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Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13748
Folder ID Number: 13748-011

Folder Title:
Joint Session of Congress 3/6/91 [OA 6856] [2]

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March 5, 1991
1:45 pm
[JSC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS
THE CAPITOL
MARCH 6, 1990
9:00 PM

Mr. President. Mr. Speaker. Members of Congress: Five short weeks ago, I came to this House to speak to you about the State of the Union. We met then in time of war. Tonight, we meet in a world blessed by the promise of peace. //

From the moment operations commenced on January 16, until the time the guns fell silent at midnight one week ago, this nation has watched its sons and daughters with pride -- watched over them with prayer. // As Commander in Chief, I can report to you that our armed forces fought with honor and valor. As President, I can report to the nation that OPERATION DESERT STORM is an unqualified success. ///

No one nation can claim this hard-won victory for its own. It is a victory for each nation united in the coalition -- and for the United Nations. It is a victory for the rule of law -- and for what is right. //

DESERT STORM's success also belongs to the team that so ably leads our Armed forces: our Secretary of Defense and our Chairman of the Joint Chiefs: Dick Cheney and Colin Powell. //

And of course, this victory belongs to someone who cannot be with us tonight. I'm talking about the one the British call the "Man of the Match" -- the tower of calm at the eye of DESERT STORM -- General Norman Schwarzkopf. ///

Let us not forget Saudi General Khalid, or General Roquejoffre of France, or Britain's General de la Billiere -- and all the others whose commands played such a vital role. //

I thank the members of this Congress -- whose support for our troops was steady and strong. And above all, I thank **the American people**, whose unfailing love and support sustained our courageous men and women in the field through all the weeks and months -- half a world a way -- but always in our hearts. ///

Tonight, I come to this House to speak about our world // after war. About the prospects for lasting peace now within our reach. //

The recent challenge could not have been clearer. Kuwait was the victim -- Saddam Hussein the villain. To the aid of one small country came nations from North America and Europe, from Asia and South America, from Africa and the Arab world -- all united against aggression. //

An uncommon coalition fought in common cause. We must now work in common purpose -- to forge a future never again held hostage to the darker side of man's nature.

The work of peace begins with Kuwait and Iraq -- with a peace that makes a small nation whole, and removes from its borders a source of fear. And throughout the Middle East, let us work to put to rest the ancient enmities that for so long have shattered the peace in this historic heart and crossroads of civilization. //

I am pleased to report tonight that the ceasefire is holding and appears to be secure. [[The Iraqi leadership has agreed to.... LATEST DEVELOPMENTS ON CEASEFIRE, etc.]]

Yes, Saddam Hussein remains in power. But he rules amid ruin. I can report to you: His war machine is crushed. // I can report to you: His ability to threaten mass destruction is itself destroyed. // And this I promise you: Saddam and those around him must know that they will be held accountable for all that they have done. ///

All of us pray for the victims of war. For the **people of Kuwait** -- and the suffering that scars the soul of that proud nation. For all our **fallen soldiers**, and their **families** -- for **all the innocents** caught up in this conflict. / And for the people of Iraq -- my hope is that one day we will welcome them once more as friends into the community of nations -- for the people of Iraq have never been our enemy.

To all who know America, it will come as no surprise that our commitment to peace in the Middle East does not end with the liberation of Kuwait. //

So tonight, let me outline four key principles on which peace must rest: //

First, our friends and allies in the Middle East understand that they will bear the bulk of the responsibility for regional security. But we must make it equally clear to them that, **just as we stood with them to repel aggression -- so now America stands ready to work with them to secure the peace.**

What does this mean for the United States? It does not mean stationing U.S. ground forces on the Arabian Peninsula -- but it does mean maintaining a capable U.S. naval presence in the region, as we have for over forty years. And it means American participation in training exercises -- involving both air and ground forces -- with our friends and allies in the region.

All that we have accomplished in war will be in vain, if this nation fails to serve -- now and in the future -- as a force for peace. //

Second, we must act to stem the proliferation of arms throughout the region -- especially weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. This calls for greater coordination among the potential suppliers of these technologies to ensure that commercial gain does not compromise the public good. // It also calls for greater cooperation among the states of the region to forego these and other modern weapons. It would be tragic if the nations of the Middle East and Persian Gulf were now, in the wake of war, to embark on a new arms race instead of a race for peace.

The case of Iraq requires special vigilance. Until we are convinced of Iraq's peaceful intentions -- that its leaders will not use new revenues to rearm itself and rebuild its menacing war machine -- Iraq should -- Iraq must -- remain under embargo. ///

Third, we must seize new opportunities that promise lasting peace and stability. On the night I announced the beginning of OPERATION DESERT STORM, I expressed my hope that out of the

horrors of war might come new momentum for peace. // In the conflict just concluded, Israel and many of the Arab states have for the first time found themselves confronting the same aggressor. // We have learned in the modern age, geography cannot guarantee security -- and that security does not come from military power alone. We must now do all that we can to close the gap that remains between Israel and the Arab states -- and between Israelis and Palestinians. There can be no substitute for negotiations -- the tactics of terror lead nowhere.

All of us know well the depth of bitterness that makes the dispute between Israel and its neighbors one of the world's most painful and intractable. In 1948 and 1956 -- in 1967 and again in 1973 -- in Lebanon, and today in the violence of the West Bank and Gaza, violence that claims the lives of Palestinians and Israelis alike -- hostility has spilled over into bloodshed and open conflict. // For too long, we've measured the passage of time in the Middle East by wars waged. //

By now, it should be self-evident that peacemaking in the Middle East will require compromise from all parties. At the same time, peace will bring with it real benefits to every participant. A comprehensive peace must continue to be grounded in United Nations Security Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of territory for peace. This principle must be elaborated to provide for Israel's security and recognition [right to exist as a state], and at the same time for legitimate Palestinian political rights. Anything else would fail the twin

tests of fairness and security -- anything less would not permit us to bury the legacy of the 1967 conflict, once and for all.

The time has come to put an end to Arab-Israeli enmity. //

History has shown the difficulties we face. But I guarantee you: there will be no greater advocate of peace in the Middle East than this President. //

Fourth, we must enlist economic development in the service of peace and progress. The Persian Gulf and Middle East is a region rich in natural resources -- with a wealth of untapped human potential. The challenge is not -- as some suggest -- to redistribute wealth from the "haves" to the "have nots." The answer lies in policies that promote open trade and investment - - and a firm commitment to economic growth and opportunity for all people of the region.

It is on these four principles that we must work to build a framework for peace. / That is why I will meet next week with the leaders of France, Canada and Great Britain. / That is why I have asked **Secretary of State Baker** to go to Middle East, to conduct a new round of consultations. He will go to listen, to probe, to offer suggestions -- to assist and advance the search for peace. Incidentally, I have asked Secretary Baker to raise the question of the hostages held in Lebanon. We have not forgotten them -- we will not forget them. ///

To all the challenges that confront this region of the world, there is no single solution -- no American answer. / But

I can assure you: America will work tirelessly as a catalyst for positive change. //

The consequences of this conflict reach far beyond the confines of the Middle East. // Twice this century, an entire world waged wars against aggression. Twice this century, out of the horrors of war emerged hope for a more peaceful world. Twice this century, those hopes proved to be a distant dream, beyond the grasp of man. In our lifetime, the world we've known has been a world divided -- a world of barbed wire and concrete block, conflict and Cold War.

That world no longer exists.

In its place, we see a new world coming into view. A world where the United Nations -- freed from the clash of ideologies -- is now poised to fulfill the historic vision of its founders. A world in which there is the very real prospect of a new world order, where the conduct of nations is governed by the rule of law. In the words of Winston Churchill, a "world order" in which "the principles of justice and fair play... protect the weak against the strong...." A world in which freedom and respect for human rights find a home among all nations. //

The Gulf war put this new world to its first test. / And my fellow Americans: **We passed that test.** //

For the sake of the Kuwaiti people -- we stood our ground. // Because the world would not look the other way -- Mr. Ambassador, tonight, Kuwait is free. ///

Tonight, as our troops begin to come home --let us recognize that the hard work of freedom **still calls us forward.** / We've learned the hard lessons of history. The victory over Iraq was not "a war to end all wars." This new world order does not mean an era of perpetual peace.

This victory the world has won is a clear signal to any dictator -- to any would-be tyrant, anywhere in the world: No one can now mistake the strength that comes from collective action. //

The war in the Gulf will shape not only the new world order we seek -- but a new American order here at home. //

In the war just ended, there were time frames -- clear-cut objectives -- and, above all, an overriding imperative to act. We must bring that same sense of shared mission -- that same sense of urgency -- to the challenges we face here at home.

We've got to build on the successes we've shared -- and complete the unfinished business that remains. Last year, Congress passed a Crime Bill that made a start in the right direction. This year, it's time to finish the job -- time to put a comprehensive crime package into law. Last year, we passed the Air Transport Act. This year, it's time to pass a new Highway Bill. In 1990, we enacted an historic Clean Air Act -- now it's time to put in place a National Energy Strategy. Last year, we passed a Child Care Bill that put power in the hands of parents. Today, it's time to do the same thing with our schools, and expand choice in education.

Tonight, I call on Congress to move forward on the domestic front. Let's begin with education, transportation and crime -- and let's commit ourselves to passing forward-looking legislation without delay. If our forces managed to win the ground war in 100 hours -- then surely, we can pass this legislation in 100 days. // Let that be the promise we make tonight to the American people. //

Five weeks ago, when I spoke in this House about the State of our Union, I asked all of you: if we can selflessly confront evil for the sake of good in a land so far away -- then surely we can make this land all that it should be. // In the time since then, the brave men and women of DESERT STORM accomplished more than even they may realize. **They set out to confront an enemy abroad -- and in the process, they transformed a nation at home.**

Think of the way they went about their mission -- with confidence and quiet pride. // Think about their sense of duty -- about **all they taught us** -- about our values. About ourselves. //

We hear so often about our young people in turmoil -- how our children fall short -- how our schools fail us. How American products and American workers are second-class. // Well, don't you believe it. // That's not the America we saw in DESERT STORM. The America we saw was first-class talent -- using first-class technology and text-book tactics. The excellence embodied in the Patriot missile -- and the patriots who made it work. And soldiers who know about honor and bravery and duty and country -

Col. Stepp

- and the world-shaking power of these simple words. // There is something noble and majestic about the **pride** -- about the **patriotism** -- that we feel tonight. //

So, to everyone here -- and everyone watching at home -- think about how we can honor the men and women of DESERT STORM.

Let us honor them with our gratitude -- I ask the Congress to join with me in proclaiming a special day of thanksgiving, [DATE]. Let us comfort the families of the fallen -- and remember each precious life lost. //

Let us learn from them as well. Let us honor those who have served us / by serving others. //

Let us honor them as individuals -- men and women of every race, all creeds and colors -- by setting the face of this nation against discrimination, against bigotry and hate.

I'm sure many of you saw on television the unforgettable scene of four terrified Iraqi soldiers surrendering. They emerged from their bunker -- broken, tears streaming from their eyes, fearing the worst. / And then there was the American sergeant. Remember what he said: "We're not going to hurt you. You're all right now. You're all right now." //

That scene says a lot about America -- a lot about who we are. // We are a good people. We are a humble people -- a generous people. Let us always be good and humble and generous in all we do. ///

Soon, our troops will begin their final march -- their march home. // Let it remind us that those who have gone before are

linked with us in the long line of freedom's march. Americans have always tried to serve -- to sacrifice nobly for what we believe to be right. That proves that we can come together with respect and compassion to serve a larger purpose. //

[[Tonight, I want to announce that during the week of May 11th the nation will celebrate their return of our troops.]] Every Main Street in every city and town in America will welcome them, with open arms. They may have missed **Thanksgiving** and **Christmas** -- but I can tell you this: for them and for their families, the day they come home will be a **holiday they'll never forget**. //

In a very real sense, **this victory belongs to them** -- to the privates and the pilots, to the sergeants and the supply officers, to the men and women in the machines, and the men and women who made them work. It belongs to ^{units such as} the 101st Airborne. The 1st Marine. To the 24th Mechanized -- the Wisconsin and the Enterprise -- the xxth Tactical Air Wing. This victory belongs to the finest fighting force this nation has ever known. ///

Let us honor those who have served us -- those who have shown us all that America means to the world -- by making certain that **we here are worthy of them**. ///

May God bless this great nation -- the United States of America.

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553

It's OK
It's all right
You're alright 1747

Carrier Groups in Gulf + Red Sea

Ranger
Kennedy
Saratoga
TR
America
Midway

1st Marine
197th Inf Brig
USS Nassau
1st Tac Fighter Wing

Py: Bob said
look at
p 20
Mar 18 NR
Bottom → good quote
— JAL

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

PD



YOU WERE CALLED BY—



YOU WERE VISITED BY—

Lt. Col. Stepp (Mike)

OF (Organization)



PLEASE PHONE ►



FTS



AUTOVON

703-697-0713



WILL CALL AGAIN



IS WAITING TO SEE YOU



RETURNED YOUR CALL



WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

has the info on
aircraft carriers

RECEIVED BY

CMB

DATE

3/5

TIME

5:31

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018

STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)

Prescribed by GSA

FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PD -

Mike Gould called:

for the USAF, use the
4th Tactical Fighter Wing
from Seymour Johnson
AFB, No. Carolina.

Call if you need more.
X1747

201

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

PD



YOU WERE CALLED BY-



YOU WERE VISITED BY-

Wayne Justice

OF (Organization)



PLEASE PHONE ►



FTS



AUTOVON



WILL CALL AGAIN



IS WAITING TO SEE YOU



RETURNED YOUR CALL



WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

Do you want Coast Guard
representation? If so, call
Mike Gould, & he'll put you in
touch.

RECEIVED BY

CB

DATE

3/5

TIME

6:30

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018

STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)
Prescribed by GSA
FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

* U.S. GPO: 1988 - 201-759

DEPORTATIONS/KUWAIT (Kuwait City/AP) -- At least 10,000 foreigners, including Palestinian residents, are expected to be expelled for collaborating with Iraq during its bloody seven-month occupation, Kuwaiti officials say. Sheik Ahmed al-Sabah, head of the main military-based resistance group and nephew to the ruling emir, said Kuwaitis should not single out any nationality. He said many among Kuwait's 350,000 Palestinian residents helped thwart Iraqi blockades or performed other services. "It's just the people who betrayed us who will be expelled," he said.

KILLED KUWAITI SOLDIERS (Kuwait City/AP) -- Seven Kuwaiti soldiers manning checkpoints have been gunned down by passing vehicles in late-night attacks, the American colonel running special operations here said. Col. Jesse Johnson said no one has been arrested in the fatal drive-by shootings, which came on three consecutive nights starting last Saturday.

ISRAELI AID (AP) -- The Bush Administration and Israeli officials have agreed to a compromise aid package that would give the Jewish state \$650 million for its military expenses during the war, an unidentified congressional source said.

ROCARD MEETING (Paris/Reuter) -- French Prime Minister Rocard will meet President Bush during a visit to Washington from March 9 to 11, Rocard's office said. It said Rocard would also meet officials and congressmen involved in economic affairs but gave no further details.

MAJOR-GORBACHEV TALKS (Moscow/UPI) -- Prime Minister Major said he came away from four hours of talks with President Gorbachev encouraged by the Soviet president's position on the Baltic republics and a Middle East peace settlement. "In short, I believe we can say that the United Kingdom can continue to do business with Mr. Gorbachev in a very satisfactory manner," Major said.

AMERICAN FARMERS/MADIGAN (UPI) -- The U.S. will not "abandon its farmers" either in trade negotiations or at home, Secretary-nominee Madigan said. Trying to allay farmer concerns about the future, Madigan said he would be "meaner than a junk yard dog" in demanding fair trade rules. He also pointed to steps by the Administration to cushion dairy and wheat farmers from sharp price drops in recent months.

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USS Nicholas - oil rigs
& FFS POWs
FFG 47

4:45 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

CRIME/PRESIDENT (Rita Beamish, AP) -- President Bush said a U.S. soldier in the gulf may have "actually been safer in the midst of the largest armored offensive in history than he would have been on the streets of his own hometown." Speaking at an anti-crime "summit" convened by Attorney General Thornburgh, Bush said the country should call on the same national will that won the war to defeat street crime in the nation's cities. "Now that the shooting has stopped overseas, we've got to redouble our efforts to silence the guns here at home," he told a group of law enforcement officers attending the meeting.

(Laurence McQuillan, Reuter) -- ...President Bush, who was greeted with a standing ovation, said the "kind of moral force and national will that freed Kuwait City from abuse can free America's cities from crime." The President called for an anti-crime package that stops "the endless, frivolous appeals" which clog the courts, that eases restrictions on police officers gathering evidence and imposes the death penalty "for the most heinous of crimes." "Take back the streets, and liberate our neighborhoods from the tyranny of fear," Bush told the gathering.

(UPI) -- President Bush, pushing his stalled crime package, declared it is time to "silence the guns here at home" now that America has won the war. Bush, speaking to an Administration "crime summit," was interrupted by applause 10 times in a speech that drew on war victory themes and called for tough anti-crime measures at home. Bush renewed his call for Congress to enact several controversial anti-crime measures that civil libertarians, trial lawyers and many judges regard with great suspicion. "America needs a crime bill that's tough on criminals, not on law enforcement," Bush said.

DOW JONES (New York/Reuter) -- Wall Street bulls renewed their rampage, sending stocks sharply higher as investors bet on a swift economic rebound now the war is over. The Dow Jones Industrial Average jumped 60.39 points to hit 2,974.51 at the closing bell -- a rise of 2.07 percent.

POWs/POWELL (Reuter) -- Gen. Powell said he was confident Iraq was releasing all allied prisoners it took in the war as promised. "I am reasonably confident that we will get all of them out," Powell told reporters. "They (Iraqis) have been forthcoming in their conversations with us," he said. "I think they are anxious to resolve this matter so I'm comfortable we will get all of the POWs out that they are holding."

IRAQI OPPOSITION/PENTAGON (Reuter) -- President Saddam will probably be able to quell unrest in a number of Iraqi cities, a Pentagon intelligence official predicted. But Navy Rear Adm. Mike McConnell, an intelligence specialist with the JCS, also said Saddam's use of the military against insurgents could be "sowing the seeds of his own destruction in the long term."

IRAQI OPPOSITION (Beirut/Reuter) -- The Iran-based Supreme Assembly for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq said in a statement they had taken control of nine Iraqi towns and cities, including Basra, and vowed to fight until President Saddam was ousted. -more-

We've received information on the location of the mine fields in and around the theater of operations, so that the rebuilding of Kuwait can begin safely. And it's my understanding, Dick, that -- you told me that he got immediate satisfaction on that question of the mine fields. So that's good -- that shows some real signs of progress and cooperation.

Our goal remains what it's been all along -- Iraq's complete and unconditional compliance with all relevant United Nations resolutions and its implementation of all the requirements to be found in Security Council Resolution 686, passed overwhelmingly just this -- late Saturday afternoon, just this past Saturday. This would allow us to move beyond the current suspension of military operations to a more permanent and stable cease-fire.

Now, this has been a triumph -- a triumph for the 28 nations united against aggression. But as I said in my address to the nation the final night of Kuwait's liberation, this is not a time to gloat or it's not a time to brag. It's a time to be proud, fiercely proud -- proud of our troops, proud of our friends who stood with us, and proud of our people. Their strength and perseverance endured that our success was as certain as our cause was true.

We're here today to ensure that our nation always remembers those who defended her -- the heroic men and women who stood where duty required them to stand. And we owe it to our veterans that they return to an America confident and full of promise. Much work remains to be done on the domestic scene. We've got to tackle that with a new determination. But the American people, I am convinced, are up to the job, as they have always been.

Let me close with the words of Abraham Lincoln, who spoke to the nation on this very day, but back in 1865, at the end of a devastating civil war. Here was the quote; most remember part of it:

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Those words are inscribed on the marble of the memorial which bears Lincoln's name. They were from the President's second inaugural. They were a fitting call to honor the nation's veterans.

I made a comment right here at this podium the other day about shedding the divisions that incurred from the Vietnam War. And I want to repeat and say especially to the Vietnam veterans that are here -- and I just had the pleasure of meeting some in the hall -- it's long overdue. It is long overdue that we kicked the Vietnam syndrome, because many veterans from that conflict came back and did not receive the proper acclaim that they deserve -- that this nation was divided and we weren't as grateful as we should be. So somehow, when these troops come home, I hope that message goes out to those that served this country in the Vietnam War, that we appreciate their service as well. (Applause.)

I am very grateful to our Secretary of Defense, to the commander of our -- to the Chairman of our Joint Chiefs, and to our CINC in the field, General Schwarzkopf, and to each and every one of them -- I expect, knowing some of you, that you took the same pride I did in one of our G.I.s when these Iraqis came tearing out to surrender. And they had fear written all over their faces because they'd been told that this would be their end. And I thought there was something very moving and touching when that American sergeant said, "We're not going to hurt you. We're not going to hurt you."

And we are a generous nation. And we've got a lot to do now; we've got a lot to do to heal the wounds. Our argument has never been with the people of Iraq, with those hapless soldiers that

6

Ranger
Kennedy
Saratoga
TR
America
Midway

Gulf + Red sea

703/697-5131 Press Office

703/695-1868 Jim Steen
Cutler

Desert Storm Cell
693-1075

M

St. Session of Congress
2/11/18

WAR AND PEACE

179

tered into concerning the non-Turkish peoples of the present Ottoman Empire, to the Turkish authorities themselves. After a settlement all around, effected in this fashion, by individual barter and concession, he would have no objection, if I correctly interpret his statement, to a league of nations which would undertake to hold the new balance of power steady against external disturbance.

It must be evident to everyone who understands what this war has wrought in the opinion and temper of the world that no general peace, no peace worth the infinite sacrifices of these years of tragical suffering, can possibly be arrived at in any such fashion. The method the German Chancellor proposes is the method of the Congress of Vienna. We cannot and will not return to that. What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice,—no mere peace of shreds and patches. Is it possible that Count von Hertling does not see that, does not grasp it, is in fact living in his thought in a world dead and gone? Has he utterly forgotten the Reichstag Resolutions of the nineteenth of July, or does he deliberately ignore them? They spoke of the conditions of a general peace, not of national aggrandizement or of arrangements between state and state. The peace of the world depends upon the just settlement of each of the several problems to which I adverted in my recent address to the Congress. I, of course, do not mean that the peace of the world depends upon the acceptance of any particular set of suggestions as to the way in which those problems are to be dealt with. I mean only that those problems each and all affect the whole world; that unless they are dealt with in a spirit of unselfish and unbiased justice, with a view to the wishes, the natural connections, the racial aspirations, the security, and the peace of mind of the peoples involved, no permanent peace will have been attained.



News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

TUESDAY, MARCH 5, 1991
6:00 A.M. EST EDITION

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*Midway -
longest there
47th b-day*

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Anti-Saddam Uprising Spreads In South Iraq -- A fundamentalist Islamic uprising against Saddam Hussein is rapidly gaining momentum in the southern part of the country, with some towns already effectively controlled by Iranian-backed opposition groups, refugees said Monday. (Washington Post, Washington Times)

Iraq To Return Property Seized After Kuwait Invasion -- Radio -- Iraq has decided to return all property it seized after its Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait, Baghdad Radio said Tuesday. (Reuter)

White House Reverses Stand, Supports Aid To Israel -- The Bush administration, bowing to intense congressional pressure, has reversed its position against any additional aid to Israel and now favors as much as \$800 million in new military assistance as part of a supplemental budget request for the costs of Operation Desert Storm. (Washington Post)

NATIONAL NEWS

Firearms Violators Target Of Anti-Crime Proposal -- Attorney General Thornburgh, reviving the Bush administration's campaign for tough anti-crime laws, Monday proposed stiffer prison terms for criminals who use semi-automatic weapons and for other violators of federal firearms laws. (Washington Post)

NETWORK NEWS (Monday evening)

POWs -- President Bush welcomed the prisoner release as a positive first step, but cautioned the nation not to relax.

IRAQI REVOLT -- U.S. military officials confirmed signs of a growing revolt against Saddam in southern Iraq.

A senior administration official says that Saddam's political future is now strictly short-term.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS...A-1

NATIONAL NEWS.....A-10

NETWORK NEWS.....B-1

EDITORIALS.....C-1

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

ANTI-SADDAM UPRISING SPREADS IN SOUTH IRAQ Refugees Say Opposition Has Seized Some Towns

SAFWAN, Iraq -- A fundamentalist Islamic uprising against Saddam Hussein is rapidly gaining momentum in the southern part of the country, with some towns already effectively controlled by Iranian-backed opposition groups, refugees streaming through this village near Iraq's border with Kuwait said Monday.

Refugees described scenes of chaos and near-anarchy in several towns, and said that resistance to Iraqi authorities is being led by several fundamentalist opposition groups, primarily the Islamic Revolutionary Party of Iraq, headed by Iranian-educated Mohammed Bakr Hakim.

The refugees told of retaliatory attacks by Saddam's Republican Guard, and just a few miles north of this war-damaged border outpost, Republican Guard troops appeared to be in control. They threatened Western journalists with rifles when they approached by automobile in an attempt to reach Basra and apparently detained two of them....

The refugees said they did not know about the situation in the rest of the country, but that rumors of Saddam's imminent overthrow were widespread.

(William Claiborne, Washington Post, A1)

Guard Crushes Iraqi Protests

SAFWAN -- Iraq's Republican Guard launched a fierce crackdown on protesters demanding the overthrow of Saddam Hussein and the establishment of an Islamic republic in Iraq, witnesses said Monday.

The Guard...was reported to be turning some of its remaining tanks and guns on the demonstrators, who are apparently disgusted with Saddam's handling of the Gulf war and sense that he may be vulnerable.

There were reports of protesters killing government officials, including the mayor of Basra, a governor and Saddam's eldest son.

Witnesses said demonstrations had erupted in at least eight Iraqi cities, stretching from Basra to the Shiite Muslim holy city of Karbala in central Iraq.

(Neil McFarquhar, Washington Times, A1)

DOCTORS SAY FREED AMERICAN POWS ARE HEALTHY

MANAMA, Bahrain -- The first six American prisoners of war freed by Iraq were pronounced chipper and healthy Monday, and the U.S. military said more allied POWs would go free in exchange for 194 Iraqi prisoners.

The exchange was to begin this afternoon....

The first six freed Americans arrived at the U.S. Navy hospital ship Mercy in Bahrain early Tuesday after a 17-hour journey....

The head physician aboard the medical plane...said doctors found no solid evidence that the six had been tortured or seriously mistreated....

Iraq's ambassador to the U.N., Abdul Amir Al-Anbari, said in New York on Monday that all allied POWs could be released today and Wednesday...to the Red Cross in Baghdad.

(David Crary, AP)

BUSH IS PLEASED BY FREEING OF 10

President Bush welcomed the release of 10 allied prisoners by Iraq Monday, but vowed to win the freedom of "every single" captured soldier and Kuwaiti citizen. The nation's senior military officer said the war would not be formally over ended until Iraq accounted for all its prisoners....

The Bush administration said that in addition to releasing the 10 prisoners, who included 6 Americans, Baghdad had also supplied the location of land and sea mines in Kuwait and the Gulf to coalition forces....

"We're making progress in our journey from peace to war," Bush told a veterans' group in the White House in a speech that mingled a sense of triumph with quotations from Abraham Lincoln and assurances from the President that he was "not gloating."

Bush's comments were part of a concerted effort by the administration Monday to convey the impression that the U.S. was not seeking to punish Iraq after the coalition's military victory, but to play what Bush has called the "role of the healer."

(Andrew Rosenthal, New York Times, A10)

IRAQ TO RETURN PROPERTY SEIZED AFTER KUWAIT INVASION -- RADIO

BAGHDAD -- Iraq has decided to return all property it seized after its Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait, Baghdad Radio said Tuesday.

Baghdad Radio quoted the official Iraqi news agency INA as saying it had learned that the Revolution Command Council "decided to return all properties that Iraqi authorities took possession of after Aug. 2."

INA said the decision Monday by the RCC was an implementation of U.N. Security Council resolutions since the Kuwait invasion....

Secretary General Perez de Cuellar said Monday he had the impression that Iraq was trying to make every effort to implement all the requirements of various U.N. resolutions. (Reuters)

U.S., ITALY AGREE TO MAINTAIN GULF COALITION FOR PEACE

Secretary Baker and Italian Foreign Minister de Michelis agreed to try to maintain the anti-Iraq coalition to press for peace in the Middle East.

"We face some very, very difficult and intractable problems in the aftermath of the crisis and for that very reason it is important that we maintain as much unity as we can," Baker said after an hour-long meeting with his Italian counterpart.

"The coalition lives and the coalition is in good shape as we begin our trip to the region in the aftermath of the war," Baker said. (Reuters)

IRAQI DISSIDENTS URGE U.S. TO ACTIVELY BACK SADDAM OUSTER

Cheered by the "uprising" in southern Iraq, exiled Iraqi opposition representatives want the U.S. to drop its neutrality and support and democratic system to replace Saddam Hussein.

"We want U.S. recognition of support for democratic government in Iraq," Ahmed Chalabi, a longtime London-based opposition leader, said.

"We don't want your intervention," he said. American diplomatic and political weight would be "sufficient assistance," he said.

Muhammad Barh al-Ulum, a London Shiite cleric long active in the opposition, said the "spontaneous uprising" already has spread to six southern cities, and needs international support.

Al-Ulum said, "the great powers have sustained Saddam Hussein" for years by doing business with him and accepting him as leader.

Now, he said, the U.S. and other democratic countries should support the Iraqi peoples' "main demand" which is "to eliminate Saddam Hussein's regime." (Walter Friedenberg, Scripps Howard)

SADDAM TRIES TO RALLY FORCES IN SOUTH

NICOSIA -- Saddam Hussein, battling fundamentalist rebels in half a dozen cities, sent his top aide to rally loyal commanders in the southeast.

Izzat Ibrahim, vice-chairman of the Revolution Command Council, urged them to remain faithful to Saddam and to be prepared for martyrdom in the face of "major challenges."

His trip, half-way to the key southern port of Basra, center of the uprising, was reported on Baghdad Radio.

It was the closest the official media has come to telling the Iraqi people of the three-day-old revolt in the Shiite Moslem heartland of the southeast following Iraq's Gulf War defeat.

(James Anderson, Reuter)

GENERAL SAYS IRAQI UNREST COULD SLOW RELEASE OF U.S. POWS

Violent civil unrest in Iraq could slow the release of American servicemen held as prisoners of war, a senior U.S. military officer said.

Gen. Kelly also said the fighting reported in Iraqi cities could slow the withdrawal of U.S. and allied forces from Iraqi-held territory.

Kelly, JCS director of operations, said he did not believe the U.S. military would intervene to stop the violence "unless it became very serious."

"We never have had any desire to take over Iraq," he said.

Kelly added that the unrest could create problems for establishing a permanent ceasefire to end the war.

"One of the dangers is it could slow down the implementation of the U.N. and coalition demands," Kelly said. "This could conceivably slow us down being able to get our prisoners of war back, our own prisoners of war, and could slow down getting our forces out of Iraq."

(AP)

IRAQ PROTESTS CEASEFIRE 'VIOLATIONS'

BAGHDAD -- Iraq sent an official protest to the U.N. accusing the U.S. of deliberately violating the ceasefire agreement.

Baghdad Radio broadcast a letter from Foreign Minister Aziz to the Security Council and Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar accusing U.S. warplanes of flying over Baghdad in violation of the agreement.

The letter said the warplanes had deliberately broken the sound barrier over Baghdad, frightening Iraqis still recovering from six weeks of intense allied bombardment.

Aziz also said U.S. forces on Sunday had landed a helicopter between Baghdad and Amman. The radio did not elaborate.

"These two actions contradict the basis and principles agreed upon in the military meeting which took place in Safwan yesterday," the letter said.

"These actions constitute flagrant and unjustified provocations. While denouncing these actions, the Iraqi government registers its strong protest against them and calls on you, at the same time, to put an end to them." (Salah Nasrawi, AP)

KUWAIT'S CROWN PRINCE ENDS EXILE

KUWAIT CITY -- Kuwait's Crown Prince Saad Abdullah Sabah, returned here Monday after seven months in exile to preside as military governor over his newly liberated country....

Most other members of Saad's 22-member cabinet have also returned from the exile government's base of operations in Saudi Arabia, but it is not known when Kuwait's emir, Jamir Ahmed Sabah, will come back, officials said.

(Caryle Murphy, Washington Post, A1)

**PROMINENT KUWAITI BANKER ACCUSES
RULING FAMILY OF HIRING HIT SQUADS**

NEW YORK -- A prominent Kuwaiti banker on Monday accused the ruling al-Sabah family of hiring hit squads to kill leaders of Kuwait's pro-democracy movement. Kuwait's ambassador, a family member, denied the allegations.

Abdul Aziz Sultan, chairman of the Gulf Bank of Kuwait, said in an interview on ABC-TV's "Nightline" that he has "strong reason to believe that some members of the al-Sabah family are setting up some assassination task here in Kuwait."

Sultan said the squads consist of ex-members of the Kuwaiti secret police. He said the goal is to enforce the rule of the al-Sabah family in the newly liberated emirate....

Ambassador al-Sabah, also appearing on "Nightline," said he was "extremely disappointed" with Sultan's allegations, referring to the banker as a good friend and "a very responsible person."...

"Nightline" also reported that London's Scotland Yard has passed on word to a pro-democracy leader in Britain that there was a plot against him by an IRA hit man linked to the al-Sabah family.

(AP)

**WHITE HOUSE REVERSES STAND,
SUPPORTS ADDITIONAL AID TO ISRAEL**

The Bush administration, bowing to intense congressional pressure, has reversed its position against any additional aid to Israel and now favors as much as \$800 million in new military assistance as part of a supplemental budget request for the costs of Operation Desert Storm.

It was not certain last night, however, whether the Israeli government would accept the proposal or wait for a likely more favorable congressional figure....

The turnabout came Thursday night when President Bush and senior aides met at the White House to review the request, sources said. A senior administration official said the administration faced the difficult choice of either making its own proposal or having Democrats do it.

Two senior officials called Israel's Feb. 22 request for nearly \$1 billion "grossly exaggerated" in terms of the country's additional military expenses as a result of the war. One official said the White House "will probably settle for about \$800 million," a knowledgeable Senate source said.

(Al Kamen, Washington Post, A12)

JORDANIAN KING IS SAID TO EXPRESS INTEREST IN TALKS WITH ISRAEL

King Hussein of Jordan has recently expressed interest in reviving efforts to negotiate peace with Israel and a solution to the Palestinian problem, possibly along the lines of a 1987 agreement secretly worked out in London with a former Israeli foreign minister, a senior Israeli official says.

The official, who spoke on the condition that he not be identified, said that the Jordanian king wished to revive the so-called London agreement, which he signed with Shimon Peres, then the Israeli foreign minister, now head of the opposition Labor Party, in April 1987....

Arab and American officials said they viewed this and other signals from King Hussein as consistent with his effort to repair the diplomatic and economic damage resulting from the coalition view that he sided with Iraq.... The king, they said, was apparently trying to shore up his own position by stressing that he is still committed to and capable of helping the Palestinians achieve what he called in a speech on Friday "their national rights on their national soil." (Judith Miller, New York Times, A12)

ISRAEL LOOKS TO BAKER FOR PLAN

Israel expects to learn from Secretary Baker next week whether he will be carrying any Arab overtures for future peace negotiations, Israeli sources said Monday.

"If Saudi Arabia says it would be interested in coming to the negotiating table, that would be ideal," said an Israeli source, speaking on condition of anonymity.

"The Israeli government has no [new] initiative or blueprint of its own" to present to Baker, the Israeli source added....

"No lasting solution to the security problems of the region is possible in the absence of a settlement of the Arab-Israeli problem," U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering told a Veterans of Foreign Wars luncheon.

(Richard Gross, Washington Times, A9)

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MIDEAST PEACE BID BY BAKER FACES TOUGH OBSTACLES

JERUSALEM -- As Secretary Baker prepares to launch a new effort to build a peaceful order in the Middle East, the bitter conflict between Israelis and Palestinians that lies at the heart of the region's troubles appears less open to diplomatic resolution than ever before....

In the aftermath of the stunning allied victory in the war, some Israeli political analysts say the U.S. has unprecedented prestige and leverage with which to prod the peace process forward. Still, Israeli and Palestinian politicians and analysts caution that conditions here for an Israeli-Palestinian settlement have in many ways never been worse.

"The direct, precision attacks that won the war will be ineffective on this political battleground," said Hebrew University political scientist Yaron Ezrahi.

(Al Kamen & Ann Devroy, Washington Post, A12)

TAXPAYERS MAY BE SPARED MOST OF THE TAB FOR PERSIAN GULF WAR

U.S. taxpayers could end up paying only a small part of the financial costs of the Gulf war.

Although a supplemental spending measure that the House Appropriations Committee is to take up today would provide \$15 billion in U.S. funds to pay for the war, that sum is only a down payment until more of the \$53.5 billion in foreign pledges of cash, equipment and services are paid.

If the eventual cost of the war, which will probably take months to determine, is less than \$68.5 billion -- which appears likely -- and if all the foreign pledges are paid in full, the cost to the U.S. taxpayer will be less than \$15 billion. And if congressional estimates of the war's price tag hold up, the operation could be financed with foreign funds....

OMB Director Darman described the \$15 billion appropriation as "a bridge loan...while awaiting foreign contributions."

(John Yang, Washington Post, A19)

**OPEC SEEN MOVING TO CUT OUTPUT
Saudi Cites Effort To Stabilize Prices**

RIYADH -- The government's top oil official indicated that OPEC might ask its members to cut production this summer to stabilize prices if economies in the West continue to decline, pulling oil prices further down.

"We don't want a collapse of the market," Petroleum Minister Hisham Nazer said in an interview here. "But oil has seasonal demand. The war is ending just as demand slackens in the second quarter of the year."

"We are already well below the \$21 price" set by OPEC last July, he said....

But Secretary Watkins said Monday he expects OPEC will set a target price of \$18 to \$21 a barrel at the meeting. Testifying before the House appropriations Committee, Watkins said he sees oil producers "backing off of oil production" following the end of the war with Iraq to halt the price slide.

(Jim Hoagland, Washington Post, D1)

U.S. ENERGY OFFICIAL SAYS GULF WAR HAS NOT AFFECTED OIL SUPPLY

NEW YORK -- The Bush administration's number two man on energy policy Monday said the Gulf war and Iraq's destruction of Kuwaiti oil fields would have no effect on U.S. supplies.

"There's not much to worry about," Deputy Energy Secretary Henson Moore told CNN.

"We've gotten along now since August without any oil from Kuwait or Iraq. The world right now has an oversupply of oil, that's why the prices are where they are."

"We think it'll be that way for at least two years while it takes the Kuwaitis [time] to repair their fields." (Reuter)

ON CAPITOL HILL, A SCRAMBLE TO SALUTE U.S. LEADERS OF WAR

The end of the Gulf war has triggered a new competition on Capitol Hill: the race to honor the war's leaders.

Wednesday night, President Bush can expect a rousing reception when he addresses a joint session of Congress....

The Democratic leadership does not plan to exercise its right to reply to Bush's speech on national TV.

Meanwhile, lawmakers are falling over themselves trying to outdo one another in praising the military commanders.

Sen. Lieberman wants Gen. Schwarzkopf to get to speak to a joint session too....

Sen. D'Amato wrote to Bush urging him to give Schwarzkopf and Powell a fifth star....

And Sen. Lott has introduced legislation to award Schwarzkopf the Congressional Gold Medal. (John Yang, Washington Post, A19)

**JAPAN'S ECONOMIC POWER CALLED MORE THREATENING
THAN SOVIET MILITARY**

CHICAGO -- A majority of Americans now consider the economic power of Japan far more threatening to the U.S. than Soviet military power, according to a public opinion survey by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations that is updated every four years.

An overwhelming majority of Americans support a U.S.-Mexico free-trade agreement, under consideration by the two countries on an accelerated schedule. And the economic integration of the EC scheduled for 1992 will be "mostly a good thing."

"Despite the virtual disappearance of concern over a worldwide 'communist threat,' Americans remain committed to the active role in world affairs they supported in the 1980s," the council concluded in its analysis of the survey's findings. Fighting ideological battles no longer rates a high priority. But protecting American economic interests does.

"Both the public and leaders now believe that because of its inability to solve economic problems, the United States has declined as a world power," the council said.

(John Maclean, Chicago Tribune)

DRUG PROBLEM UP WORLDWIDE DESPITE CRACKDOWN

Drug abuse is on the increase worldwide -- despite some success in fighting traffickers -- thanks to "rich, powerful, ruthless" kingpins who corrupt officials, a top government narcotics expert said.

Mel Levitsky, assistant secretary of state for international narcotics matters, said the U.S. government is concentrating its efforts to disrupt operations of foreign drug producers. He said some progress was made last year in fighting illegal drugs.

Yet, Levitsky said at a news conference, major problems remain -- chief among them corruption of foreign politicians and law enforcement officials bought by the drug runners.

(Frank Csongos, UPI)

HEAD OF BOLIVIAN ANTI-DRUG FORCE RESIGNS AFTER PROTESTS

LA PAZ -- The chief of Bolivia's anti-drug squad announced his resignation after being criticized for his involvement in the country's last military government which has been linked to drug trafficking, human rights abuses and had ties to a former Nazi official.

The decision opens the way for payment of U.S. military and economic aid frozen after the decision to appoint Faustino Rico Toro head of the anti-drugs force, U.S. embassy sources said.

(Reuters)

SATELLITES SPOT POISON-BOMB PLANT IN LIBYA

A large new complex of buildings at Rabta, Libya, is being used to assemble poison gas artillery shells and bombs, according to U.S. intelligence officials.

The building, discovered last month by a U.S. reconnaissance satellite, represent a new stage in Tripoli's drive to establish a chemical weapons capability....

The officials said the U.S. intelligence community now thinks Rabta began mass-producing chemical agents in August.

(Bill Gertz, Washington Times, A3)

SOVIET UNION RAMIFIES GERMAN UNITY

Moscow Balks At Timetable, Cost Of Troop Withdrawal

BONN -- The parliament Monday ratified the treaty approving German unification, closing the chapter of history that began 16 months ago with the opening of the Berlin Wall.

Although East German ceased to exist last October, Moscow's step was more than a formality because of the problematic presence of 370,000 Soviet troops in eastern Germany.

(Marc Fisher, Washington Post, A11)

SOVIETS' LATIN POLICY KEEPS U.S. GUESSING

The U.S. has accused the Soviet Union of a "Jekyll-and-Hyde" policy in Central America, where Moscow's moves are being watched for evidence of the direction for Kremlin foreign policy.

Several analysts assert the Soviet military is pushing its own hard-line policies in the region, independent of the Foreign Ministry.

But other experts argue that these competing forces within the Soviet Union have been at odds for some time. Soviet efforts in Central America reflect nothing more than the desire to take advantage of diplomatic and military opportunities, these experts say....

Helmut Sonnefeldt, a Brookings Institution analyst, said the Soviets have clearly been scaling back their military role in Central America....

But, he said, the Soviet policy appears to be one of "having their cookie and eating it too."...

"Soviet military assistance is still flowing to Cuba," said Roger Fontaine, a former NSC analyst. "That has not changed. There have been no cutbacks."

At the same time, Moscow is moving quietly to upgrade its diplomatic power in the region, said Michael Waller of the Council for Inter-American Studies.

(News Analysis, Martin Sieff, Washington Times, A1)

MOSCOW SAID READY TO OFFER JAPAN TWO OF FOUR DISPUTED ISLANDS

TOKYO -- President Gorbachev will offer to return to Japan two of four disputed islands the Red Army seized at the end of World War II, when he visits Tokyo next month, Japan's top-selling newspaper said Tuesday.

The Yomiuri Shimbun said Gorbachev would offer the two, Habomai and Shikotan, on the basis of a bilateral agreement along those lines drawn up in 1956 but never signed....

Foreign Ministry spokesman Watanabe called the Yomiuri report pure speculation, adding: "We hope Gorbachev's visit will open a new leaf in our relations and that they will become broader."

(Reuter)

EDITOR'S NOTE: "Syria Stands To Gain From Risky Support Of Anti-Iraq Coalition," by Jonathan Randal, appears in the Washington Post, A15.

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NATIONAL NEWS

BENEFITS TO EXTEND TO ALL GULF VETS

Gleefully declaring "Isn't it great to be an American?" President Bush pledged Monday to extend GI Bill of Rights benefits to all Americans who served in Operation Desert Storm.

"What we stood for [in the Middle East] was a principle. And now we've got to stand for doing what's right by our veterans," Bush told officials of 50 veteran-aid groups.

Without spelling out specifics or estimating costs, Bush promised to live up to the injunction in Lincoln's second inaugural address: "To care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan...."

Secretary Derwinski said in an interview that the administration wants to modify the rules to:

- Extend benefits to about 150,000 Reservists and National Guard members who will not have served the 181 days required to qualify for the benefits, even if they never got to the Gulf.

- Guarantee special health benefits to POWs held less than the statutory 30 days.

- Classify the campaign as "wartime" for allotting benefits, including pensions and educational assistance to the wounded and the families of the dead. (Frank Murray, Washington Times, A9)

FIREARMS VIOLATORS TARGET OF ANTI-CRIME PROPOSAL

Attorney General Thornburgh, reviving the Bush administration's campaign for tough anti-crime laws, Monday proposed stiffer prison terms for criminals who use semi-automatic weapons and for other violators of federal firearms laws.

Kicking off a "summit" organized by the Justice Department on violent crime, the attorney general also said he was forming new "violent crime task forces" of federal agents to attack the "ruthless enemy" of urban street criminals with the same "ingenuity and certainty" displayed by U.S. troops in the Gulf.

"We are not here to search for the roots of crime, or to discuss sociological theory," Thornburgh said. "The American people demand action to stop criminal violence, whatever its causes. The debate over the root causes of crime will go on for decades, but the carnage in our own mean streets must be halted now." (Michael Isikoff, Washington Post, A3)

BUSH TO CALL FOR STIFFER PENALTIES FOR VIOLENT CRIMES

President Bush will call Tuesday for stronger penalties against violent crime, which will accelerate the need to build more jails and prisons.

According to administration officials, Bush will tell a special law enforcement conference on violent crime that the majority of Americans support a get-tough, law-and-order policy.

The speech is expected to underscore Attorney General Thornburgh's views that America, ending the war in Iraq, should aggressively launch one against violent crime.

(Joan Bennett, Scripps Howard)

CONGRESS NOW AWAITING BUSH POWER PLAY AT HOME

Members of Congress are waiting to see if President Bush will use his political popularity to push the ambitious domestic agenda he unveiled last week.

"I really anticipate that as the air clears around the Capitol, the administration will be coming on in spades with regard to their priorities in domestic policy," said Rep. Jerry Lewis. "Those in the opposition are going to be hesitant of taking the President lightly."...

Republicans in Congress praised Bush's efforts to define domestic priorities, but said he must push them.

"If he wants to go down in history as a great president, he'll exercise every bit of clout he has," said Sen. Helms.....

"If he pushed it strongly -- period -- he'd definitely be advantaged but I think a lot of these issues have already been well debated," said Rep. Fazio.

The White House view is that no matter how loud the administration yells, Democrats still have the advantage because they hold a majority in Congress.

(J. Jennings Moss, Washington Times, A3)

JUSTICE DEPT. OFFERS DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF JOB-BIAS RULING

The Justice Department is giving Congress and federal judges different interpretations of a 1989 Supreme Court decision that made it more difficult for workers to prove employment discrimination.

John Dunne, the assistant secretary general for civil rights, told Congress that the decision won't impede lawsuits over allegedly discriminatory employment practices.

Justice Department lawyers, however, have cited the case of Wards Cove Packaging Co. vs. Antonio three times to defend government agencies against job-bias lawsuits, according to court records and lawyers.

Told about the department's use of the case to defend government agencies, Rep. Edwards said, "This is not what the assistant secretary general for civil rights told us at the hearing."

(James Rowley, AP)

MILITARY DISPROPORTIONATELY BLACK, BUT TYPICAL IN OTHER WAYS

America's all-volunteer military is disproportionately black but largely mirrors the nation's youth in social and economic terms, the CBO told Congress.

"The American military today is not a perfect cross-section of society, particularly in racial terms, but neither is it an 'army of the poor,'" said Robert Hale, assistant director of the CBO's National Security Division....

Economically, the CBO found that about 45% of enlisted personnel came from areas with above-average family incomes and 55% from below-average areas.

(Donna Cassata, AP)

CONGRESSIONAL AGENCY TAKES ISSUE WITH REFORM PROPOSAL

A congressional watchdog agency took issue with key recommendations in the Bush administration's sweeping banking reform proposal.

The GAO, in a 196-page report to the House and Senate banking committees, advocated a slower approach in cutting back federal deposit insurance.

It took no position on the administration's proposal to lift the 58-year-old barriers between banking and the securities industry. However, it recommended a laundry list of steps should Congress grant banks permission to enter new areas.

The GAO report...flatly rejected one administration proposal: allowing commercial and industrial firms to own banks.

(Dave Skidmore, AP)

ENERGY DEPT. SAYS BUDGET CUTS MAY MEAN NO MORE NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Secretary Watkins said Monday that the U.S. may soon be unable to produce nuclear weapons because of budget cuts ordered by a powerful House Appropriations Subcommittee.

The panel voted against the Bush administration's request for \$283 million to fix up a nuclear weapons facility at Rocky Flats near Denver, deciding to approve only \$142.5 million.

"This reduction in requested funding will require the Department of Energy to severely curtail operations later this year and result in substantial layoffs of personnel at the Rocky Flats plant, inability to produce plutonium components for nuclear weapons in fiscal 1992 and failure to meet the president's requirements for delivery of nuclear weapons to the Department of Defense," Watkins said in a letter to the subcommittee's chairman, Tom Beville.

(Reuter)

DEMOCRATS TOLD TO FOCUS ON ECONOMY, NOT SOCIAL PROGRAMS

BOSTON -- If Democrats hope to win the presidency again, they must convince voters that the party's principal concern is a healthy economy, and not social engineering, leaders of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council said Monday at a Boston conference on economic issues.

"A very large majority of rank-and-file, grass-roots Democrats have seen what I call the presidential Democratic Party as a party which had a social policy but not an economic policy," said Sen. Lieberman.

Saying that the party was perceived as having forgotten that "economic opportunity is as basic to the American Dream as political freedom," Lieberman asked: "Is it any wonder that such a party has only elected one president in the last two decades?"

Sen. Nunn, a possible presidential contender in 1992 although he denied Monday that he planned to run, said Democrats "have a special responsibility to develop a strategy for what I would call progressive fiscal discipline, because we have questionable credibility with a large section of the voting public unless we do so."

(Scot Lehigh, Boston Globe)

NASA REDUCES COST AND ROLE OF ITS ORBITING SPACE STATION

A simpler, more modest plan for NASA's space station is taking shape after budget cuts and the discovery of design flaws that sent architects back to the drawing board.

The orbiting outpost...is still largely a castle in the clouds, even though \$3.9 billion has been spent on studies and prototype parts....

The principal question is whether the slimmed-down station, which has lost constituents but not critics, will survive congressional review in a time of budget austerity.

(William Broad, New York Times, A1)

EDITOR'S NOTE: "Bush Nominee Alexander's Investment Successes Have Made Senate Investigators Very Inquisitive," by Edward Pound & Hilary Stout, appears in the Wall Street Journal, A18.

-End of A-Section-

NETWORK NEWS

(Monday evening, March 4)

POW RELEASE

ABC's Peter Jennings: The Iraqis called it a symbolic release and a goodwill gesture, but Gen. Schwarzkopf hadn't left them much choice. And so the war finally ended today for 10 allied prisoners of war -- six Americans, three British pilots and one Italian. They are the first POWs to be released by Iraq. In return, the allies will released 300 Iraqi POWs tomorrow: the beginning of a lopsided process to disengage the allied forces from the Iraqi army they crushed so decisively on the battlefield.

ABC's John Donovan reports from Baghdad on the releases. The group included the only woman soldier captured in the war, Melissa Rathbun-Nealy. They were all put on display for TV cameras in a Baghdad hotel.

(TV Coverage: Former POWs sitting at table.)

Red Cross officials say that until today, all requests for information on POWs had been met with Iraqi silence, and they have yet to be told how many are still held there. Meanwhile, on Iraqi television, Saddam was seen for the second time in two days, meeting with ministers and officials of his party. The television also announced a pardon for all soldiers who failed to report for duty in the Gulf war, provided they return to base within seven days. And there has been a shifting emphasis in the government-controlled press over the past few days. Whereas before the newspapers concentrated on how great a victory Iraq had won in the war, today they focused on the damage done by allied bombing, and urged all Iraqis from top to bottom to work together to rebuild.

Jennings: When he arrived at Amman this afternoon, Lt. Jeffrey Zaun said he didn't know the war was over until today, and said he and the other prisoners were treated "pretty well."

NBC's Tom Brokaw: The first of the American prisoners and it won't be a complete victory until they're all out.

(JCS Chairman Gen. Powell: "In this war it won't be over until we get a full and immediate accounting for all of our POWs and MIAs.") Allied prisoners, including Americans, were released by Iraq today and tomorrow the allies will free 300 captured Iraqis. Among those released: the only U.S. woman prisoner. A full-blown rebellion against Saddam has turned Basra into another kind of battlefield.

NBC's Tom Aspell reports on the release of the prisoners and provides details on the treatment of the Bob Simon crew.

(Bob Simon: "The Iraqis, I think it's fair to say, treated us badly. And threatened to kill us. There was never a moment where they almost killed us. We were almost killed by American bombs.")

NBC's Stephen Frazier reports on home-front reaction to the POW's release. Navy Lt. Jeffrey Zaun's father said Iraqi manipulation of Jeffrey, showing him reciting Iraqi propaganda, helped unite the country in support of the troops. (ABC-Lead, NBC-Lead, CBS-5)

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CBS's Wyatt Andrews: President Bush welcomed the prisoner release as a positive first step, but in a speech to a veterans group cautioned the nation not to relax.

(President Bush: "Until every single one of those prisoners is home, and every single missing is accounted for to the best of the ability of the Iraqi forces, and also that the Kuwaiti detainees are returned -- every single one of them. And that's our goal."

[applause])

The U.S., so far, gives Iraq credit for this quick partial release, but also remains suspicious. The Red Cross, for example, has not been given access to the six Americans still believed held prisoner or any information on more than 30 listed as missing. That official mix of relief and skepticism was mirrored today by the POWs' families. The parents of Navy pilot Jeffrey Zaun who saw their son so mistreated at the outset of the war today saw him start his journey home.

(Marjorie Zaun, to reporters: "There's still a lot of POWs and MIAs that we're really concerned about and praying for. But it is certainly a great relief, and I thank God that our prayers were answered.")

For most families of the missing, though, there was no relief today; and worse, no information at all. Sherrie Turner's husband Charlie was shot down six weeks ago.

(Sherrie Turner: "I'm a little nervous right now, because we're gonna know something soon, and I just, I hope for the best and try to prepare for the worst.")

Some families today urged the Administration to threaten the Iraqis. Liz Griffith, whose husband Tom was released today, demanded that the allies keep their guns loaded.

(Liz Griffith, to reporters: "If they show any hint of using the remaining prisoners as bargaining chips or negotiating tools, I hope that President Bush and the American people will have the courage to resume hostilities.")

The President is threatening exactly that. Until the prisoner issue is settled there will be no formal ceasefire, and therefore no withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq.

CBS's Dan Rather reports that Iraq's ambassador to the U.N. says tonight that the remaining allied prisoners will be released at 2:00 a.m. Eastern Time Tuesday morning. No confirmation from Baghdad; no comment from Washington. (CBS-6)

IRAQI GOVERNMENT

Rather: U.S. military officials today confirmed signs of a growing revolt against Saddam Hussein in southern Iraq. A Shiite Moslem leader based in Iran says his rebel forces have taken over Basra and five other Iraqi cities.

CBS's David Martin reports on the violence. What appears to be anti-Saddam rioting is happening in at least six cities, all in southern Iraq, home to many Shiite fundamentalists more loyal to Iran than to Iraq.

(Lt. Gen. Thomas Kelly: "We know there's unrest and we know there's fires and we know there's probably some shooting in these six or so cities. It appears that the Iraqi regime right now is trying to put this down.")

Martin continues: The unrest, which has reportedly claimed the life of Saddam's eldest son, clearly is a product of Iraq's disastrous defeat. The allies could fan the flames by sending tens of thousands of Iraqi POWs home.

(Lt. Gen. Kelly: "If we release the 60,000-plus soldiers back in there, it seems to me it would exacerbate that situation a great deal, because I don't think there would be very many happy soldiers going back.")

Some of the unrest apparently is being instigated by Iran, trying to settle scores from its own war against Saddam. The Administration wants Saddam overthrown, but no one wants to see him replaced by a regime at all sympathetic to Iran. (CBS-Lead)

NBC's John Cochran: A senior Administration official tells NBC News that Saddam's political future is now strictly short-term: days, weeks, maybe months -- but not years. Late today, Secretary Baker said Iraqis should realize that if they want help with reconstruction, then getting rid of Saddam would be a smart move.

(Secretary Baker: "In terms of cooperation, from and with the rest of the world, it would be a lot easier and certainly be more forthcoming if the regime that invaded Kuwait and brutalized Kuwait did not remain the regime that governed Iraq.")

When President Bush spoke to a group of veterans, he made no predictions about Saddam's fate. Instead, he tried to reassure the Iraqi people by quoting Abraham Lincoln's words of reconciliation for defeated Confederates.

(President Bush: "With malice toward none, with charity for all.") Actually, the President has no charitable thoughts about Saddam.

(President Bush: "Our argument has been with Saddam Hussein. Our argument has been with a dictator who created aggression against a neighbor.")

Although the President continues to garner applause and accolades for the war, he got a dose of political reality today from Sen. Mitchell, who accused him of failing on the domestic front.

(Sen. Mitchell: "In the wake of the war, the President says he seeks a New World Order. We say, join us in putting our own house in order. If we can use American technology and training to liberate the people of Kuwait, we can use American technology and training to benefit the people of America.")

Mitchell's broadside was a reminder that when Democrats invited the President to address a special session of Congress Wednesday night, they were honoring him for his achievements as military commander-in-chief -- and only for that. (NBC-4)

ABC's John McWethy reports on the turmoil in Iraq. Refugees fleeing Iraq say there is now widespread anti-government violence in at least a half dozen cities in southern Iraq. In Basra, U.S. satellite photographs confirm refugee reports of explosions, fires and a possible tank battle pitting regular Iraqi army units against a Republican Guard still loyal to Saddam.

(Lt. Gen. Thomas Kelly: "There is some conflict going on there. We see, for example, T-55 tanks, and that means Iraqi armor. We see T-72 tanks, and that means Republican Guards. And we're not sure they're both on the same side right now.")

American officials claimed the latest videotape shows Saddam Hussein is showing the strain.

(TV Coverage: Videotape of Saddam.)

McWethy's report continues:

(Lt. Gen. Kelly: "I don't know how much authority he's exercising, although I did note on the video that he didn't look in the pink. He looked tired, he looked haggard, he had bags under his eyes.") But in private, U.S. intelligence officials cautioned that Saddam is far from finished. Evidence indicates he still has control of his secret police, and has moved 10-15,000 troops from the border with Turkey south to Baghdad, just to make sure there are no large protests there.
(ABC-2)

NBC's Dennis Murphy reports Shiite Moslems, long under Saddam's thumb, are revolting against Saddam's rule. In Basra, pro-Iranian Shiites are killing police and shooting members of the Baath Party. Witnesses say the governor of Nasariya was killed along with five leaders of the Baath Party. The rebellion has reportedly moved north from Basra to the Shiite heartland of southern Iraq. Leading the fight from exile in Iran is Iraqi Shiite Mohammed Bageer al-Hakim. Al-Hakim called on the Kurds of northern Iraq to open a second front. Tonight they are reported to be striking Baathist interest. Kurdish guerrillas claim they've seized the city of Suleimania, 160 miles northeast of Baghdad. In Syria, a Shiite leader of the revolt that began in Basra, Beyan Jabr, called it a second intifada. If the Shiite rebellion in the south succeeds, Iraq will be divided in two.

(George Joffe, Mideast expert: "In effect, Iraq would then become a much greater Lebanon because effectively it would decline into civil war on the shores of the Gulf very close to oil supplies.") There are stories trickling out tonight of anti-government demonstrations in Baghdad itself. The army announced it would chop off the hands of any traitors.
(NBC-3)

CBS's Eric Engberg reports on the road from Basra on refugees' accounts of the turmoil. One Egyptian who had been imprisoned in the town of Nasariya said there were demonstrations against Saddam there, adding that the local leader of Saddam's Baath Party was dragged into the street and killed. The army, he says, is finished.
(CBS-2)

KUWAIT

Jennings: In Washington today, Secretary Mosbacher said that now that the war is over, the Persian Gulf is open for business. The Kuwaiti ambassador to the U.S. said today that American firms will get preferential treatment when it comes to contracts.

ABC's Jim Wooten reports on the post-war political prospects for the Kuwaiti government. Kuwait's Crown Prince came home today.

(TV Coverage: Crown prince arriving.) Reconstruction may be the least of the government's problems now. Thousands of Kuwaitis who fiercely resisted the occupation remember the royal family's promises for a more democratic post-war Kuwait. When the oil wells are extinguished and grocery stores and electricity restored, then many Kuwaitis believe that the royal family will understand that to keep its power it must keep its promises.
(ABC-5, CBS-3)

CBS's Bob McKeown reports on stories of Kuwaitis abducted by Iraqi troops.
(CBS-4)

NBC's George Lewis reports that despite the return of the Kuwaiti crown prince the situation in Kuwait remains in turmoil. Among the promises of the eventual resumption of constitutional rights, Kuwait seems to be having problems in restoring law and order, with one opposition leader the victim of an assassination attempt. Bands of Kuwaiti army men and resistance fighters continue to roam the streets. Palestinians are targets of hatred because of suspicion of collaboration with the Iraqis. The situation prompted the following State Department warning:

(Margaret Tutwiler: "We've made it very clear to the government of Kuwait that all residents in Kuwait should be accorded the fullest protection against individuals taking the law into their own hands.") (NBC-2)

Jennings reports that a Kuwaiti oil official said today that Kuwait may need five years to rebuild its oil industry. (ABC-6)

GULF/MILITARY

NBC's Fred Francis reports on U.S. troop withdrawal plans. They're calling it Operation Homecoming at the Pentagon, and trying to keep it a secret. But we've learned that as early as Wednesday -- probably Thursday, but they're trying for Wednesday -- to get several thousand troops into Washington and some of their bases at Fort Bragg for the 82nd Airborne; Fort Camel, Ky., for the 101st Airborne; some hospital units back in Norfolk, Va., and some fighter squadrons back to Langley Air Force Base, Va. They're talking about an initial package of 15,000, but they want the President there to greet some of them, so we've picked Wednesday, and about 2,000 troops. As for the POWs, there are six that the Pentagon has listed and 35 missing. The Pentagon expects them to be back sometime in the next couple of days. It's very confusing to determine how many Kuwaitis are in Iraqi hands; the Kuwaiti ambassador said more than 6,000, but the Iraqi generals who met with Gen. Schwarzkopf in the desert told him they have 60,000 Kuwaiti and third-country nationals detainees. And the Iraqi generals didn't seem to have a clue as to just how many there were. Meanwhile, the fighting in southern Iraq does not look like serious fighting, according to U.S. intelligence sources. (NBC-5)

Jennings reports two more Americans have died after stepping on land mines. The Iraqis have now provided information about the location of the minefields, but it will take weeks to clear them.

ABC's Bob Zelnick reports on the agreement worked out separating allied and Iraqi forces, which is intended to prevent fighting between units which may be confused over turf. Iraqi aircraft must stay 10 km. north of the line dividing the two sides, but the allies have greater leeway.

(Lt. Gen. Kelly: "We are flying some reconnaissance, and we are flying reconnaissance over Baghdad.")

Once Iraq takes the steps required by the Security Council to indicate acceptance of all resolutions, a ceasefire agreement will be signed, and allied forces will pull back inside Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Privately, Administration officials say that any Iraqi delay in complying is probably due more to internal chaos than bad intentions. Nonetheless, officials say that until there is full compliance, there will be no formal ceasefire and no withdrawal from Iraqi territory.

-more-

(ABC-3)

GULF/TERRORISM

Jennings reports that the State Department says that even though the war is over, Americans should not let their guard down against terrorism. The Department says that during the six weeks of war, there were about 160 incidents of terrorism around the world, half directed against U.S. targets. (ABC-4)

COMBAT RESERVES

ABC's John Quinones reports on the financial difficulties of the families of reservists in the Gulf. Most families are not adequately protected by the Soldiers and Sailors' Act of 1940, and military officials admit that except for rent and mortgage payments, reservists' families are at the mercy of their creditors. (ABC-11)

HOUSING/ECONOMY

Jennings reports sales of new homes were down in January by more than 12 percent. The one positive sign was a slight upturn in sales at the very end of the month. (ABC-9, CBS-12, NBC-12)

CBS's Ray Brady reports on the state of the economy. The nation could spend its way out of the recession, but that's not likely. Economists say that all the problems the economy and consumers were facing before the war are still here. Many banks are still in financial trouble, and therefore slow to make housing loans to consumers. Consumers do seem to be nibbling at smaller purchases. One dark cloud, a continuing rise in unemployment, could turn off consumer confidence, and many economists fear that is coming. (Brian Fabbri, economist: "I think within three months we'll see some hopeful signs. But it'll take a little bit longer before we can actually conclude we're in the next expansion.") (CBS-13)

SUDAFED RECALL

Jennings reports that a fourth package of Sudafed cold capsules laced with cyanide has been turned over to the FBI. Two people in the Seattle area have died after taking the poisoned capsules.

ABC's Judy Muller reports on the incident.

(Sydney Wolf, Health Research Group: "Given that there's now, as opposed to five years ago, an alternative technology in the form of tablets or caplets that also have long-term effect, the FDA should really ban all over-the-counter capsules.")

(David Kessler, FDA: "We are looking at the issue. Caplets may offer additional protection. In fact, the number of capsules has been declining over the years.")

Health officials concede it's nearly impossible to fully protect capsules against a person intent on doing harm. (ABC-7, CBS-7)

BUSINESS/ETHICS

NBC's Roger O'Neil reports on the changing state of ethics in business, post-1980s. Required courses in ethics and morals are sprouting up in business schools across the country. According to one professor, many graduate students are unsure whether ethics and business can go together. (NBC-13)

EDITORIALS/COLUMNISTS

DESERT STORM VICTORY

The Triumph And The Achievement -- "...The victory of the coalition forces remains remarkable and extraordinary.... All the credit for this must go both to the leadership that laid out a clear plan of victory, and to the troops...who followed that leadership.... And the results will be applauded by freedom-loving people throughout the world. An evil tyrant has gotten a necessary dose of justice.... The great wrong of August has been righted by the men and women of February." (Los Angeles Times, 2/28)

Victory In The Gulf -- "The policies of President Bush that brought victory in the Gulf war were an extraordinary success in their own terms.... The world is a safer place now that Saddam's tinsel star has crumbled. Operation Desert Storm is unlikely to serve as a model for foreign policy in a world where fewer and fewer of the threats and challenges are expected to be military. Yet, at this uncertain moment in history, the competence that emanated from Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, and from many who served under him, has heartened millions of Americans.... The President launched Operation Desert Storm under the banner of a 'New World Order.' In its aftermath, we hope he defines that order around the principles of consistent attention to human rights, international cooperation and true collective security." (Boston Globe, 3/1)

Demonstrating Value Of Collective Security -- "The defeat of Saddam's army reaffirms, dramatically and resoundingly, the effectiveness of collective security as a doctrine for international peacekeeping.... Nothing about the inadequacies of the enemy...detracts from the magnitude of the allied victory.... Credit accrues also to President Bush. Whatever transpires on the diplomatic front from this point forward, he achieved a personal triumph in speedily putting together the coalition...[and], as many doubted he could, in keeping the coalition together against attempts to fragment it." (Chicago Sun-Times, 3/1)

The War Is Won -- "Now that the war has been won, President Bush and his allies must turn to securing the peace. It is likely to be a more difficult, more complex, more ambiguous task.... Until Saddam is deposed or eliminated, the coalition must keep some of the economic sanctions in place and.... Food and medical supplies should be allowed through.... There will be a need for allied or U.N. military presence in Kuwait.... Bush must now use all the energy, ingenuity and determination he put into beating Saddam to find a way to make the region more stable." (Newsday, 2/28)

Cease-Fire In The Gulf -- "...Though praising the splendid job done by the U.S.-led forces, President Bush was careful to make a distinction between gloating and pride. His words were the words of a man who knows that the end of the war marks the beginning of an equally daunting challenge.... If the Administration can do as fine a job of...starting the peace as it did quarantining Saddam and waging the war against him, it will have earned the world's admiration and gratitude." (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 2/28)

And Now To Save The Peace -- "...Whatever government is in charge in Baghdad, Iraq must be stripped of its capacity to commit mass destruction and must be held to its U.N. obligations. In particular, it must meet its financial and moral responsibilities toward ravaged Kuwait. Then, the future security of the Gulf states, and with Israel's cooperation a resolution of the Palestinian problem, must be addressed by whatever regional force for peace is established." (Cleveland Plain Dealer, 3/1)

A Nation Once Again -- "...The country Saddam proclaimed as irrevocably constituting the 19th province of Iraq is an independent nation once again. The best American policy toward this newly liberated country is to leave the Kuwaitis alone to sort out their own postwar problems and forms of government.... Congress and the State Department should be modest about their ability to export the American model of government to Kuwait and perhaps Iraq as well.... To expect democratic government to suddenly take root in an area like the Middle East may not be realistic." (Detroit News, 2/28)

Independent Kuwait -- "...Kuwait may again be independent, but will it be free?... The imposition of democracy on Kuwait was not a war goal. The U.S., Britain, France and other coalition partners should use their heightened influence to encourage political reform in Kuwait. But it would be ironic if, in the wake of a war fought in part for national self-determination, the U.S. or other countries started to throw their weight around in the small land they liberated." (Christian Science Monitor, 3/1)

Victory In Kuwait -- "The liberation of Kuwait has been accomplished. And the joy on the faces of the thousands of Kuwaitis who've swarmed into the streets to embrace their liberators is undeniable testimony to the justice of the allied cause.... The American people, to the tune of an extraordinary 88 percent, supported their President in this military enterprise. And George Bush did not betray their trust. The United States fought honorably and well; our troops freed Kuwait and helped this nation transcend the insidious Vietnam Syndrome which had all but paralyzed America for nearly two decades." (New York Post, 2/28)

Goodbye, Vietnam -- "With the stunning success of U.S. and allied forces, our nation has crossed a psychological Rubicon, ending a long and debilitating era of self-doubt and negativism about many things American.... Buried forever, we trust, is the dangerous idea that the U.S. cannot be counted on to stand behind its commitment to its allies when they are threatened. Buried, too, we trust, is the notion that the American people will not support their president and their troops when they are convinced a war is just.... We see it an overdue rebirth of U.S. optimism that will restore Americans' confidence in their nation and in themselves. We can do things right!" (New Orleans Times-Picayune, 3/2)

The Vietnam Model Steps Aside -- "...From now on, those Americans who are selective in supporting the use of armed force will have more than the Vietnam model to help them assess a looming fight. They will have the model of victory in the Gulf along with that of defeat in Southeast Asia. History obliges them to make the distinction." (Chicago Tribune, 3/3)

Bush's Victory -- "The United States of America has more than smart bombs. It has a smart commander-in-chief. With his masterful management of the endgame in the Gulf, President Bush is delivering a victory worthy of the massive effort invested by the allied armies. It is a victory that maximizes American power to deliver an honorable peace.... Bush has finished what Ronald Reagan began. He has laid to rest the ghosts of Vietnam. The America of the Gulf war -- Bush's America -- will be remembered for clear purpose, unwavering resolve, and accurate understanding of the enemy."

(Scripps Howard, 2/27)

Cleansing Winds Of Desert Storm -- "...The twin operations, Desert Shield and Desert Storm, appear at this early reckoning to be masterstrokes of organization, planning and execution, the stuff war colleges study for generations. All credit to President Bush's team in Washington and Riyadh and a special salute to America's fighting men and women, who performed their duties with valor, dedication and high professionalism.... It is gratifying to hear Mr. Bush declare we are expending so much thought and planning on post-war priorities. Peacemaking will require every bit as much courage and skill and brains as we showed in this war."

(Atlanta Constitution, 2/28)

Not With A Bang But A Whimper -- "...No single person can take credit for forcing Iraq to relinquish its conquest, but President Bush comes close. We have disagreed at times with his strategy. But we have highest praise for the skill he has shown in carrying it out.... The heady moment of victory is also a time to be wary. Bush put it well: 'This is not a time of euphoria; certainly not a time to gloat.'"

(Minneapolis Star-Tribune, 2/28)

Hail To The Chief -- "...Lord knows we have had our differences with President Bush -- and, no doubt, will again in the very near future. But we have nothing but respect and admiration for his handling of the seven-month crisis in the Gulf. From the day of the Iraqi invasion on Aug. 2 to the announcement of cease-fire at midnight Wednesday, he has been a skillful, resolute and courageous leader. Once having made the decision there would be no appeasing the aggressor, no deals with the devil, he struck to his principles throughout.... It remains to be seen whether the ruins of this war will lead to greater or lesser stability in a region whose volatility was given new meaning by the scores of oil field fires. But the manner in which Bush and the clear-headed people around him have handled the crisis so far indicates that they can deal with the challenge before them."

(Philadelphia Inquirer, 3/1)

The 100-Hour War: Pray And Hail The Heroes -- "...Heroes abound through Desert Shield, Desert Storm and its final act, the 100-hour-long ground war. There are more than half a million American heroes and heroines in and around the Persian Gulf today. And for every one of them, there are at least half a dozen home front heroes.... Salute one of them today, and then another and some more. If you pray, say a prayer for the immortal souls of those who lost their lives in this lightning conflict.... Offer a prayer, too, for the enemy, for the souls of the Iraqis that Saddam Hussein sent to their needless deaths.... And then, once the prayers are said, let celebration reign. Pop the corks and sing the songs."

(New York Daily News, 3/1)

-End of News Summary-

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The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson
Authorized Edition

WAR AND PEACE

*Presidential Messages, Addresses, and
Public Papers (1917-1924)*

BY

WOODROW WILSON

EDITED BY

RAY STANNARD BAKER AND WILLIAM E. DODD



IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

HARPER & BROTHERS PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK AND LONDON

KRAUS REPRINT CO.
New York
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THE FOURTEEN POINTS SPEECH

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT A JOINT SESSION OF THE TWO
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, JANUARY 8, 1918. FROM
OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT PUBLICATION IN MR. WIL-
SON'S FILES.

ONCE more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible bases of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between representatives of the Central Powers to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement. The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace but also an equally definite program of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of practical terms was added. That program proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied,—every province, every city, every point of vantage,—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power. It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own peoples' thought and purpose,

while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the Resolutions of the German Reichstag of the ninth of July last, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

But, whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and

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satisfactory. There is no good reason why that chal-
lenge should not be responded to, and responded to
with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not
once, but again and again, we have laid our whole
thought and purpose before the world, not in general
terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to
make it clear what sort of definitive terms of settlement
must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last
week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable
candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Gov-
ernment of Great Britain. There is no confusion of
counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers,
no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The
only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frank-
ness, the only failure to make definite statement of the
objects of the war, lies with Germany and her Allies.
The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions.
No statesman who has the least conception of his re-
sponsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to
continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood
and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure
that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel
of the very life of Society and that the people for whom
he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.
There is, moreover, a voice calling for these defini-
tions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to
me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of
the many moving voices with which the troubled air
of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian peo-
ple. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would
seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has
hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power,
apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not sub-
servient. They will not yield either in principle or in
action. Their conception of what is right, of what it
is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been
stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generos-
ity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which

must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this

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WAR AND PEACE

interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest coöperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister

nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule

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WAR AND PEACE

should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world,—the

new world in which we now live,—instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

I return my hearty thanks to you for never having failed in the long, monotonous days and in the long nights black as hell.

God bless you all. May you long remain as citizens of a great and splendid city. May you long remain as the heart of the British Empire.

MORE PETROL

May 10, 1945

House of Commons

I have a short statement to make to the House—not of a disagreeable character as some of my remarks have had to be. The petroleum supply position remains difficult, owing to the huge requirements of the Pacific war and the prospect that military needs in Europe will continue at a high level for some months to come. That is on account of the great masses of people who have to be moved and fed, and one thing and another.

I am glad, however, to be able to inform the House of an easement in the drastic petrol rationing system to which we have hitherto subjected ourselves. Bus services and retail deliveries will be improved to the fullest extent that available labour will allow, and an increased allowance will be given to cars and motor cycles used for professional or business purposes, and to taxi-cabs and private hire cars. A modest basic ration, substantially the same as in the United States, and freely at the disposal of private owners of cars and motor cycles, will be introduced 30 days from now. This relaxation will impose a heavy strain upon the staffs of regional petroleum offices, post offices and local taxation offices, and I hope the public will bear this in mind.

Both motor boats and lawn-mowers come into the ambit of this modest indulgence.

“FORWARD, TILL THE WHOLE TASK IS DONE”

May 13, 1945

Broadcast, London

It was five years ago on Thursday last that His Majesty the King commissioned me to form a National Government of all parties to carry on our affairs. Five years is a long time in human life, especially when there is no remission for good conduct. However, this National Government was sustained by Parliament and by the entire British nation at home and by all our fighting men abroad, and by the unswerving co-operation of the Dominions far across the oceans and of our Empire in every quarter of the globe. After various episodes had occurred it became clear last week that so far things have worked out pretty well, and that the British Commonwealth and Empire stands more united and more effectively powerful than at any time in its

long romantic history. Certainly we are—this is what may well, I think, be admitted by any fair-minded person—in a far better state to cope with the problems and perils of the future than we were five years ago.

For a while our prime enemy, our mighty enemy, Germany, overran almost all Europe. France, who bore such a frightful strain in the last great war, was beaten to the ground and took some time to recover. The Low Countries, fighting to the best of their strength, were subjugated. Norway was overrun. Mussolini's Italy stabbed us in the back when we were, as he thought, at our last gasp. But for ourselves—our lot, I mean—the British Commonwealth and Empire, we were absolutely alone.

In July, August and September, 1940, forty or fifty squadrons of British fighter aircraft in the Battle of Britain broke the teeth of the German air fleet at odds of seven or eight to one. May I repeat again the words I used at that momentous hour: "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few." The name of Air Chief Marshal Lord Dowding will always be linked with this splendid event. But conjoined with the Royal Air Force lay the Royal Navy, ever ready to tear to pieces the barges, gathered from the canals of Holland and Belgium, in which a German invading army could alone have been transported. I was never one to believe that the invasion of Britain, with the tackle that the enemy had at that time, was a very easy task to accomplish. With the autumn storms, the immediate danger of invasion in 1940 passed.

Then began the blitz, when Hitler said he would "rub out our cities." That's what he said, "rub out our cities." This blitz was borne without a word of complaint or the slightest sign of flinching, while a very large number of people—honour to them all—proved that London could "take it," and so could our other ravaged centres. But the dawn of 1941 revealed us still in jeopardy. The hostile craft could fly across the approaches to our Island, where forty-six millions of people had to import half their daily bread and all the materials they needed for peace or war: these hostile aircraft could fly across the approaches from Brest to Norway and back again in a single flight. They could observe all the movements of our shipping in and out of the Clyde and Mersey, and could direct upon our convoys the large and increasing numbers of U-boats with which the enemy bespattered the Atlantic—the survivors or successors of which U-boats are now being collected in British harbours.

The sense of envelopment, which might at any moment turn to strangulation, lay heavy upon us. We had only the North-Western approach between Ulster and Scotland through which to bring in the means of life and to send out the forces of war. Owing to the action of Mr. de Valera, so much at variance with the temper and instinct of thousands of Southern Irishmen who hastened to the battle-front to prove their ancient valour, the approaches which the Southern Irish ports and airfields could so easily have guarded were closed by the hostile aircraft and U-boats. This was indeed a deadly moment in our life, and if it had not been for the loyalty and friendship of Northern Ireland we should have been forced to come to close quarters with Mr. de Valera or perish for ever from the earth. However, with a restraint and poise to which, I say, history will find few parallels. His Majesty's Government never laid a violent hand upon them, though at times it would have been quite easy and quite natural, and we left the de Valera government to frolic with the Germans and later with the Japanese representatives to their heart's content.

When I think of these days I think also of other episodes and personalities. I think of Lieutenant-Commander Esmonde, V.C., of Lance-Corporal Kenneally, V.C., and Captain Fegen, V.C., and other Irish heroes that I could easily recite, and then I must confess that bitterness by Britain against the Irish race dies in my heart. I can only pray that in years which I shall not see the shame will be forgotten and the glories will endure, and that the peoples of the British Isles as of the British Commonwealth of Nations will walk together in mutual comprehension and forgiveness.

My friends, when our minds turn to the North-Western approaches, we will not forget the devotion of our merchant seamen, and our minesweepers out every night, and so rarely mentioned in the headlines. Nor will we forget the vast, inventive, adaptive, all-embracing and, in the end, all-controlling power of the Royal Navy, with its ever more potent new ally, the air. These have kept the life-line open. We were able to breathe; we were able to live; we were able to strike. Dire deeds we had to do. We had to destroy or capture the French fleet which, had it ever passed undamaged into German hands, would, together with the Italian fleet, have perhaps enabled the German Navy to face us on the high seas. This we did. We had to make the dispatch to General Wavell all round the Cape, at our darkest hour, of the tanks—practically all we had in the Island—and this enabled us as far back as November, 1940, to defend Egypt against invasion and hurl back with the loss of a quarter of a million captives and with heavy slaughter the Italian armies at whose tail Mussolini had already planned to ride into Cairo or Alexandria.

Great anxiety was felt by President Roosevelt, and indeed by thinking men throughout the United States, about what would happen to us in the early part of 1941. The President felt to the depths of his being that the destruction of Britain would not only be an event fearful in itself, but that it would expose to mortal danger the vast and as yet largely unarmed potentialities and the future destiny of the United States. He feared greatly that we should be invaded in that spring of 1941, and no doubt he had behind him military advice as good as any that is known in the world, and he sent his recent Presidential opponent, the late Mr. Wendell Willkie, to me with a letter in which he had written in his own hand the famous lines of Longfellow, which I quoted in the House of Commons the other day.

We were, however, in a fairly tough condition by the early months of 1941, and felt very much better about ourselves than in those months immediately after the collapse of France. Our Dunkirk army and field force troops in Britain, almost a million strong, were nearly all equipped or re-equipped. We had ferried over the Atlantic a million rifles and a thousand cannon from the United States, with all their ammunition, since the previous June. In our munition works, which were becoming very powerful, men and women had worked at their machines till they dropped senseless from fatigue. Nearly one million of men, growing to two millions at the peak, although working all day, had been formed into the Home Guard. They were armed at least with rifles, and armed also with the spirit "Conquer or Die."

Later in 1941, when we were still alone, we sacrificed unwillingly, to some extent unwittingly, our conquests of the winter in Cyrenaica and Libya in order to stand by Greece; and Greece will never forget how much we gave, albeit unavailingly, of the little we had. We did this for honour. We repressed the German-instigated rising in Iraq. We defended Palestine. With the assistance of General de Gaulle's indomitable

Free French we cleared Syria and the Lebanon of Vichyites and of German aviators and intriguers. And then in June, 1941, another tremendous world event occurred.

You have no doubt noticed in your reading of British history—and I hope you will take pains to read it, for it is only from the past that one can judge the future, and it is only from reading the story of the British nation, of the British Empire, that you can feel a well-grounded sense of pride to dwell in these islands—you have sometimes noticed in your reading of British history that we have had to hold out from time to time all alone, or to be the mainspring of coalitions, against a Continental tyrant or dictator, and we have had to hold out for quite a long time: against the Spanish Armada, against the might of Louis XIV, when we led Europe for nearly twenty-five years under William III and Marlborough, and a hundred and fifty years ago, when Nelson, Pitt and Wellington broke Napoleon, not without assistance from the heroic Russians of 1812. In all these world wars our Island kept the lead of Europe or else held out alone.

And if you hold out alone long enough, there always comes a time when the tyrant makes some ghastly mistake which alters the whole balance of the struggle. On June 22, 1941, Hitler, master as he thought himself of all Europe—nay, indeed, soon to be master of the world, so he thought—treacherously, without warning, without the slightest provocation, hurled himself on Russia and came face to face with Marshal Stalin and the numberless millions of the Russian people. And then at the end of the year Japan struck a felon blow at the United States at Pearl Harbour, and at the same time attacked us in Malaya and Singapore. Thereupon Hitler and Mussolini declared war on the Republic of the United States.

Years have passed since then. Indeed every year seems to me almost a decade. But never since the United States entered the war have I had the slightest doubt but that we should be saved, and that we only had to do our duty in order to win. We have played our part in all this process by which the evil-doers have been overthrown, and I hope I do not speak vain or boastful words, but from Alamein in October, 1942, through the Anglo-American invasion of North Africa, of Sicily, of Italy, with the capture of Rome, we marched many miles and never knew defeat. And then last year, after two years' patient preparation and marvellous devices of amphibious warfare—and mark you, our scientists are not surpassed in any nation in the world, especially when their thought is applied to naval matters—last year on June 6 we seized a carefully-selected little toe of German-occupied France and poured millions in from this Island and from across the Atlantic, until the Seine, the Somme, and the Rhine all fell behind the advancing Anglo-American spearheads. France was liberated. She produced a fine army of gallant men to aid her own liberation. Germany lay open.

Now from the other side the mighty military achievements of the Russian people, always holding many more German troops on their front than we could do, rolled forward to meet us in the heart and centre of Germany. At the same time, in Italy, Field-Marshal Alexander's army of so many nations, the largest part of which was British or British Empire, struck their final blow and compelled more than a million enemy troops to surrender. This Fifteenth Army Group, as we call it, British and Americans joined together in almost equal numbers, are now deep in Austria, joining their right hand with the Russians and their left with the United States armies

of General Eisenhower's command. It happened, as you may remember—but memories are short—that in the space of three days we received the news of the unlamented departures of Mussolini and Hitler, and in three days also surrenders were made to Field-Marshal Alexander and Field-Marshal Montgomery of over two million five hundred thousand soldiers of this terrible warlike German army.

I shall make it clear at this moment that we never failed to recognize the immense superiority of the power used by the United States in the rescue of France and the defeat of Germany. For our part, British and Canadians, we have had about one-third as many men over there as the Americans, but we have taken our full share of the fighting, as the scale of our losses shows. Our Navy has borne incomparably the heaviest burden in the Atlantic Ocean, in the narrow seas and the Arctic convoys to Russia, while the United States Navy has had to use its immense strength mainly against Japan. We made a fair division of the labour, and we can each report that our work is either done or going to be done. It is right and natural that we should extol the virtues and glorious services of our own most famous commanders, Alexander and Montgomery, neither of whom was ever defeated since they began together at Alamein. Both of them have conducted in Africa, in Italy, in Normandy and in Germany, battles of the first magnitude and of decisive consequence. At the same time we know how great is our debt to the combining and unifying command and high strategic direction of General Eisenhower.

And here is the moment when I pay my personal tribute to the British Chiefs of the Staff, with whom I worked in the closest intimacy throughout these heavy, stormy years. There have been very few changes in this small, powerful and capable body of men who, sinking all Service differences and judging the problems of the war as a whole, have worked together in perfect harmony with each other. In Field-Marshal Brooke, in Admiral Pound, succeeded after his death by Admiral Andrew Cunningham, and in Marshal of the Air Portal, a team was formed who deserved the highest honour in the direction of the whole British war strategy and in its relations with that of our Allies.

It may well be said that our strategy was conducted so that the best combinations, the closest concert, were imparted into the operations by the combined staffs of Britain and the United States, with whom, from Teheran onwards, the war leaders of Russia were joined. And it may also be said that never have the forces of two nations fought side by side and intermingled in the lines of battle with so much unity, comradeship and brotherhood as in the great Anglo-American Armies. Some people say: Well, what would you expect, if both nations speak the same language, have the same laws, have a great part of their history in common, and have very much the same outlook upon life with all its hope and glory? Isn't it just the sort of thing that would happen? And others may say: It would be an ill day for all the world and for the pair of them if they did not go on working together and marching together and sailing together and flying together, whenever something has to be done for the sake of freedom and fair play all over the world. That is the great hope of the future.

There was one final danger from which the collapse of Germany has saved us. In London and the South-Eastern counties we have suffered for a year from various forms of flying-bombs—perhaps you have heard about this—and rockets, and our Air

Winston Churchill

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Force and our ack-ack batteries have done wonders against them. In particular the Air Force, turned on in good time on what then seemed very slight and doubtful evidence, hampered and vastly delayed all German preparations. But it was only when our Armies cleaned up the coast and overran all the points of discharge, and when the Americans captured vast stores of rockets of all kinds near Leipzig, which only the other day added to the information we had, and when all the preparations being made on the coasts of France and Holland could be examined in detail, in scientific detail, that we know how grave had been the peril, not only from rockets and flying-bombs but from multiple long-range artillery which was being prepared against London. Only just in time did the Allied armies blast the viper in his nest. Otherwise the autumn of 1944, to say nothing of 1945, might well have seen London as shattered as Berlin.

For the same period the Germans had prepared a new U-boat fleet and novel tactics which, though we should have eventually destroyed them, might well have carried anti-U-boat warfare back to the high peak days of 1942. Therefore we must rejoice and give thanks, not only for our preservation when we were all alone, but for our timely deliverance from new suffering, new perils not easily to be measured.

I wish I could tell you to-night that all our toils and troubles were over. Then indeed I could end my five years' service happily, and if you thought that you had had enough of me and that I ought to be put out to grass, I tell you I would take it with the best of grace. But, on the contrary, I must warn you, as I did when I began this five years' task—and no one knew then that it would last so long—that there is still a lot to do, and that you must be prepared for further efforts of mind and body and further sacrifices to great causes if you are not to fall back into the rut of inertia, the confusion of aim, and the craven fear of being great. You must not weaken in any way in your alert and vigilant frame of mind. Though holiday rejoicing is necessary to the human spirit, yet it must add to the strength and resilience with which every man and woman turns again to the work they have to do, and also to the outlook and watch they have to keep on public affairs.

On the continent of Europe we have yet to make sure that the simple and honourable purposes for which we entered the war are not brushed aside or overlooked in the months following our success, and that the words "freedom," "democracy," and "liberation" are not distorted from their true meaning as we have understood them. There would be little use in punishing the Hitlerites for their crimes if law and justice did not rule, and if totalitarian or police governments were to take the place of the German invaders. We seek nothing for ourselves. But we must make sure that those causes which we fought for find recognition at the peace table in facts as well as words, and above all we must labour that the world organization which the United Nations are creating at San Francisco does not become an idle name, does not become a shield for the strong and a mockery for the weak. It is the victors who must search their hearts in their glowing hours, and be worthy by their nobility of the immense forces that they wield.

We must never forget that beyond all lurks Japan, harassed and failing but still a people of a hundred millions, for whose warriors death has few terrors. I cannot tell you to-night how much time or what exertions will be required to compel the Japanese to make amends for their odious treachery and cruelty. We—like China, so

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A Time of Triumph: 1945

long undaunted—have received horrible injuries from them ourselves, and we are bound by the ties of honour and fraternal loyalty to the United States to fight this great war at the other end of the world at their side without flagging or failing. We must remember that Australia and New Zealand and Canada were and are all directly menaced by this evil Power. They came to our aid in our dark times, and we must not leave unfinished any task which concerns their safety and their future. I told you hard things at the beginning of these last five years; you did not shrink, and I should be unworthy of your confidence and generosity if I did not still cry: Forward, unflinching, unswerving, indomitable, till the whole task is done and the whole world is safe and clean.

THE KING AND QUEEN IN THE WAR

May 15, 1945

House of Commons

I beg to move,

That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty as followeth:
Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in Parliament assembled, beg leave to convey to Your Majesty our heartfelt congratulations on the victorious conclusion of the war in Europe, and to assure Your Majesty of our resolute support in the continuing war against Japan.

We rejoice with Your Majesty in the deliverance brought both to this Nation and to the enslaved peoples of Europe by the success of Your Majesty's Forces fighting in comradeship with those of Your Majesty's Allies.

We would acknowledge the powerful help given without hesitation and without stint to the common cause by the peoples of Your Empire and Commonwealth of Nations overseas.

We would wish to express the deep feeling which exists throughout the whole country that Your Majesty and Your gracious Consort have from the beginning contributed in a wonderful manner to the courage and constancy of the people by your inspiring example, by the extreme personal exertions you have made year after year, by your willingness to share all their trials, and your constant sympathy with them in the losses which they have endured.

It is our earnest prayer that, under God's grace, the glorious victory won in Europe may be followed by a speedy and successful conclusion of the struggle against Japan, and that Your Majesty's reign, so many years of which have been darkened by war and the threats of war, may long continue in a world at peace.

nineteenth century, by which states of society were reached where the most fervent devotion to religion subsisted side by side with the fullest exercise of free thought. We may well recur to those bygone days, from whose standards of enlightenment, compassion and hopeful progress, the terrible twentieth century has fallen so far.

I say here as I said at Brussels last year that I see no reason why, under the guardianship of the world organisation, there should not ultimately arise the United States of Europe, both those of the East and those of the West which will unify this Continent in a manner never known since the fall of the Roman Empire, and within which all its peoples may dwell together in prosperity, in justice and in peace.

"LET FREEDOM REIGN"

May 10, 1946

University of Leyden, The Netherlands

[Extract] The decision to make me a Doctor of Laws is deeply valued by me. The Rector has explained how rarely this distinction is given, and especially in cases like mine. It has to be proved that the recipient, by his moral qualities, his attitude, and character has influenced the course of history in a favourable sense.

I felt this might be a rather difficult task for the promoter to prove, but the promoter's reasoning with his logic and deduction seems to be very good. As he proceeded my natural modesty was undermined, and I will confess to this august assembly that I allowed myself to be convinced by him. . . .

Six years ago on this very day of the week the treacherous onslaught was made on Holland. In the morning this onslaught was made. In our country I became Prime Minister that evening.

I think of all we have gone through in our different ways since then—our trial in Britain and yours over here. Yours was to be restrained and dominated for those long five years by vile and brutal tyranny, to have all the evils of oppression, and to find solace only in the glories of revolt and secret association and preparation. The nightmare has ended. The land is clear, the tyrant is overthrown.

The victors have overthrown the arbiters. The great wheel has swung full circle. One can see the awful finger of destiny or providence working here in this sphere of transient life, where generations so swiftly succeed one another, carrying forward their message and bearing their tribulation as they can.

Rector Magnificus, a great responsibility is felt by you and those associated with you in guiding this torch to young men and women at universities. You have indeed at this time a special measure of responsibility. We must make sure that one form of tyranny is not succeeded by another.

I am opposed, and always have been, to tyranny in every guise. It makes no difference to me what dress it wears, what slogans it mouths. I consider it a supreme duty of the individual subject or citizen to do his utmost to guard not only the liberty of his country, but the liberty of the individuals dwelling under the constitution of his

native land. The motto of your university, which is among the most ancient and most democratic of the universities, is: 'Let freedom reign.' That is the motto I will accept for myself with the diploma you have so kindly just given me.

INDIA

May 16, 1946

House of Commons

I think the right hon. Gentleman [The Prime Minister] was right to read to the House the able but melancholy document to which we have listened, and it was appropriate that he should read it, instead of merely circulating it with the Votes. Certainly I have heard nothing for a long time which so deeply deserves the attention of Parliament and of the British nation, and the respectful attention which the House gave to every word uttered by the Prime Minister is a proof that this opinion is well founded. It would, of course, be most unwise this afternoon for any of us to attempt detailed comment upon the long and complicated proposals which have now been laid before us. I am bound to make clear without delay what is the position of the official Opposition. I, as the head of the Coalition Government and my colleagues of those days, are committed to the offer made to the people of India at the time of the Cripps mission in 1942, by which we offered Dominion Status as expressed by the Statute of Westminster, including, as it does, the latent right of secession. We offered this to the many peoples of India, subject to certain provisions.

The first of those provisions was that there should be broad, real, sincere agreement between the main Indian parties. The second was that in the Constitution we should have provision for the honourable discharge of the obligations we have contracted in India towards the minorities who, added together, are themselves a majority, and, also, for the discharge of those obligations embodied in our treaties with the Indian States. These proposals were made by us at a moment when the danger of Japanese invasion threatened India in a terrible manner, and I, personally, was induced to agree to them by the all-compelling war interest, as it seemed, of trying to rally all the forces in India to the defence of their soil against Japanese aggression and all the horrors that would follow therefrom.

The Cripps mission failed. The answer which Mr. Gandhi gave to the British Government at that moment of mortal peril was "Quit India," and he and the Congress proceeded to raise or encourage a revolt, or widespread disturbances, affecting, principally, the communications on which the British and Indian Forces relied for holding the threatened fronts. These disorders, although seriously fomented, were suppressed with surprising ease and very little loss of life, and the incitement to revolt found practically no response, outside the political classes, from the great masses of the Indian people. We persevered with the war; we toiled on; and presently the tide turned. India was successfully defended, and it emerged from this second world

Winston Churchill

A Time of Triumph: 1945

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THE FOUNDATIONS OF FREEDOM

November 15, 1945

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It is a real pleasure for me to visit this great seat of learning and an honour, which I deeply appreciate, to receive, on the occasion of my visit, the degree of Doctor in the Faculty of Law. If there is one word which men associate with the name of Brussels University it is Freedom. Founded in an atmosphere of newly-won freedom for the purpose of defending freedom of thought against all encroachments, the University can proudly claim to have fulfilled its mission.

It was right that it should close its doors during the German occupation; for there was no place for it in a Nazified Europe. Only when the armies of our deadly enemy had been swept away from Belgian soil could professors and students meet again to resume their normal tasks.

This did not mean that they were idle while the University was closed. Many of them entered the ranks of the resistance movement. Some of the University's choicest sons have suffered death at the hands of Hitler's executioners or in his loathsome concentration camps. Their example will, I am sure, shine like a beacon for those who follow the path they once trod.

You said, in the course of your address, for which I thank you, Monsieur le Recteur, that one of the principles for which this University stands was "the free examination of thought and ideas." How little then is it to be wondered at that this institution should have been one of the first targets of the German invader in Belgium. For while the Nazis affected to despise thought and criticism, actually they feared and hated it even more than the physical weapons of their adversaries. How often used Hitler to sneer at the virtues of objectivity and toleration! How zealously did his army of brownshirts set about stamping them out wherever they were to be found in Germany itself during the early days of his régime! That people, always so docile in the face of a tyrant, watched one puny bastion of freedom after another go down before the Nazi onslaught without stirring a finger to protect them.

Yet when the Nazis overran the occupied countries, they found to their cost that here freedom was built on firmer foundations. They used every kind of method to achieve their ends. More subtle than the Kaiser's Huns they sought at first to conceal their brutal aims behind a screen of correct behaviour and specious promises. It was a gilded cage into which they tried to entice the unwary.

The concessions which they at first demanded seemed even reasonable. Some there were in the occupied countries who in the early days found themselves caught behind the glittering bars. Let us be thankful that there were institutions like Brussels, like Leyden, like Prague, where the traditions of liberty were so firmly rooted that no thoughts of compromise could be entertained. The wave of totalitarianism beat against them in vain. The example they set was soon followed by the rest of their fellow-

affection and

everything to
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ie genius, the
ntestable role.

countrymen. Many who had been dismayed by the German victories took fresh courage: many who had been for a moment deceived by the enemy's specious promises, recovered themselves and became men again. The movements of active resistance were born and played a worthy part in their countries' liberation. So the evil dream passed and the chance to renew their lives in an atmosphere of freedom was restored to the sorely-stricken countries of Europe.

Yet the champions of freedom can never afford to sleep. Intolerance and persecution are no sooner overcome than they return in new shapes. Institutions like Brussels University, which have so manfully withstood the assaults of Nazidom, have special importance in a Europe which is emerging from its long sickness. This is my message to those whom I am so happy to call my new associates. Always be on guard against tyranny whatever shape it may assume. Remember the cause of Freedom for which heroes died. Thus, and thus alone, will you be worthy sons and daughters of the honoured University to which you belong.

HONORARY DEGREE CONFERMENT

November 15, 1945

British Embassy, Brussels

The Catholic University of Louvain has a long and noble history; for there the Christian virtues have been taught ever since the fifteenth century. Among the names of its Rectors, your own will be remembered in its annals as one of the most distinguished of all. Therefore, I am greatly honoured by the decision of this seat of learning to confer on me the degree of Doctor of Law. It is a source of regret to me that the shortness of my stay in Belgium has prevented me from receiving this honour in the University itself, and I must thank you and your colleagues for your courtesy in coming here for the purpose of holding this ceremony.

I have just returned from your sister University of Brussels where a similar honour has been conferred upon me, and where I had occasion to congratulate professors and students for their worthy attitude during the German occupation of your country. I know well that when the members of its Council reached their resolve to close their doors sooner than yield to the demands of the Nazi oppressors, they were fortified by the knowledge that they could count on a hospitable welcome for their students at Louvain. More fortunate for the moment than they, thanks to the powerful protection of the Vatican, you were able to set their minds at rest on the one score which might have caused them anxiety—the future of their charges. Thus, forgetting old rivalries, the Universities of Belgium—for Liège and Ghent did the same—presented a united front to the Germans, thereby laying the foundations for that future resistance which was to prove so effective an element in victory.

When, as was inevitable, the Nazis turned their attention to Louvain and demanded from you, Monseigneur, the lists of your students with a view to conscripting them for slave labour in their war factories, they met with a firm refusal. Threats

enclosures

George
4/15/91

CS

JAN 1991

MC

President George Bush
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

December 11, 1990

Dear Mr. President:

By way of introduction, I'm a former editorial page editor for the Fort Worth Star-Telegram.

I wrote this to my son-in-law, Pfc. Craig Williams, who is with one of the first units sent from Fort Bragg, N.C., to Saudi Arabia. He and our daughter, Colleen, had been married less than two years and still "honeymooning" when his orders came, and he has had some pretty low moments over there.

After hearing the problems some are having understanding--or explaining--the stand you've taken in the Middle East, I felt that these thoughts might boost his morale a little.

I pass them on to you for your encouragement and for whatever use you may find for them.

God bless you. I believe I know exactly where you're coming from, and I appreciate you and what you're trying to do for this country and for mankind.

Sincerely,

Jimmie Cox
6753 Fair Meadows Dr.
Fort Worth, TX 76180
Phone: (817) 281-2727

December 7, 1990

Dear Craig:

What inspired me to write you again so soon was, in part, my realization that this is Pearl Harbor Day. Actually, I had been thinking some of these thoughts for several weeks, but it was remembering the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and its impact on my entire life that finally prompted me to put this on paper and share it with you.

Ironically, on the Sunday of the attack, I was in a theater in Waco seeing a movie about another war--"Sergeant York." It was the story of World War I's greatest American hero.

Little did I realize that when I walked out of that movie, I would hear the news that would change my whole world!

Until then, I had just been a purposeless pre-teenager, occasionally wondering what I wanted to be when I grew up, but mostly just rattling around getting into mischief. Suddenly, the only thing to think about was "the war." Not that either career ideas or mischief went completely out the window, but they definitely got shoved to the back burner.

To me, the issues in "the war" were perfectly clear. Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo were obvious villains. The sneak raid on Pearl Harbor was precisely what President Roosevelt labeled it in his famous radio speech: A "dastardly attack." Almost everybody agreed that we should kick the living daylights (I've cleaned up the language a little) out of the "dastards" who did it! It was plain to me that our country was in real jeopardy. I don't recall what my concept of "freedom" was at the time, but I had a good imagination. I saw the SS troopers in the newsreels, and I knew I didn't want that bunch of hooligans swaggering around my town.

However, please take note of the phrase "almost everybody" in the above paragraph. Because I want you to be aware, that as clear as the cause seemed to most of us in WW II, there were a lot of people who took the cynical view that the issues were "just money and politics."

At the time, my only reaction to talk like that was simple fury. Since I've gone to school and lived a little, though, I've come up with a philosophical rebuttal to it. It goes something like this:

In the first place, let's don't belittle "money and politics." What is there about life in this world that we can separate from "money and politics"?

Money translates into the material things that are essential

to our physical survival, not to mention our comfort and pleasure. Hyper-spiritual Christianity has given money a bad reputation. It's often said that the Bible labels money as "the root of all evil," but that's a misquotation. What First Timothy 6:10 really says is that "the love of money is the root of all evil"--"love," in this context, meaning devotion or worship. Jesus didn't say, "Man shall not live by bread at all." He said, "Man shall not live by bread alone" (Matthew 4:4). The Bible is filled with promises of God's provision for our material needs, confirming that He is quite aware of the importance to us of money and the things that only money will buy.

Our founding fathers certainly were not repulsed by thoughts of money and material things. They were all personally, "men of means." They were steeped in the political philosophies of the times, which all gave ample consideration to money and how it should be generated, allocated and controlled. Adam Smith's classic treatise wasn't called "The Wealth of Nations" without a reason. And while money may not be the only thing connoted by the word "wealth," it sure as heck does connote that!

Drawing on these politico-economic philosophies, the fathers laid the foundations for our country. When Thomas Jefferson wrote in our "Declaration of Independence"--still the greatest political statement the world has ever seen--that all men have certain inalienable rights, including "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," he was borrowing from the British philosopher John Locke. Locke's phrase was "life, liberty and estate".

Clearly, Jefferson saw that man's goal in life is actually happiness, and that put him a notch ahead of Locke. But just as clearly, he saw property (translate that "money") as an important prerequisite to happiness. It's possible to have money and not have any happiness, but it's hardly possible to have happiness without any money (that is, material things that money buys).

But let's take it a step further. Without money, you couldn't have those other two "inalienable rights," either. How much liberty could you have if you had no money to buy anything, go anywhere or do anything? And, as I mentioned earlier, there's the little matter that without bread (which takes money to buy) you don't even have life for very long!

The colonists understood all this quite well--not just the leaders and the philosophers, but the man in the street and on the farm.

What was the big issue of the American revolution, the thing that finally brought the question of independence from Great Britain to a head? "Taxation without representation."

"Taxation" is money. "Representation" is politics. So, I suppose a good cynic could say that our country's very first war was fought over "money and politics"!

That was the war that enabled us to establish the "politico-economic system" that has become the model for governments all over the world. "Politico" is just a combining form of the word "politics." "Economic" is a word connoting the principles and laws that govern the business life of a country. The bottom line: Money.

So you could say that a "politico-economic" system is a governmental structure that lays down and enforces rules for the way money is generated and handled and determines how and by whom the decisions concerning such matters will be made.

In our particular system, the governmental framework decrees that the system will be "of the people, by the people, for the people." That's just a neat way of saying that we all have a say in the rules that control the way money will be generated and handled and in determining who will make and enforce those rules. Thus, in free elections we choose the people who make the laws to represent our interests in the politico-economic system.

In doing so, we're participating in politics. Politics is not a dirty word. It's the way we get in our "two cents' worth" about how we'll live our lives. Or to put it another way, how we'll earn our money, to a degree how much we will earn and how we will be able to spend it. Our goal in participating in politics--bottom line--is to be allowed to earn enough money to have the things that enable us to be reasonably happy (all other things being equal) and to be free to spend the money in ways that we believe will give us happiness--that is, the kind of lives we want to live.

Do you see now how all that comes down to "money and politics"? When you're talking about money and politics, you're talking about your life--the very existence of it, first of all, but also to a degree the length and quality of it. This is why one of Jefferson's philosophical forerunners--Thomas Hobbes--said, in effect, that without a well-conceived politico-economic system life would be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short."

What I'm getting at is the reason you and a bunch of other guys have been sent to Saudi Arabia. It's "money and politics," all right, but not in a derogatory sense. From the things I've said about the real meaning of that phrase, I'm sure you can link it to the present situation and see what would happen in the area of "money and politics" if Saddam Hussein got his greedy fingers on the world's richest energy supply.

It wouldn't just be a matter of a few cents a gallon on gasoline. It could have a wrenching impact on every area of life here at home. It could steal all the benefits of the hard-won Cold War victory in Europe and the USSR by aborting the exciting movement we've seen toward democracy and friendly competition, with all its promise of a period of relative tranquility in the world. By bringing America to its knees economically, it would pose a grave threat to all those "inalienable rights" that so many have fought and died for--and lived for--down through the years.

It may not make you miss Colleen any less or enjoy the sand and camel meat any more. But it should make it all seem less futile to know that what you're doing is just as important as what our forebears did at Lexington and Concord, at Valley Forge and (in my lifetime) at Omaha Beach and on Iwo Jima. It makes the same kind of statement the patriots made when they dumped the tea in Boston Harbor.

In each case, there were cynics who said, "Bah, money and politics." But to those in tune with the spiritual foundations on which America was built, it has always been clear that the issue was not just politics and money. It's been: "What kind of politics will you have--the kind where you have a say in matters involving your money, how you earn it and spend it, or the kind where someone else decides all that for you?"

Of course, the fact that "the people" have a voice doesn't mean they will always use it wisely. The Gulf crisis is a result of a case in which we blew it. I say, "we," because we are the people, as in, "We, the people of the United States of America . . . "

If our government, during the first fuel crisis in 1972, had begun making the national investment necessary to give us energy independence from the Mideast oil supplies, we might have avoided our present predicament.

But that investment would have required heavy sacrifices on the part of "the people." It would have meant much higher fuel prices and stringent conservation measures. After considering the price tag, our leaders failed to take the bold steps necessary to achieve energy independence.

But why? Oddly enough: politics and money. Not enough of "the people" wanted to take those steps. A hefty majority of them didn't want to have big surtaxes slapped on their gasoline prices, and they didn't want their fuel rationed. It would have imposed some pretty severe restrictions on their freedom. They couldn't have just jumped in their cars and driven anywhere without thinking about the economic consequences.

There would have been an impact on the economy as a whole. Higher fuel costs would have caused a recession in those days, just as they're doing now, and a lot of people would might have lost their jobs. So the leaders, who can't hold office unless they go along with "the people," went along--although some knew better and tried to warn us.

It's now obvious that the collective decision of "the people" to by-pass energy independence was extremely shortsighted. Even if there's no war--and we're all praying there won't be --protecting our energy supplies by military posturing is likely to cost much more in the long term than it would have cost to take those bold steps for energy independence through developing our own resources, alternate fuel technology and conservation.

However, here we are. We can't turn back the clock to 1972 or 1978 and take another shot at that decision. Since we can't, there's nothing left to do but face down a power-hungry enemy once again with the only thing he will respect--greater power.

And pray that we can buy enough time to give "the people," now hopefully awakened to the high stakes, another chance to lift their voices in support of a serious national commitment to the cause of energy independence.

We need to keep one other point in mind, too. It's an easy one for me to remember, because I'm old enough to recall the Nazi rise to power in Europe and Japan's military expansionism in the Far East in the years leading up to World War II. I can still see Neville Chamberlain, the British prime minister, umbrella in hand, returning from meetings in which he tried to appease Hitler by letting him make one small territorial acquisition after another. I remember the Japanese "peace envoys" coming to Washington to "negotiate" even while their carrier task force steamed toward Pearl Harbor.

And for four long, bloody years--while bombs were falling on British troops at Dunkirk, the Luftwaffe was pounding London night after night, American boys were fighting on Pacific Islands that few of their parents had ever heard of, and literally millions of people were dying on battlefields and in concentration camps on both sides of the globe--I remember hearing again and again the haunting questions:

"Why didn't we stop them in the beginning? Why did we let them get so powerful? Why did we try to reason with power-mad animals? Why did we cut them so much slack that we have no options left but this horrible conflict or submission to rule by cruel military dictatorship?"

When I think of those questions, I'm proud of President Bush

for his decision to nip Saddam Hussein's powerlust in the bud. I'm thankful that we have a leader who remembers the lessons of the past and will stick by his guns in the face of opposition, scorn and ridicule from those who don't remember --or have priorities other than the preservation of freedom for America and of the prospect of freedom for other people who are just seeing the first rays of hope after decades of Communist oppression.

Well, I hope I haven't bored you with all this. It's just something I've had on my chest and, as I said, I thought it might help you to realize that you're serving a great purpose just by being where you are. Maybe it will help you get by until you can come home.

I hope to hear from you again soon. I love you, and we're still praying for you every day.

Love,

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Cox:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the terrific letter that you wrote to your son-in-law, Private Craig Williams, who is serving in the Persian Gulf. Your words are truly encouraging, and I am sure they meant a great deal to him. They did to me.

Throughout our history, as your letter states so well, the United States has been committed to fundamental principles of justice, freedom, and human rights. Guided by these principles, we resolved, along with the world community, that Iraq's ruthless invasion of Kuwait must not stand.

When Saddam Hussein rejected all diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis caused by his brutal invasion and occupation of Kuwait, I called on our Armed Forces, in cooperation with those of our coalition partners, to restore liberty to the Kuwaiti people and to deter further Iraqi aggression. Craig and his colleagues are, indeed, "serving a great purpose."

I am grateful that our troops face the challenges before them knowing that they have the support of millions of people around the world. We are all tremendously proud of the job they are doing. Rest assured that our troops will have maximum support and protection and that we will bring them home as soon as possible.

Barbara and I are praying for Craig and for your family. God bless you.

Sincerely,

Mr. Jimmie Cox
6753 Fair Meadows Drive
Fort Worth, Texas 76180

Mr. President:

February 26, 1991

Your speech on 2/26/91 was well stated and in order. Thank God you are in control. I will support you and our troops all the way. I think of our country and the current situation as I do of the story of "David & Goliath". It may not matter to some, but I am a Christian black woman and I do know the Lord. Keep up the good work. I plan to support you all the way!!!!

Mrs. Mattie Mack and Friends
Brandenburg, KY 40108

Mattie Mack

502) 422-2838
2838

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Rebaño Compañerismo Cristiano

Christian Fellowship Flock

2435 W. Division St. P.O. Box 478263

Chicago, Illinois 60622

Tel: 772-1141



Angel y Ruth Mercado
Pastores

February 25, 1991

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As I watched the media and I have seen you in the News Press, the Lord has put a heavy load in me to intercede for you. You are a righteous man. I can see it through the media.

As I grew up, as a child, I did not appreciate a president as I do now and watching you through the media brings me great respect towards you and seeing your integrity as you speak and that word, "PRAY" that does not cease from your lips really encourages me and others to pray for you.

Mr. President, as I pray and I put myself in your place, I can feel the pressure, the ridicule of many because you are standing and being led by a supernatural guidance which is from God.

Keep up the good work for our nation! You have righteous men and women that pray for you.

We know that our nation has prospered and has been blessed through your position as the President of the United States of America.

While praying for our troops, God gave me this special message which I have enclosed with this letter, for a banquet and school assembly with our Christian school.

Our Children (even the smaller ones, our five year olds) prayed for our troops in Saudi Arabia and for your and I just wanted to send you a copy so that all this could be in your hands and I pray to God that this message would bring strength and encouragement to you.

En 2 Amigos. Yo deseo que tu seas prosperando en todas las cosas, y que tengas salud, así como prospera tu alma.

Mr. President, I noticed that you usually go on week-ends to Camp David, and I know and feel as I **pray that you go** there seeking the face of God, as you are there. That is the only way you will be able to be in rest and be strengthened in the midst of all the pressures of the media to hear God's voice.

Mr. President, you are doing a fantastic job! Keep up the good work. Continue working through Gods guidance, wisdom and strength.

We love you and you honored by a group of people in the city of Chicago.

I am a pastor's wife of Christian Fellowship Flock Church and director of our Christian School.

"...the Lord says that you must no be discouraged or be afraid to face this large army. The battle depends on God, not on you." II Chronicles 20:15.

Peace be with you,



Ruth R. Mercado
Director of Christian Education

RRM:an

1-21
Ranier Devido Stone & Marble Company

2619 New Butler Road • New Castle, PA 16101
Phone: (412) 658-8518 FAX: (412) 658-0999

February 27, 1991

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

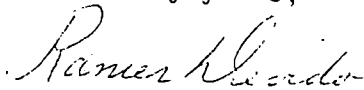
Dear Mr. President:

I would like to thank you for the commendable job that you are doing with Iraq. You show the strength that America has while at the same time you are being both firm and fair. I am so pleased that you did not let Russia and Iraq fool us.

I also think that you and your chief of staff are handling the news media well. Please do not let them get the better of you. Some of their reporting is uncalled for and very poor.

Bring our troops home safe and soon. Stay firm and fair in your decisions.
God Bless You.

Respectfully yours,



Ranier Devido

RD/als

We are presently finishing some stone balusters for the White House which we plan to deliver next Tuesday. My company is very much honored to be of service to you.

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p-51
WILLIAM YORK BOOTH

715 Machado Drive
Suite 15
Venice, California 90291
(213) 392-2469

February 27, 1991

President George Bush
The White House
Oval Office
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Bush,

Only moments ago, I listened to your speech announcing the near end of our liberation of Kuwait. I have never been more proud of our military men and women. And, Mr. President, I have never been more proud of you. You have really shown "the right stuff" throughout this crisis.

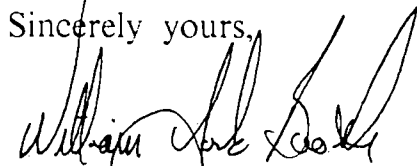
With the approval of White House staff, I am forwarding two gifts to your office. Both gifts are verses that were written during the past week. One is for the People of Kuwait, and the other is for you.

The verse titled "FREEDOM" was written for the citizens of Kuwait. Those battered people have so much to do in the coming months as they rebuild their country... I hope the words in this verse have some meaning for them. If you feel it is appropriate, please offer this gift to the representatives of that country.

The second verse, "The Reward", was written with you and the Persian Gulf crisis in mind, Mr. President. What it must have felt like to have made such tough decisions is something that most of us can only imagine. But you made them... with harsh criticism in the beginning, but you made them. I hope this verse has some meaning for you, now as we are beginning to see the rewards of this action.

Thank you, Mr. President, for your leadership and your wisdom. And thank you for reading these verses... they both came straight from the heart.

Sincerely yours,



William York Booth

ary 27, 1991

dent George Bush
hite House
ngton DC 20500

Mr. President,

atulations on the successful liberation of Kuwait. Your
rship and courage has brought freedom to the Kuwaities and a
ed sense of freedom throughout the world. You have pulled nations
her to put an end to the radical rule of Saddam Hussain. It is a
n to all tyrants and it will have long and positive consequences
ecades to come.

soon the men and women of Operation Desert Storm will begin to
home. There will be parades, parties and celebrations of all
as the people of America welcome home the heroes. It will be a
time for America as we celebrate our new sense of freedom and the
zation of the responsibilities that come with that freedom.

tunately, there will be some who feel cheated because they never
ved a homecoming. I am speaking of the men and women of the
Nam War. When they came home they did not receive the thanks of
ca that they deserved. There are also those Americans who still
badly that they did not say thank you as they wanted. You have
ower to help this wound to heal. As the celebrations begin, I
y request that you ask all Americans to let all Veterans march in
arades with the men and women of Desert Storm. Let them feel the
s they so richly deserve. The Viet Nam veterans fought just as
as did our current troops and they fought for the same reason,
OM.

you for your consideration and for the courage you have shown
ghout this crisis. I feel proud to be a Republican and even
er to be an American. God Bless you and the United States of
ca.

ctfully.



th C. Lund

Rivkind Lane
w Hills, CA 91040

February 27, 1991

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. President:

To date you have been a world class leader and statesman. Congratulations on your excellent achievement of forging a unique alliance. I hope the following idea may help the current political problem we face.

Let us tell Iraq and the world that if the Kuwait hostages taken by Saddam are not immediately returned, that the allied forces will go to Bagdad if necessary to secure them. In the meantime, we could drop leaflets (as they obviously have been very effective) over Bagdad telling the people of Bagdad what Saddam has done and that the Allied forces wish Iraq no harm, but will have to invade if the Iraq people do not force Saddam to return the thousands of hostages he has kidnapped. This should get the Iraqi minds working in the right direction.

The U.N. could also pass a resolution declaring Saddam an International criminal, and request the world to issue an international warrant for his arrest so that he could be held accountable for his actions by a jury of the United Nations.

We must get the message to the Iraqi people that it is Saddam, The Butcher of Bagdad who is causing their continued wars and misery. It appears most of the Iraq Army already detests Saddam. The U. N. resolutions cannot be fulfilled until ALL KIDNAPPED Kuwaite hostages are returned to allied forces.

When I saw the Kuwait man on television who said he would remember this day every day for the rest of his life, I hoped you were watching, as you made his feelings possible for millions.

I am very proud of the fact that I voted for you, and I hope both you and Secretary Baker keep the championship team together for many years to come.

God bless you and all our people in uniform.

P-51
6729 Albatross Street
Ventura, California 93003
February 27, 1991

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Blvd.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The planning and execution of the Desert Shield and Storm campaign were brilliant. You have greatly impressed us by keeping your promise to leave the execution of the war to the military.

Please show equal intelligence in your diplomatic approach to the people of the Middle East. We feel that diplomatically it is not good to insist that Saddam Hussein personally announce acceptance of the U.N. Resolutions. That hurts the Iraqi people, the Arab world, and yourself as well. We feel it is enough to demand that the Iraqi soldiers leave all weapons of war behind as they leave the war, and that all prisoners of war be released immediately.

We do not believe that the people of Baghdad should suffer a continuation of the bombing - after all, you have won the war. You can afford to be magnanimous. It may be that a United Nations task force may have to go into Iraq to get rid of the missiles and missile launchers, but we don't think this should be a function of the U.S. Forces.

Please dazzle us with your diplomacy. We will salute you. **History will salute you.**

Best wishes,

Wayne & Geraldine Rantz
Wayne & Geraldine Rantz