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DONALD LAMBRO

These are dismal days for the Democrats as they watch their party's spirit gradually being eroded by political defection, depression and division.

America's victory over Iraq has clearly changed the national political climate, though its full implications may not be known for many months to come. Much depends on how President Bush and his party use the political capital that has flowed from the president's remarkable achievement.

Yet only now is the full enormity of the Democrats' Persian Gulf blunder just beginning to settle in on party leaders as Republicans continue to bombard them for failing to give Mr. Bush the bipartisan approval he sought in January to liberate Kuwait.

As postwar public opinion polls roared in, bathing the president with overwhelming approval of his leadership in a major crisis, the majority of House and Senate Democrats were left to weakly defend their failure to support him when the fateful roll was called.

The polls not only showed that most Americans strongly approved of Mr. Bush's handling of the war and the reasons for waging it, they also revealed a sharp decline in confidence in the Democrats on protecting national security. A Washington Post-ABC News poll showed voters siding with Republicans by 68 percent to 17 percent when asked which party is best able to maintain a strong defense. The GOP wins by 59

Adrift in a dismal political swamp

percent to 23 percent when asked who is better able to handle foreign policy.

The mood of renewed national confidence and self-esteem that has followed the war has spilled over into broader political tributaries as well.

Republicans now lead Democrats 47 percent to 34 percent when voters are asked which party can better handle the nation's overall problems. And despite the recession, the GOP even holds a decisive lead over the Democrats when voters are asked which party is better equipped to handle the economy.

Moreover, more voters now identify themselves as Republicans, by 47 percent to 45 percent, a major shift from the 51-to-43 percent advantage that Democrats enjoyed last October.

No one denies that the Democrats are just as relieved as anyone else over the war's successful conclusion, but its political aftermath and the sudden turn in public opinion against their party has clearly depressed their ranks.

Indeed, Democratic lawmakers were so gloomy that Virginia Sen. Charles Robb, one of only 10 Senate Democrats to support Mr. Bush

when the war resolution roll was called, urged his colleagues to "stop looking so gloomy" and enjoy the nation's victory.

If the president's soaring job approval ratings were not hard enough for Democrats to swallow, Louisiana Gov. Buddy Roemer's desertion to the GOP was even worse.

Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown tried to put the best face on a party switch he had long feared, saying that it was not surprising "given his past record, his recent vacillation and ideological leanings." But the first political defection of a governor in modern memory represented another major crack in the Democrats' increasingly splintered ranks in the Deep South.

Mr. Roemer joins nearly 240 former Democratic elected officials and other party leaders who have turned Republican since Mr. Bush became president, most of them from the South, where a slow but continuing party realignment is taking place.

In many ways, the switch grew out of the realigning climate that emerged anew in the early 1980s when Boll Weevil Southern congressmen like Mr. Roemer broke Democratic ranks to support Ronald Reagan's tax and budget cuts. Mr. Reagan may be gone, but the seeds of his political legacy are still bearing fruit for his party.

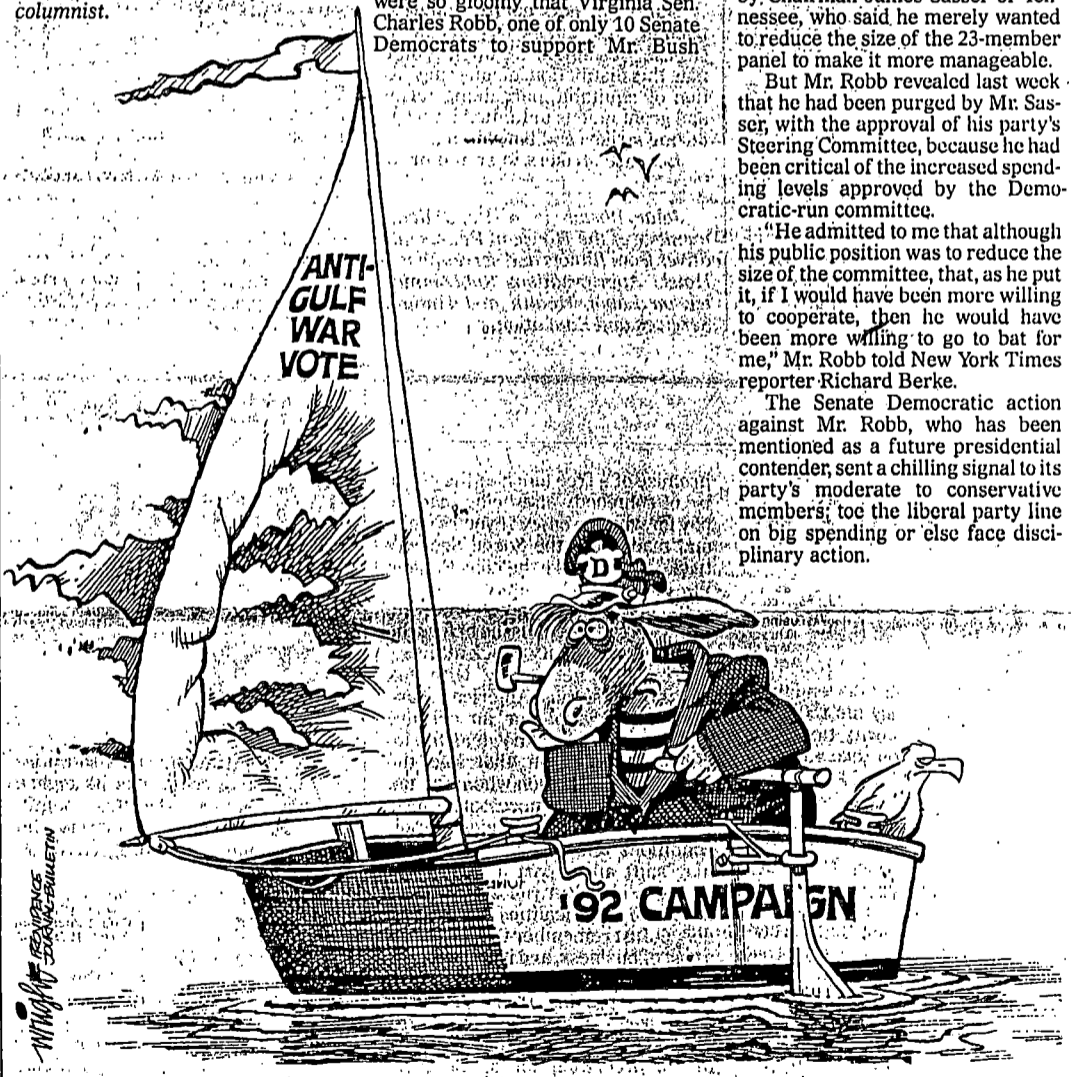
Meantime, the Democrats' deepening ideological divisions emerged again last week when Mr. Robb was ousted from the Budget Committee by his party because of his fiscal conservatism. The Virginia Democrat was shoved off the committee by Chairman James Sasser of Tennessee, who said he merely wanted to reduce the size of the 23-member panel to make it more manageable.

But Mr. Robb revealed last week that he had been purged by Mr. Sasser, with the approval of his party's Steering Committee, because he had been critical of the increased spending levels approved by the Democratic-run committee.

"He admitted to me that although his public position was to reduce the size of the committee, that, as he put it, if I would have been more willing to cooperate, then he would have been more willing to go to bat for me," Mr. Robb told New York Times reporter Richard Berke.

The Senate Democratic action against Mr. Robb, who has been mentioned as a future presidential contender, sent a chilling signal to its party's moderate to conservative members: toe the liberal party line on big spending or else face disciplinary action.

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

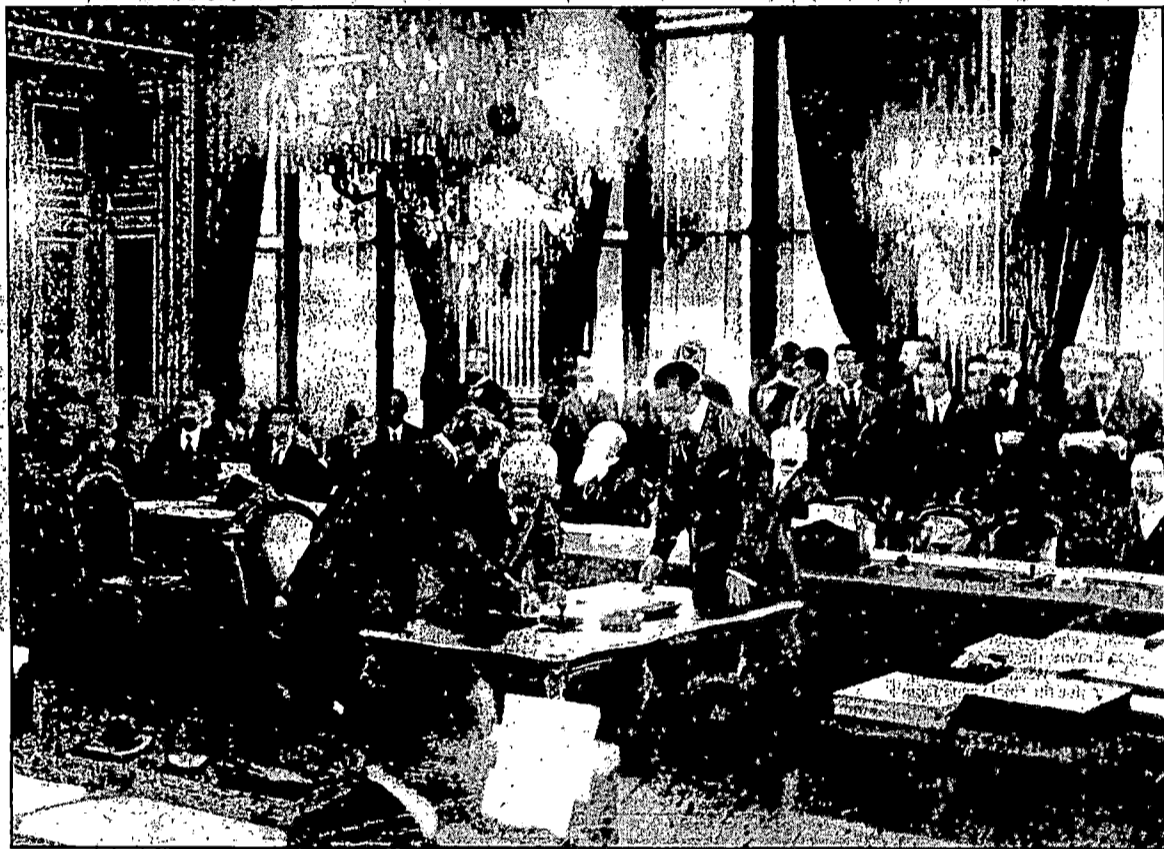


Opera fans give
bravos for their
favorite troupe/2

Life

TUESDAY, MARCH 19, 1991

The Washington Times



In June 1919 French Premier Georges Clemenceau signed the Paris Peace Treaty, which would bring Germany to its knees after losing World War I. UPI Bettmann

The ghosts of Versailles

By Judith Colp
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The ghosts of the statesmen who gathered at Versailles Palace in 1919 have been hovering over Washington since the United States defeated Iraq. They are evoked by pundits who echo the old refrain that those who forget history's lessons are doomed to repeat them.

As he determines how much Iraq should be punished for having invaded Kuwait, President Bush is being urged to heed those ghosts who established a "new world order" and settled scores 72 years ago, right after World War I.

Five million lives were lost in that four-year struggle in which Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey lost to the victorious Allied forces of France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan and the United States. A world built on colonies, classes and monarchies was about to end.

The treaty that ended World War I holds lessons for America today

But when the victors moved from the corpse-strewn battlefields to the sumptuous halls of Versailles near Paris, they were no longer united. Led by idealistic U.S. President Woodrow Wilson and the vengeful French Premier Georges Clemenceau, the Versailles conference was the most lavish display of diplomacy in modern history. It also has been widely viewed as the most disappointing.

Four months later in the bloom of summer, the diplomats produced a 200-page document known as the Paris Peace Treaty. Framed in high-toned, albeit soporific, rhetoric, the treaty was poised to bring Germany to its knees.

Schoolchildren today learn that the treaty's effects were so devastating for Germany that less than 20 years later a megalomaniacal leader

rose to power because the treaty had been so viciously punitive. After the collapse of the German Democratic Weimar Republic, Adolf Hitler declared the Versailles treaty void. Once again Germany plunged Europe into a long, bloody battle.

Many contend the Versailles treaty was filled with as many illusions as the famous Hall of Mirrors in which it was signed. British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, a participant, called it "the most abused and least perused document in history."

Now, in the winter of 1991 — some might find meaning in the date's similarity to 1919 — Mr. Bush is being urged not to make the same mistakes with Iraq. "To impose punitive reparations on Iraq would be as shortsighted as the harsh peace imposed on Germany at Versailles,

which saddled that country with guilt, debt and, in the end, a fanatical reaction," wrote syndicated columnist Paul Greenberg in *The Washington Times*.

"Whatever justice was served [by the Versailles treaty] was outweighed by the ruin of the German economy and weakening of its democracy," declared a *New York Times* editorial. "It is the stability, not the ruin, of Iraq that should be the goal of any postwar reparations program."

The *New York Times* quoted economist John Maynard Keynes, a member of the British delegation at Versailles, who wrote in his influential 1920 tome "The Economic Consequences of the Peace":

"If we aim deliberately at the impoverishment of Central Europe, vengeance, I dare predict, will not limp. Nothing can then delay for very long that final civil war between the forces of Reaction and the despairing convulsions of Rev-

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TREATY

From page E1

olution, before which the horrors of the late German war will fade into nothing."

But the historical lessons to be drawn from Versailles are not so clear. Stephen A. Schuker, professor of history at Brandeis University, says the New York Times editorial has it all wrong by "repeating the canard that the reparations levied on Germany after World War I precipitated the ruin of the German economy."

Germany, in fact, never paid its reparations, Mr. Schuker asserts. From 1919 to 1931 Germany transferred to the Allies the equivalent of \$4 billion. But during the same period citizens of Allied nations transferred to Germany more than twice that amount. They speculated on the German mark and made loans on which Germany later defaulted, he says.

"The net capital flow thus ran strongly toward Germany," says Mr. Schuker, who documents these assertions in his book, "American Reparations to Germany, 1919-33." "Some vengeance. Some ruin!"

He adds that for too long Keynes — whom he dubiously well-known German propagandist — has set the tone of debate about the treaty.

Another Versailles treaty expert, Fritz Stern, professor of history at Columbia University, agrees that the impact of reparations was felt psychologically, rather than economically, by Germany.

"The treaty has been unjustly blamed for all sorts of mishaps and tragedies that happened afterward," Mr. Stern says. "At the very least it was a triumph of speech that gave Europe an 'immediate' breathing spell which it didn't use."

The conference

It was the modern world's grandest international conference, with representatives from more than 35 nations. There were U.S. public relations men, academics and economists — including a young Herbert Hoover, who would end up agreeing with Keynes in his own account of the proceedings.

There were rulers of vacant thrones in search of new caesars. There were Armenian farmers who had lost entire families during Turkish massacres. There were French widows trying to feed their children.

There were reporters hunting for the real story behind the endless round of committee meetings. There were charlatans with a captive audience, and curious onlookers who simply wanted to see history in the making.

The City of Lights became the clearinghouse of the fates, the place where the suffering righteous might finally be rewarded and the evil would suffer. Overshadowing the proceedings was V.I. Lenin's new government in Russia, installed after a revolution that threatened to spread.

For Wilson, in frail health and politically unpopular back home, Versailles was an opportunity to remake the world in the U.S. democratic image. Months before the war ended, the former Princeton University



Watercolor by Owen Reveral
The National Portrait Gallery, London
John Maynard Keynes, a member of the British delegation at Versailles

Germany, in fact, never paid its reparations; says a professor of history.

president had outlined this new diplomacy in his Fourteen Points address, which called for "peace without victory" and self-determination among peoples.

His most cherished vision was for the establishment of a League of Nations, the forerunner of the United Nations which became the modern world's first permanent organization for international cooperation.

The Fourteen Points formed the basis for an Allied armistice with Germany, and was expected to lay the groundwork for the Versailles peace treaty.

But the Old World leaders who sat down with Wilson to draft the peace treaty had more basic concerns. They saw the U.S. president — relentlessly lampooned in French newspapers — as the naive American whose nation had entered World War I near the end and had suffered little.

France, by contrast, had lost 3 million of its men in battle, and Paris was filled with the widowed and wounded. Clemenceau — a stooped 80-year-old with a jutting jaw whose nickname was "the tiger" — had little interest in Wilson's idealism. Single-mindedly he sought to please the Paris masses by severely punishing Germany economically and militarily.

In between these two extremes was Great Britain. Lloyd George was not as intent upon revenge, but his Liberal Party had been handed a recent parliamentary victory based on the promise that Germany would pay dearly. He had his own masses to please.

These three mismatched figures, with Italian and Japanese leaders playing a secondary role, hammered out a peace treaty patched together after interruptions, clashes and compromise.

In June 1919 an extremely disap-

pointed Germany, which had hoped for the leniency promised by Wilson's Fourteen Points, was forced to sign the Versailles treaty or face military occupation. Its empire was destroyed. Among other treaty provisions, Germany was forced to cede Alsace-Lorraine to France, and territory to several countries including Poland and Belgium.

German territory west of the Rhine, and 30 miles east, was to be permanently demilitarized, owing to French insistence. The German state of Saarland was granted a provisional government with its coal-rich fields to be used by the French. Germany's army was severely restricted in equipment and manpower.

League of Nations

Wilson received his cherished League of Nations. Ironically the United States was the only world power that didn't join the league, greatly weakening its potential.

After battling with France at the conference, Wilson faced an equally tough partisan battle back home. The Republican-dominated Congress, led by Wilson's nemesis, Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge, refused to ratify the Versailles treaty without making major changes in the proposed League of Nations.

Unwilling to compromise, Wilson urged his Democratic loyalists to vote against the treaty, so ensuring the defeat of ratification. The sickly but persistent president declared the next presidential election, in which he was not a candidate, to be a referendum on the League.

The U.S. public, who came to believe they had been lured into World War I by the greed of arms manufacturers — the so-called "merchants of death" — wanted to step down from the international stage. They elected, Republican Warren Harding, who declared the league as "dead as slavery" in a landslide.

By 1921 the United States had signed separate peace treaties with its World War I enemies, and three years later Wilson died a broken man.

If the Versailles treaty statesmen had been dealing with modern Iraq, their job would have been considerably easier. There is no Iraqi empire to divide, far fewer nations to repay and many fewer grieving widows.

Iraq also has its oil refineries, although damaged. Patrick Clawson, resident scholar at the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia, estimates that within a year Iraq could start pumping its oil fields to generate revenues of \$15 billion to \$20 billion per year.

Mr. Schuker argues that the Versailles treaty example demonstrates that the best way to collect reparations from Iraq is to refrain from imposing a set figure to be collected over several decades.

Instead, he says, the United States should control Iraq's oil pipelines through Saudi Arabia and Turkey for five years; Iraq should also be given incentives to repay reparations by returning some money to it that would be used for non-military purposes. Finally, Iraq's payment of reparations should be supervised internationally by a regional development bank, Mr. Schuker adds.

That might finally lay the Versailles ghosts to rest.



President Woodrow Wilson is escorted by French Premier Georges Clemenceau (left) and British Prime Minister David Lloyd George (right) during the signing of the Versailles Treaty.

MORTON KONDRACKE

Reading
NWO's
fine print

More than a week after Secretary of State James Baker's surprise agreement with Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh on Gulf war aims and subsequent Middle East peace, Bush administration colleagues were still raining verbal artillery on Mr. Baker. "Total, unabashed free-lancing," one official called it. "Very upsetting to our allies," said another.

White House officials are willing to believe that Mr. Baker was simply outfoxed by Mr. Bessmertnykh, who grandly read the communique to the Washington press instead of saving it for Soviet consumption. But they were peeved by a State Department leak to The Washington Post that implied that State, and not the National Security Council, was in charge of postwar diplomatic planning.

This inside jostling likely will end soon, but it does seem to have long-

term meaning. President Bush's "New World Order" — and especially the Middle East aspect — are going to be Bush initiatives, not Baker plans. And the "NWO," as it is inevitably being dubbed, is likely to veer closer to Pax Americana than to Pax Americana-Sovietica.

Nothing about the NWO is entirely clear, of course, because it's still more slo-

gan than strategy. The administration says it means good things: promotion of democracy, collective security, arms reductions, settlement of regional disputes, cooperation among industrialized nations and free trade. But many Americans fear it means that this country will be the world's policeman, and many foreigners see it as a post-Cold War American grab for hegemony. The NWO seemingly anticipates that other countries will help pay for U.S. foreign policy initiatives, but what will those countries get in return? And if they don't pay up — as many assert Japan and Germany aren't paying now — what will be the consequences? And just how does the Soviet Union fit into Mr. Bush's new world?

The first big test of what the NWO means will come in deciding how to end the war. The next will be in the attempt to bring peace and stability to the Middle East. The Soviets, the French and the U.N. secretary general seem willing to settle the war diplomatically, but Mr. Bush wants a full Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait — plus, apparently, continued sanctions, arms embargoes, reparations and war crimes trials if Saddam Hussein remains in power.

"In the aftermath of the crisis in the Persian Gulf," said the Baker-Bessmertnykh communique, "mutual U.S.-Soviet efforts to promote Arab-Israeli peace and regional stability, in consultation with other parties in the region, will be greatly facilitated and enhanced." Some Middle East experts took this to mean that Mr. Baker had in mind a U.S.-Soviet-led postwar peace process, without European participation, without the United Nations and without the international peace conference that the Soviets (and most Arabs) have always called for.

White House officials make it

clear — echoing Mr. Bush in his State of the Union address — that the basic job of putting together a new Middle East (and a New World Order) is a U.S. responsibility. The Soviet Union is being offered a role, they say, if it behaves responsibly in other contexts, including the Baltics. The president and his top aides all fervently hope that Mikhail Gorbachev will continue to be a foreign policy asset. At the same time, one State Department official said, Mr. Gorbachev is "at a precipice," as are hopes for a close, cooperative U.S.-Soviet relationship.

Rather than a full partner in the New World Order and in Middle Eastern diplomacy, the chances are that the Soviet Union will be, at best, "cover" to convince Europeans and non-aligned countries to go along with U.S. policy initiatives. Mr. Bush needs a backup plan for both the NWO and the Middle East in case the Soviet Union can't or won't play this role — if Mr. Gorbachev becomes an embarrassing despot, for instance, or if Soviet foreign policy again turns hostile toward the United States.

Current administration plans call for Middle East peacemaking to be primarily a U.S. show. Once an NSC-led interagency panel concludes its strategy review this month, ideas will get tried out on Israel and Arab

allies. Then, something like a Bush Plan for the region will be set in motion. Officials say the United States wants to act fast, before other players have a chance to formulate alternate proposals that may not be as congenial to American interests.

There are three categories for administration Middle East planning: the political (including Arab-Israeli), economic, and security (including military and arms-control subcategories). Not very many concrete decisions have been made yet, but highest-ranking administration officials seem firmly committed to leaving few, if any, U.S. ground forces in the Gulf after the war is over. The Pentagon, the Saudis and the Kuwaiti government in exile all think the region could absorb a small permanent force of 15,000 to 40,000 Americans, but White House officials say their first choice is for Arab forces (presumably Saudi and Egyptian) to provide security for the Gulf. The second choice is a U.N. force and "the worst possible" is a U.S. force. The United States would preposition equipment and make a fast return, if necessary.

Officials say there may be major opportunities for Arab-Israeli peacemaking after an allied victory. "The region will be all shaken up," one top Bush adviser said. "The PLO will be discredited as an organization. A feeling of closeness will have developed between the Saudis and the Egyptians, and maybe the Syrians. We see increasing self-confidence among our Arab friends, similar to what Anwar Sadat showed after his 1973 war." Obviously this official thinks the Saudis, like Sadat, might be ready to recognize and negotiate with Israel.

The NWO and its Middle East component all depend, of course, on a reasonably quick allied victory in the Gulf — and upon the continued willingness and ability of the American people to shoulder international burdens. Administration officials acknowledge that some problems loom, including deep unhappiness in Congress with Germany and Japan, and the weakness of the American domestic economy. Mr. Bush obviously wants to build a New World Order the way the Truman and Eisenhower administrations did after World War II, but he's got to watch out that the country doesn't turn isolationist and treat his dreams as it did Woodrow Wilson's after World War I.



Alexander Bessmertnykh

PAGE G4 / TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1991

The Washington Times

Morton Kondracke is a senior editor of The New Republic, in which this article first appeared.

Gulf Lessons—for Good Guys, and Bad

Every battle has lessons to teach, but sometimes losers and bystanders are the ones who learn best. The French demonstrated the potential of air power in World War I with their state-of-the-art little Spads. But it was the losing Germans who would use air power to best advantage 22 years later. They assaulted the French army with a devastating one-two punch of tanks and Stuka dive bombers. The French air force had nothing in 1940 that could match Germany's fast, modern Messerschmitts.

The Israeli air force employed guided bombs and rockets in the 1967 Six-Day War to destroy Egyptian armor in the Sinai. But in the Yom Kippur rematch in 1973, it

Global View

By George Melloan

was the Egyptians who first used guided weapons to best advantage, employing Soviet-made surface-to-air missiles to hold off the Israeli air attack while Egyptian tanks attempted a quick knockout that almost succeeded.

President Eisenhower knew the importance of overwhelming force when he dispatched troops to stabilize Lebanon in 1957. But Ronald Reagan forgot that lesson when he sent only 1,000 soldiers to Lebanon in 1982, with disastrous results. George Bush didn't forget in dealing with Saddam.

What are the lessons of Desert Storm? There are many. One is that losing 200,000 soldiers in a war, as Iraq did in its fight with Iran, doesn't necessarily discourage a dictator from having another go. In countries with a high population growth, a large new youth cohort comes along every year for the dictator to employ as cannon fodder. In Desert Storm, Saddam has sacrificed many thousands more but has not

lost his taste for blood, as evidenced by his current slaughter of Shiites.

The U.S. "rapid deployment" concept did not fare well in the Gulf. Congress prefers to base U.S. forces at home, where they contribute to local economies. Hence the concept of highly mobile U.S.-based units that can be rushed to trouble spots in a few days. But it took seven months for the U.S. to dispatch enough heavy equipment to the Gulf sufficient to fight a decisive ground war against Iraq. Had Saddam been clever enough or lucky enough to launch an effective air strike against Saudi Arabia's limited port facilities, the deployment could have taken much longer.

Yet, there is little evidence of second thoughts over whether the U.S. can defend its interests in Europe and the Far East from U.S. bases. A very large drawdown of U.S. forces in Europe seems certain. It will leave the Soviet Union with an enormous superiority in men and equipment on that continent. A cutback also is under way in the Far East. Of course, heavy equipment can be pre-positioned in strategic areas, such as Europe or the Gulf, and the crews quickly dispatched to the theater by plane in case of trouble. As U.S. forces withdraw from Europe and from the Gulf, they likely will leave much heavy equipment in place. But what happens to tanks and artillery left in storage—prey to corrosion and obsolescence and tempting to political activists with a mind to subvert regimes friendly to the U.S.—needs careful attention. The answer might be embarrassing someday.

A positive lesson from the Gulf is that multinational forces can be coordinated effectively on a large scale through a single system of command and control. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf employed U.S. and British air and naval power, with an assist from the French and Italians, along with U.S., British, French, Egyptian, Saudi, Kuwaiti and Syrian land forces, assigning each of the units at his disposal specific missions. There was amazingly little con-

fusion. The techniques were learned mainly through many years of NATO exercises, where forces of 15 NATO nations function under a single command.

Some military men say that preserving the principle of a single command for allied forces is one of the major arguments for preserving the NATO alliance and removing restrictions on the use of NATO forces outside the boundaries set by the North Atlantic Treaty. But as the lessons of the Gulf slip from view, there again will be arguments from American neo-isola-

Perhaps the biggest lesson of Desert Storm, however, was that any country, no matter how inept at battle management, or defense, can shoot a ballistic missile.

tionists that NATO has outlived its usefulness.

Precision weapons and electronic defensive countermeasures were a big story of this war. The capacity to destroy another country's military assets without heavy losses of your own—and without extensive casualties among noncombatants—gives warfare a new dimension. Peacekeeping on a global scale by an alliance equipped with the most modern weapons is at least within the realm of reason.

Some cautionary notes are needed. Using smart weapons against massed armor in a desert or against exposed poison-gas factories is one thing; using them against guerrilla forces in a jungle or in mountains is something else. Iraq was perfect for a high-tech war. Indochina was not. But despite the high costs of such weapons, which means they require high-value targets, they clearly are worth the money for the kinds of actions most likely

to be vital to Western interests—against large, well-equipped aggressive forces.

Perhaps the biggest lesson of Desert Storm, however, was that any country, no matter how inept at battle management or defense, can shoot a ballistic missile. Many small and nasty countries will have them available by the year 2000. A single Iraqi Scud cost the U.S. the most deaths it suffered from any single attack in the war, albeit through a quirk of fate.

In future, missiles in the hands of smaller countries will become more accurate. It seems inevitable as well that more and more will be equipped with nuclear warheads despite efforts to prevent "nuclear proliferation." Even if that were not true, there's enough to worry about from the vast number of nuclear missiles in the hands of a Soviet Union now experiencing political and economic disorder.

The Patriot missile proved that missile defenses are feasible. But it will not be good enough for the future. For protection against nuclear missiles, it will be important to kill the missile on launch, before it is descending on friendly territory. An exploded incoming nuclear warhead would multiply many times the damage caused when Scuds were shot down over Israel. In short, there is little choice but to take missile defense into space, engaging in the very Star Wars that sophisticates pool-poo.

The central question about all these lessons is who will learn them best. History's record is not encouraging on that score. It suggests that it is the potential aggressor who most carefully studies the lessons of each war. The Stuka dive bombers that came screaming down on British and French forces in 1940 were products of what the Germans learned from their defeat in World War I. Will potential aggressors be cowed by Desert Storm? A lot will depend on how well the allies apply in future the lessons they themselves taught in 1991.

GOP Can Capture the Civil-Rights Issue

By CLINT BOLICK

Usually when legislation just barely fails to make it into law, its proponents in the next session will pick up where they left off, attempting to gain the few extra votes necessary for approval.

Not so with the 1991 version of last year's civil-rights bill. Though the legislation is the same, the politics have changed dramatically since President Bush's veto was upheld in the closing days of the last Congress. So much so, in fact, that Republicans may wind up turning to their gain an issue the Democrats have dominated for a quarter century.

On the surface, the dynamics appear much the same. Ted Kennedy (D, Mass.) is still the major force behind the bill in the Senate; in the House, Rep. Jack Brooks (D, Texas) is the primary sponsor, replacing Rep. Augustus Hawkins, who retired. The effort to override Mr. Bush's veto of Kennedy-Hawkins failed by only one vote in the Senate and was within striking distance in the House, meaning that Kennedy-Brooks needs, in theory, to gain only a few votes.

But the actions of the major players betray a very different reality. Where a year ago Democrats monolithically supported the bill, this year Mr. Kennedy has had trouble finding people to sign on and will almost certainly lose some of the handful of Republicans (especially Sen. John Danforth of Missouri, who co-sponsored the bill last year). As a result, the bill is still not introduced in the Senate, three months into the new year.

Across the Aisle
Meanwhile, lobbyists led by Ralph Neas of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights are now trying to portray the bill as a "women's bill," even though most of its provisions relate more closely to racial discrimination. At the same time, the civil-rights lobby is negotiating with representatives of the Business Roundtable to find a



Ralph Neas

compromise—but that group's biggest objection is to the very provisions that are of greatest importance to the women's lobby. Compromise thus appears unlikely.

Activities on the other side of the aisle are markedly different as well. Last year, not a single Republican wanted to take the lead in opposing Kennedy-Hawkins. This year, GOP legislators are falling over themselves to sponsor their own civil-rights bills or to take on the issue in a visible manner.

Likewise, in 1990 the administration was sharply divided between those who opposed and supported Kennedy-Hawkins. It spent the better part of half a year in intense negotiations trying to find a way to

less employers can prove that the challenged practices are significantly related to the job in question. In reality, this standard is nearly impossible to satisfy, and only at tremendous expense through litigation—which employers can avoid if they adopt informal quota systems.

The quota issue was the breakthrough for the Bush administration, for it completely reversed the usual dynamics of civil-rights bills, in which proponents are highly motivated but opposition is diffused. This time, the quota issue galvanized opponents: non-minorities who feel victimized by reverse discrimination.

But perhaps even more important, the bill failed to resonate among mainstream

Neas himself, whose group sponsored a major poll and series of focus groups on what mainstream Americans think about the civil-rights movement today. The results were so devastating that Mr. Neas tried to suppress the findings, to no avail.

The results are unsurprising, except to people inside the Beltway: Most Americans support equal opportunity and efforts to expand opportunities to the disadvantaged, but they no longer view the civil-rights movement as advancing those goals. Instead, they view it as merely another special-interest group, pursuing its own interests at the expense of others.

Even more ominously for supporters of the 1991 bill: Mainstream voters believe that reverse discrimination is pervasive in American life. And they're not happy about it.

But the GOP isn't making quotas the only facet of its civil-rights strategy. Instead, it's embracing the concept of "empowerment"—eliminating arbitrary barriers that prevent low-income people from controlling their own destinies—as the next logical step for civil rights.

As a result, the administration is packaging its civil-rights bill with empowerment initiatives, such as funding to encourage inner-city school districts to allow parents to choose the best schools for their children, public or private; enterprise zones to ease tax and regulatory burdens on inner-city enterprise; tenant ownership of public housing; and anti-crime measures.

The ideas aren't new (though the administration only recently endorsed private-school choice), but the linkage of empowerment with civil rights is. Whether the administration will work aggressively to establish that linkage is yet unclear: Except for a single speech by Mr. Bush that was eclipsed by war coverage, the administration has yet to present the package as a coherent strategy.

A civil-rights and empowerment strategy could be politically potent, however. It offers the prospect of bipartisan compromise: The nation's first private-school choice law, allowing 1,000 low-income Milwaukee youngsters to opt out of inadequate public schools, was championed by the duo of liberal black state legislator Polly Williams and conservative Gov. Tommy Thompson.

It also offers the GOP a chance to make inroads among black voters without jeopardizing its base among whites. Ask Gov. Thompson, who last year won re-election as the first Republican gubernatorial candidate to carry Milwaukee County since 1946.

Indeed, if the GOP embraces empowerment in a big way, it could completely reverse the ordinary political equation. For once it will be Republicans who can go into the inner city offering tangibles—school choice, homeownership, jobs—while the Democrats argue about abstract intangibles. If Republicans can parlay empowerment issues into a 5% to 10% overall increase in black support, it could deliver them the Senate in 1992.

Black Voters' Choice

What can moderate Democrats do to retain their base? They can take columnist William Raspberry's advice to quietly forget about the Kennedy bill, which is racially divisive and not very helpful to the real needs of the most disadvantaged black Americans, and instead move on to more important issues.

Or they can hope that the Bush administration drops the ball and capitulates on the civil-rights bill. If he fails to assert boldly a clear alternative, Mr. Bush will find, as did Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford before him, that given a choice between the Democrats and a Republican trying to out-Democrat them, black voters will choose the real thing every time.

But for once, the ball is in the Republicans' court on civil-rights issues. The Democrats may have the bill most people are talking about—but it's also one that many would dearly love to abandon. The Republicans have the ideas and the momentum to shift the terms of the debate—both to their advantage, and to the advantage of Americans generally.

The question is whether they have the courage of their convictions. If so, maybe Saddam Hussein taught George Bush a lesson after all.

Mr. Bolick is director of the Landmark Center for Civil Rights in Washington and author of "Unfinished Business: A Civil Rights Strategy for America's Third Century" (Pacific Research Institute). A related editorial appears nearby.

Though the legislation is the same, the politics have changed dramatically since President Bush's veto was upheld in the closing days of the last Congress.

appease Mr. Neas and company, in the end embracing legislative language that would have given the civil-rights lobby almost everything it wanted.

This year, conversely, Mr. Bush appears to have drawn a line in the sand around his own more moderate proposal, which he's clothing in a broader "civil rights and individual opportunities" package designed to refocus the debate. What's more, after a year of infighting, no prominent naysayers have emerged in the White House to oppose this new approach.

What happened to send Democrats into a tailspin and to embolden the GOP? Both sides apparently have discovered that civil rights has become, for the moment at least, a no-lose issue for Republicans.

Why this is so has a great deal to do with the specifics of the Kennedy bill, one of the most complex civil-rights bills ever. Though it contains a number of fairly non-controversial components that could have been enacted last year had Mr. Kennedy been willing to compromise, its core provisions deal with the standards applicable to statistics-based discrimination claims.

Under the bill, lawsuits challenging employment criteria (tests, education requirements, etc.) and based solely on differences in numerical outcomes among races, religions and genders will be successful un-

blacks. Unlike past civil-rights bills that promised tangible gains, such as housing or voting rights, this one was mired in complex abstractions, such as burdens of proof and statistical disparities.

The lack of grass-roots support for the civil-rights bill dogged its supporters from the beginning. When the NAACP's executive director called for a mass protest against the Supreme Court's 1989 civil-rights rulings, so few people showed up that he was forced to recast the event as a "silent vigil." This reflects a broader trend in which the NAACP has lost more than 100,000 members in the past decade, particularly among younger blacks who increasingly view the organization as irrelevant to their needs.

These new dynamics showed up in the election results last November. The quota issue figured prominently in helping Jesse Helms (R, N.C.) keep his Senate seat and helping Pete Wilson exchange his for the California governorship. Now Democrats, especially the several Southern senators whose seats are up in 1992, are looking nervously over their right shoulders, while Republicans like Sen. Phil Gramm (R, Texas) move to exploit the quota issue for all it's worth.

New support for the GOP strategy arrived from an unexpected source: Ralph

A Videotape of a Police Beating Puts National Glare on Issue of Brutality

Continued From Page A1

cluding a majority of whites, who were questioned in a Los Angeles Times poll published March 10 said they believed that police brutality was common here.

Court records depict a history of similar cases in Los Angeles, some of which seem to differ from the beating of Mr. King primarily in the fact that there was no camera to record them.

"This is going to be the defining incident in police brutality; it's going to be the historical event for police in our time," said Jerome Skolnick, professor of law and sociology at University of California at Berkeley and an expert on police behavior. "It is highly unlikely that this is unrepresentative of Los Angeles police. Two people can go crazy, but if you have 10 or 12 people watching them and not doing anything, this tells you that this is a normal thing for them."

Although several national organizations, including the National Association of Chiefs of Police and the Police Foundation in Washington, monitor law-enforcement issues and compile statistics on police practices, none keep complete statistics on complaints against the police by citizens. Many large cities rely on their police departments' own internal affairs units to take such complaints and to compile statistics about them.

For all the details captured by the video camera in Los Angeles, several questions remain about what exactly set off the beating. Police and witness accounts of the moments after the chase ended and the beating began are in conflict, with the police accusing the motorist of resisting arrest. And there is no evidence of anything that might have been said to spark the outburst.

No matter what actions Mr. King might have taken before the videotape was switched on, there was a widespread feeling here that nothing he did or said could justify the beating he received from the three patrolmen under the supervision of a sergeant.

Mayor Tom Bradley, who has condemned the beating as reprehensible, said, "The three officers, clearly with the use of their batons and with their feet, left no doubt in anybody's mind about the charges that should be levied against them."

The Chase

A Drive Ends In Nightmare

Shortly before 12:30 A.M. on Sunday, March 3, Mr. King was driving fast down the Foothill Freeway near San Fernando at the northern edge of Los



The beating suffered by Rodney G. King has caused local and Federal law-enforcement agencies nationwide to investigate brutality.

Detective Talkington, who said he had reviewed the report as part of the routine initial inquiry, said the officers also reported that Mr. King had reached into his pants pocket, an action that presumably would have raised concern among the officers that he might have a weapon.

The report said Mr. King charged at the officers after standing up, and kicked and swung at them, according to the detective's account. The full police report has not been released.

Mrs. Morales and other witnesses said they did not see Mr. King reach into his pocket, knock over an officer or charge at the police. But one other resident of the apartment complex, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said she saw a brief scuffle.

Mr. King said that after lying down he was handcuffed and got an electrical shock from "some kind of device."

"After they shocked me the first time, they paused for a minute and then they struck me across the face real hard with a billy club," Mr. King said. "I was lying face down with my hands tied, and they shocked me again on the other side of my shoulder."

Use of Force: Police Guidelines

Following is the language on the use of force, from the Los Angeles Police Department's manual:

"While the use of reasonable physical force may be necessary in situations which cannot be otherwise controlled, force may not be resorted to unless other reasonable alternatives have been exhausted or would clearly be ineffective under the particular circumstances. Officers are permitted to use whatever force that is reasonable and necessary to protect others or themselves from bodily harm."

Sergeant Brey and a review of the audio tape, it appears that the pursuing officers did not know that Mr. King had a criminal record.

The Beating

Awakening To Commotion

At about 12:45 A.M., Mr. King pulled

The Videotape

Illuminated By Headlights

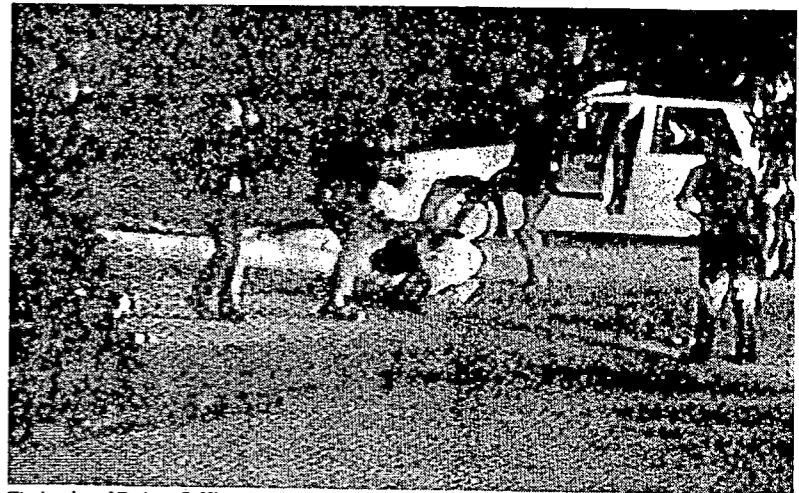
A minute or two after Mr. King got out of his car and lay down, another resident of the apartment complex went onto his balcony. George Holliday, a 31-year-old manager of a plumbing supply business, was carrying his new Sony video camera. He started shooting the scene unfolding across the street, which was well illuminated by street lights and police car headlights.

The opening seconds of the videotape show Mr. King leaping up, spinning to his right and taking one or two quick steps. He was not handcuffed or tied, and it cannot be determined whether he had yet been beaten.

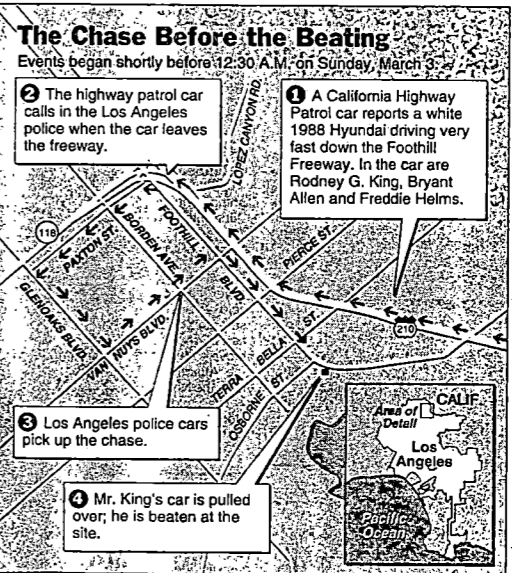
A close viewing of the unedited, seven-minute videotape — spanning the time from Mr. King's abrupt motion to a point where he lies handcuffed, hogtied and bleeding at the side of the road — shows one officer swinging his nightstick at Mr. King like a baseball bat as Mr. King rose and turned. Mr. King fell to the ground.

The tape blurs for several seconds. When the focus is restored, one officer is seen striking Mr. King repeatedly around the head and shoulders.

At that point, the tape shows one of the officers holding a Taser stun gun that has been fired at Mr. King, although it remains unclear whether the Taser was fired before or after the videotaping began. A Taser (the name is a loose acronym for "Tom Swift's Electric Rifle") shoots two barbed



The beating of Rodney G. King by several members of the Los Angeles Police Department on March 3 may bring the issue of police brutality to the forefront of the criminal justice debate nationwide. The incident, which was taped by an amateur with a video camera, has been shown around the country.



Allen. The tape ends with Mr. King still lying by the road. Witnesses said about five minutes elapsed after the beating before an ambulance came. They said Mr. King was still hogtied and handcuffed when he was loaded on the stretcher.

Louis Frescas, one of dozens of citizens who have been compensated by the City of Los Angeles, was hospitalized following a 1984 arrest. He said he was struck more than 50 times, even though charges were never filed against him. Mr. Frescas, who is Hispanic, said he was dragged from his car, thrown to the ground, kicked and pummelled with nightsticks by one white officer as six others looked on. His case was settled out of court.

Court documents from several misconduct cases show that nearly all the victims of maulings by Los Angeles police dogs in the last seven years were black or Hispanic — though whites committed nearly a third of the crimes in which dogs are usually deployed.

In recent years, there have been several incidents in which black celebrities — people like Marcus Allen, the professional football player, and Jamaal Wilkes, the retired basketball star — were ordered out of their cars and treated like felons when there was no apparent reason to stop them.

Last January, the California Department of Fair Employment and Housing said the department had systematically denied promotions and advancement to black officers. The accusation followed complaints in December by the same agency that the department discriminates against Hispanic officers. The cases are pending.

On the Inside

Personal Code Is Powerful

Whenever force is used — and police records show it happens in about one

Hyundai sedan were two friends, Bryant Allen and Freddie Helms.

Mr. King, a 25-year-old unemployed construction worker with two children, had been released last December after serving six months of a two-year sentence for second-degree robbery (brandishing a tire iron, he had taken cash from a grocer) and was still on parole.

In a California Highway Patrol car, a husband-and-wife team, T. J. and Melanie Singer, reported to their headquarters that the Hyundai approached them from behind at 110 or 115 miles an hour, a Highway Patrol spokesman, Sgt. Mike Brey, said later.

Although a number of press reports have asserted that the small car cannot reach such speeds, Sergeant Brey said that at the time of the report it would have been traveling downhill.

"There was no chase," Mr. King told reporters the following Wednesday night, when he was released from jail without charges. "I may have been speeding just a little bit."

An audio tape of police radio conversations, released Friday, picks up the chase after the Highway Patrol called in the Los Angeles police when Mr. King's car left the freeway. A police helicopter was also called in.

Then, the audio tape shows, he led his pursuers in a circle through a darkened neighborhood at about 55 m.p.h. in a 40-m.p.h. zone. "Vehicle stopped at red light but failed to yield to police," a radio transmission from a pursuing car said. Based on the statements of

over and stopped on Foothill Boulevard, a four-lane street running through the relatively sparsely settled, middle-class mixed-race neighborhood of Lake View Terrace. At least 15 officers in patrol cars converged on him.

In what other police officers called a chance deployment, all the pursuing officers were white. The force is 14 percent black.

The wailing sirens and the thunderous roar of the helicopter awakened many residents of an apartment complex across the street. Josie Morales, a 26-year-old service representative for the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, looked out her second-floor bedroom window and saw the Hyundai and police cars pulling up behind it.

Mrs. Morales said she and her husband, Heriberto, put on robes and walked onto their balcony before the police or Mr. King got out of their cars. Mrs. Morales said she heard a muffled command from one police car. Mr. King, she said, got out of his car with his hands up, turned and put his hands on the roof. Then, she and other witnesses said, he knelt, then lay on his stomach, with three or four officers standing in a semicircle around him.

Here, Accounts Differ

There are contradictory accounts of what happened next. Richard Talkington, a Los Angeles police detective, said the report filed by the officers on the scene said Mr. King tried to stand up while being handcuffed, causing one officer to fall.

darts that deliver an electric shock to immobilize a suspect. The darts remain connected to the Taser gun by a wire, which is visible on the tape throughout the beating.

Wires Still Attached

The videotape shows two officers beating Mr. King ferociously for just under two minutes. A third officer joined in from time to time to kick or hit Mr. King. The officer with the Taser paced about 10 feet away, keeping the wire leading to the darts from getting tangled as Mr. King spun and rolled under the force of the blows.

Later, Mr. King showed journalists a bruise on his right side that he said was caused by the Taser darts and the shocks. Los Angeles police regulations say the darts should be removed only after the suspect has been restrained.

The soundtrack is dominated by the roar of the helicopter. But a voice can be heard repeatedly screaming "Stop!" As the beating nears an end, one of the officers seems to be yelling at Mr. King. The audio quality is poor, but it sounds like he is saying, "Hands behind your back" as Mr. King is struck repeatedly.

At one point Mr. King, lying face down, moves his arms as if to put his hands behind his back. An officer stomps on his head or neck, causing him to jerk his arms up to his head.

The use of the nightsticks and Taser guns are regulated by the department's "Use of Force" rules, which permit their use only when all other reasonable means of subduing a suspect have been exhausted, or when a suspect poses a danger.

Only once on the videotape did any officer try to intervene. One officer briefly raised his left arm in front of a nightstick-swinging colleague in the opening moments of the videotape. But the gesture had no discernible effect. There appear to have been 15 law-enforcement officers and at least six patrol cars on the scene. Two cars and at least three officers were from the Highway Patrol.

Witnesses said about 20 residents were on their balconies or gathered along the metal fence separating the street from the apartment complex. "We were yelling, 'No, don't kill him!'" said Elois Camp, a 65-year-old retired teacher who watched from the porch of her first-floor apartment. "They paid us no attention."

Dragged Away, to Wait

The officers made no apparent attempt to conceal or stop the beating, despite the presence of so many witnesses and at least three passing cars, one of which slowed almost to a stop.

The beating ended just under two minutes into the videotape, when one of the officers grabbed Mr. King's arms and handcuffed his hands behind his back. Half a dozen officers circled around him, and one apparently pulled out the Taser darts. He was then hogtied — his cuffed hands lashed to his ankles behind his back — and dragged face down to the side of the street, where he was left alone.

The rest of the videotape shows the officers milling around, moving their cars off the street, searching Mr. King's car and patting down one of his passengers, either Mr. Helms or Mr.

After the ambulance left, witnesses said, the police freed Mr. Allen and Mr. Helms, who walked to where many residents were still gathered, asked where they could find a pay phone, then walked down the street. Neither Mr. Allen nor Mr. Helms has been charged; their lawyers declined to permit them to be interviewed.

Mr. King was jailed until Wednesday when he was released without charges. He was then examined by doctors who said they found nine skull fractures, a shattered eye socket and cheekbone, a broken leg, a concussion, injuries to both knees and nerve damage that left his face partially paralyzed.

On Friday, a sergeant and three patrolmen were indicted.

History

Steady Increase in Lawsuits

The beating has raised a central question: Was it an aberration, as Chief Gates said, or part of a pattern?

Complaints of police brutality and racism have continued, and verdicts and settlements against the department have risen over the decades, from \$553,000 in 1972 to \$6.4 million in 1989 to \$8 million in 1990. In one case, a jury found Chief Gates personally liable for \$170,000 in damages in 1988 for a beating some of his officers gave a Hispanic family while searching for a murder weapon.

One of the four officers charged in the beating of Mr. King had previously been disciplined for excessive use of force. Officer Theodore J. Briseno was suspended for 66 days in 1987 after he beat a handcuffed man. The others indicted were Sgt. Stacey C. Koon and Officers Timothy E. Wind and Laurence M. Powell. Sergeant Koon and Officer Powell were also charged with filing false reports.

One former officer used the term "magic pencil" to describe the way the police can make potential allegations of misconduct disappear.

In the first two months of this year there was a sharp rise in complaints filed against the police — 127 for two months, against a yearly average over the last five years of about 600. About 25 percent of the complaints involve allegations of assaults by the police. On average, only two of the 600 complaints a year result in felony charges.

'An Orgy of Violence'

When people talk about police brutality in Los Angeles, they talk about the Dalton Avenue case in 1988, in which 77 officers invaded the homes of two black families and engaged in what one lawyer called "an orgy of violence," ripping out sinks and toilets and smashing windows and television sets in apparent retribution for a telephoned threat to a police station.

Officers scrawled "LAPD Rules" on a wall outside the building, then beat residents as they arrested them. Four officers have been charged in the case. The city settled lawsuits by the residents last year for \$3 million.

Also well remembered is the case of Eula Love, a black woman who in 1984

the videotaped beating was the 1987 beating of Stuart Vigil, a 27-year-old white man. As Mr. Vigil, handcuffed and high on drugs, struggled against the police, 14 officers shot him with a Taser gun, kicked him in the head, then jumped on him. He died clutching the darts embedded in his chest.

In a recent case, about 30 youths, most of them Hispanic or black, were rounded up by the police when they entered a park in an affluent, mostly white neighborhood one afternoon. They were ordered at gunpoint to lie on the ground, then to walk on their knees while the officers jeered at them and made racial slurs, according to a suit filed here.

Civil rights cases against the Los Angeles police have become routine. Chief Gates recently testified at a trial involving the beating and hogtying of a man by the police.

What minority victims of past police misconduct have said in numerous interviews this week was that the only difference between their cases and that of Mr. King was the camera.

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DIALOGUE
The Party's Politics

The Democrats Are Spoiling the Beef

Dumping Robb Was Foolish

By Will Marshall

WASHINGTON Democrats found yet another way to remind the nation of the party's crippling liabilities when they ousted Charles S. Robb from a Senate budget committee the other day for espousing a heretical doctrine: fiscal responsibility.

Mr. Robb, a rising star in the party, was 1 of only 10 Senate Democrats to support the use of American power to liberate Kuwait. His colleagues tapped him not long ago to head, the party's campaign committee in the Senate. In the 1980's, he earned a reputation as a tough fiscal manager during his successful governorship in Virginia.

As a Senate Budget Committee member, Mr. Robb was an advocate of fiscal discipline fond of quoting a fellow Virginian, John Randolph of Roanoke, on "that most delicious of privileges — spending other people's money." But to Washington sophisticates, whose worldly wisdom has produced a Federal deficit slouching past the \$300 billion mark, Mr. Robb's devotion to fiscal probity seems hopelessly quaint.

So quaint that he was bounced by the committee's Democratic chairman, Jim Sasser, with the backing of the party's Senate leadership. While the official explanation is that the move was intended to reduce the budget panel to a more manageable size (from 23 to 21 members), Mr. Robb says he was bumped for pushing for deeper budget cuts than Mr. Sasser and other Democrats wanted.

His removal was a maladroit act that only reinforces the popular impression of Democrats as the fiscally dissolute "tax and spend" party of Republican lore. And while it may seem like a minor Washington contretemps, of interest only to political insiders, the episode casts a revealing light on a party establishment that continues to delude itself.

Democrats should follow the example of the British Labor Party and other parties of the democratic left that in the last decade have reviewed and redefined their policies. But many Democrats have dealt with successive electoral disasters by clinging ever more obstinately to ideological orthodoxy. These "liberal

Will Marshall is president of the Progressive Policy Institute, an arm of the Democratic Leadership Council, a group of centrist Democrats.

fundamentalists," the political analysts William Galston and Elaine Kamarck have written, "greet any deviation from liberal dogma, any attempt at innovation with the refrain, 'We don't need two Republican parties.'"

This refusal to learn the lessons of defeat and rethink the means by which progressive ends can be pursued is driving people out of the party. Democrats will survive the defection of Louisiana's maverick Governor, Buddy Roemer, but they would be foolish to ignore his reason for bolting: "It has been my increasing conviction," he said, "that it is the Republican Party that is becoming most open to new ideas, new thinking, new people."

Fortunately, many Democrats — Mr. Robb among them — prefer to stay and fight for reform and innovation. Senate Democrats got it exactly wrong: Instead of punishing him for ideological deviation, they should embrace the lessons of his stewardship of Virginia. His election as Governor in 1981 reversed a long spell of G.O.P. ascendancy in that conservative state.

His formula of fiscal responsibility, public investment in economic development and education, and staunch support for civil rights revived Virginia Democrats and showed the national party how it can win with a progressive message, even with an increasingly conservative electorate.

Finally, the ouster was an act of hypocrisy. After all, Senate Democrats picked Mr. Robb to lead their campaign committee because he is not a stereotypical liberal but a mainstream Democrat with the ability to reach out to disaffected voters (and contributors) who constantly scan the party for signs of change.

Some Democrats who acquiesced

Too tough for dogmatic liberals.

in Mr. Robb's removal will importune him in 1992 to campaign in their states. As a decorated Vietnam veteran who supported the war against Iraq, he can provide political cover to Democrats attacked for their votes against that war. He can credibly criticize George Bush and the G.O.P. for gross mismanagement of the nation's budget and economic policies over the last decade. Mr. Robb, a loyalist, would undoubtedly perform this service. Whether his colleagues deserve his help is another question. □

Don't Argue With Victory

By Stephen J. Solarz

WASHINGTON The guns had barely fallen silent in the gulf before the political artillery was rolled out here at home. Republicans, abandoning the bipartisanship that prevailed during the fighting, have begun denouncing the Democrats as the party of appeasement. A number of Democrats, unwilling to accept the clear lessons of the war, have chosen this peculiarly inappropriate moment to resuscitate the argument that we should have given sanctions more of a chance, and that because we didn't, we will never know if they would have worked.

The Republicans are correct in saying that the majority of Democrats voted against the resolution authorizing the use of force. But they fail to add that without Democratic support, the resolution would not have been adopted. In the House, a third of the Democrats, including some of the party's most influential members, such as Dante Fascell, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee; Les Aspin, chairman of the Armed Services Committee; and David McCurdy, chairman of the Intelligence Committee, voted for it. In the Senate, the resolution could not have passed without the backing of prominent Senators like Joseph Lieberman, Charles S. Robb and Al Gore.

Furthermore, in perhaps the most significant statement in the two-day debate, Speaker of the House Tom Foley promised that once the decision was made, both parties would unite around it. In fact, virtually every Democrat supported the war after hostilities began.

To suggest that Democrats who opposed the use of force before Jan. 16 were appeasers is ludicrous. Would the Republicans also argue that two former chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and six former Defense Secretaries — all of whom advocated that sanctions be given more time — were also appeasers?

Moreover, the Republicans have much to answer for. Less than a week before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, half of the Republicans in the House voted against sanctions on Iraq — even though Baghdad had already massed 100,000 troops on its border with Kuwait and Saddam Hussein had threat-

Stephen J. Solarz, Democrat of Brooklyn, was a co-sponsor of the House resolution authorizing the use of force in the gulf.

ened to "incinerate" half of Israel.

For all the credit that President Bush deserves for his magnificent leadership after the Iraqi invasion, the truth is that his Administration not only resisted imposing sanctions on Iraq before Aug. 2 but, by giving Mr. Hussein the impression he could invade his defenseless neighbor with impunity, made the aggression more likely.

Upon close examination, the claim of some Democrats, even after the war ended, that sanctions might have worked cannot be sustained. Before the debate in Congress, many honorable and knowledgeable Americans believed we could achieve our goals through the continued application of sanctions. Mr. Bush and the majority of Congress felt otherwise, but it was a politically respectable position to take.

But that was before the war began. If six weeks of the most intense aerial

Appeasers? That's ridiculous.

bombardment in history was not sufficient to bring about an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, it is simply not plausible to suggest that six more months of the relatively benign application of sanctions would have done so. Even if sanctions had succeeded in bringing about a withdrawal, who can believe that Mr. Hussein, as a goodwill gesture, would have voluntarily blown up his nuclear reactors? Or dismantled his chemical and biological manufacturing facilities? Or destroyed thousands of tanks and artillery pieces? Sometimes it's best not to argue with success.

The American people can understand that before mid-January honest and legitimate differences existed over whether the sanctions could work. But if Democrats now persist in arguing that we should have stuck with sanctions, they will simply reinforce the view that the party cannot find a set of circumstances, other than a direct attack on the U.S., that would justify the use of force.

Instead of debating the merits of a lost case, the Democrats would be far better off persuading the public that they recognize there may be times when the defense of vital American interests and values requires military action. Such a strategy would be entirely compatible with the party's effort to remind Americans that our victory abroad has not lessened our obligation to address the many pressing problems we still face at home. □

'THE EARTH IS BLEEDING'

Kuwaiti landscape 'surreal'

By Josette Shiner
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

KUWAIT CITY — These are the surreal sights of Kuwait, liberated just in time:

- Screwdrivers, pliers and drills, adapted into torture devices, arrayed near a baby's crib in a royal palace.

- A mortician's stark Polaroid photos of dozens of Kuwaitis, struck in poses of death at the hands of Iraqi torture masters.

- The Iraqi military command's huge sandbox model of the Kuwait that Saddam Hussein was slowly destroying, built from colorful children's Duplo blocks and doll-house food cans.

- The grim "highway to hell," where the shoes and helmets of thousands of dead Iraqi soldiers lie tangled among the television sets, toys, trinkets and items looted over seven months of Iraqi occupation.

But of all of the horrors seen by the first delegation of American political and business leaders to Kuwait since the Aug. 2 invasion, the inferno of oil fires sears the senses and outrages the mind the most. The power and the fury unleashed from the bowels of the earth soars hundreds of feet into the air, the devouring legacy of a vengeful army in humiliating retreat.

"This is about as close in the modern world as one can get to the Apocalypse," says Alexander Haig, the former secretary of state and a combat veteran of two wars. "In past wars I've seen demagogues impose the most horrible tragedies. But in

see OIL, page A11

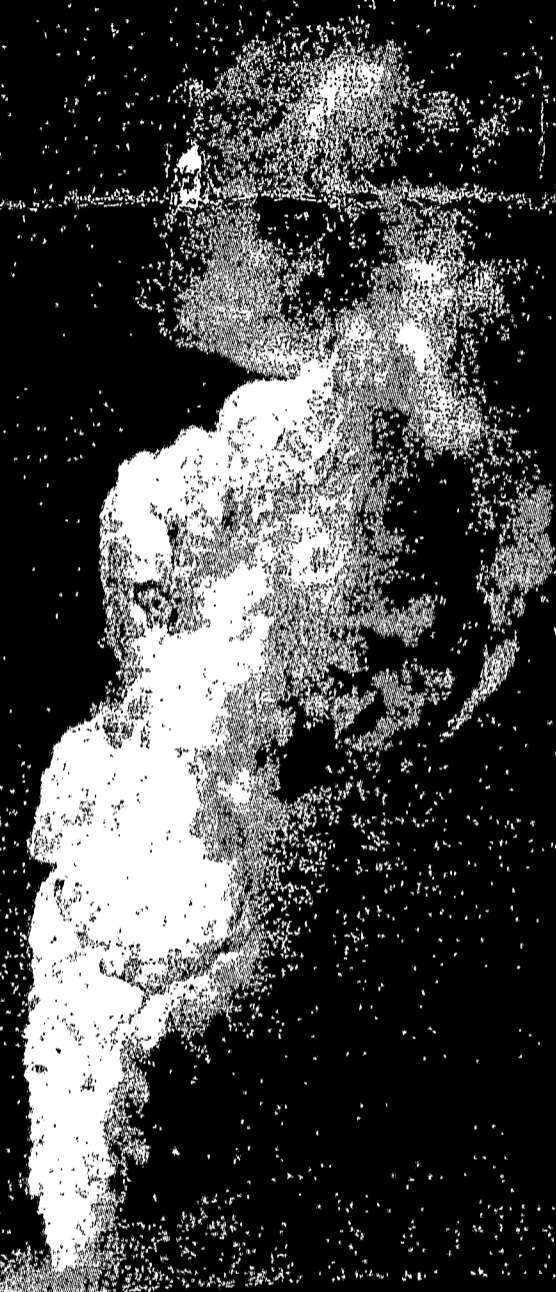


Photo by Josette Shiner/The Washington Times

OIL

From page A1

no case have they destroyed the legacy of the future like this madman has. That is perhaps what makes this war unique."

The travelers to Kuwait, a cross section of U.S. business, media and politics who came here as guests of the Kuwaiti government, leave agreed that the international community has grossly underestimated the extent of the oil disaster—and the crucial necessity for an immediate worldwide response.

While most speak of the unfathomable environmental damage being done hourly, others fear that the oil reservoirs themselves will soon be lost due to water contamination.

"It is beyond comprehension," says Jack Murphy, president of Dresser Industries Inc., an oil equipment company based in Dallas. "The whole field is on fire. Whatever you imagine from television, multiply it by a thousand and you get close. We're going to have to mobilize an effort like the world has never seen to save the reservoir."

Raymond Smith, chairman of Bell Atlantic, the telephone company, says the blazing oil field struck him as "100 organic Chernobyls."

"We all need to declare a state of emergency on the level of the invasion," he says. "The need is as great as when we saw Kuwait bleeding because now the earth is bleeding."

Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher says that in decades of work in the oil business, he only saw one such fire. "I drilled my first well when I was 21. I've only seen one total blowout in all these years and that was considered a disaster."

"Now multiply that by hundreds. It is almost surrealistic, the total darkness illuminated only by the wells. I knew the numbers before we came. I knew the figures. But I never imagined the level of devastation."

Of the 1,000 oil wells in Kuwait, 538 are burning, according to the latest figures from the Kuwait Oil Co. An additional 200 were damaged. Experts estimate that 6 million barrels of oil are burning each day. At \$20 a barrel, this represents \$120 million in lost revenues daily.

The incredible damage first assaults the senses of travelers approaching by plane. "First came the haze, then the total blackout of the whole country," says Maryland Gov. William Donald Schaefer of the descent into the pocked ruins of Kuwait International Airport. "When the sun blotted out, it was just like you imagine a nuclear disaster would be."

At the northern edge of Kuwait's Bergan oil field, the second-largest in the world, the air throbs with the thrust of explosive heat, as if hundreds of oven broilers the size of the Empire State Building were on fire. The overpowering stench of burning oil turns the stomach. Greasy black soot soon coats eyeglasses, collects on surgical masks used to protect the lungs, clings to the skin and soils clothing.

Worst of all, the enormity of the crime against the earth, and the monstrous rehabilitation that lies ahead, is more than the mind can easily comprehend.

"The fires stretch so far, there is just fire everywhere, a forest of fires," says Miami Mayor Xavier Suarez. "Nature has been twisted and changed and thwarted by this madman. Even more than the torture of innocents, this shows the mind of that madman."

Dresser Industries' Mr. Murphy, struggling to put the repair job in context, says that "yesterday is too late" to prevent major damage to the reservoir.

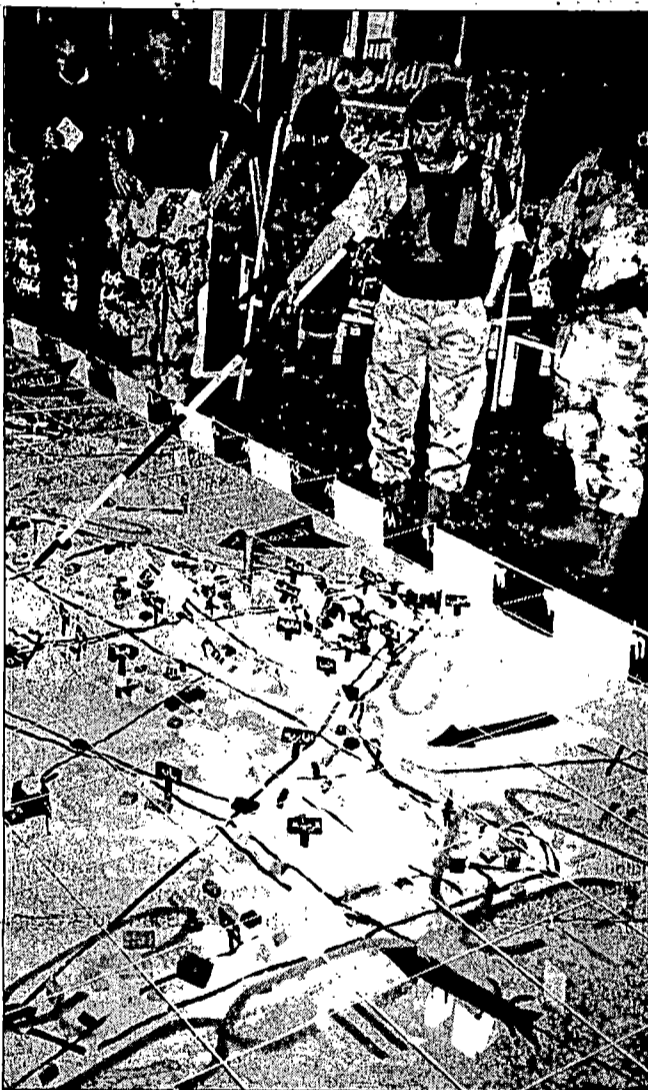
"The white smoke we're seeing, that's steam. The pressure vacuum is sucking water into the reservoir."

The salvaging effort is slowed by the work of Iraqi troops who blew apart the casing and piping at the top of the wells, making it exceedingly difficult to plug the well head. To speed the effort, the current wells should be filled with concrete and



A Kuwaiti shows a cleaver used by Iraqi torturers to an American delegation of politicians and business leaders in a room in the royal palace used as a torture chamber by Iraqi occupiers.

Photos by Josette Shiner/The Washington Times



Kuwaiti military officers display a sandbox model of Kuwait made with children's building blocks and toys that was used by the Iraqi command.

new wells built later.

"They can't wait two years, or they'll lose those fields," he says. "Forget saving those wells. They'll need to kill them. You have to plug the well with cement."

The delegation also visited a royal palace that had been turned into the command and control center, believed to have been used by Saddam Hussein's cousin, Ali Hassan Jajid, during the occupation.

A 40-foot-long sandbox model of Kuwait, used to plan military strategy against the allies, stands as the centerpiece of a large basement room. A child's Duplo blocks represent government and military installations. A toy-size can of V-8 juice depicts one installation.

A room on the second floor, a baby's crib still at rest on the fluffy pink carpets, was used as a torture chamber. Implements, still showing the blood of captured Kuwaitis, lie

on a nearby table: pliers to pull out toenails, drills to puncture kneecaps, expanding sticks with jagged edges to tear apart the genitals of women, cleavers to chop off ears and other body parts.

The sight was almost too much for Frank Carlucci, the former U.S. secretary of defense. "It is very hard to explain in rational terms. This isn't just war. In war you kill people but you don't torture innocent civilians. I've lived through any number of revolutions — Zaire, Zanzibar, Brazil, Portugal — and I've seen a lot of brutality.

"But never on this kind of a scale and never with this brutality."

Rep. Ronald Machtley of Rhode Island, one of several congressmen on the trip, says the placement of the torture chamber in the command center convinces him that the crimes were committed with the

knowledge of those on top.

"While the generals were in the basement in their sandbox they obviously knew of the torture chamber on the second floor," he says. "This was not isolated, barbaric torture. This was planned along with their war strategy.

"As much as we want to believe it isn't possible and it didn't happen, it is possible, it did happen."

The delegation drove north out of Kuwait City along the Iraqi escape route, where an estimated 25,000 Iraqi troops died trying to flee Kuwait. "This was not an ordinary retreating military," says Mr. Machtley. "These were looting renegades.

"Their statistics — their munitions, equipment, manpower, experience in fighting — made them the fourth-largest army in the world. The story is how they were incapable of performing as a military because of their lack of discipline."

Several members of the delegation say the atrocities they have seen have changed their perceptions of war crimes trials.

"This is an international environmental disaster and not simply a problem for Kuwait," says former U.N. Ambassador Donald McHenry. "I am much more inclined now to say Saddam Hussein has to be tried than I was before because of the scope of his destruction. Because of the vindictiveness of it all."

John Norton Moore, professor of international law at the University of Virginia, says the "oil field atrocity is clearly a grave breach of the fourth Geneva Convention," citing the provision that deals with the "wanton" destruction of property.

"This is the first example the world has seen of nationcide," he says. "It is not only genocide against a people but directed to end a nation."

John Covaney of the Virginia Port Authority proposes what he calls a "fitting punishment" for Saddam Hussein.

"Try him, convict him of war crimes and then imprison him in an open cell on the oil fields. Let him breathe that air day in and day out."

Others, looking at the carnage and evidence of unimaginable human suffering about them, speak of their admiration of the courage and conviction of President Bush.

"When I was a kid you used to hear about the end of the world and it would scare the living hell out of me," says Joshua I. Smith, chairman of Maxima Corp. of Rockville. "When I saw those wells burning and stood in the darkness I went back to that same scared kid. I felt powerless. I felt small.

"If President Bush had waited any longer, as so many urged him to, that country would have been destroyed. I'm so proud of George Bush. The guts he displayed. I guess I've never been so proud of a human being in all of my life.

"The decision to save Kuwait will go down in history as one of the key decisions of history."

Iraqis left mark on home

By Josette Shiner
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

KUWAIT CITY — A simple household table sits amid the filth and debris, holding a sharp steel hook and open bag of rock salt. An exposed metal bed frame lies rammed against the table.

These common household implements are favored Iraqi torture devices: sharp tools for gouging flesh, salt for rubbing in wounds, bed frames as conduits for electrical shock.

Saud Nasir Sabah, the Kuwaiti ambassador to the United States and a member of the royal family, speaks

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SABAH

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softly as if he dreads the sound of his own voice.

"This room was my eldest daughter's bedroom," he tells a small group of Americans who have returned with him to Kuwait and are guests now in his brutalized home. The four-story mansion, which overlooks the harbor in Kuwait City, was an Iraqi

military lookout post during the war.

The once-luxurious contents have been reduced to rubble by the invaders. In place of the colorful and warm array of family furniture, china and photos, the invaders left crudely drawn Iraqi battle plans, with pillbox tanks drawn in black ink, a crate of live ammunition. A chilling emptiness has descended upon the great house.

Room by room, the ambassador and his teen-age son and daughter survey the destruction, searching

for any remembrance of their past, a small token of the family, memories shattered and desecrated by evil strangers whose ghosts still despoil the air.

The living room and dining room, made grimmer by the lack of electrical light, are dark, empty shells. The kitchen is stripped bare of every appliance. In a hall, an oil painting, apparently too large to steal but slashed from top to bottom, stands propped against a wall.

An Iraqi uniform hangs in eerie

silence on a makeshift clothesline. Pink folders, containing military plans and supply orders, are stuffed in a child's desk. The ambassador's son Nawaf, 19, picks up a handwritten note from the floor and shakes his head in disbelief.

"It is an interrogation account," he said, handing it to his father.

On the next floor upstairs, silk pillows block an open window frame where an air-conditioning unit has been ripped out. A Soviet munitions box sits open in the hallway, live cartridges inside.

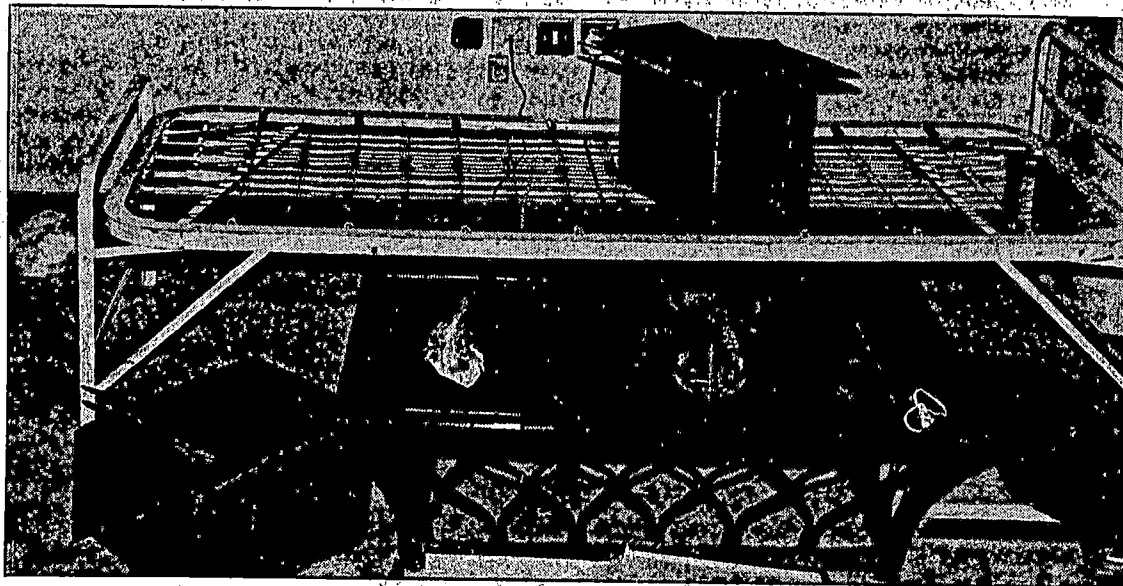
On a rooftop balcony, spent NATO-issue cartridges litter the ground. There, two Iraqi sandbag lookout posts keep silent watch on the pristine Gulf waters below.

"For my wife, everything is gone. Her heritage. Her possessions," the ambassador says.

The ambassador takes no comfort in the fact that the structure of the house is still standing. "I would just as soon level the house to the ground and start all over," he said. "Psychologically, would you sleep here? How can I ask my daughter to return?"

In the courtyard, Ambassador Sabah turns to his home for one last time before returning to Washington. His daughter Nayirah, 15, runs up clutching something in her hand. She hands a postage-stamp-size piece of paper to her father.

"Look, look," she cries. She hands over a photograph of her mother — one small gift that defied Iraqi attempts to wipe out all traces of their family history.



A bed frame used for electrical shock torture by Iraqi troops was left behind in the Kuwaiti ambassador's house.

Photo by Josette Shiner/The Washington Times

Iraqi revolt still rages

By Tom Blaz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

SABWAH, Iraq—Heavy fighting raged between rebels and government forces in Iraq's Shiite Muslim south yesterday, said refugees fleeing southern Iraq.

Their reports refuted Iraq President Saddam Hussein's claim to have crushed the revolt.

From loyal to Saddam appeared to have gained some control over Basra, Iraq's second-largest city, but rebels were still battling army units in the Shiite holy cities of Karbala and Najaf and many other towns, according to the refugees.

Up to 16,000 people have died in the two holy cities, Iran's official radio reported, citing no source for the figure.

Refugees and rebels also said the government used napalm, incendiary bombs and mustard gas to fight the rebellion.

A video shot by an Iraqi rebel showed what was described as victims of government poison gas attacks. The video was aired on Britain's Independent Television News, which said it was shot three days ago and that the rebel was killed while filming it.

In the northern part of the coun-

see IRAQ, page A8

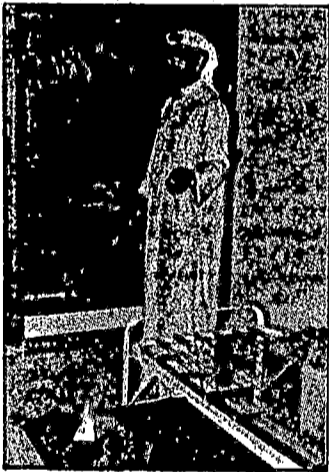


Photo by Josette Shiner/The Washington Times
Horror chamber: Kuwaiti envoy Saud Nasir Sabah in his daughter's room, with Iraqi torture devices.

IRAQ

From page A1

try, Kurdish rebels have won control of a large part of Iraqi Kurdistan, the State Department said in Washington.

Bayan Jabr of the Iran-based Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq said rebel units were less than 60 miles south of the capital.

"Our forces are now advancing toward Baghdad," he said.

Iraq's official media also spoke of fresh outbreaks of violence south of Baghdad. The Iraqi News Agency reported acts of violence that it said had been carried out by a "deluded handful of agents and thieves tampering with the state's property and finances."

Refugees interviewed at a U.S. Army checkpoint in allied-occupied Iraq told of massive atrocities. They said that more than 5,000 bodies are strewn around the streets of Basra and that starvation is rampant in the south.

In part of Basra, the bodies were "stacked on top of each other, one by one," said Salem Salem Mosri, a waiter.

The claims could not be independently confirmed because Saddam expelled all foreign journalists several weeks ago.

U.S. Army Lt. Col. Patrick Ritter, a battalion commander at the front, called reports of bodies in Basra "believable."

"We've heard that from several refugees, coming out at different times," he said. "It appears that Saddam's troops are carrying out revenge attacks."

Refugees said Saddam's cousin, Interior Minister Ali Hassan Majid, has been personally executing rebels in Basra.

U.S. medics have treated many refugees this week, including a 12-year-old girl with a .50-caliber bullet wound and another girl about 6 years old with three bullet wounds in her legs, said Col. Ritter, of Macomb, Ill.

Most of the injured civilians have gone for days without treatment before reaching the U.S. line.

"We had a couple of guys in here with burns that looked like white phosphorus," Col. Ritter said, referring to incendiary bombs that severely burn the flesh.

Sgt. Waleed Huwail, a Kuwaiti attached to U.S. troops here, said: "We've been hearing all kinds of stories of atrocities. One group described the Iraqis forcing suspected members of the resistance to stay in their car while a tank was rolled over it. They also told us of houses with people in them being flattened by tanks."

A number of Kuwaitis whom the rebels freed from Iraqi prisons said they had been routinely tortured by their jailers. They said one pregnant woman was suspended upside down in front of about 30 male, female and infant prisoners and beaten until she aborted her baby on the spot.

"One guy I saw here had no fingernails," Sgt. Huwail said. "They had ripped them out."

Iran's official Islamic Republic News Agency reported yesterday that battles continued in Kut and in Nassiriya, where long-range shelling killed or wounded many people. Both towns are south of Baghdad.

The towns of Tanuma, Zubair and Abul-Khasib, near Basra, were in rebel hands, refugee Ahmed Hashemi said.

In Kufa, near Najaf, Iraqi Republican Guard units sent to quell demonstrations had been forced to retreat with heavy casualties.

A former Iraqi general turned opposition leader said many Iraqi troops have joined the revolt.

"Tens of thousands of Iraqi soldiers have joined the rebels and are now controlling most of Iraqi cities and towns," said Hassan Naqib, leader of the Saudi-based Independent Nationals Group. "Saddam's days in power are numbered. He will be removed very shortly."

He said the Iraqi army felt humiliated by Saddam's decisions and actions and urged all soldiers to join the rebels.

"Saddam dragged these forces into an immoral fight against Iran [in the 1980-1988 war] and to a cruel invasion of a neighboring Arab brotherly country [Kuwait]," he added.

Mr. Naqib was armed forces deputy chief of staff during the rule of President Ahmed Hassan Bakr in 1970. Western governments consider Mr. Naqib an acceptable replacement for Saddam.

Sgt. Huwail also said he has received reports that "a number of resistance leaders have been high-ranking Iraqi officers, even some generals [have been] defecting."

In the Kurdish north, the Iraqi army attacked the towns of Kirkuk and Tuz Khurmatu with 2,000-pound napalm bombs, the dissident Patriotic Union of Kurdistan reported.

But the Kurdish rebellion has widespread control of the area. State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said in Washington that "Kurdish dissidents now appear to control large portions of predominantly Kurdish areas of northern and northeastern Iraq."

A Kurdish opposition spokesman, quoted by Iranian television Sunday, said 100,000 government troops had so far surrendered to the rebels in Iraqi Kurdistan alone.

Saddam, in a televised address to the nation, said Saturday his troops had crushed a revolt in Iraq's mainly Shiite south. Kurdish rebels in the north will suffer the same fate, he added.

The rebellion began after the United States and its allies routed Saddam's occupation army in Kuwait in the six-week Gulf war. The allies said they had destroyed or neutralized about half of Saddam's army.

Meanwhile, an Iranian dissident group said yesterday its forces killed 100 Iranian Revolutionary Guards in battles near one of its bases 40 miles inside Iraq during the past 48 hours.

The People's Mujahideen said the Iranians had taken advantage of the turmoil in Iraq to attack its National Liberation Army base outside Kifri, 100 miles northeast of Baghdad, with mortars and multiple rocket launchers.

Iran has denied any role in the revolt sweeping Iraq since Baghdad's defeat by U.S.-led allied forces nearly three weeks ago.

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.



This photo, from footage released by Iraqi opposition forces and aired on ABC TV Monday morning, shows a tank burning in Karbala, Iraq. Iraq claimed yesterday it had crushed the revolt in the south, but rebel leaders said the uprising was growing and travelers said the army set up checkpoints around Baghdad to search for weapons. AP

U.S. 'silence' on Iraq's turmoil misses opportunity — expert

By Andrew Borowiec
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Bush administration is missing an opportunity to influence Iraq's future by remaining silent on the country's turmoil and avoiding contact with the opposition, a leading expert on Iraq said yesterday.

"The U.S. passivity, including refusal to speak of political pluralism, is pushing Iraqi Shi'ites toward Iran," Laurie Mylroie told the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Miss Mylroie, of the Harvard University Center for Middle Eastern Studies, is co-author with Judith Miller of "Saddam Hussein and the Crisis in the Gulf."

She described Iraq as being increasingly fragmented, with Kurds controlling virtually all of the north, including mountain crossing points into Turkey. In the rebellious south, she said, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein "does not have enough troops to garrison all towns."

Miss Mylroie said there are prospects for "long-term guerrilla war in the south" and there are doubts that Saddam "will ever recover control of the north from the Kurds."

"The Bush administration does not explain its policy toward Iraq," she said, adding that there are no concrete signals besides the wish to see Saddam ousted and rid Iraq of unconventional weapons.

Above all, she said, the United States is not talking to the Iraqi opposition while other members of the anti-Saddam coalition have extensive contacts with his foes. Miss Mylroie claimed that the reason for absence of U.S. activity in this field is that "we are deferring to Saudi Arabia" which wants to have a dominant role in determining Iraq's future.

Thus, she said, U.S. officials have established contact with two Saudi-backed Iraqi opponents whom she described as irrelevant and without a power base.

She identified one as Salah Omar Ali Tikriti, a former chief of secret police responsible for the execution of Iraqi Jews in 1969, and Saad Jabbar, a London-based Shi'ite businessman.

Miss Mylroie also said the Saudi approach to the Iraqi crisis is flawed because it focuses on opposition figures who have limited appeal inside Iraq. "We'll have a situation of winning the war and losing the peace," she said.

Miss Mylroie feels that in addition to Saudi Arabia, Syria is promoting its proteges among Iraqi exiles. Amid growing confusion and internecine fighting, she believes it conceivable that Iraq can split into three parts, with Baghdad controlling only the center of the country.

"The United States should weigh carefully whether the present institutions can still govern Iraq," Miss Mylroie concluded, saying that at this juncture the ruling Ba'ath party, the security apparatus and the army are discredited.

D NEWS

Israeli General Pleads Guilty To Fraud Involving U.S. Aid

Prosecutor Says GE Official Involved in Multimillion-Dollar Scheme

By Jackson Diehl
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, March 18—Israeli military prosecutors have charged that several employees of U.S. defense contractors, including a manager of General Electric, conspired with an Israeli air force general to divert millions of dollars in U.S. government aid to their personal bank accounts, according to court documents published today.

The charges, spelled out in court Sunday in Tel Aviv, provided the first detailed outline of what military officials here have said is the biggest scandal ever uncovered involving the misuse of U.S. aid to Israel. Israel is Washington's biggest foreign aid recipient, getting \$1.8 billion in military aid and \$1.2 billion in economic assistance in each of the past five years.

The air force's former chief of equipment, Brig. Gen. Rami Dotan, pleaded guilty to 12 criminal counts, including bribery and fraud, and admitted to misappropriation of funds totaling \$12 million. Under a plea-bargain agreement with military prosecutors, Dotan, 45, agreed to confess his crimes and return the money he had accumulated in exchange for a prison sentence of 13 years and a dishonorable discharge from the air force. The court is scheduled to announce next week whether it will accept the plea-bargain arrangement.

The 12 charges also include being an accessory to the kidnapping and beating of an Israeli businessman living in the United States who originally informed authorities about the fraud.

The scandal has rocked the air

force, one of Israel's most prestigious institutions, and raised questions about the way military aid and contracts between the United States and Israel are handled. Unlike in other countries, Israel's spending of U.S. military aid is not closely supervised by the Pentagon, and officials here and in Washington have pointed out that Israel's own procedures were so lax that one general was able to manipulate hundreds of millions of dollars in contracts for personal gain.

So far, one other Israeli officer and several civilians have been arrested for involvement in the diversions of funds, and eight other officers who assisted Dotan in circumventing air force procedures have been dismissed from their posts.

Documents submitted by prosecutors to the court and published today in the Israeli press alleged that Dotan conspired with Harold Steindler, an executive of GE's aircraft engine division, to divert more than \$10 million from contracts between GE and Israel's air force.

The contracts, to purchase engines for F-16 warplanes, were paid for with U.S. military aid money to Israel, according to Israeli officials.

Israeli officials said evidence in the case has been turned over to the U.S. Justice Department for investigation.

General Electric said last December that it was conducting an internal review of the affair.

Steindler, who was a senior manager in a GE division that sold military engines overseas, declined to discuss the allegations today. "I

have no comment," he told Washington Post staff writer Jim McGee.

Company spokesman George Jamison said GE learned of the charges in December from Israeli officials and is presently assisting with a parallel federal investigation.

"That cooperation is ongoing," Jamison said. "It appears as if both the Israeli government and GE were victimized by Gen. Dotan, who apparently used claims of Israeli security to hide schemes for his own enrichment. GE is in the midst of its own internal investigation to determine if any GE employees participated with Gen. Dotan in the scheme and improperly received personal gain."

The FBI declined to comment on the matter.

GE said last year that Steindler, who Israeli sources said supervised the company's sales to Israel, had been reassigned from his post during the firm's inquiry.

Dotan allegedly conspired with at least two other, smaller U.S. firms who bribed him to award them contracts, the prosecution said. Prosecutors said one firm helped Dotan create an illicit fund of more than \$500,000 by overbilling for maintenance work done for the air force. The two firms were not named in the official material published today in the Haaretz newspaper.

According to the charges, Dotan's partner in Israel was Yoram Ingbir, an engineer who founded a firm that received tens of millions of dollars in contracts from the air force and its U.S. suppliers, including about \$30 million in contracts from GE.

See A1D, A24, Col. 1

Israeli General Pleads Guilty to Fraud In Diversion of Millions in U.S. Aid

A1D, From A21

The prosecution charged that Ingbir initially received a subcontract to build test facilities for jet engines as part of a 1984 contract between the Israeli air force and "a foreign firm." Haaretz identified the firm as GE, a fact confirmed by official Israeli sources.

GE supplied Israel with engines for its F-16 fighters. Under agreements between the United States and Israel, it was obligated to channel part of the contract to an Israeli subcontractor. Prosecutors said Steindler arranged for the subcon-

tract. The prosecution charges published by Haaretz said Steindler and Dotan set up a paper company called GSK that served as an intermediary between GE and Ingbir.

Over the course of six years, GSK took more than \$3 million in commissions from contracts between GE and Ingbir, the prosecutors said. According to the charges, the money was then diverted from GSK to bank accounts controlled by Steindler and Dotan.

The largest alleged fraud involving Steindler and Dotan was linked to a 1986 contract between the air

force and GE worth \$251 million, according to prosecutors.

The documents submitted to court said that "Steindler, who was actually a partner of Dotan, convinced the American firm that it was necessary to allot money to experimental flights for testing engines," according to the text published by Haaretz.

The prosecutors said Dotan and Steindler transferred \$300,000 to Ingbir to conduct the proposed tests, then diverted the other \$7.5 million in the contract to foreign bank accounts they held.

L.A. Debate—Police Are Also Victims

By TOM KANDO

Friedrich Nietzsche once wrote that the gravest threat to a society's survival is its unwillingness to control its criminals. To paraphrase a figure more widely known in our world, Michael Corleone, history teaches us that it is possible to murder anyone with impunity.

Both these sets of words are relevant in the current discussion and investigation of police brutality in Los Angeles. There, a videotape of a beating of a black motorist by a group of police officers has touched off a Justice Department investigation. The beating itself was outrageous. The Justice Department is correct in perceiving this event as a "national" or "civil-rights" issue. But not, perhaps, a national civil rights issue in the sense that many are describing it.

To understand what is happening in Los Angeles, it is worthwhile to look at what is happening in the rest of the U.S. Take, for example, another California city—Sacramento. Sacramento has seen more than its share of crime. The early part of 1991 has been particularly disgraceful. A so-called thrill killer has murdered half a dozen people, and the total number of murders so far this year exceeds 23. The discovery of unidentifiable bodies is becoming commonplace, often reported only on the back page of the local newspapers. The murders are happening everywhere, including the most affluent neighborhoods.

Police Lost Will

The national clearance rate for murder has declined steadily since the 1950s: Three decades ago, more than 95% of all murders led to an arrest. Today, the figure is less than 70% and going down. In Sacramento so far this year, fewer than 40% of all murders have led to an arrest.

Part of the reason for the increasing inability of law enforcement to solve murder cases is that the proportion of stranger-on-stranger murder is going up. Cases involving relatives, neighbors or acquaintances are easier to solve, of course.

However, the primary cause of our society's increasing lawlessness is the one to which Nietzsche alluded: Our correctional, criminal justice and political systems have simply lost the will to combat crime. In fact, they implement at every opportunity policies most likely to encourage crime.

Thus, the Sacramento thrill killer's mass-murderous spree has led to immediate calls in the state legislature for stricter gun control laws. It is useless to remind those folks that the two jurisdictions with the strictest gun control laws in the country—New York and Washington, D.C.—are also among those with the highest rates of

murder and other violent crimes. Policy is increasingly dictated by ideological commitment rather than empirical facts.

The thrill killer executed all his victims in fast-food and convenience stores located in middle-class neighborhoods. The victims were employees, and an occasional customer. An obvious and pragmatic response would be for every clerk, cashier and cook in such businesses to have ready access to a hand gun underneath the counter. But enabling citizens to protect themselves is not part of the professional criminological ideology.

Another way in which crime is encouraged is through the exclusionary rule. The definition and implementation of criminal justice policy is in the hands of politicians; judges, criminologists, academicians, Hollywood and media people, lawyers, parole

The typical policeman has long lost the motivation really to "go after" murderers and other violent criminals.

agents and probation officers. With a few exceptions such as Harvard criminologist James Q. Wilson, a large majority among these professionals has, for many years, been much more occupied with the legal rights of defendants than with the plight of victims or the security of society. As a result, the typical policeman has long lost the motivation really to "go after" murderers and other violent criminals.

When my friends on the local police force stop a vehicle for a minor moving violation or a defective light, they routinely check the driver's license, his identity, whether the car is stolen and whether there is a warrant out for him. That's about it. They rarely try to find out where the individual is from, how long he has been in Sacramento, where he lives, works, etc. Yet it is through such inquisitiveness that most serious criminals are eventually apprehended. It is such inquisitiveness that was typical of citizen-police encounters in the past, and still is in Japan for example today. But most of my policemen friends no longer bother, since such fact finding is unlikely to lead to arrest or conviction, but instead more likely to their own punishment, reprimand or a law suit.

Another factor is the matter of reward and punishment, or simply put: justice. Every year, murderers such as the Sacramento thrill killer put a premature end to the lives of thousands upon thousands of in-

nocent, hard working, law abiding citizens, often putting them first through excruciating torture. One of this criminal's recent victims was a beautiful, promising, hard-working college girl. A few years ago, also in Sacramento, authorities discovered in another killer's apartment the remnants of the bodies of victims who had been partially eaten by the murderer!

Establishment Overruled Voters

It would be understandable if, in the face of such unspeakable evil, many would find slow torture a more appropriate punishment than swift and painless execution. But since the people of California are civilized, they simply voted to reinstate capital punishment in San Quentin's gas chamber. Yet, although capital punishment was approved twice by an overwhelming majority of the voters a decade ago, the criminal justice elite refuses to permit the state to execute anyone. Instead, each capital case is tried, appealed and suspended ad infinitum at an average cost of \$8 million per case to the taxpayers.

During that endless process, every mass murderer becomes a celebrity, enjoying year after year free room and board, media coverage and the best legal services that the public can pay for. From Juan Corona to Salcido, from Charles Manson to Dorothy Puente, from David Chase to Dan White, and the dozens upon dozens of other killers and mass murderers, they have all learned the lesson that their crimes assured them of a spotlight on national television, a permanent place in history and the lasting attention of society. If this is not reward, what is?

The L.A. videotape case is still unfolding. The issues seem to be quite different from the ones in the cases discussed above. But they share the same surreal context, a context that will change if and when the citizenry wrestles back from the criminal justice professions and from opinionmakers the means to protect itself. Until then, the system will continue to reward criminals, endanger our lives and emasculate the police. An important principle which is supposed to guide criminal justice is that of proportionality, or just deserts, by which is meant a correspondence between the seriousness of a crime committed and the severity of the ensuing punishment. This principle is operative today, in a very perverted sense: The more serious an offender's crime is, the more lavish are the resources and the attention which society bestows upon him.

Mr. Kando is a professor of sociology and criminal justice at California State University in Sacramento.

The Loser of the Gulf War Is . . . the Soviet Military

By GABRIEL SCHOENFELD

Thank God that the generals who run the Soviet military remain Marxists. They know that Friedrich Engels once wrote that "nothing is more dependent on economic conditions than the army and the navy." All of them can recite Lenin by heart: "Military tactics depend on the level of military technology . . ."

Given their creed, and the weak state of the Soviet economy, America's victory over Iraq leaves not only Saddam Hussein's army in tatters. Without suffering a single casualty, the Soviet military has endured its worst psychological defeat since Afghanistan—and possibly since June 1941.

Over the past decade, Soviet military thinkers charged with worrying about the West have focused their attention on one substance being added to the imperialist arsenal: silicon. At both the strategic and conventional levels, computerization and the development of smart munitions, showed Soviet officials that the revolution in military affairs underway in the capitalist world was bypassing the bureaucratized Soviet economy.

The Pentagon's most recent appraisal in its annual report on Soviet Military analysis report, Soviet Military Power is the same: In semiconductor materials, microelectronics, parallel processing, machine intelligence and robotics, and software production, the Soviet Union is "lagging in all important aspects." The lopsided outcome of the Gulf War will confirm Soviet perceptions of their own backwardness.

This conclusion does not flow from a simple comparison of the relative performance of American-made vs. Soviet weaponry. The real issue for Moscow was not the relative, but the absolute performance of the Western high-tech arsenal. Would these weapons, ordered and designed by the Pentagon to destroy Soviet fighting forces, work?

Over the past weeks the Soviet Union has engaged in an intense effort to answer this question. When the fighting began on Jan. 16, the Soviet Union immediately expanded the coverage provided by its "space assets," and intensified electronic intelligence surveillance of the area. An "operations group" was established within the Soviet military at the general staff level to "gather, generalize and assess the information" received from the war. Gen. Mikhail Moiseyev, the Soviet chief of staff, explained that the Gulf War was a "testing ground for state-of-the-art hardware and arms which are or will in the near future be standard equipment for the NATO bloc's combined armed forces."

The full findings of the "operations group" are not likely to be published any time soon in the Soviet press. Nevertheless, statements by military officials during the war and Soviet reporting about the course of battle give a sense of what fears the war has left for Soviet leaders.

"Denial" is an appropriate term to characterize one visible strand of the Soviet reaction. "The war in the Gulf will end in a major U.S. defeat," was the Feb. 1 prediction of Maj. Gen. Viktor Filatov, the controversial editor-in-chief of the principal military history journal. There is disaffection among U.S. troops, was what other media accounts told Soviet readers. "Our morale is reaching rock bottom," a U.S. airman was quoted as saying in the Red Army newspaper Krasnaya Zvezda. "What

I see here is particularly dreadful and brutal," said the unnamed Air Force officer, and they "will chuck me out if they find out that I have bypassed the censor and told the truth about this war."

The American F-15 fighter is no match for top-flight Soviet aircraft, a Soviet pilot told readers of Krasnaya Zvezda on Feb. 6. "Even an average pilot in a MiG-29 has more chances of emerging the victor in dogfights than his adversary in an F-15 not to mention other aircraft."

Syria's defense minister was also enlisted to tell the Soviet public about American backwardness. The Patriot missiles and the "Star Wars" technology it employs, are "not that reliable" in countering Iraqi Scuds, he said. If the U.S. were to "wage Star Wars," it would be a "disaster" for America. The American M-16 not only misfires when "it is slightly dirty," it explodes when sand gets in the barrel. The Soviet Kalashnikov rifle on the other hand, will fire when "clogged with sand or dirt." U.S. helicopters break down in desert sandstorms, but "Soviet helicopters keep flying in those conditions."

The Soviet military no longer speaks in one voice, and not all of the accounts offered by Soviet military authorities have been so bent on self-deception. In fact, Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov, in reviewing preliminary lessons of the war, has spoken of "weak spots" in Soviet air defenses. "What happened in Kuwait and Iraq necessitates a review of the attitude to . . . the country's entire air defense system," he told the Soviet parliament on Feb. 28. Gen. Vladimir Lobov, head of the now defunct Warsaw Pact forces, is also alarmed. The Gulf War is giving the Americans a chance to test their weaponry and change their technology, a process that will help in "perfecting" U.S. and NATO forces. This will in turn lead to a "violation of parity between the two systems . . ."

Press analyses have explained the technological threat in operational terms. Krasnaya Zvezda on Jan. 25 told Soviet readers that the American forces are "saturated" with the latest combat gear. "This applies primarily to electronic warfare" as well as to precision guided munitions that are the "latest achievement of science and technology—laser, electronic and so forth." Such weapons allow for "exceptional accuracy of target destruction." Pravda has expressed worry that reports of the Tomahawk cruise missile's effectiveness will "divert Western politicians from understanding the need to block this dangerous channel of the arms race."

The Patriot missile has been treated with great respect. "Highly accurate," "very effective," "modern," "crammed with Japanese electronics" are the words with which honest Soviet military experts have appraised the Patriot air defense system. And the anti-missile missile is Moscow's major new concern. Izvestia says it is an SDI kitten that has not yet turned into a full grown tiger. Pravda says that the Patriot's success has generated "technophilia" in Washington, a sentiment that is being translated into renewed support for SDI. The Bush administration, says the newspaper, has seized on the effectiveness of the missile to lobby "in every possible way" for SDI's reactivation.

Soviet military leaders recognize that the Soviet Union's pathetic economy will not be rescued soon. Students of the Soviet economy all agree; the worst is yet to come. In the area of electronics and computers in particular, the Soviet Union is destined to fall generations behind. Until

the anarchic planned economy is completely overhauled, competing in technology with the U.S. is not an option.

Arms control was once the most promising vehicle to restrain the West in areas where competition looked like a losing bet. But even if the West were willing, the pace of Western technological change is not something that can be put up for discussion at a bargaining table. The Soviet Union can only win a hand or two at the arms control game—U.S. satellites show that when it comes to military technology it holds perpetually bad cards.

The Kremlin may be forced to take cues from the limited areas where the Iraqis did well. The elusive Scud launchers show that mobile missiles "are relatively safe from air strikes," says Col. Valery Ochirov, a member of the Supreme Soviet committee for Defense and Security Questions. We can expect that Moscow will want to further develop, not trade away, its truck and rail-launched ballistic missiles.

The Iraqis also did well with *maskirovka*. "Operative camouflage, including the extensive use of various mockups and fake airfields and launching positions was well thought out and effectively implemented," says Lieut. Gen. Valentin Perverzev. This suggests a low-cost, low-tech strategy for the Soviet Union to survive as a formidable military power. Ever since Catherine the Great, Russia has been good at building Potemkin villages. If it can solve the paper shortage, Moscow could build an enormous arsenal of tanks, planes and rockets, all made of papier-mache.

Mr. Schoenfeld is a fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and editor of Soviet Prospects.

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MORE AID SOUGHT FOR AILING BANKS UNDER BUSH PLAN

TO HELP INSURANCE FUND

F.D.I.C. Would Get Authority for Borrowing \$25 Billion From Federal Reserve

By STEPHEN LABATON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 18 — In an effort to keep the Federal deposit insurance program afloat, the Bush Administration will propose that bank regulators be able to increase the amount they can borrow by \$25 billion, Administration officials said today.

Under the proposal, which will be sent to Congress this week, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation would be given the authority to borrow \$25 billion from the Federal Reserve, on top of the \$5 billion it can now borrow from the Treasury. Any money borrowed, along with interest, would be repaid through increased bank contributions to the insurance fund.

Administration officials said they decided to take this approach instead of relying on the Treasury for further lending to avoid even the appearance of using taxpayer funds.

Help for Solvent Institutions

The increased borrowing authority would be used to rescue the depositors at insolvent banks as well as to give additional help to ailing but solvent institutions under a current program known as "open assistance."

In recent weeks, regulators and the Administration have been considering ways to enlarge the program, particularly in New England, which has been hit hard by the recession. But critics have said that providing cash to solvent banks props up unhealthy institutions and that increasing the program provides opportunities for political manipulation.

Concerns About Bailout

The Administration's proposal is largely an endorsement of a similar one made three weeks ago by L. William Seidman, chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

The insurance fund's precarious financial condition and the growing crisis in the nation's banking industry have raised concerns about a replay of the bailout of the savings and loan fund, which is expected to cost taxpayers hundreds of billions of dollars. The risk

Bush's Plan Would Allow F.D.I.C. to Borrow From Fed

Continued From Page A1

ing rate of large bank failures has left the fund at its lowest level since the creation of the program in 1933 during the Great Depression.

The \$8.4 billion fund is now at about 43 cents per \$100 in deposits and it is estimated that it will decline to 19 cents by the end of the year. Federal law has set \$1.25 per \$100 as the goal that should be sought by regulators.

It is too early to determine whether Congress will ultimately support the Treasury's plan, although the Congressional Budget Office has already recommended increasing the borrowing authority of the F.D.I.C. by another \$3 billion, to \$10 billion.

Optimism on Prospects

But Mr. Seidman appeared optimistic today about the Administration plan's prospects. "My guess is that the reception on Capitol Hill will be pretty good, because it meets our needs and their needs," Mr. Seidman said in an interview. "Their No. 1 interest is that the taxpayer not get stuck with the bill. This meets that interest."

The Treasury Department's endorsement of Mr. Seidman's plan came in a letter today to him from Treasury Under Secretary Robert R. Glauber.

The original proposal by Mr. Seidman, who has enjoyed an alternately warm and cold relationship with the White House, did not detail where the borrowed money should come from.

When Mr. Seidman announced his plan, Treasury officials declined to comment. In early January, the Treasury disclosed a plan to overhaul

the banking industry that included a measure to take away much of the F.D.I.C.'s authority, and that was seen by lawmakers and many in the industry as a slap at Mr. Seidman.

Move Called a Mistake

But the Administration has denied that it was aimed specifically at him, and more recently, Treasury officials have backpedaled and said the attempt to entirely strip the insurance fund of much of its authority had been "a mistake."

Unlike the bailout of the savings and loan industry, in which Congress set up a corporation that raises money by selling bonds in the marketplace, the rescue of the bank insurance fund through Federal Reserve borrowings should be considerably less expensive because it will enable regulators to obtain lower interest rates.

The rates of interest charged for the loans and any other conditions, such as the type of collateral that would need to be posted by banks requesting open assistance, would be set by the Federal Reserve. Administration officials said the interest rate would be equal to the Treasury rate paid for borrowings of comparable maturity, which is lower than what the Government would be able to obtain on the open market from investors.

The Administration also said that the premiums banks pay to the deposit insurance fund would be increased for every \$1 billion drawn by the insurance fund from the Federal Reserve.

As part of the proposal, the Administration will recommend that Congress cap the premiums paid by banks to the insurance fund at 30 cents per \$100 in deposits. Last fall,

S.E.C. Acts On Executive

WASHINGTON, March 18 (Reuters) — The Securities and Exchange Commission won a permanent injunction today against the former chairman of Borman's Inc. for issuing a press release that fraudulently said he knew no reason for the jump in Borman's stock price even though he had agreed to buyout talks.

Without admitting or denying the charges, Paul Borman, the former chairman and principal shareholder of the Detroit-based food company, agreed to be barred from future violations of securities laws, under terms of an order entered in United States District Court in Washington. The S.E.C.'s sanction merely prohibits Mr. Borman from similar securities law violations.

The agency has limited powers to hand out penalties. Its primary role is to insure timely and accurate disclosure of any information about a publicly traded company that may influence an investor's decisions.

Congress, at the urging of Treasury officials, lifted all restrictions on premium increases.

After raising premiums from 12 cents in January, to 19.5 cents, the insurance fund has said that it will increase premiums this summer to 23 cents per \$100, a 92 percent jump from last year, in order to finance \$10 billion in loans to keep the bank insurance fund from becoming insolvent by the end of this year, as some economists have predicted.

Mr. Seidman, whose term as chairman expires in the fall, estimated today that the insurance fund would need to borrow only that \$10 billion this year.

Premium Rise Would Be Needed

Mr. Seidman has said previously that borrowing an additional \$15 billion would require a premium increase of 5.25 cents per \$100 in deposits.

In addition to its existing line of credit with the Treasury, the insurance fund has the authority to borrow based on a formula pegged to its net worth. Its present net worth enables it to borrow about \$65 billion, but that amount will dwindle as the insurance fund continues to pay out more than the contributions it receives from the industry.

The insurance fund already has the authority to provide open assistance to banks by lending them funds, but in the last two years it has only exercised it twice with two small institutions. Last September it provided \$2.5 million to the Pawnee National Bank of Pawnee, Okla.; in 1989 it lent \$2.3 million to the Metropolitan National Bank of San Antonio.

On the outlook for Congressional passage of the Treasury's plan, the chairman of the House Banking committee, Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, Democrat of Texas, has expressed concerns about borrowing from any source. Any borrowing would be ultimately guaranteed by the Government and he views these guarantees as a form of a taxpayer bailout.

The chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, Donald W. Riegle Jr., a Michigan Democrat, has not commented on Mr. Seidman's plan, saying only that he awaits the Administration's legislation.

"Congress is going to be extremely wary about doing anything that resembles a taxpayer bailout," a Congressional aide said. The strongest sign of the reluctance of Congress in the area came last week in the narrow margin by which the House voted to continue financing the savings and loan bailout.

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Israel's Moment of Truth: Restraint or Retaliation?

As Scuds Fell, Shamir Faced Tough Choices

By Jackson Diehl
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, March 18—In less than 36 hours after the first Iraqi Scud attack on Israel on Jan. 18, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, a man frequently criticized for political intransigence, led his right-wing cabinet to one of the most dramatic policy reversals in Israel's history: a decision to forgo retaliatory military action against Iraq.

For months before the Persian Gulf War, Shamir and a host of other Israeli spokesmen had insisted that if attacked by Iraq, Israel would respond quickly and massively, despite the potential risks this could pose to the U.S.-led Operation Desert Storm.

For weeks before the first missile hit Tel Aviv, the Israeli air force had been preparing for its expected mission, bombing dummy missile launchers on secret test ranges in the Negev desert.

Yet once the crisis began, Shamir defied the conventional wisdom about his own political potential as well as that of his government. Within a few hectic hours, the enigmatic, 75-year-old prime minister scrapped longstanding Israeli security doctrine, rejected the demands of the hard-line hawks in his cabinet and, most significantly, yielded to appeals from a U.S. administration that previously had been unable to get its way with Jerusalem.

The story of the restraint policy thus offers an intriguing example for the Bush administration as it seeks to involve Shamir's govern-

ment in a postwar Middle East peace process.

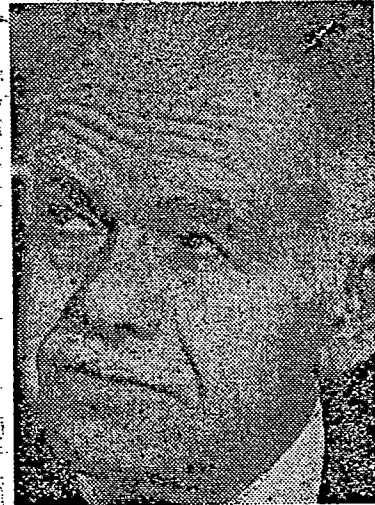
For some optimistic observers here, the case suggests that Shamir is capable of taking command of his government and overriding the entrenched doctrines and factional squabbling that so often hamstring Israeli politics. At the same time, government officials warn, Washington may succeed with Shamir only when it avoids confronting his central ideological commitment to Israel's control of the Arab territories it occupies.

"Shamir surprised a lot of people because he showed that on some issues, he is willing to go very, very far to accommodate the United States," a senior official said. "But that is linked to the fact that on other issues, such as territory, he is not willing to budge at all."

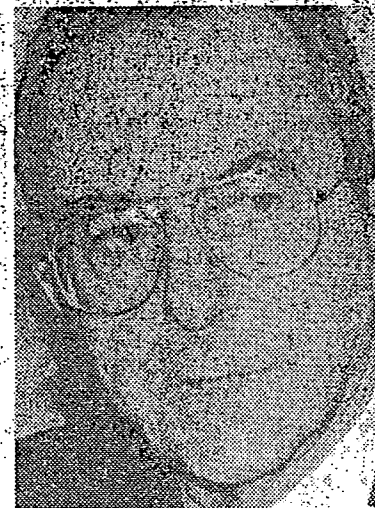
To be sure, few Israelis expected before the war that Shamir, a former fighter in the most uncompromising of Israel's pre-state underground insurrectionist groups, would be willing to bend a security doctrine that for decades had been sacrosanct to the country's military and political elite.

Israel has long contended that its only possible defense lies in deterring or preempting any attack, in part through creating an unvarying record of responding quickly and massively to any provocation. Part of the deterrence factor has rested on the Jewish state's past refusal to be constrained by the United States or other Western powers.

Strategists here could see that there would be problems in holding to the security doctrine in the case



Shamir and Defense Minister Arens, below, favored strike against Iraq until President Bush personally appealed for restraint.



of Iraq. Israeli entry into the war, they realized, ran the risk of upsetting the coalition the United States had forged with moderate Arab states against Iraq. Jordan, the buffer state between Iraq and Israel, had vowed to resist any attempt by Israeli planes to cross its airspace, and Syria—a member of the allied coalition—had promised to fight against Israel if it entered the war.

In a White House meeting with
See ISRAEL, A24, Col. 1

Shamir's Decision to Forgo Attacking Iraq Reversed Long Policy

ISRAEL, From A21

Bush in December, Shamir had agreed to forgo a preemptive Israeli attack on the Iraqi missile launchers in exchange for a pledge by Bush that the sites would be targeted at the onset of any U.S. offensive.

Still, in meetings with U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger on the weekend before the gulf war began, Shamir insisted that Israel would have to retaliate if attacked. As a result, when the first volley of Scuds hit, just after 2 a.m. Friday morning, Jan. 18, the long-standing lack of coordination between Tel Aviv and Washington suddenly became critical.

The first call, according to official sources, came from Secretary of State James A. Baker III to Defense Minister Moshe Arens, who was in the underground command bunker at the Defense Ministry compound in Tel Aviv. Arens subsequently called Shamir, and Israeli sources say the two decided that no Israeli action would be taken immediately.

However, Arens then placed a call on a newly installed secure telephone line to Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney, and pressed for an immediate upgrading of Israeli-U.S. military coordination so that Israel could act against the Scud launchers.

Dozens of Israeli planes had already taken off from their bases following the Scud attack. But senior Israeli sources said their mission was

to guard the country's airspace against a possible Iraqi air attack, and they were not prepared for a bombing raid of their own.

According to official sources, Arens did not ask Cheney for the "friend or foe" air codes used by allied planes to identify one another—which had been withheld from Israel—but instead asked Cheney to set aside a block of time during

Shamir "realized the best way to ensure [Saddam's] destruction was to go along with the United States."

— Israeli source

which allied planes would not operate in western Iraq, thus allowing Israel's air force in. Arens also suggested that the United States arrange for an air corridor through Saudi Arabia, so that Israeli planes would not have to pass over hostile Jordan. Cheney did not reject the Israeli requests, but he responded that any decision would have to be made by Bush, sources here said. A political reality was quickly becoming evident to both sides: At the moment of crisis, Israel's behavior would depend on the interaction of Bush and Shamir.

The first call from the White House to Shamir came sometime after 5:30 a.m., following a preparatory call from Baker, officials said. It was the first time that the two men had spoken by telephone since the previous February, when Shamir's rejection of a U.S. peace initiative left a residue of personal rancor and mistrust between them.

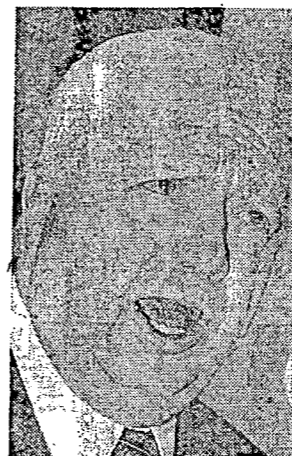
Bush stated the case for Israel to refrain from action, pledging that the United States would quickly look for ways to upgrade military cooperation as well as attacks on the Scuds.

Shamir replied that Israel would probably have to respond, but that his policy-making inner cabinet would meet that morning to consider the question, sources said.

The prime minister then went to Tel Aviv, where he convened an emergency meeting of the 12-member body at his office in the Defense Ministry compound.

The consensus at the meeting was that Israel had no choice but to act, and should not be put off by U.S. blandishments or threats from Arab neighbors. While Shamir did not disagree with this stand, officials said, the first conversation with Bush had convinced him he should wait to see how Washington would respond to the Scud threat.

Shamir thus proposed a delaying step: The army staff would be ordered to prepare final, detailed plans for an attack on the missile launchers to present to the cabinet at its next scheduled meeting, set for Sunday, two days later. In the



ARIEL SHARON

... led hard-liners favoring retaliation

meantime, Israel would press the United States to provide the necessary military coordination.

Shamir returned to Jerusalem. In the early evening Bush called back, and Shamir explained that the cabinet felt action was necessary, but agreed to wait 48 hours before approving the plans.

In response, Bush delivered on the morning's conversation by offering new U.S. steps to satisfy Israel. He said he was arranging the immediate shipment to Israel of Patriot air-defense batteries manned by U.S. crews, and was sending Eagleburger back as a personal envoy to ensure full cooperation between Jerusalem and Washington.

Finally, the Pentagon met one of Arens's most pressing concerns by sending an Army general to Tel Aviv to serve as a direct liaison between the Israeli military and the U.S. Central Command in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. After his second conversation with Bush, Shamir felt encouraged about U.S. intentions, sources said. But then the first air raid siren sounded in what was to be a long, harrowing night in Israel. After three exhausting false alarms, three more Iraqi missiles exploded in and around Tel Aviv just after 7:30 a.m. Saturday.

Within an hour, Bush called Sha-

mir again. Sources here said the 15-minute conversation was the longest they had ever had by telephone and was the turning point in relations between the two countries during the war.

Shamir had already moved the cabinet session up from Sunday to 10 a.m. Saturday, less than two hours away, and had ordered the military to have its final attack plans ready for the session.

Bush, sources here said, was careful not to reject Israeli military action, saying that the government had to make its own decision and had a right to retaliate if it chose to. Instead, he appealed to Shamir's sense of political calculation.

"Bush said, 'Don't play into the hands of Saddam Hussein,'" said one source who talked to Shamir soon afterward. "That caught his attention. It appealed to Shamir's fighting instincts. He said afterward, 'I don't want to do what Saddam Hussein wants me to do.'"

"In the end, Shamir's basic focus was, 'How can we destroy Saddam Hussein?'" the source said. "He realized that the best way to ensure his destruction was to go along with the United States."

When the cabinet's discussion began, the coalition's right wing—led by Housing Minister Ariel Shar-

on, Shamir's chief rival in the Likud Party—strongly favored immediate Israeli military action. The army chief of staff laid out a plan for an ambitious air-and-ground operation in western Iraq, in which Israeli commandos would track down the mobile launchers and call in air strikes on them.

Arens tended to support the army. But Foreign Minister David Levy made Shamir's job much easier. Last year, Levy, who commands a substantial base of support within the Likud, helped stop the peace process by joining Sharon's hard-liners. Now, as foreign minister, he strongly supported the moderates' line against military action.

Shamir remained silent through 2½ hours of debate, sources said, then delivered a 20-minute speech that forcefully concluded that Israel should stay out of the war. "It could have gone either way," contended an official who was there. "But after Shamir spoke, it was settled. We didn't even bother to take a vote."

Pragmatism had won the day over Israel's long-held strategic principles, and the policy proved enormously popular with the public. Despite 16 more Scud attacks, polls showed that more than 75 percent of Israelis supported the restraint policy throughout the war.

POLITICS & POLICY

Even the Scaled-Down Military Machine Planned For '95 Would Leave the U.S. a Still-Potent Force

By WALTER S. MOSSBERG
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The timing couldn't have been much worse. On the very day that Iraq invaded Kuwait, President Bush announced plans to drastically reduce the size of the U.S. military.

Now, hardliners inside and outside the Pentagon are demanding that the president think again. Plans to cut the military, they contend, could make the Gulf victory impossible to repeat. Warned Henry Kissinger, in a Feb. 26 Washington Post piece: "Had Kuwait been invaded two years later, the American defense budget would have declined so as to preclude a massive overseas deployment."

But one obvious fact gets little notice in the renewed debate: Even the slimmed-down U.S. military currently planned for 1995 would remain an awesomely huge force, able to deploy just as many planes, ships, tanks and troops as the U.S. sent to the Gulf—with units left to spare.

"We could have taken care of Iraq with the scaled-down force," says Sen. John Glenn (D., Ohio), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee's manpower subcommittee. Adds Sam Nunn (D., Ga.), chairman of the Armed Services Committee: "Done properly, I think the new, smaller force structure would be able to handle something like Desert Storm in the mid-1990's."

Most senior Pentagon officials also say that even at reduced levels, the U.S. would have a lopsidedly large force to field against any foreseeable Third World threat. In fact, a rerun of Operation Desert Storm would consume only half—possibly

Lean But Mean
Defense Secretary Cheney plans major cuts in the number of U.S. military units by 1995 now that the Soviet threat is receding. But even the smaller military he plans would contain at least twice as many of these major units than were used in the Gulf war.

TYPE OF FORCE	1990	1995	USED IN GULF
Army Divisions	28	18	8
Aircraft Carriers	13	12	6
Fighter Wings	36	26	10

Source: Defense Department

fewer of the Army divisions, Navy aircraft carriers and Air Force fighter wings that the Pentagon plans to have in 1995.

As it was, the Army committed about eight divisions in the war against Iraq—fewer than a third of its current total of 28, including reserves, and fewer than half of its total of 18 active-duty divisions. The Navy sent just six of its 13 aircraft-carrier battle groups. The Air Force contributed the equivalent of 10 tactical fighter wings, fewer than a third of its total of 36 wings and fewer than half of the 24 active-duty wings. U.S. troops represented 85% of the allied combat forces in the war.

"I am comfortable with the capabilities that these forces will possess," Defense Secretary Dick Cheney told Congress in the midst of the Desert Storm fighting. Unless there is a reversal of the military pull-back by the Soviet Union, he added, the

smaller U.S. armed forces of the future will be "prudently matched to the threat we have been projecting."

The cutback program that the president announced last Aug. 2, devised by Secretary Cheney and Joint Chiefs Chairman Gen. Colin Powell, would slash total U.S. troop strength 25% to roughly 1.7 million active-duty personnel by late 1995 and would halt further production of a number of weapons that became prime-time stars in the Gulf drama: the F-16 Fighter, the Bradley Fighting Vehicle, the M1A1 tank, for instance.

Even if the lessons of Desert Storm don't fundamentally change the cutback plan, they will alter it in some details. Because so many U.S. troops are still in the war zone, Congress has excused the Army from making the force cuts it was slated to make this year. And the Army wants another year still to reach its final, lower troop level—to avoid too much "turbulence" in the ranks. There will also be support in Congress to continue some canceled weapons.

But the severe downsizing remains mostly on track—to the consternation of many military experts. On Feb. 28, the day the war ended, military analyst Anthony Cordesman expressed concerns that under the Cheney plan, "many of our technological assets will be gone—perhaps much of our readiness as well." He wrote in the New York Times: "If this goes on, we will be unable to refight our last war, much less the next one. Any effort to check future aggression will be threatened."

And although top commanders remain committed to the cutbacks, there's still plenty of dissent inside the Pentagon. Gen. Carl Vuono, the Army's chief of staff, has taken pains to warn Congress of the risks,

even though he officially backs the plan. "The army of the mid-1990's," he says, "will be a perilously small land force for a nation with the United States' superpower responsibilities."

High-Water Mark

In fact, many agree that the U.S. shouldn't make this year's Persian Gulf conflict the high-water mark in planning for the enemy armies of the future. Desert Storm was perfectly timed for the U.S. It occurred when the U.S. still had a large military designed to fight the U.S.S.R., but at a time when the actual threat from the Soviets had receded to almost nil. It was a war fought in wide-open spaces against Soviet weapons and tactics—the very fight the U.S. spent years preparing to win.

By contrast, what if the U.S. were forced to fight in multiple theaters? In jungles? What if nuclear weapons became involved? What if the Soviet threat reappeared?

"People can cite every contingency in the world," says Sen. Glenn, "but you can't provide permanently for World War III. You've got to make some judgments about what the real threats will be."

Pentagon planners are hoping that while the new military will be smaller, it also will be more effective, particularly against a greater number of Third-World threats. With fewer units—and with more based in the U.S.—it will be crucial to have enough transport planes and ships to rush troops to a distant war. One weapon conspicuously spared the knife was the new C-17 transport plane.

Extra Funds

In addition, Mr. Cheney may soon announce a plan for fast, new cargo ships and other moves to increase sealift. U.S. extra funds Congress has already appropriated. The defense chief has already announced plans to boost by more than 60% the reserve fleet of mothballed ships that can tap in wartime.

The cutback plan also is plowing back training funds, say-

ing troop numbers, into increasing the readiness of the smaller forces that remain. For instance, the plan foresees maintaining the current number of flying hours, Navy steaming days and Army ground miles now spent in training, despite the cutbacks in personnel. The prospect of moderate oil prices in the next few years should help make that possible.

The downsizing plan contemplates

maintaining, or even increasing, spending for research and development on new weapons while procurement is slowed.

So even before receiving final reports on the Persian Gulf war, military leaders are convinced that changes to the downsizing plan will be slight. "This force," Adm. David Jeremiah, deputy to Gen. Powell, told lawmakers this week, "has the capability of doing it."

UPFRONT AND CENTER

KUWAIT: VIETNAM'S LAST BATTLE

AS the gallant warriors clear out Kuwait, we should clear out our minds. It's a new moment. Here is a short history of the last 50 years, and the next 10:

America entered World War II in 1941 and led a coalition to defeat totalitarian despots — the fascists.

After that war, America led a coalition of democracies to oppose communist totalitarians in the Cold War.

The cold conflict had hot moments. In the mid-1960s, America helped threatened allies, the South Vietnamese. We stabilized the military situation, turned the war over to the South Vietnamese, and left. They were defeated and lost their country.

It was one lost battle in a long Cold War, a long war that we would ultimately win.

Alleged "lessons of Vietnam" were promoted and swallowed whole by a gullible media corps.

The lessons included: Americans turned against the war; Americans wouldn't support a war with costly casualty levels; America was psychologically depressed; America had lost its nerve; the world had lost respect for America, and America was in decline.

The lessons were con-



BEN J. WATTENBERG

cocted on the left, but often morosely believed on the right.

All those lessons were incorrect.

In 1972, after seven years of casualties in Vietnam, Americans re-elected their "pro-war" President (Nixon), not the "anti-war" candidate (McGovern).

In 1976, undepressed, Americans euphorically celebrated the 200th anniversary of American liberty. "Tall ships" boomed a salute to people who stood tall.

Something strange went on while the world allegedly lost respect for America. American popular culture — movies, television, music, journalism, language — swamped the world. While it was being said that "America was in decline," another thought resurfaced: "The world is Americanizing."

It became apparent that more than politics and economics was important.

People from everywhere sought to come here. Many succeeded. America became the world's first universal nation, the only place where people came from every place.

As ever, Americans were proud, tough, influential and admired. That's why Ronald Reagan was elected in 1980. He pushed the ball forward.

In 1988, Americans elected George Bush as

president. He was sometimes called a wimp.

In 1989, the American-led alliance won the Cold War. Americans had spent trillions on defense, and elected presidents who said spend more.

The wrong lessons from Vietnam resonated else-

to appreciate the open rhythms of the West. In alliance with America and the West, these Arabs made a stand for modernism.

The struggle for Kuwait was the last battle of the Vietnam War. The last lesson of Vietnam was: Ignore

Saddam, like the media, made the mistake of believing in the 'lessons' of the Indochinese war — all of which were wrong

where. Saddam Hussein believed that America was flaccid. He believed that the momentum of civilization had left the West. He bet his life on it.

He lost, in some measure because many Arabs came

previous lessons.

The battle of Kuwait, televised everywhere, showed the potency of American and Western influence. It was the exclamation point of the Cold War.

In a half century the to-

talitarians had been smitten, and so had the bandits.

The non-wimp president of a non-wimp country in a non-wimp alliance had tapped a gusher: an often-ignored reservoir of fortitude in America and the democracies. (That was one factor in the re-ignition of the global economy in 1991.)

President Bush proclaimed the New World Order. It was thought that NWO meant that the world would have a new order. It also meant that the coming order reflected the triumph of the values of the New World.

"The New World" is what Europeans said Columbus discovered in 1492. For centuries afterward there was a contest for influence between the stultified values of the Old World and the dynamic values of the New World.

By 1992, 500 years after Columbus, it was becoming obvious that the ideas of the New World — democratic, upwardly mobile, individualistic, opportunity-oriented — had become the regnant ideas of the era.

Everyone lived happily ever after, for quite a while.

Ben Wattenberg is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

Photocopy-Preservation

He's seen my draft.

Bush: 'What We Are Doing Is Right'

Excerpts from President Bush's remarks during an interview yesterday by Cable News Network reporters Frank Cesno and Charles Bierbauer:

Debate Over U.S. Policy

We're bound to have some confrontation and some debate, but, believe me, the world is still united against this brutal aggression. They want the hostages freed, they want to have stability in the gulf, and security there. They don't like the thought of a mad dictator possibly controlling the economic well-being of every country in the world.

So, please understand—the world is still united against this man's aggression

What I want to do is have a peaceful resolution to this question, and I have said from the very beginning that no options are ruled out, nor have I made any determination to use military force, and I repeated that to the members of Congress. But I am absolutely convinced that having the forces in place, should a military option be required, is prudent policy. . . .

I think there's a certain frustration. I don't live by polls. I'm certainly not going to shape the policies of the United States government by polls. . . . I think the American people will support their president, and I think they know I'm prudent. . . .

Economic Security

I think people are concerned about this. . . . But there is an enormous economic equation here. Look what's happening in our own country right now. There's a slowdown, an economic slowdown. And it's a disproportionate increase in the price of oil that stems from what Saddam Hussein has done. It's the fear, because of what he's done. And it does mean jobs. . . .

You know who's hurt the worst by this oil question? And job question? It's the Third World countries. It's the have-nots that are being driven to their knees by these prices because of what Saddam Hussein has done.

ers and they have every right in the world to safeguard the powers of the Congress. And I will be very respectful of that. . . .

Why New Deployments

[Saddam's] advance had been stopped in the shift in terms of our ability to defend Saudi Arabia. He has moved a substantial amount of force into Kuwait since the original decision was made, and I am going to preserve all options, and if an option is out there it'd better be credible, and one way to have a credible option is to have enough force there to fulfill one's responsibilities if one has to exercise that option. . . .

And then there's another reason. I am sending a signal, a clear, clarion signal to Saddam Hussein: we are deadly serious about seeing you get out of Kuwait and about those hostages, Americans and others being freed, and about the sanctity of our embassy being respected, and about the stability of the world economic system. Make no mistake about it. . . .

Waiting Out Saddam

I think holding public opinion forever in any country is very difficult to do. . . . In any country, I think there is a ticking of the clock, but the alliance is strong, the alliance is unwavering, and I don't think this matter is going to go on forever. As far as I'm concerned, it's not. . . . If you said to me how effective are the sanctions, I'd say, Frank, I don't know the answer to that question. . . . I know they've had some bite, we get different reports from countries near to Iraq, but I can't give you and the American people a total assessment. . . .

When you rape, pillage and plunder a neighbor, should you then ask the world, hey, give me a little face, give me a little face-saving so I can do what I should have done months ago? Should we be saying to him we're going to reward your aggression by peeling off some part of somebody else's country?

Should we say the brutality to these hostages and the way you've treated these embassies should be rewarded in some way, so you, sir, can have some face, so you can brutalize somebody else tomorrow, so we set a precedent that would be unacceptable for the rest of the world?

The answer is no, there isn't going to be a compromise with this kind of naked aggression

Stopping Aggression

So you have all kinds of ingredients. And jobs, I'd say, comes under the heading of the economic security of the world. And it's a very important part of this. And so is aggression. And so is staking our prisoners in contravention of all international law against possible targets. I mean, it's not one piece of the puzzle. It's all the puzzle together. . . .

If I haven't done as clear a job as I might on explaining this, then I've got to do better in that regard, because I know in my heart of hearts that what we are doing is right, I know that what the United Nations has done is correct, I know that we have got to stand up against aggression, an aggression that goes rewarded today means instability and horror tomorrow, and I've got to tell you—I have on my mind every night I go to—go to sleep, these hostages.

Barbara and I—you know—our family, we still—still say our prayers at night, and we say them for these hostages and the people in our embassy, as well as for our kids that are halfway around the world. And I guess I'd have to accept some of the responsibility, if it's not as clear to others in this country as it is to me, but I'm going to do my level best to see that it is clear, because we're dealing with naked aggression, we're dealing with brutality, unprecedented in recent times, and we're dealing with a threat to the national security of this country and other countries.

Consulting Congress

The leadership decided that they did not want to have a special session. But I think they also know something else, that we have had more meaningful consultations on this question than—than any other such period in history have—these consultations have taken place. And I will continue to consult. I want Congress on board. But I'd leave it right there because who knows what's going to happen? We are not in a situation of what I would call hostility at this point, and therefore, I don't think we need a declaration of war in advance of a hypothetical situation. . . .

I've consulted more than any other president in history. . . . And you can't have 435 commanders in chief, and you can't have a hundred commanders in chief. I've read the Constitution. They have the right to declare war and I have the right, as commander in chief, to fulfill my responsibilities, and I'm—I'm going to safeguard those executive pow-

A Post-Crisis Iraq

I think what you have to have after the crisis and after the withdrawal that is unconditional and after the restoration of the legitimate rulers to their proper place in Kuwait, there would have to be some international guarantees, because what's happened—the world is now focused on the fact much more clearly—I know I have—that the man has used chemical weapons against his own people, that he has a nuclear capability that he's trying frantically to build. And having demonstrated this recklessness, I don't think the rest of the world would say this is good enough, just what they call the status quo ante, going back to where things were before the invasion. . . .

The Vietnam Parallel

I don't see a parallel. Let me tell you why. In Vietnam the Soviets and the Chinese were on opposite sides; you had a state of almost enmity between the superpowers. And today, thank God, we have a much more bright and hopeful future. China and the Soviet Union have joined in the United Nations in the total condemnation. In Vietnam you had a very different supply situation; in Vietnam you had a very different topography situation—the land was very different in terms of the cover and the hiding. . . the weapons. So there is no parallel. What people, when they say we worry about a Vietnam, is they don't want to put this nation through a long drawn-out inconclusive experience that had military action that just ended up with kind of a totally unsatisfactory answer. And that's right. . . .

I will not, as commander in chief, ever put somebody into a military situation that we do not win—ever. And there's not going to be any long drawn-out agony of Vietnam. So I reject the parallel. But I can understand why people say that. . . .

Reading Saddam's Mind

I'm not one of these psychoanalysts. But I understand unacceptable behavior. I understand international outlawism when I see it. And so does the rest of the world, and they've condemned it. But I don't understand him well enough to know what he's going to do. I've read all these stories about him, but the unpredictability, the brutality, the closeness in which he holds things and doesn't hear any advice from anybody else. But I've seen him do a 180-degree turn. I saw him do that in his war with Iran, and let's hope he does the same thing here. Because it would be in his interest to hurry up and get out of Kuwait. . . .

THE WASHINGTON POST

CRISIS IN THE GULF

Bush Says Time Is Limited for Peaceful Gulf Solution

PRESIDENT, From A1

clear, because we're dealing with naked aggression, we're dealing with brutality . . . and . . . with a threat to the national security of this country and other countries."

In the half-hour session, Bush also referred repeatedly to the hostages held by Iraq. "I've got to tell you—I have on my mind every night I go . . . to sleep, these hostages. Barbara and I—you know—our family, we still . . . say our prayers at night, and we say them for these hostages and the people in our embassy, as well as for our kids that are halfway around the world."

Bush, on the eve of his departure for Europe and the Middle East, reiterated that increasing the force of 230,000 troops now there to more than 400,000 was meant to preserve the "credible military option" of an offensive strike if he decides to use it. "If an option is out there, it'd better be credible, and one way to have a credible option is to have enough force there to fulfill one's responsibilities if one has to exercise that option," he said.

In addition, Bush said, "I am sending a signal, a clear, clarion signal to Saddam Hussein, we are deadly serious" about Iraq leaving Kuwait, about not harming American hostages, about "the sanc-

tity" of the besieged U.S. Embassy in Kuwait City and about "the stability of the world economic system."

The president also restated his concerns about Saddam's possessing chemical, biological and eventually nuclear weapons even if he withdraws from Kuwait. While stating he was not trying to "escalate" his demands, the president said an acceptable solution to the crisis will have to deal with those weapons through some United Nations-type monitoring and control.

While saying that the international alliance against Saddam remains "unwavering" today, the president signaled he has doubts about how long public support, abroad and at home, can last. "In any country, I think there is a ticking of the clock . . . and I don't think this matter is going to go on forever. As far as I am concerned, it's not."

Even though public polls show Americans strongly support a negotiated settlement with Saddam, Bush yesterday rejected the notion of a solution that would help Saddam save face. "I am not going to compromise one single iota," Bush said. "When you rape, pillage and plunder a neighbor, should you then ask the world, hey, give me a little face, give me a little face-saving so I can do

what I should have done months ago?" he asked.

" . . . Should we say the brutality to these hostages and the way you've treated these embassies should be rewarded, so you, sir, can have some face, so you can brutalize somebody else tomorrow . . . ?"

Over the months of the crisis, the president has alternately played down the hostages and emphasized them, caught between his fear of basing his policies on the fate of the Americans held in Iraq and Kuwait, and what appears to be his genuine anger over their plight.

The interview was a clear effort by the president to offer a fuller, broader rationale for why he believes the United States must face down Saddam, even if it comes to a military conflict. Stopping "a mad dictator from possibly controlling the economic well-being of every country in the world" by controlling the Middle East's oil reserves was the most direct economic explanation he said. But, also, he said, "It is aggression. It is the safety of human life. It is the concern over a U.S. embassy where the man's trying to starve it out. It is a world order that is threatened. It is the national security" of the United States and of "many other countries."

To cite just one of those reasons, Bush said, was "simplistic" because "It's not just one piece of the puzzle. It is the puzzle altogether."

In a week when members of Congress have raised questions about the administration's willingness to keep them informed about gulf policy, Bush strongly defended his record.

"I've consulted more than any other president in history," he said, adding that he was grateful for the overall support he has received from Democrats and Republicans.

But he said he would continue to protect his powers as commander-in-chief. "I'm going to safeguard those executive powers and they have every right in the world to safeguard the powers of the Congress," he said.

Bush said he does not feel "any mode of confrontation" with Congress over gulf policy.

"Individual congressmen may look at this differently than I do and some are willing to tell me what not to do, but [are] a little bit fuzzy and unclear on what to do," he said. "But that's not their job. My job is to make tough decisions and to hold this coalition together and to drive forward to see that this aggression is not rewarded."

1/24/92

Bush Teeters On Strategy For Comeback

The new and disheveled offices of Bush-Quayle campaign headquarters look and smell of fresh white paint. That's only fitting, because many in the White House believe all President Bush needs to recover from his four-month political swoon is another coat of high gloss.

But not Robert Teeter, the new paint-crew boss. Is Mr. Bush's problem substance or just communications? The pollster and strategist turned campaign chairman is known to think it's both. For months he's urged Mr. Bush to get more than a new facade; he's wanted a vigorous new growth agenda.

That need may seem obvious out in the real economy. But only a month ago such an admission was taboo in the Oz that has been the Bush White House. The posture was stiff-upper-class-hip: "It always looks dark at the bottom of recovery," in Treasury Secretary Brady's memorably reassuring words.

Then the week before Christmas, Mr. Teeter walked into the West Wing and argued along with Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater for some public candor. The new Chief of Staff, Sam Skinner, agreed, despite the objections of the No Worries Gang. So Mr. Fitzwater walked into the press room to let it all hang out and admit the economy was in "recession."

The episode shows the growing clout of Mr. Teeter since the departure of John

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

Sununu. He's the man working most closely with State-of-the-Union wordsmith Tony Snow. He and Mr. Skinner, a fellow Midwesterner but a neophyte in the presidential leagues, have lately been joined at the political hip.

When Mr. Skinner wanted to talk to GOP conservatives this Tuesday about next week's State of the Union, Mr. Teeter made the call to his friend, housing secretary Jack Kemp. He and Mr. Skinner heard the Kempites out, absent the usual White House culprits.

The meeting underscored both the value of, and the worries about, Mr. Teeter among many Republicans. On the one hand, he's now the main bridge between the reformist, growth wing of the GOP and the old establishment that dominates the Bush administration. He talks to Rep. Newt Gingrich, the Georgia firebrand, every day. He's bright and experienced (this is his fourth incumbent presidential campaign). On the other hand, like his boss the president, he isn't renowned for strong convictions.

On Tuesday, the Kempites made their case for a challenging, activist State of the Union. Rep. Mickey Edwards of Oklahoma asked that Mr. Bush give Congress a deadline for passing his economic proposals. Someone else said Mr. Bush "must declare his independence from Brady and Darman" (White House Budget Director, King Richard).

Mr. Teeter was a sphinx; he said he'd see what he could do but as usual gave no clue about what he believed himself. The Kempites were left wondering whether Mr. Teeter was just trying to humor them, or perhaps trying to maneuver outside support for his own positions in the White House State-of-the-Union debate.

In an interview, too, Mr. Teeter is harder to read than a novel by James Joyce. One positive sign: He's hired White House aide Jim Pinkerton, a Lee Atwater protege who is blessed among Bush Republicans for having ideas. Mr. Pinkerton has spent more time in the White House West Wing in the last three weeks than he did in three years as a staffer.

Mr. Teeter has also sided with the angels on some crucial internal debates. He wants a sustained presidential campaign for his growth proposals, to influence public opinion; this contrasts with the disastrous 1990 strategy of letting Democrats control the debate. He'd prefer a bolder capital-gains tax cut than has been leaked, especially a zero rate for lower-income taxpayers; this is opposed by Treasury, presumably on the grounds that Republicans don't want to be seen giving the average guy a break.

But Mr. Teeter hasn't challenged Mr. Darman's allegiance to the 1990 budget accord; his polls show voters favor limits on federal spending. And while he knows that in a time of public distress Mr. Bush must become a leader for "change," like most Bush Republicans he's over-cautious in trying to reform the welfare state.

Mr. Teeter does believe there is a natural GOP presidential majority if it can be mobilized. And he's steeped enough in political history to know that first means solidifying the coalition that elected Mr. Bush. This is especially true in the 12th year of the GOP presidential ascendancy. The last time a party was in power this long, Democrats (FDR in 1944 and Truman in 1948) moved sharply to the left to re-energize their New Deal coalition. But three years of compromises have left many Republicans indifferent to Mr. Bush's re-election.

Unlike FDR or Truman, Mr. Bush still seems to believe in some weird dichotomy between "governing" and politics. On Wednesday, he told his senior staff he knew this would be a rough political year and was ready for a fight. He then walked out and told a press conference, in a classic Bushism, that with his economic proposals "I think we're transcending politics."

Mr. Teeter's toughest job will be persuading Mr. Bush that there is nothing transcendent about what George Mitchell and his Senate Democrats want to do to his presidency.



Robert Teeter

Foreign Affairs

LESLIE H. GELB

8/14/81

Mr. Bush's Three Trios

Never since World War II have so few had so much control over the making of American foreign and defense policy. And though the professionals in the State and Defense Departments grumble about being excluded, never in the last 40 years has the national security bureaucracy known such harmony.

The obvious part of this story is the passing of most throat-cutting cold war issues and Mr. Bush's skill in getting his trio of senior aides — Secretary of State James Baker, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser — to work together without the legendary bloodletting that devastated their predecessors.

But a largely unmentioned and unusual part of the story has to do with the inner teams assembled by Mr. Baker and Mr. Cheney. These new second-tier officials who receive little publicity are young, generally without prior experience in top departmental jobs, of diverse ideological backgrounds and almost totally untainted by Ivy League educations. They, along with several key National Security Council staffers, wield unprecedented power inside their organizations. And they alone are privy to the innermost thinking of their bosses.

Like Mr. Bush, Mr. Baker has his own inner trio: Robert Zoellick, the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs; Dennis Ross, Director of the Policy Planning Staff, and Margaret Tutwiler, the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. All three worked closely with Mr. Baker in the Reagan Administration before he took them to State.

Mr. Zoellick, 38, runs foreign economic policy, but he also fills what had been two other separate top jobs — Counselor and chief of staff. Every piece of paper going to and from Mr. Baker passes his desk. Mr. Ross, 43, is the key policy maker for East-West relations and the Middle East. Ms. Tutwiler, 40, is the political confidante.

Mr. Cheney also has his trio: Paul Wolfowitz, the Under Secretary for Policy; Pete Williams, the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, and Sean O'Keefe, the Comptroller. (Some might also include David Addington, 34, the Cheney special assistant and gatekeeper.)

Mr. Wolfowitz, 47 and the only member of the inner circle not tied to Mr. Cheney's past, is the big-thinker for issues like the Persian Gulf war and arms control. Mr. Williams, 39, sits in on most discussions. Mr. O'Keefe, 35, oversees defense programs and spending — after Gen. Colin Powell, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and the military serv-

Never have so few wielded so much foreign and defense policy-making power.

ices make their proposals.

Mr. Cheney and his trio are even more fierce than the Baker crowd in keeping other agencies out of their business. Even the White House largely leaves the Pentagon alone. And Dick Cheney tends to share fewer White House secrets with his aides than Mr. Baker does with his trio.

All these inner aides can be described as technocrats with certain leanings — with the exception of Mr. Wolfowitz, who is well established in conservative foreign policy circles. Mr. O'Keefe and Mr. Williams (also Mr. Addington) are more political operatives than policy advisers, and their politics run to a moderate-conservative Republicanism. Mr. Ross and Mr. Zoellick play the role of grand strategists, and their strategies have a moderate-liberal cast.

None of the inner aides carry the baggage of a personal policy bibliography, and that has proved of enormous advantage. Most key officials in recent Administrations, like Richard Perle and Richard Burt under Ronald Reagan, took to the pen to offer policy ideas and slay opponents — which made them constant targets themselves once in office. The new crowd came to power without a track record and without enemies.

What the two trios did bring with them, as did their bosses, was a distrust of the bureaucracy. Yes, they include senior departmental officials on certain subjects. But for the most part they meet with their bosses alone and tell their colleagues only what they want them to know.

The military and Foreign Service professionals are not happy with this job. They used to rebel when given such treatment by allying with friendly legislators and leaking to the press. Now the professionals quietly march along because, much to their surprise, they like and respect the Bush Administration policies. Not a bad accomplishment for Mr. Bush and his trio and their trios. □

Photocopy-Preservation

6/11/91

PAUL GREENBERG

The anti-quota quota bill

When it came time to consider civil rights this year, the U.S. House of Representatives obviously couldn't decide whether to pass a quota or an anti-quota bill. So it did both.

The resulting bill is a mystifying monstrosity even by the usual warped congressional standards. One section of the bill declares job quotas unlawful; another encourages them. One section says employers may not set aside jobs for certain groups; but if they don't, and their work force turns up short of these groups (a "disparate impact"), they'd better have a good reason ("business necessity") or they face stiff penalties. Who wrote this bill — Casey Stengel as edited by Yogi Berra?

This bill, whose significance is cloudy and whose provisions are anything but manifest, requires businesses accused of wrongful discrimination to prove that their requirements for a job have some "significant" and "manifest" relationship to the work involved. Washington remains a feast for connoisseurs of irony. The surest sign of a bad bill, like the surest sign of a bad idea, is bad language. If a bill can't make its intentions clear, the odds are they aren't.

One opponent of this bill — Rep. John A. Boehner, Ohio Republican — went too far when he said this "is not a civil rights bill. It is a quota bill, plain and simple." If only it were, it might not be nearly so mischievous. At least employers and workers would then understand precisely what arbitrary injustices and constitutional affronts were being decreed by Washington. Alas, there is nothing plain and simple about this bill.

Paul Greenberg is editorial page editor of the Pine Bluff (Ark.) Commercial and a nationally syndicated columnist.



It is neither a quota nor an anti-quota bill; it is a charter for confusion and an invitation to strike out into the verbal fog and sue.

The upshot: Under this bill, businessmen could find themselves sued simultaneously by (a) white males who claim they're the victims of unfair quotas that lock them out of employment or promotion, and by (b) litigants of another color or sex who claim they're not fairly represented in the company's work force. Maybe both could combine their grievances in a class-action suit. Perhaps they could be joined by workers already on the payroll who feel they've been denied advancement because they are too (a) white, (b) black, (c) Hispanic, (d) male or female, (e) something else, (f) all of the above or any combination thereof, or (g) one from List A and two from List B.

The only interests clearly protected, nurtured and encouraged by this bill are those of trial lawyers. That's always the way with murky legislation designed to be passed, rather than to be clear. Lazy legislators have left the meaning of this bill, any, up to legions of lawyers and

layers of courts. Should the courts read some strange meaning into all this strange language, the same legislators will describe themselves as shocked — shocked! — to discover that there was anything like that in this legislation, and proceed to correct the court's interpretation by passing another and even murkier bill next year.

How to remedy this pattern, other than by repeated presidential vetoes that divide the country and reduce Americans to questioning one another's motives?

One way would be to make such laws apply to Congress. Now members of Congress tend to exempt themselves from civil rights bills — convincing evidence of how much real confidence they have in their own botched handiwork. They're not about to accept the burden of proof when their own staffs reveal a "disparate impact" that must be justified by "significant" and "manifest" job requirements. Maybe if congressmen had to live with their work, it might get better.

Another improvement would be

to allow any business, faculty, union or other outfit that hires and fires to do so strictly by merit so long as its work force did not exceed the racial, sexual or ethnic imbalance demonstrated by teams in the National Basketball Association. That would be a sign that Americans were taking merit, competitiveness, and performance in the workplace as seriously as we take the same qualities in professional sports — which would be a gigantic step up.

This latest "civil rights" bill, with its capacity for collecting civil wrongs for every conceivable kind of American, is but one more sign of a sad fad — the culture of victimization. Its motto: Whatever happens, it's not our fault. It's only because we belong to a victimized race, class, religion, ethnic group or some other subspecies of citizen that we're not uniformly successful and ecstatically happy all the time. And the way to bring about that happy state is to include more and more Americans in the category of victim, which now includes white Anglo-Saxon Protestant male — by grace of the U.S. House of Representatives.

The definition of equality in this country has come to mean giving every American a separate grievance, his own lawyer, and a civil-rights law sufficiently vague to justify almost any result, however bizarre. That's how wacky bills like this get past the House of Representatives with the support of lawmakers like Democratic Reps. Beryl Anthony Jr., Ray Thornton, and Bill Alexander. (The only vote against it from Arkansas was cast by GOP Rep. John Paul Hammerschmidt.)

As for actual injustices that may exist in hiring — like racism and other evils — they are almost lost in the expensive legal folderol and the rush of grievance collectors heading for the courts. The distinction between justice and mischief is soon lost. It happens every time some hopelessly vague and contradictory theory of group entitlement replaces the idea of individual rights — and responsibilities. That is what has just happened in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Albert Shanker

Progress— By Public Schools



I agree with David Broder that the idea of "break-the-mold" schools is compelling ["Hidebound Schools, Gutless Senators," op-ed, March 1]. I've advocated the idea myself. But the Bush administration's break-the-mold proposal—New American Schools—was nothing more than a catchy name for a bad public policy. The U.S. Senate, led by Edward M. Kennedy, was right to insist on substantial modification.

The administration's proposal called for spending \$535 million to fund proposals to create one new innovative school in each of our 535 congressional districts. One new school per election district would have created good political photo opportunities, but it would have done almost nothing to improve the education of America's 41 million students. Anyone would have been eligible to receive the federal funds, including private, profit-making or religious organizations. And the U.S. Department of Education, a bureaucracy at a great remove from the real world of teaching and learning, could have awarded 535 \$1 million grants as it saw fit. The administration had no criteria for selecting winners.

The Senate's version was not only a more responsible bill, it was also historic. Federal aid to education traditionally has been categorical, aimed at promoting particular purposes through particular programs. This bill seeks systemic

Taking Exception

change and, unlike the administration's proposal, makes all public schools and students eligible.

It's ironic, too, that while the president pays only lip service to the national education goals he helped devise, the Senate put teeth into them. The criteria for winning the revised break-the-mold schools competition all involve the quality of the schools' plans for achieving the national education goals. Nor do winners get off the hook just by winning. The Senate's proposal offers schools grants for five years, but if a school does not show improvement in student achievement after three years, its funds would be cut off.

The administration also has been talking a lot about greater accountability in education, which I support. But its break-the-mold schools proposal did not call for any such accountability. Winners would have gotten \$1 million for one year—hardly enough time to make real changes—with no responsibility for followup or accounting for student achievement outcomes. This is not exactly surprising, given the administration's avowed zeal for having private sponsors design and run New American Schools.

Private schools, unlike public schools, are outside the reach of public authority and do not have to account to the public for their results. The Senate therefore was right on target in concluding that what the administration really meant by break-the-mold was first and foremost, breaking with the American tradition of public control of public education. In fact, the administration itself helped drive the point home by submitting its New American Schools proposal along with a proposal to allow federal dollars to follow students to private and religious schools.

Broder acknowledges that there were risks involved in the administration's New American Schools proposal. He says, however, that it was worth gambling on the "chance" that "outsiders ready to challenge the status quo" might have come up with a few worthy models that would have shaken up the school system. I share Broder's urgency about fundamentally restructuring our schools, but he's mistaken in thinking that one break-the-mold school in each congressional district would have unleashed a demand for change throughout our school system.

This theory was tested by the federal government in the 1970s under the name of the "model schools" program, and it didn't work. This theory is in fact being tested, and failing, every day: There's hardly a school district in America that doesn't have at least one innovative school that's doing a marvelous job with youngsters, often against great odds. Some of them are magnet schools, others just neighborhood schools, but these models have led neither to widespread replication nor to a ground swell for reform.

Why is that? In part because there are no incentives in the system to emulate or adapt (or even learn about) practices that work. The New American Schools proposal didn't create any, either. And in part it's because designing a break-the-mold school is not like designing a new model stove or refrigerator. It's not simply a matter of getting the specifications right, plunking the model down and cranking up the production line. Youngsters are not raw materials, teaching and learning are not mechanical processes, and change doesn't happen in complex human institutions merely through outside mandates or models.

These lessons have been learned over and over again, in business as well as in education. The administration's New American Schools proposal reflected none of these lessons. The Senate version did, and it deserved to win.

The writer is president of the American Federation of Teachers, which represents public school teachers.

Aircraft Carriers: Vital to U.S. Power

By Robert F. Dunn

ONCE again, the nation's aircraft carriers have done one of their many jobs merely by showing up.

Just a few days after Iraq shocked the world by rolling over Kuwait, a U.S. Navy aircraft carrier took station in the Gulf of Oman. It was the first and for a time the only American air power available for action. Once again the responsiveness, reliability and availability of naval forces, particularly naval air forces, was demonstrated.

Not only was the carrier Independence on station near the potential scene of action but the Eisenhower was in the eastern Mediterranean, about to transit the Suez Canal to join the Independence. The Saratoga was on a sortie from Mayport, Fla., to the Mediterranean Sea.

The aircraft deployed on these ships totaled more than the entire air forces of many nations and surpassed in quality of equipment and the training of crews anything Iraq might have thrown at them. Evening news coverage of their flight decks packed with Tomcats, Hornets and Intruders had to have a sobering effect on the Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein.

President Hussein couldn't help but know that just their presence meant that his forces had lost control of the air. Without that control, his own military options were severely limited, and his flanks were vulnerable to attack at all hours of the day and night and in all sorts of weather from several different directions.

Fortunately, the Persian Gulf crisis broke out before Congressional budget-cutters had a chance to cut the carrier forces. Had the carrier force level been cut from the current 14 down to 12 or less, as some have proposed, there might have been no air power available to sober anyone. There might have been no air power available to assure allies of our commitment or to insure the safe transit of other American forces.

The three carriers near or en route to the Middle East in early August were not and are not the whole story. At the same time they were center stage on the nightly news, two more carriers were in the western Pacific and a sixth was in training off the East Coast: six of the nation's deployable aircraft carriers at sea simultaneously, an operating tempo very

Robert F. Dunn, a retired vice admiral in the U.S. Navy, commanded the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Saratoga.

close to the maximum set by the Secretary of the Navy.

True, had the need arisen there could have been five or six more at sea, but not without inviting a breakdown of people and equipment in the not very long run. Fortunately, because carrier force levels had thus far been reduced by only one, there were ships available and close by.

Any carrier force of less than 15 opens gaps in essential coverage. Given the complacency prevailing in late July, some of those gaps would probably have appeared in the Indian Ocean and the eastern Mediterranean: precisely the areas the Independence and the Eisenhower were patrolling when the crisis erupted.

How can we know when and where the next call for American help will come? The northwest Pacific around Korea? The South China Sea near the Philippines? The Caribbean? West Africa? Southeast Asia?

Many nations are understandably

As the
gulf crisis
shows, we
need to
maintain
at least 14.

sensitive about foreign bases on their sovereign soil and nervous about foreign military aircraft in their skies. Hence it is naval forces that best support allies, other friendly nations and the national strategy of the U.S. — and on short notice. Only naval forces have the necessary mobility, flexibility and global reach to project American military power. And it is naval forces built around large-deck aircraft carriers in sufficient numbers to cover the globe that do the job best.

We had nearly a sufficient number in commission, some fortuitously deployed, when Kuwait was grabbed by Saddam Hussein. We need to maintain those 14 — or more — into the uncertain future of the 21st century. It's a lesson learned loud and clear from the early days of August 1990, and countless times before.

Forty-five years ago there was a saying: "Keep the fleet to keep the peace." Today, "the fleet" means carriers. The ideal number is 15. We should settle for no less than 14. □

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Letters to the Editor

End of a Boom Not Necessarily a Bust

Your July 25 page-one article about the soft home-sale market, which discussed the need for a family in Rye, N.Y., to lower their asking price for today's market, did not mention the tremendous appreciation they will realize from the eventual sale of their home.

The Schenkers purchased their home in 1976 for \$107,000, and if they sell it in 1990 for \$895,000 (their current asking price lowered from \$1.5 million), they will realize an 836% increase over the 1976 selling price. The \$788,000 profit amounts to \$56,200 return a year, or a 52.6% annual increase. This average annual appreciation is higher than most annual household incomes.

Although the Schenkers are experiencing the effects of a challenging market, they are not taking a loss. In fact, the appreciation they will eventually see is an immense increase over the 1976 selling price.

JAMES M. WEICHERT
President
Weichert Realtors

Morris Plains, N.J.

Your article made me want to crawl under my desk. Moments before my Journal arrived, I was on the phone with my wife attempting to walk her through the fun job of draining the water bed. Two days ago, it was something else, and now she tells me my microwave is spitting up blood in its own electronic throes of death.

You see, I am in Kentucky—in our new hometown, and she is in Massachusetts—in our still-up-for-sale house. It long since passed from Home to House, and if this saga continues much longer, it will be called things you don't even hear on TV.

The dream job offer was followed by the full-of-smiles visit where my wife and I found the perfect vacant lot and the blueprints that could be changed here and there. Once back in Massachusetts we found the world's greatest broker, who could sell igloos in Arizona. We are now on our second broker.

One of my aunts, a retired nun, prays for us. My other aunt and my lovely mother-in-law pray for us. I can't go on with this letter, as my knuckles are turning white.

Perhaps, somewhere in this neone wants my house

Sadly, I somehow think the waves at Wellfleet will be lapping against the Journal's own printing presses in Chicopee before we find a buyer.

SHANE CROSBY
Nicholasville, Ky.

I am a native of the Northeast, but I have lived in Texas for nearly 10 years. I've enjoyed the energy boom and then suffered through the economic downturn and real-estate collapse along with everyone else in the Southwest. In particular, I experienced double-digit home-price increases only to subsequently see the value of my home fall by half. Given this, it is very difficult for me to have much sympathy for those individuals such as Frederick and Joyce Schenker who tried to sell their home for \$1.5 million, after having purchased it in the 1970s for little more than \$100,000. Get real! Greed stopped being fashionable when Ron and Nancy returned to California.

As a baby-boomer, I grew up with ever-expanding expectations. I have learned a very sobering lesson, and I now realize that if there is to be anything left of this country to pass on to my children and their generation, then we as a society must return to the virtues of my grandparents' generation—thrift, practicality and moderation.

BLAIR B. HODGKINS
Austin, Texas

When my home was put up for sale in July 1989, the Realtor determined the listing price; my suggested price having been dismissed as too low for consideration. Ten months later it sold; but only after numerous price reductions and one kitchen remodeling, all done on my initiative. When I questioned why the sales price was far below the listing price, I was sternly told that the original price was unrealistic. Foolish me.

Your characterization of Realtors as the reasonable voice against unrealistic expectations of homeowners can only be explained by your having gotten your information from Realtors. Fool!

G1

Quebec Premier Explains Why His Province Wants Change

In response to several questions posed by Wall Street Journal editors about the future of Quebec, the province's premier, Robert Bourassa, wrote the following:

For a good number of years now, Quebec nationalism has not implied the desire to live in seclusion: Quebec's determination to ensure cultural security is absolutely compatible with its determination to create new political and economic relationships with its partners and to open up to foreign cultures.

The rising integration of national economies is encouraged by the liberalization and the multiplication of world trade. Market globalization incites smaller economies to specialize their production and expertise

The Americas

in order to carve a place for themselves in the international economic order. Therefore, smaller economies such as Quebec's may expect to keep their competitiveness facing the giants. The new international economic order does not eliminate the legitimacy of the aspirations of nations to master their own development but obliges them to rethink their economic strategies and to show initiative.

It is Quebec's and the rest of Canada's challenge to identify a political and constitutional system that will provide Quebec with the position and powers necessary to its development and to the strengthening of Canadian and North American economic partnerships.

The differences of opinion between Quebec and the government of Canada go way beyond economic problems alone, but these differences are nevertheless considerable. Probably the most important economic problem that Quebec has to face

is the macroeconomic policies of the Canadian government.

Firstly, given the policy of high interest rates enforced in Canada, the cost of capital is higher than in other industrialized countries. This situation puts obstacles in front of investment ventures that otherwise would be profitable and slows down Quebec's economic growth, while unemployment levels remain above 9%. Furthermore, high interest rates cause an artificial rise of the Canadian dollar in terms of other foreign currencies. At the actual rate, which the Bank of Canada tries to preserve, the overvalued dollar substantially reduces the power of Quebec's enterprises to compete, and export levels are reduced.

Secondly, even though Quebec shares the Canadian government's goal of deficit reduction, it does not accept the federal government's demands to the provinces to reduce their expenses and to raise taxes in its place. For example, the reduction in transfer payments to provincial governments constitutes the main budget cut measure announced in the last federal government budget. This behavior makes budget planning far more complex for the government of Quebec, the objective of which is a systematic budget reduction while maintaining a competitive fiscal burden. It also tends to hit more sharply the poorer provinces, which goes against one of the great principles of the Canadian constitution.

Finally, the present system brings a costly duplication of public services in too many areas. The result is a fiscal burden higher than necessary, and an inefficiency that can be significant in services offered to the population. In a context of increased economic competition on the world market, governments and enterprises must rationalize their interventions, and produce at minimum cost the best public services possible.

The government of Quebec is convinced

that the welfare of its people will depend on a sound macroeconomic policy, on a budget policy of the federal government that does not put the province at a disadvantage, and on a maximum efficiency in the supply of public services if it wants businesses to face with success the challenges of international competition and technological change.

During the '60s—and even into the '70s—active state intervention to sustain economic development in Quebec was desirable for several reasons: the insufficient presence of the core sectors; the absence of Francophones at the decision-making level of private enterprises; entire sectors of the economy that needed to be modernized, etc. During this period, the government's role probably was more pronounced in Quebec than in most Canadian provinces, even though several provinces had recourse to governmental intervention in one form or another.

Today, the situation has changed. Since 1985 the government's role has mostly been to create an environment that favors the birth of entrepreneurship, and the establishment of new businesses and investment. Moreover, the tax burden of enterprises and individuals has been reduced. Furthermore, the government has privileged an approach for fiscal incentives to stimulate investment into the fundamental determinants of our growth: research and development, introduction of new technologies and skill development.

Even described in broad outline, these developments help us to easily understand why it is in Quebec—and not elsewhere

in Canada—that we found the greatest support for the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement. Today's Quebec is ready to carry through the necessary investments to meet the challenges provoked by international competition and technological change. Quebec thus will enter this period of reexamination of its relationship with the rest of Canada truly believing in its capabilities and its future.

In short, the government thinks that by uniting as many favorable conditions as possible for business, the Quebec society will be able to prosper and preserve its cultural coherence. The Quebec government therefore must maintain a fiscal burden compatible with economic growth and speculate on mechanisms that will favor the development of a private sector very competitive on a world scale rather than impose itself through direct commercial and industrial action.

If the Quebec government's intention was to substantially modify the rules of the present economic system, I would understand investors' concerns. However, on the contrary, the new arrangement sought after by Quebec within the Canadian federation will take into account the necessity to maintain—ideally, to improve—commercial relations between Quebec and the other Canadian provinces, such as Ontario. Quebec's future, whatever political arrangement will be accepted, must lean on a strong and prosperous economy. That guarantees the future improvement of the population's standard of living and the preservation of the distinct character of the Quebec society.

Viewed from this angle, a rearrangement of the Canadian federation ultimately could enable Quebec to provide itself with additional tools to be better prepared to face the economic situation foreseen in the '90s. Thus, an economically and culturally stronger Quebec would be a



Robert Bourassa

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POLITICS & POLICY

In Cincinnati House Contest, GOP Takes Aim At Elusive Goal: Victory for a Black Republican

By TIMOTHY NOAH

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CINCINNATI — The Republican Party has lately been sending a campaign armada through this riverfront city. Jack Kemp and Dan Quayle have steamed through; Oliver North and, possibly, George Bush, are on the way.

Their goal—to elect a Republican to Congress—isn't unusual, but their vessel is: The candidate, Ken Blackwell, is a black conservative.

For decades, Republicans have had little success extending their influence into the black community. Indeed, no black Republican has been elected to the House as a voting member since GOP Rep. Oscar De Priest of Chicago, who was unseated in 1934 by Republican-turned-New-Deal-Democrat Arthur Mitchell (himself the first black Democrat elected to Congress).

This year, the party is attempting to turn that historical tide with three black candidates for the House: Gary Franks, a Waterbury, Conn., alderman pitted against former Rep. Toby Moffett; Al Brown, a Louisville, Ky., businessman challenging Rep. Romano Mazzoli; and Mr. Blackwell, a former Cincinnati mayor and, until last March, a deputy undersecretary at the Department of Housing and Urban Development under Mr. Kemp. Of the three, it is Mr. Blackwell—who blends opposition to taxes, gay rights and abortion with support for affirmative action—who excites conservative activists the most.

To win, he must beat a formidable opponent: Charles Luken, the current mayor of Cincinnati and son of the popular, conservative Democratic incumbent. When



Ken Blackwell

Rep. Tom Luken announced in January that he wouldn't seek another term, Charles Luken was judged a shoo-in to succeed him. Convinced by Ohio Republicans that Mr. Blackwell was the man to beat Charles Luken, Washington party officials recruited the HUD official for the job. He declared his candidacy, returned to Cincinnati in March, and now finds himself in a very close race.

Unique Route

Mr. Blackwell has traveled a unique route to his current candidacy. A student activist and president of the African-American Student Association at Cincinnati's Xavier University in the 1960s, Mr. Blackwell agitated for more courses in black studies and more minority hires. After a brief professional football stint with the Dallas Cowboys, Mr. Blackwell became an administrator and psychology teacher at Xavier, then ran for city council on the reformist Charterite ticket in 1977.

As late as 1980, Mr. Blackwell was a strong supporter of Jimmy Carter; at one news conference, he joined several urban politicians in denouncing Ronald Reagan as a "disaster" for urban America. One year later, however, Mr. Blackwell left the city's Charter Party to become a Republican and committed Reagan supporter. A leading catalyst in persuading him to make the switch was Jack Kemp, whom he met at a National Football League function in 1979. "Kemp was constantly sending me speeches and working papers," Mr. Blackwell recalls as he sits in a quiet corner of Cincinnati's walnut-paneled Queen City Club, where he is waiting to meet two business-community supporters. When Mr. Kemp became HUD secretary, he brought his protege to Washington.

Today, Mr. Blackwell styles himself as a social and economic conservative. He's a supply-side true believer, advocating a cut in capital-gains taxes to 15% from as much as 33%. Limiting taxation is the "best way to check the size of government," Mr.

Blackwell says. At HUD, he was a strong advocate for tenant purchase and ownership of public housing as a means of "empowerment" for the poor.

Mr. Blackwell takes a hard-right line on most social issues as well. He opposes legalized abortion, and led a successful city council crusade to require local hospitals to provide for "humane" disposal of fetuses such as burial or incineration. (The measure was subsequently struck down in federal court.) He opposes the civil-rights bill currently being constructed by Congress, arguing it amounts to "quota legislation." But he still maintains he's for affirmative action when it's "legitimate and fair."

A Conservative Opponent

Democratic candidate Charles Luken is campaigning as a conservative too, opposing abortion and favoring a cut in capital-gains taxes to 22%. In an ironic twist, Mr. Luken positions himself as the anti-Washington figure in this contest, despite the fact that his father served eight terms in Congress and has long been a major recipient of special-interest campaign contributions.

Both candidates will spend a lot of money as fat-cat contributors and special interests line up to donate in a close race with no incumbent. Mr. Blackwell says he already has raised almost half of his \$750,000 target and last month began running a television ad touting his rise from "working-class origins" to membership in the Bush administration.

Although the elder Mr. Luken has held this seat since 1976, the district, which includes suburbs as well as the western part of Cincinnati, is more a Republican one; George Bush won with 63% of the vote in 1988. In a reversal of the usual calculus, it's the black candidate who expects his strongest showing in the suburbs, home to German-Catholic Republicans who long ago abandoned Cincinnati's "Over-the-Rhine" neighborhood. "Good luck to you," chirps one elderly white man as Mr. Blackwell passes out refrigerator magnets in front of the Green Township Thriftway.

But Mr. Blackwell also hopes to split the black vote—somewhere around 15%—despite his Republican label. Ed Brook over, regional field representer

Navistar Posts 3rd-Period Net Of \$6 Million

By SCOTT KILMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CHICAGO — Navistar International Corp. eked out a fiscal third-quarter profit amid signs that the slump in the truck industry is worsening.

Earnings were slightly better than expected; some analysts had expected the company to report a small loss.

The maker of trucks and diesel engines said net income for the quarter ended July 31 dropped 79% to \$6 million from \$28 million, or eight cents a share, it earned for the similar 1989 quarter. The company said its per-share net income for the latest period was less than a penny because of its obligation to pay dividends on the Series G preferred stock.

Revenue dropped 10% to \$972 million from \$1.08 billion. Navistar said the number of medium and heavy trucks it sold in the quarter sank 15% from a year ago.

In New York Stock Exchange composite trading yesterday, Navistar fell 37.5 cents to \$2.875. The stock was the second-most-active issue on the Big Board, with almost 2.2 million shares traded.

Navistar trimmed its estimate of industry-wide demand for trucks in North America—signaling that a recovery in truck orders probably isn't materializing as expected. After slumping in 1989, industry-wide new truck orders have been stable at low levels for several months.

With more economists predicting recession, Navistar trimmed its fiscal year forecast by 2,000 to 140,000 heavy trucks, which would be down 19% from last year. Industry-wide demand for medium-sized trucks will probably drop 6%, the company said.

Truck sales could drop further still if the Middle East conflict raises fuel prices for a prolonged period, analysts said.

Because Iraq's invasion of Kuwait disrupted Middle East oil supplies, the price of fuel has jumped more than 30% for some transportation companies. That eroding profit margins at the large fleets, which might prompt purchases

squeezed," said Mitchell I. Quain, an analyst at Wertheim Schroder, New York. Mr. Quain has been recommending that his clients sell the stock.

Analysts said they aren't aware of any problem with the quality of the loans made by Navistar. But the loan-loss provisions in the third quarter for the company's credit unit and manufacturing operations were about \$7 million—an amount that analysts said might be too small. Receivables at those businesses total about \$1.5 billion.

A company spokesman wouldn't confirm the loan-loss provisions, describing that information as proprietary. "We believe they are adequate," the spokesman said.

Reebok International Ltd.

STOUGHTON, Mass.—Reebok International said its Rockport Co. Inc. unit has purchased all rights in Europe to the Rockport brand name from Rockport Lizenz- und Handels Establishment, a Liechtenstein company.

The transaction gives the U.S. firm Rockport Lizenz's registered rights to market in 20 European nation. A price wasn't given.

Rockport makes dress and casual shoes. With sales of about \$192 million in 1989, the Marlboro, Mass. based company is one of Reebok's largest subsidiaries. Reebok makes athletic shoes.

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Times' Snow to head Bush speech staff

Tony Snow, editorial page editor of The Washington Times since 1987, yesterday was named chief speechwriter for President Bush.

Mr. Snow, 35, succeeds Chriss Winston as deputy assistant to the president for communications and director of speechwriting at the White House. He will start his duties March 13.

"They made me an honor I couldn't refuse," Mr. Snow said. "It's flattering to be asked to head a presidential speechwriting department at any time, and exciting to get an opportunity now. I'll be able to learn a lot about White House politics and get a chance to play a role, however peripheral, in American politics at an exciting time."

Describing himself as "your basic ink-stained wretch," Mr. Snow said he would miss newspaper work, but added, "I'll be good for no news from 1600 Pennsylvania Ave."

He quoted an earlier White House speechwriter, William Safire, on the injunction that a presidential wordsmith should have "a passion for anonymity" and said, "That's the approach I intend to adopt."

Asked about the multiple-editing process that has frustrated many White House speechwriters, Mr. Snow said: "I got no promises of special treatment or access [to the president]. My job will be to articulate policy, not to create it or insinuate it. The staffing process will remain intact, as will the chain of command under which the speechwriting department now operates."

"Tony made an incalculable contribution to the resonance of The Washington Times' voice at home and abroad," Arnaud de Borchgrave, editor-in-chief of The Times, said yesterday. "It is a great tribute to Tony



Tony Snow

and to The Times that the White House selected him for this critically important assignment. Tony will be a great addition to President Bush's staff; he will be sorely missed at The Times."

A native of Berea, Ky., Mr. Snow graduated from Davidson College in 1977 and began his newspaper career as an editorial writer on the Greensboro, N.C., Record in 1979. He was an editorial writer at the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot and editorial page editor of the Newport News, Va., Daily Press and the Detroit News before coming to The Times. He has been a regular panelist on Fox-TV's political discussion show, "Off the Record."

He and his wife, Jill, live in Alexandria.

Is It Our Leaders, or Is It Us?

HONOLULU Hawaii is, and feels, remote from mainland America. But for all its exotic quality, the concerns on people's minds are not so different from those in Boston or New York or Los Angeles. People worry about the war, about the recession, about racial tension.

In three days at and around the University of Hawaii, I found conversations coming back to one puzzling question. Why is it that the United States can rise so quickly to challenges abroad but seems utterly unable or unwilling to meet challenges at home?

Whatever one thinks of the policies that have led us to war in the Persian Gulf, the speed and energy of the American commitment have been remarkable. In six months the United States has sent a force of more than 400,000 and a vast array of modern weapons halfway around the world.

But in six months or six years we have made no progress on a host of domestic problems. Indeed, we have

made no real commitment to address them — no commitment of mind or resources.

• American public education is a scandal. In a world where learned skills are increasingly important, our children leave school far less educated than those in France or Korea or a dozen other countries.

• Our system of medical care — our non-system — is the most expensive in the world yet leaves millions with no assurance of care. Alone among the industrialized nations of the West, we have no universal medical insurance. Medical costs are breaking state and national budgets, and we do nothing but tinker here and there.

• In the richest country on earth, poverty is a mass phenomenon. We have so many poor families that the infant mortality rate, related to poverty, is higher than in less affluent countries. The Bush Administration wants to experiment with a program to reduce infant mortality — by taking money away from programs to help poor pregnant women and children.

Problems at home are not addressed.

• Homelessness is another result of poverty and inadequate social programs. In cities across the country we are met by the sight of the homeless. Private and public efforts have provided, at best, palliatives.

• Two decades after the death of Martin Luther King Jr. our major cities have black ghettos that are centers of hopelessness and social disorder. A powerful United States Senator can be re-elected by appealing bluntly to anti-black feelings.

• Investment in our industry is at a low level, and we are falling way behind other countries in research and development of domestic prod-

ucts. We can make smart bombs and Patriot missiles, but we no longer make video cassette recorders.

All of those problems, and more, have been festering for years. None is a secret. But where is there any sign that we are about to tackle them? Why not?

Leadership is one possible answer. Most Presidents find foreign affairs a more congenial place to invest their energy. President Bush is more candid than most, saying openly that he finds foreign challenges more exhilarating than the often frustrating political struggle of domestic policy-making.

But on the whole we get the leaders we deserve. We voted for Ronald Reagan because we wanted to believe that greed was good, that cutting taxes and disabling government would make us all richer. We cheered even as he did lasting damage to this country.

Perhaps we have concluded, most of us, that the problems are just too daunting to face. Perhaps we have decided to deal with them by closing

our eyes. Existential blindness, a Roman Catholic bishop in South Africa once called it: blindness because seeing is too painful.

Or perhaps the problems at home are too long and slow to awaken energetic response from us. If there is an invasion abroad and the President tells us that it is a defining moment, the country responds. Perhaps it will take a domestic trauma to waken us, as the Depression did in the 1930's.

Still, leadership matters. We have seen how Mr. Bush has been able to rally the country to the cause of fighting Iraq and freeing Kuwait. Whether his policy proves wise in the end or not, there is no doubt that he cared.

Someday we may again have a President who cares about the country's economic decline, about its stricken schools, about poverty and sickness. Someday we may have a President who will rally us to care, by saying something like what Franklin Roosevelt said in 1937:

"I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." □

ESSAY

William Safire

Mr. Bush Hires a Writer

WASHINGTON
To a sailor, a telltale is a strip of cloth attached to the mast to indicate the wind's direction; to a railroader, a telltale is a ribbon hung over a track before a tunnel to warn trainmen off the roofs of cars; to a pundit, a telltale is some seemingly insignificant sign that is a portent of a change in political emphasis — as when a President hires a new chief speechwriter.

Last Halloween, as Chriss Winston prepared to take her 2-year-old out trick-or-treating, the White House reached her with a hurry-up assignment. Little Ian, dressed in his bunny suit, fell asleep on the couch as his mother cranked out a statement. That was it; early this year, Ms. Winston let her bosses know that her immediate future would be as mother and freelancer.

Chief of staff John Sununu and the pollster Robert Teeter seized the opportunity to search for a writer with a harder edge. The half-dozen other writers were passed over — one, Mark Davis, was leaving to be word-smith to Gov. Pete Wilson of California — because the President's men were looking ahead to 1992.

In six months, the war will be over and the sky-high Bush ratings will begin to sink; unemployment will be up, whether or not the recession bottoms out as soon as hoped; and Democrats will be taking pot-shots at "the first President to lead us into both a war and a recession." Partisanship time.

Needed: not a heavy hitter with a big reputation and a lot of baggage, but a hard hitter, not known for speechwriting, relatively young, and with independent right-wing credentials.

Mr. Sununu's choice, not yet announced but who was introduced to

the man in the Oval Office last week: Anthony Snow, 35, a Cincinnatian who worked at The Detroit News and for the past three years has been editorial page editor and columnist at the conservative Washington Times.

Affaculate enough for TV opinion-fests, Mr. Snow has already begun to clam up: the F.B.I. is now visiting his kindergarten teachers, and Mr. Sununu would be proud of the way his choice parries press queries, even from certified bigfeet. Apparently Peggy Noonan's irreverent memoirs have set insiders' teeth on edge, and the new man is expected to revert to what F.D.R.'s Louis Brownlow called "a passion for anonymity."

Most members of the Judson Weliver Society, the club of former Presidential speechwriters, would go along with that, even as we wince at the thought of a polemicist who has never written a speech — and who doesn't know the principal's thinking intimately — starting at the top. I hope op-editors seek out my colleagues (Clifford, Sorensen, Valenti, Cater, Schlesinger, Price, Herzberg, Elliot, etc.) for their guidance, but here is one old hand's advice to the new superspook:

1. *Don't look for a hot new phrase: stick with the New World Order.* Of course it's vulnerable — every time some plan falls apart, or some tinpot hollers at Washington, critics will hoot, "You call this a new world order?" — but it's Bush's baby, even if he shares its popularization with Gorbachev. Forget the Hitler "new order" root; F.D.R. used the phrase earlier.

2. *Fight for the Union.* Up to now, the most pellucid prose to come out of Mr. Bush's mouth has been by the National Security Council's Richard Haass, in a news-conference statement of war aims; he also drafted the powerful letter to Saddam Hussein. But Professor Haass is merely a policymaker, not a card-carrying speechwriter; insist that N.S.C. stuff be routed through the writing shop, lest you wind up in a domestic backwater.

3. *Discover the Bush domestic design and lay it out in a series of speeches.* Under all those Pinkerton paradigms and Darmanesque ditherings must be some pattern of decisions: find that gestalt, give it a Weltanschauung, and push it with some passion. Even moderates stand for something; the rhetorical trick is in divining the drift and declaiming the direction.

4. *Don't be haunted by Reagan's Ghost.* Mr. Bush is fearful of comparison with Reagan speechifying, and instead shows off his ad-libbing advantage over his predecessor — perversely boasting of his inadequate speech delivery. Enough of that; you've been brought aboard not for sound bites and snippets, but for serious red meat and potatoes.

As the Ides of March approach, in prime time, the President will solemnly come before us to explain this war's endgame. He has the sense of history in his head but not on the tip of his tongue. It's your enviable job to help him make weapons out of his words. □

And one of these days we may get a speech.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

If Not Now, When?

With Saddam Hussein's intransigence closing the last avenues to a peaceful solution of the Kuwait crisis, it's time to review why the impending war is necessary. In brief, because we have a monster loose in a crucial corner of the globe we share.

The future is at stake. If Saddam's aggression fails, potential pirates around the world will be forced to think twice before invading their neighbors and disrupting the world's commerce and diplomacy. But if he succeeds his ambitions will grow, and barring some miracle we will face a future choice between succumbing to his intimidation and fighting a larger and bloodier war.

We all know that battle means American deaths, not to mention vast expenditures. But in truth, war started August 2 when Saddam ordered his troops to pillage Kuwait; our resulting blockade is already an act of war. The issue in today's United Nations deadline is not whether to start a war, but whether an offensive is necessary to conclude one.

The attack on Kuwait was unprovoked, a gross violation of international law and common-sense morality. The gratuitous cruelty was shocking even by the standards of this jaded century, though not surprising from a man who in his own country had already used poison gas on an ethnic minority. As we learn more of Saddam, it confirms the picture of a megalomaniac proud of his own amorality.

The world has known other monsters, of course, and the United States need not go to war to punish them all. But Saddam sits astride the Persian Gulf and its immense oil reserves. The United States cannot allow this region to fall under the domination of a hostile power. It was a Democratic President, after all, who proclaimed "The Carter Doctrine," that the Gulf was within "the vital interests of the United States."

It could scarcely be more obvious that Saddam's ambitions extend far beyond Kuwait. He had previously started a war with Iran, declaring a treaty "null and void." Despite the punishment of that protracted war, he emerged with a larger army. He has devoted his oil revenues, what he could borrow and the labor of his people into constructing a military machine. As neighbors like the Saudis, Egyptians and Turks quickly recognized, an Iraqi success in Kuwait would be followed by further aggression elsewhere.

The analogy with Hitler is of course not complete, since Iraq is not one of the most advanced nations of our times. But it has already launched a space satellite, and is working feverishly on development of nuclear weapons. If Saddam ever conquered

or dominated the whole Gulf, he would be able to use oil not only for revenues but for blackmail—rewarding nations that cooperated with his nuclear program and punishing others. Saddam has also tried to use anti-Western resentments to mobilize the Arab masses, an effort that would be much enhanced by success in Kuwait. A nuclear-armed Saddam at the head of the Arab world would be a threat of global proportions.

It's true that we could try to avoid war by adopting a purely defensive posture in Saudi Arabia. This obviously would give Saddam time to develop his nuclear potential, and to try resuming his expansion by subverting the Saudi regime. It also would risk a change in the attitude of the Soviet Union, a possibility that events in Lithuania make all too clear. President Bush decided that the less risky course was to establish a deadline, and to take the offense if necessary. In this judgment he has by now been supported by the United Nations, the majority of the Congress and, according to the polls, a substantial majority of the American people.

It's also true that battle is always risky. Equipment can fail, foes can mount surprises and generals can make mistakes. We surely hope that an attack would be well planned: Exploiting our air power to cut off Iraqi troops, but without indiscriminate bombing threatening to civilians. Contemplating an eventual ground assault if necessary, but avoiding a frontal attack on fortifications just to give the Army and Marines a part of the action. Facilitating the surrender or defection of Iraqi troops likely to be less deluded than their leader, and quite vulnerable in the desert if our planes can interdict their water supplies. With good planning and decent fortune, we can hope that this will not be a lengthy or costly engagement.

It's true, finally, that Saddam is not about to invade the United States. Neither was Hitler. Though Pearl Harbor ended our internal political divisions, the retrospective lesson was that we could not escape involvement. The world is too small, and the United States too large. This is even more true today. While "new world order" may sound a bit grandiloquent, the invasion of Kuwait was the first large-scale piracy of a post-Cold War era; its disposition will prove an important precedent on whether that era is one of greater order or greater chaos.

The reason for spending blood and treasure in battle is to avoid even worse choices and even greater sacrifices in the future. As today's deadline passes, we face an Iraqi leader with demonstrated ambition and ruthlessness, threatening undeniably strategic territory at a moment of historical crux. If this is not the time to stand and fight, when?

Charles Krauthammer

The Case for Destroying Saddam

11/25/90

Rarely in the post-war world have the issues been as clear as they are in the Gulf crisis today. Yet rarely has the debate been more muddled. After all, this is not some morally murky war of national liberation, but unprovoked, out-of-the-blue, '30s-style aggression. It did not happen in some marginal corner of the world like Southeast Asia, but in the world's oil treasure house. And the adversary is not some morally ambiguous liberator like Ho or Castro but a usurper and a thug, a man who has already sacrificed a million lives for control of half the width of one waterway.

Responsibility for the muddiness of the debate lies with the Bush administration. Presented with the easiest moral and strategic case in 45 years—easier than Korea and Vietnam, easier than Grenada and Panama—Bush has been so clumsy in advancing his case as to have nearly discredited it.

The president has been admirably clear about only one thing: the aim of our Gulf policy. It is to defeat Saddam, at the minimum by forcing his unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. But, complain the critics, the president never adequately explained why Saddam must be stopped. Is it oil? Is it preserving peace in the Gulf? Is it establishing the basis for a new post-Cold War order?

The implication is that it must be one or the other. If the president invokes sometimes oil, sometimes order, this is taken as evidence of insincerity. Which is it? The answer, it is blindingly clear, is all of the above. To imply that these goals are somehow mutually exclusive is nonsense. Any one alone might justify American intervention. The three together add up to an overwhelming self-reinforcing case.

Oil. Control of the Arabian Peninsula gives Saddam control of half of the world's oil reserves. That gives him the power to manipulate production to create buying panics, shortages, recession or whatever world economic shock suits his economic or political goals of the moment. If preventing half of the world's oil reserves from falling into hostile hands, if preventing the hardship and extortion that such

dependency brings, is not a vital American interest then it is hard to see what the phrase "vital interest" can possibly mean.

Indeed, the United States has already declared that preventing such a calamity is not just a vital interest but a *casus belli*. Who declared that? Not George Bush but Jimmy Carter, the most dovish president of this century. The

Congress should vote up or down on the Carter Doctrine.

Carter Doctrine, enunciated Jan. 23 1980, declared that "an attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America. And such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."

The administration is loath to ask Congress to authorize the use of force in the Gulf for fear that an equivocal wording might unduly tie its hands. Why not then ask Congress to vote up or down the following two sentence resolution: "Resolved that—(1) Congress reaffirms the Carter Doctrine of Jan. 23, 1980. (2) Congress determines that Iraq's aggression against Kuwait constitutes such an attempt to gain control of the Persian Gulf region and therefore constitutes an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America."

Peace. Saddam's control of oil supplies would allow him to impose a huge tax, payable to him, on every American oil consumer. That would impoverish us. But more important and worse, it would enrich him. As in the past, his new and now fabulous wealth will go directly into his military machine. That will make him not only King of the Gulf but undisputed hegemon of the Middle East.

His immediate aim will be to break those

pro-Western Arab regimes that had the audacity to oppose him and the foolishness to rely on the United States. One day, the Americans will leave Arabia. If on that day Saddam remains, the Saudi royal family will not last a month. Mubarak of Egypt, the linchpin of the American position in the whole Middle East, will not last much longer. The smaller Gulf states, it goes without saying, will either be subjugated or physically absorbed, Kuwait-style. Jordan will be next. Ultimately, a new and perhaps nuclear Arab-Israeli war becomes inevitable.

As the richest dictator in history, however, Saddam will not just convulse the Middle East. He will acquire the reach to threaten the world: weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical, biological) and the missiles to deliver them.

Within 10 years, Saddam (age 53) will have nuclear weapons. Ten years is hardly the far-off future. Saddam's emergence as a nuclear power is closer to us in time than Ronald Reagan's election in 1980. Last year, Iraq tested a three-stage ballistic missile. Which means that by the end of the decade we will be facing a hostile power with unlimited wealth and nuclear weapons able to reach any city on earth. That is a very concrete threat, threat enough to warrant breaking this man's sword before it can be used.

Order. Forget about woolly New World Orders. Keep your eye on the threat. Saddam is but the first of many coming threats in the age of weapons of mass destruction. He is a crucial test case. If a small, ruthless, heavily militarized regime can stand up to a global blockade, a united Security Council, a majority of the Arab League, the opprobrium of the entire world, the threats of the great powers and half a million troops massed against it in the desert—and still emerge intact and in possession of the fruits of its aggression, the message to every other potential aggressor and victim will be clear: There are no rules in the post-Cold War world. The great powers are preoccupied. America has gone home. Welcome to the 1930s.

Our children will curse us.

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is safe

3/15/91

JEREMIAH O'LEARY

Trying to place the new order

Like everyone else in the world, I have been waiting with bated breath for President Bush to explain in detail exactly what he means by the "new world order" of which he has been speaking since the spectacular destruction of the military machine of Iraq's dictator, Saddam Hussein.

Are we in for a Pax Americana, like the hegemonies imposed on much of the world by the ancient Romans or the anything-but-peaceful Pax Britannica by which Queen Victoria's British Empire was involved continually in military expeditions around the world from 1837 until the end of the second Boer War in 1902?

Mr. Bush hasn't given us a hint of what this New World Order will be like. I am glad not to be in the boots of Tony Snow, my former colleague at The Washington Times, who is now the chief White House speech writer, because he will be on the cutting edge of whatever attempt Mr. Bush makes to explain what the NWO means.

The Pax Romana prevailed in the Mediterranean world from the reign of Augustus in 27 B.C. until Marcus Aurelius in 180 A.D. It was imposed by far-flung Roman legions on the borders of the Roman Empire until the barbarian hordes swept out of the east against a Rome that had grown so effete that its privileged citizens were hiring hardier nationalities to do their fighting.

The Pax Britannica coincided with the long reign of Queen Victoria but, as historian Byron Farwell has pointed out, there was not a single year of the Victorian era in which the British regiments and their Irish, Sikh, Punjabi, Bengali, Pathan and Gurkha regiments were not fighting somewhere to protect or expand frontiers, avenge insults or suppress rebellions.

The bottom line for the British, when British red was the dominant color on world maps, was the necessity for a small island nation to protect its sea lanes and overseas commerce and to provide occupations for upper-class Englishmen who felt it was their duty to shoulder what they called "the white man's burden."

It seems to me that President Bush, riding a vast wave of pop-

ularity and emotionally disposed to use his high-tech armed forces when there is a clear-cut villain like Saddam afoot, is not likely to try to create a NWO like either the Roman or British models of long ago. Gen. Manuel Noriega of Panama and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq are one thing, but dictatorial societies like the Beijing regime or the hard-liners in the Soviet Union are quite another.

Even while the Americans and their U.N. allies were whaling the tar out of the Iraqis, the Bush Pentagon was already engaged in finding ways to reduce rather than expand the size of the American armed forces.

It is conceivable that Mr. Bush and his advisers some day might indulge themselves to the extent of disposing, once and for all, of such nutcases as Moammar Ghadafi of Libya. It passed almost unnoticed that Mr. Bush sent Marines to rescue Americans caught in the civil wars in Liberia and Somalia. Other American presidents have not hesitated to intervene in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Grenada, Nicaragua and scores of other Third World countries in modern times. As recently as World War I, Americans invaded northern Mexico and Vera Cruz on punitive expeditions.

On the other hand, I have no picture in my mind of Mr. Bush sending troops to enforce the worthy aspirations for independence of such peoples as the Lithuanians, the Latvians and the Estonians. Israel is a special case. The United States has guaranteed the right of Israel to exist, though it be surrounded by a host of Muslim blood enemies from the Atlantic Ocean to the far reaches of Indonesia.

My guess is that Mr. Bush's New World Order is not going to turn us into a nation of Spartans, ready to right all perceived wrongs. Mr. Bush is well aware that the United States is the sole remaining superpower in the world, but I doubt if he is going to evolve into a Teddy Roosevelt with "Manifest Destiny" woven into his regimen for steering the ship of state.

Mr. Bush has demonstrated to the whole world that he is ready and willing to go to war for principle as well as the world economic order. Merely by carrying the big stick he wielded against the Iraqis, I believe Mr. Bush can well afford to speak softly unless some neighborhood bully like Saddam challenges him.

The United States may be the only power with the muscle to be the world's policeman, but I don't believe Mr. Bush has a burning ambition to play this role. Virtually assured of remaining in the White House until 1996, it's now time for Mr. Bush to show that he has solutions for our domestic problems as well as a certain genius for foreign affairs.

Jeremiah O'Leary is a columnist for The Washington Times.

Carl T. Rowan

Blacks and 'Class'

I've seen a lot of nonsense written in the past few weeks to "celebrate" black history month, but few things more absurd than a sociologist's assertion that blacks don't have an upper class.

The Chicago Sun-Times quotes Bart Landry, a University of Maryland author of "The New Black Middle Class," as saying that only two black Americans can truly be considered "upper class": John H. Johnson, the wealthy founder of Johnson Publishing Co., and Reginald F. Lewis, chairman of TFC Group, the New York firm that owns Beatrice International Food Co.

The last thing we ought to be telling American youngsters, especially black ones, is that you can't be "upper class" unless you have money to burn, plus second and third homes in places like Paris and Palm Springs. Landry asserts that upper class is about owning large corporations that keep producing more income, corporations with massive stocks.

I'll wager that both Johnson and Lewis would say "rubbish" to what Landry is writing and saying. I think they would say that being upper class may suggest having a comfortable amount of money, but that "class" also is about other things as well.

By way of illustration, let me list a few black Americans who I think would make anybody's list of "upper class."

Dr. LaSalle Leffall, the distinguished Howard University surgeon and former president of the American Cancer Society, and his wife Ruth. He has unusual medical influence all over the world.

Clifton R. Wharton Jr., the former

president of Michigan State University and recent chancellor of the huge State University of New York, who now administers the \$87 billion Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association-College Retirement Equities Fund. His wife, Dolores, is a director of several great corporations. They are as upper class as anyone can get.

James Earl Jones, who can't lack money given his omnipresence on TV as both actor and advertising spokesman, and who strikes me as a very classy fellow.

Barbara Jordan, the former congresswoman who now is in ill health and is probably far from rich, but who is upper class in every respect worth talking about.

Rep. Bill Gray, (D-Pa.), who ranks third in the House of Representatives, and Douglas Wilder, the governor of Virginia, are not super-rich, but most of America's millionaires don't come close to their class or clout.

Gen. Colin Powell and his wife, Alma, may live on military pay, and the general's temporary second home may only be a barracks in Saudi Arabia, but I'll wager you that most Americans consider them "upper class" in the finest meaning of the phrase.

Landry dismisses Bill Cosby with the assertion that "When you are talking about the upper class, you are not talking about a few million dollars. That's peanuts." Well, any guy who gives \$20 million to a black college is upper class enough for me.

Someone had better put Landry back in a school where he might learn what high class really is all about.

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Dan McG
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For this, he needs to summon the best eloquence of the past that was applied to similar moments. To Abe, perhaps, and the test that would light us down in honor or dishonor to the last generation. But primarily to Churchill, the most moving voice of this century which many of us still remember calling us to duty.

If the President has to make that speech upon launching military action, as I suspect he will, he should quote the best of Churchill that roused the world. As George Bush has pointed out, the threat then was not dissimilar to the one now.

You might wish to find Churchill's surprise Christmas Eve speech that he gave at the White House in 1941, just two weeks after Pearl Harbor, after he had slipped unnoticed into Hampton Roads aboard a British warship. I feel sure that FDR was moved by the extemporaneous words of his visitor, on the subject of the hard duty that had to be faced if the future was to be tenable.

Winston's marvelous stirring admonitions spoken by Bush still can transmit power, the old electricity. And a line of Paine thrown in ("these are the times that try men's souls") that stirred us in our own beginnings wouldn't hurt, if there is room.

All of this is unsolicited advice, from an old editorialist who is without deadlines, for the moment. Enclosed is a column by a friend, Paul Greenberg, saying much the same things. I hate to take your time, but my thoughts are with you there in that house of fearsome accountability. May God bless all of you.

With best regards,

Tom Dearnore
Tom Dearnore

Dave:
F.I.T. for
your speechwriters
Mal



Paul Greenberg

11/28/90

What the president must say

Once upon a time, when this country faced a crisis that demanded military resolve, Congress was called into session, it debated the issue, war was declared, and America stood united.

It is time to return to that past; it would be progress.

With a declaration of war against Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq, the president and commander-in-chief would be on the solid constitutional ground that is slipping out from under him day by day, week by week. Then Saddam Hussein would get the clear and unequivocal message that he must leave Iraq — instead of hearing nothing but clamor and confusion.

Let it be noted, let it be emphasized: A declaration of war doesn't mean that the president would have to employ force or to what degree. This country already is at war with Iraq in effect: American warships have blockaded that country, and a blockade is an act of war. So is taking hostages. The question is not whether a conflict exists between Iraq and the United States, but whether this country shall wage it under one commander or many.

A declaration of war would not specify the strategy or tactics the

commander-in-chief might decide on. But it would allow him to decide — without being constantly sniped at by 535 congressional generals and secretaries of state, all prepared to whisper in the president's ear and jostle his elbow at critical moments.

The president has shown leadership in this crisis everywhere but at home. A great international force has been massed in the Saudi desert. The United Nations has acted, amazingly, much like a group of united nations. A global embargo is in place. But the Administration has neglected the crucial theater in this conflict: American public opinion. It is as if nothing had been learned from Vietnam.

Now the president must mobilize Congress and united the country. He could have done it easily in August. He will have to work to do it now. It will become harder with each passing day. The opposition already senses opportunity in the Administration's uncertainty and frustration.

This president must make it clear to the American public why we're Over There. If he cannot, it would be a mercy to disband the entire effort right now rather than after five years and 50,000

casualties, a la Vietnam.

Richard Strout, better known as TRB in the New Republic for which he wrote so many essays, said something in his very first piece — penned during World War II — that bears repeating. Calling for a clear statement of postwar aims, he wrote: "When a man dies he wants to die for something important." Today another president needs to tell the American people why it is important to defeat Saddam Hussein — and defeat him decisively, unmistakably, unequivocally.

What should Mr. Bush say? First, that this is not a struggle over oil or jobs or even over an isolated act of aggression. Rather, it is a struggle to determine the shape of the world in the next century. With the collapse of communism, the prospects for a world of peace, of legitimacy, of cooperation and security, even community, are brighter than they have been since the very beginnings of this century. That was before the First World War and its aftermath led to almost uninterrupted turmoil and vast suffering. Now, just when peace looms, comes a shrewd and fanatical dictator with different plans.

If Saddam Hussein is allowed

to get away with his conquest, or even to emerge from this confrontation with his arsenal and demagoguery intact, more turbulence is sure to rock the Islamic world, a once great civilization now prey to such mischief.

Kuwait is Saddam Hussein's Sudetenland. It is the beginning, not the end, of his demands. To borrow a metaphor from Winston Churchill about another territorial demand, this is but the first sip, the foretaste of a bitter cup that will be proffered to the world year by year unless the aggressor is thwarted. Iraq's dictator already has chemical weapons and has demonstrated a willingness to use them. He is out to acquire nuclear ones. The world cannot afford to sit back and wait for that day.

"My fellow citizens," George Bush should declare, "we will not allow Saddam Hussein to steal the future." That is the essence of why this struggle matters; the details can be left to presidential speech writers. But if a sleeping people is to be roused, and mounting confusion and irresolution dispelled, the trumpet must be sounded — on a single high, clear note.

WASHINGTON WAYS

Jane Weinberger's Washington

By Donnie Radcliffe
Washington Post Staff Writer

The four of them—Jane, Grandmother, the dog and “Cap”—arrived here in February 1970, and from then on, Washingtonians fortunate enough to know Jane Weinberger were in for a surprise. Irreverent at times, frequently just plain funny, she and her pen were off and running the next 17 years while her husband, Caspar, moved up through three Republican administrations from Federal Trade Commission chairman to director of the budget, secretary of health, education and welfare and finally secretary of defense.

An inveterate letter writer, she kept friends and family entertained with what she calls “the views of one ordinary woman living a somewhat extraordinary life.” Now compiled in a book titled “As Ever,” and published by her own Windswept House of Mount Desert, Maine, the letters are the latest in “wife of” comments and reminiscences about the high and mighty and what made them fly or fall.

Spiro Agnew’s acceptance of “dirty little bits of money to do what stupid favors, heaven only knows . . . makes me sick . . . the children had just begun to believe in the government again. Damn!” she writes. And since she was one of those “still waving the flag on deck when the Captain [Richard Nixon] abandoned ship, I don’t feel qualified to say anything.”

In one letter she remembers Soviet Ambassador Anatoliy Dobrynin as “a wily old bastard but amusing.” In another, she hopes Nancy Reagan, as America’s new First Lady, won’t be “irritable and snappish. . . . We all know how easily upset she can be when things are not exactly as she wants them.”

In October 1983, she writes that Cap Weinberger was “grieving and blaming himself because he was unable to persuade The White House to move the Marines from the airport in Beirut—move them in time to prevent that terrible massacre.” And that despite his pleas, he was “always being told that it would look like we had ‘cut and run.’ That ‘Marines never backed down’ and other rot like that.”

In March 1984, she is the outraged “wife of” shooting off a letter to Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens that she is “appalled at your lack of judgment, sensitivity and morality. . . . You seem to be upset that my husband’s great-grandfather changed his religious beliefs.” (He’d been misquoted, he replied a few days later.)

After a Senate ladies’ luncheon, she returned home to write how “Cabinet wives mingled with Senate wives and we all behaved beautifully—except me, I tried to avoid yet another picture with Nancy but Barbara Bush wouldn’t let me get by with that.”

And in her 1985 Christmas letter, she describes being “reprimanded (by the V.P.’s wife) for having neglected my husband all summer. Not true! I maintain an open door policy at Windswept from April to October. If he only came once or twice, it was the fault of the government—not me.”

When Weinberger resigned as defense secretary in November 1987, she writes, she was the reason—because of her illness resulting from osteoporotic loss of bone in the spine, a side effect of radiation treatments. “But I’m not as bad as reported,” she reassures her pen pal and a couple of weeks later proved it by attending the Reagans’ White House dinner for the Gorbachevs, about whom she writes: “He seemed affable enough, but I should hate to meet her on a mountain pass.”

Jane’s motorized chair “was deemed unseemly” for such an august occasion so a wheelchair and a Marine to push it were provided. “Hellishly embarrassing and undignified,” she laments, describing still a “further humiliation: we ran over the President’s foot—luckily, ours, not theirs. Ever the gentleman, [Reagan] forgave me for, as he said, I was not driving.”

Despite the word “country” in its name, Barbara Bush’s childhood school, the Rye Country Day School in Rye, N.Y., was hardly a one-room country schoolhouse like those that dotted America’s rural landscape for the better part of two centuries.



Jane Weinberger meets
Chief of Protocol Lucky

In those simple building children learned the Th lots more about growin rugged new frontier. M may not have attended nonetheless manages to some of that nostalgia i she has written to “Ar Country Schools” by A Gulliford, being broug month by the National Historic Preservation’s Press.

“Young rural school some barely older than students—struggled t with great dedication t precious knowledge w children of our growin First Lady writes. “De real hardships, countr schoolchildren were e broad view of life. Th curriculum steeped in as honesty, industry, t patriotism—values w

But the real point c comes when she rem that in addition to edu children, the country became “the roots of literacy programs,” t community center, v neighbors gathered concerts, lectures, d caucuses and worsh 1900s these lively p attracting older fam search of knowledge

“The pioneer farm America’s vast from one of Thomas Jeff deeply held convict

Pacifism in the Pacific

The cold war was the economic heyday of Japan. The Soviets spent 24 percent of their national product on armaments and went broke. The U.S. spent 6 percent of its larger G.N.P. on defense and ran up a debilitating debt. Japan enjoyed the full protection of our nuclear umbrella while spending a minuscule percentage on defense — and prospered.

That was its competitive edge. More than any management technique or protectionist industrial policy, that long free ride enabled Japan to become an economic wonder.

Now, in the first battle of the pre-peaceful world, Japan is again willing to hold America's coat while we bear the brunt of stopping aggression. At first it offered a billion-dollar tip for our trouble; when that was deemed niggardly, the Japanese begrudged three billion more. In this way, they appeared to be willing to defend their oil lifeline by putting as little as possible in the kitty to remain in the game.

This habit of running from the responsibility of power invites international scorn; moreover, Japan's self-serving anguish is stirring resentment in those who look beyond supply of oil to the need to stop an aggressor from acquiring nuclear weapons.

Why does it happen? Here is a nation of hard-driving people with the third most powerful armed force in the world. Like Germany, it hides behind a web of legalisms left over from defeat in World War II. The excuse offered is that any contribution of forces to world police action will revive fears of a rebirth of militarism. The real reason is a desire to duck the

Tom Wicker is on vacation.

risk by offering to pick up as little as possible of the cost.

Is all the above to be dismissed as Japan-bashing, subtle racism or insensitivity to cultural differences? I see it as a natural reaction to a display of national irresponsibility.

The current non-leader, Prime Minister Kaifu, will not hear such straight talk from President Bush when they meet in New York this week. The White House traditionally pats Japan on the back for its promises to remove structural impediments while Congress is left the task of threatening the marriage of true

Japan says it gave at the office.

minds. What caused the Diet to cough up the extra three billion was neither morality nor responsibility but the deadline of the end of the U.S. Congressional recess.

Our knee-jerk reaction to Japan's attempts to play the checkbook ally is to demand the reinterpretation of the pacifist Article 9 of its Constitution, thereby enabling Japan to use not only minesweepers but a squadron of F-15's in a U.N. action. Pentagonians want Japan to beef up its defense forces with a larger purchase of U.S. military equipment.

But let us pause before invoking that patella reflex. Maybe the self-doubting, hand-wringing Japanese know something about themselves

that we don't know; it could be that the historical impulse to control neighbors still lurks beneath the surface, and we should respect their reluctance to develop a mobile, long-range striking force.

How, then, to deal with an economic superpower that — in the coming bloodletting — is a conscientious objector? Pacifism has moral standing only when it involves compensating sacrifice; how do we and they keep Japan's pacifism from being so profitable?

First, Japan should get serious about getting involved. A contingent of 3,000 combat medics and nurses should be assembled with no delay, and hospital ships dispatched to the Persian Gulf on an emergency basis. These Japanese citizens will be putting their lives on the line, reflecting honor on their nation.

Next, Japan should stop confusing pacifism with passive-ism. Sending a bigger-than-expected check to the united U.N. appeal is not enough; Japanese banks and insurance companies should come up with creative ways to finance trusts for families of hostages and subsidized-rate policies for every service person in the hazardous zone.

If Japan does not rise to the occasion, the world should give it a back seat at Iraq's surrender ceremony and the U.S. should grimly Gramm-Rudmanize its trade deficit. To equalize the burden, a standard of 6 percent of G.N.P. should be set for Japan to contribute to the poor and war-ravaged.

Better this effort should come from within than be imposed by a resentful world. Isn't there one political leader in this rich land who can articulate a national conscience? □

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Past Saved. Future Squandered?

For weeks, a bumbling President and stalemated Congress invited ridicule for their endless budget wrangling. The President seemed to contradict himself by the hour. Congressional leaders lost control over their colleagues. It took an unlikely coalition between the Republican White House and Congressional Democrats to close the deal.

But ridicule misses the important story. This was no usual election-year dithering. This Congress faced up to the herculean task of controlling deficits that were 10 years in the making. It passed a \$500 billion program of spending cuts and tax increases and approved new procedures that will make Reagan-era excesses difficult to repeat. Cleaning up these sins of the past presented the hardest set of decisions in a decade.

Unfortunately, fiscal responsibility came at a steep price: the future. The new budget law forbids Congress for three years to spend more, for instance, on decrepit schools and dilapidated bridges by cutting wasteful military spending. That unconscionable provision squanders the peace dividend and detracts from this overdue act of courage.

Ronald Reagan came into office under the banner of spend now, pay later. Congress could have all the military weapons that money could buy, leave middle-class entitlements alone and still cut income taxes. All gain, no pain except some nearly invisible hikes in payroll taxes. The result was predictable. Deficits skyrocketed and now are back over \$200 billion a year, and rising.

Ultimately, the 101st Congress faced up to the problem. Besides program cuts, it approved new

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 procedures to rein in future deficits. For the next three years, the budget law sets separate spending caps on three categories of Federal programs: domestic discretionary, foreign aid and defense. Congress cannot pass a program that exceeds those caps even if it is willing to raise taxes or cut programs in other categories. If it tries, the Administration is required to cut programs across the board within the same category.

Entitlement programs will be treated differently. They are put on a pay-as-you-go basis, but not capped. That means entitlements can be expanded, as long as Congress is willing to raise taxes or cut other spending.

The spending caps and enforcement procedures promise to work better than past deficit controls because they are designed to be self-enforcing. Any spending proposal that does not carry its own means of finance should ignite opposition from Congressional subcommittees that will fear across-the-board cuts in favored programs.

Yet these rules have the unfortunate effect of preventing Congress from paying for better schools or retraining workers by cutting the military, no matter how desirable it finds such cuts. Congress has surrendered the peace dividend just as the end of the cold war has created it.

There are ways to get around the new constraint, like redefining discretionary programs as entitlements and then passing higher taxes. But further tax hikes aren't in the political cards for some time. The most direct way to fix the problem is also the most honest: Admit that the peace dividend has been needlessly squandered and amend the new law.