of the Clean Air Act in 13 years -- to cut urban smog, acid rain, and air toxics. John helped negotiate it. And like any Northern Virginian, he knows that lower traffic density is crucial to clean air. // Next year marks the expiration of the Highway Act -- the plan that built America's Interstate Highways. And the Public Works Committee will be re-writing that act. We need John on that Committee to ensure a fair bill for Virginia and America. // ((Only then can we win the daily battle against irate drivers, crashes, and bumper-to-bumper traffic. And as a guy said to me: "It gets worse after you leave your driveway.") //

Another Administration priority is the elderly. John Warner serves on the Special Committee on the Aging. I need him to help stop those who would mess around with Social Security. // And for the less elderly, I need him as Senator to support our bill to boost child-care choice through tax incentives, not Federal meddling. ((A personal note: Last month, John had the same "child-care" privilege I've enjoyed. He became a grandfather.))

// Finally, two priorities concern Americans of every age: One is education; the other, crime and drugs. //

Last month, I announced the 1990 National Drug Control Strategy -- Phase II of the drug policy we unveiled last year.

// We're asking Congress to spend over \$10 and 1/2 billion in Fiscal Year 1991 for education, treatment, interdiction, and enforcement -- about a 70 per cent increase since I took office.

// John Warner supports this strategy. Just as he supports such Phase II steps as an expansion of the death penalty for drug kingpins. // And our budget request to increase Federal assistance to States and localities. // Let others soft-pedal the need to be hard on crime. I say -- as Virginians do: If you do crime, you'll do time. We intend to take back the streets. //

At the same time, we must also take back our schools. So last fall I convened an unprecedented event -- this Nation's first Education Summit -- at the University of Virginia. // UVA's founder, Thomas Jefferson, once said simply, "I cannot live without books." // So we met -- as Jefferson would have wanted us -- to find new ways to propel America's love of learning. //

From that summit arose the education goals the Nation's Governors and I announced this week. Among them: We must see that every student in America starts school ready to learn. And that each school has an environment where kids can learn. That means making every school drug-free. // Our graduation rate must be no less than 90 percent. And we want U.S. students to be first in the world in math and science by the year 2000. //

letter to  
ohn  
Adams  
2/10/1815

Like Jefferson, John Warner knows that education is America's most enduring legacy. // And moreover, that to preserve it we must give our all -- as he did during three separate times of war, and now does in time of peace. //

((Let me close, then, as I began -- with a story: This tale about "giving your all." // Eleven years ago last month, as Virginia's newly-elected Senator, John was scheduled to give the annual reading of George Washington's farewell address. But a snow storm hit Washington -- the worst since 1922. //

((The capital was paralyzed -- but not John Warner. So leaving his home, he walked seven miles -- then, hitched a ride to the Hill on a tractor still in the city as a part of a protest by the farmers. To John, such tenacity was all in the line of duty: "If George Washington could make it through Valley Forge," he said, "a freshman Senator . . . could certainly" appear.)) //

After \_\_ hours in the bitter cold, John Warner did appear to read General Washington's address. He was an "example" to us all. Just as Virginia has been for more than three hundred years. // So let's roll up our sleeves. And keep in the Senate a man whose honor, experience, and wisdom have so enriched this Commonwealth. God bless you, God bless America, and let's keep John Warner the Senior Senator from the great State of Virginia.

# # #

2nd Annual Address

- Dec 1, 1862 -

As our ~~cause~~<sup>case</sup> is

new, so must  
we think anew  
& act anew.

\* ref. to civil wars,  
etc.

400 people  
Laxalt → Warner → POTUS  
bet dinner  
\$1000 per person

(Smith/Blessey)  
6 P.M.  
March 2, 1990  
WARNER

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WARNER FUNDRAISER  
TYSON'S CORNER, VIRGINIA  
THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1990  
7:15 P.M.

list of VIPs

Phil Smith  
524-6290

Senators Warner, Laxalt, and Dole, and the other 16 members  
here of the United States Senate. Secretaries Lujan and Skinner,  
Marshall Coleman, Redskins  
Ladies and gentlemen. John, thank you for that introduction. //

((Also, I might add: My introduction to rap)) //

As always, it's good to be back in the heart of America. //  
We must be at least two or three blocks "outside the Beltway."  
// And to return to one of Virginia's fastest-growing cities. //  
((Even though there's a rumor that the name "Tyson's Corner" will  
soon be changed to "Buster Douglas's Corner.")) //

((Tonight's guest of honor, of course, is also a fighter and  
an athlete. // In fact, I knew he was here when I saw a horse  
outside being valet-parked)) // He has been an advisor I rely  
upon -- a great Senator of a great State. And his record  
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And he mirrors that superb mix of qualities that led John Adams  
to write Patrick Henry, "We all look to Virginia for examples."

same trick

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statewide elected official been so much as charged with violating~~

Prof. CVA  
Larry Sobota  
804-9124  
7992

not convicted or indicted

P.B.  
Q.B.  
+

~~the public trust.~~ Virginians ask -- and get -- integrity from their statewide officials. //

Phil Smith  
224-6290  
((Let me share a story that illustrates this tradition. Happened in 1978 -- Republican convention, Richmond. // Four men vying for the GOP Senate nomination -- no one could get a majority. Late Saturday night -- one ballot following another.

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SOU

Can't Smash

A Hungarian playwright, Imre Madach [IM-reh MAW-dawch], once wrote a work entitled, "The Tragedy of Man." Today, we celebrate the Victory of Man. Look at Berlin, where a wall is falling. And Panama and Romania, where tyrants fell. Look at Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Nicaragua. Or, yes, at the events of just two days this week. //

Imre Madach Tragedy  
 Kossuth Sp.  
 Speech 7/11/89

Who could have dreamt it? On Monday, Romanians toppling a statue of Lenin that had stood in a Bucharest square for 30 years. // And in the Soviet Union one day earlier -- another sight even Ripley wouldn't believe: That Nation's first multi-candidate elections at the local or Republic level. // Think of it: Communist candidates accepting the will of popular ballot a ballot which included independent candidates. Even in Moscow, totalitarianism is on the wane -- because of a dynamic Soviet leader willing, as Lincoln said, "to think anew." And because we have been resolute, liberty is on the march -- for a strong America is an America at peace. //

JP 3/5/90  
 27 Colth...  
 Adams

New York Times  
 3/5/90 p.A1  
 Eric Rubin  
 647-8671

John March  
 10/1/90  
 10/1/90  
 10/1/90

Warner bio

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Incidents of Sen  
Nuclear Risk  
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wasn't done in U.S.  
Signed as Secretary

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one of the few  
Phil Smith  
224-6590

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Rob Portman  
102030  
Jane Kendrick  
6211  
BABA  
P. 21

toxics. John helped negotiate it. And like any Northern Virginian, <sup>he</sup> knows that lower traffic density is crucial to <sup>needed</sup> clean air. // Next year marks the expiration of the Highway Act <sup>objectives</sup>

Phil Smith  
224-6290

-- the plan that built America's Interstate Highways. And the Public Works Committee will be re-writing that act. We need John on that Committee to ensure a fair bill for Virginia and America. <sup>And today Sen Skinner presented to me the Natl. Transp Policy Strategy for Robert</sup>

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Warner bio

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BABA  
P. 27-8

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Phil Smith

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David Callagans

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Drug Strat.  
Budget  
p. 1-2

X  
Drug Strat.

P. 3

BBA  
p. 14

American  
Quotations  
p. 105

Education Goals  
2/20/90

X

Like Jefferson, John Warner knows that education is America's most enduring legacy. // And moreover, that to preserve it we must give our all -- as he did during three separate times of war, and now does in time of peace. //

*Ed. likes  
giving in war*

*New York Times  
2/20/79*

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*587  
in the...*

*Phil Smith  
224-6290*

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*Encyclo*

# # #