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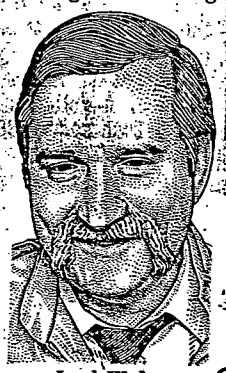
Communists' Fall Breaks Up Poland's Solidarity

By Barry Newman
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

WARSAW—It's been quiet in Poland this August, for a change. In August a year ago, the Communists gave up governing; two years ago, strikes forced them into unheard-of compromises; 10 years ago, the movement that inspired their downfall was born in Gdansk.

Solidarity has spent the month celebrating its birthday, and though the Rolling Stones called off their show, the Harlem Globetrotters put on theirs. The festivities end today, exactly a decade since Solidarity first was legalized. Lech Walesa will give a speech. By the time he finishes, it should be clearer than ever that Solidarity, age 10, is dead.



Lech Walesa

As a trade union in a country where trade unions don't have much say, it will go on. As a social and political movement uniting a people against Communist oppression, its work is done.

Rebels Without a Cause

Solidarity the movement has already split into two new political parties, differing over the road Poland ought to take on its way to capitalism and on how fast it ought to travel. Fresh from a visit to the Vatican, Mr. Walesa may choose to complete the break on this opportune day by saying straight out to an audience of luminaries what he has been saying in code for months: that he is a candidate for the presidency of Poland.

Even if a last-minute change of strategy keeps him pussyfooting, this country's first post-Communist political season is sure to begin in September, with a presidential election following before long. Mr. Walesa's former ally, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, has been trying to decide whether to oppose him. Some Poles think the prime minister might make up his mind today, too.

Neither Mr. Mazowiecki nor his supporters want an election now. The Citizens' Movement for Democratic Action, led by Mr. Walesa's former intellectual advisers, would rather let the government go on calmly dismantling communism; in that effort, Poland is well ahead of the other new boys of the old bloc.

"It's a distraction," says Jan Litynski, a founder of the Citizens' Movement. "Logically, it would make sense to wait for next spring, but they've started the campaign."

For Mr. Walesa and his backers in a nascent party called the Center Alliance, an election is long overdue. Despite its democratic ideals and economic coherence, they argue, Poland's government is still the product of a deal made before the rest of the Soviet Empire collapsed in Eastern Europe, and Communists still infest it.

"We were first in the process of democratization and now we follow," says Adam Glapinski, an economist on the Alliance's political council. "We don't want anything more than people already have in Hungary and Czechoslovakia."

One hurdle, in the person of President Wojciech Jaruzelski, remains to be vaulted before the Alliance can have its wish. Gen. Jaruzelski must quit. The Alliance has toyed with the idea of mass protests to force him out. Mr. Walesa would then replace him, with parliament's approval, and run for the presidency as an incumbent.

The general doesn't seem pleased with this plan. He'd prefer to exit more gracefully, and has attracted some unlikely champions: the Citizens' Movement, the Roman Catholic Church and the U.S.

George Bush has invited Gen. Jaruzelski to Washington for an official visit on Oct. 11, well after Mr. Walesa had hoped to unseat him. And earlier this month Cardinal Jozef Glemp received the general at Czestochowa, Poland's holiest site. Mr. Glapinski calls that "some kind of blasphemy," and the Alliance is still collecting signatures on anti-Jaruzelski petitions. But it appears to have set aside for now its threat of public disruptions.

Instead, it will back a constitutional amendment to choose the president by popular, rather than parliamentary, vote. The Citizens' Movement backs it, too, and parliament will convene in mid-September to debate it. If the amendment passes, Gen. Jaruzelski could resign, perhaps before year's end, to let an election take place.

Call for 'Acceleration'

Mr. Mazowiecki, the opinion polls suggest, might win it. But no one can ignore Lech Walesa's enduring power over Polish politics or the potential impact of his call for an "acceleration" of Poland's passage to the free market and full democracy.

By "acceleration" Mr. Walesa seems to mean the removal from public and economic life of anyone who owes his position to the Communists—factory foremen to school principals. And while the Alliance has no quarrel with economic austerity, it wants a faster sell-off of state companies run by one-time apparatchiks.

"Privatization is revolution," Mr. Glapinski says. "It means 400,000 people will lose their jobs."

Talk like that makes Mr. Walesa's old friends gulp. He accuses them of blocking democracy; they accuse him of demagoguery. "It's very dangerous," says Mr. Litynski. "People could be deprived of property, put into prison."

The Citizen's Movement is trying to think positively. If Mr. Mazowiecki wins the presidency, some hope Mr. Walesa will agree to be his prime minister. And if Mr. Walesa wins, his future at least won't be the main issue in parliamentary elections that should take place in the spring.

Yet by August of next year—as things look this August—a good part of Poland's old opposition, once united in Solidarity, could find itself in opposition again.

LEISURE & ARTS

The Soviet Reality: Murder, Apathy, Dishonesty

By David Brooks

Moscow

These are the things to say to make a Russian happy: "Your country stinks." "Your leaders are criminals." "I can't wait to get out of here."

Russians have developed a passion for criticism. A visitor here is constantly asked his impressions of the city. If he tries to be polite, and balance the good with the bad, the Russian listener pulls a sour face and looks away. But if the question is met with a great gust of aspersion, then a broad smile of satisfaction sweeps across the Moscovite's face, before he concludes, "You've only seen the best of it."

In this general atmosphere of eager self-loathing, the cultural event of the moment is a scathing documentary on Soviet life called "One Shouldn't Live This Way," by Stanislav Govorukhin. It surveys Soviet criminal activity—from rapes and mutilations committed by homicidal maniacs; to the Baku massacre, organized at the highest reaches of the Soviet government. The film's message is that crime and corruption are the bricks and mortar of Soviet society. The Soviet people love it.

A film such as this still gets censored unless it has powerful friends. "One Shouldn't Live This Way" has been championed by the reformist mayors of Moscow and Leningrad. Though it can be seen nowhere else in the Soviet Union, they have ordered it shown in their cities. A friend had to stand in line for three hours to get tickets for a weekday, midafternoon screening.

The first few minutes are searing. Mr. Govorukhin's cameras show fresh murder scenes, with bodies carved open, with relatives in frenzies of grief. Police photos display nude women who have been raped and mutilated. One convict is brought back to the scene of his crime to reenact how he lured a young girl into the woods, and then knifed her to death. He is meticulous and almost cheerful. "It was quite normal," he says, showing the various positions of his victim as he stabbed her.

It's not clear how much of this Mr. Govorukhin intends to blame on communism, perhaps nothing more than the way the criminals are completely apathetic about their fate.

Mr. Govorukhin is on firmer ground comparing Soviet police forces with Western police forces. He visits the South Bronx and Times Square, a wry joke since these are the places where Soviet propaganda units have always done their American filming. "There *is* crime in the United States," he assures a chuckling audience. But the director is amazed at how well equipped the New York cops are. He goes into detail over the design of the American holster, which allows the officer to draw his gun in one motion. The Soviet holster requires several cumbersome maneuvers.

Mr. Govorukhin marvels at how New York cops show up when they are called to minor health emergencies. He shows how 10 or 15 police cars race to the scene of even a minor crime, when a Times Square pimp tries to force a prostitute into his car. The audience is more interested in the pimp's car, a stretch limousine, than in his crime.

Mr. Govorukhin films a police funeral in Queens, with thousands of cops in attendance. He determines that the officer's family gets $500,000 as compensation. He then shows a grim Soviet police funeral; the dead officer's family gets nothing.

He interviews some American cops, and while the audience giggles, they complain how bad things are. One cop remarks, "What we really need are some Soviet cops to restore some order here." The film cuts to a pathetic-looking Soviet officer, with an ill-fitting uniform and poor equipment, standing dazed in the middle of the street like a brain-damaged sheep. The audience erupts into gales of laughter.

The Mobile Guide

Life with glasnost

The final comparison is between the living conditions of a high-ranking Soviet detective and a German patrolman from Hamburg. The detective and his three children have one room in a small apartment, which they share with other families. They sleep side by side on the floor. The audience members begin talking to each other as the film shows the German patrolman leaving work in his Ford Taurus. By the time he is sitting in his modern middle-class apartment, the dialogue is drowned out by audience members commenting on the various appliances and amenities.

One of Mr. Govorukhin's points is that communism has turned honest citizens into criminals, and he shows the underhanded maneuvers that are required to get anything accomplished in the Soviet Union. One of the current expressions, not included in the movie, is: "If you are not stealing from work, you are robbing your family."

A line outside one liquor store in the movie stretches to infinity. At another, order breaks down, and young men become like savage beasts, looting and scrambling off with their cache. The old are frequently trampled in these humiliating rushes, Mr. Govorukhin reports.

Two old ladies live somewhat remote from these events, in the middle of the countryside. They subsist on home-grown potatoes, and remember the pre-Gorbachev days when it was possible to get sugar. Mr. Govorukhin cuts from them to what may be the most luxurious store in the Soviet Union, the duty-free shop at the Moscow airport. Prices are listed in rubles, but Mr. Govorukhin still cannot buy anything. The prices are in gold rubles, a currency Soviets cannot possess.

Next he shows a well-dressed Russian woman trying to book a room in some of the better but still awful Moscow hotels. Not only is she as a Russian forbidden from staying in these hotels, the clerks do not acknowledge her existence. She politely asks for their attention, but they ignore her with that form of sadistic callousness familiar to anyone who has tried to shop in a Soviet store.

The crimes get bigger. The cameras fly over a gulag. Mr. Govorukhin travels to Baku, to see ethnic fighting. But the massacres take place away from the ethnic strife and the victims are mostly dissidents. "This is the greatest crime of all," he says.

The film ends with scenes of the fall of the Berlin Wall, with giddy East Germans delirious to be liberated from socialism. As the lights come up in the theater, my Russian host is shaking, and tears of rage and frustration run down her face. It takes her a few minutes to compose herself. But she invites us to her apartment.

Like many Soviet apartment buildings, the hallways are crumbling and smell of urine. But inside the apartment, she, her husband and her mother-in-law have built a lovely home. Beautiful Russian religious icons, some from the 17th century, hang on the walls. Dinner is a generous helping of fruits, pastries and a homemade custard. There is no way to get material for a main course. Afterward she modestly shows us some of her astonishing drawings and sings Russian songs in an unexpectedly pure and brilliant voice. She is only 20, her husband somewhat older, but they are astoundingly well-read and can quote long patches of poetry, like many intelligent young Russians. They give us flowers to take home, and the afternoon leaves us with the impression, so common in the Soviet Union, that the country has the best people on earth and the worst.

Mr. Brooks is an editorial writer for The Wall Street Journal Europe.

7/16/90

Charles Krauthammer

The Unipolar Moment

Enjoy it now. It won't last long.

The just concluded deal of the half century between German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev will probably be remembered as the instrument of Soviet surrender in the Cold War. Gorbachev agreed to the transfer of East Germany, whole, to the Western Alliance. We and the Communists split Korea. They got Indochina. In 1977, we even had a straight swap of Ethiopia for Somalia. But all these contests pale beside the transfer to the West, for cash and a few draft choices, of Russia's great World War II prize, its German buffer state.

This surrender marks a unique historical phenomenon, which might be called the moment of unipolarity. The bipolar world in which the real power emanated only from Moscow and Washington is dead. The multipolar world to which we are headed, in which power will emanate from Berlin and Tokyo, Beijing and Brussels, as well as Washington and Moscow, is struggling to be born. The transition between these two worlds is now, and it won't last long. But the instant in which we are living is a moment of unipolarity, where world power resides in one reasonably coherent, serenely dominant, entity: the Western alliance, unchallenged and not yet (though soon to be) fractured by victory.

The West's ability to dictate the future of Germany (as late as March Gorbachev declared a united Germany in NATO "absolutely out of the question") is only the most dramatic manifestation of its dominance. Unipolarity is felt all over the world, as far away as, say, Syria. This week's reconciliation of President Assad of Syria (Soviet ally) with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt (American ally) is a direct result of the end of Cold War bipolarity. Syria cannot play East against West, East having resigned the game. Unable to rely on the Soviet bloc in its struggle with Iraq and Israel, Syria, by accommodating Egypt, is making a move toward the West, the one remaining allocator of geopolitical goods.

The unipolar moment will be brief. By year's end, Germany will not only be fully sovereign but a free agent in the international arena. The shape of multipolar things to come became apparent at the Houston economic summit. Germany tried to get the alliance to give aid to the Soviet Union. The United States vetoed the idea. But Germany, now the dominant European power outside Russia, will proceed with its own Soviet aid program.

Japan did the same, though, as usual, with less flair than its old Axis partner. It proposed the lifting of some Western sanctions against China. That too was shot down as alliance policy. But the Japanese, asserting their regional independence and dominance, are proceeding with their own aid to China.

Germany is emerging as the regional superpower in Europe, as is Japan in Asia. Nonetheless the current laments about the eclipse of America are premature. (After another decade or two of impoverishing deficits, however, they won't be.) The United States remains the world's only global superpower. The Kohl-Gorbachev agreement was exactly in accord with the blueprint for the new Europe devised by the Bush administration after the fall of the Berlin Wall: a unified Germany within a NATO reconfigured to be less threatening to a defunct Warsaw Pact.

Moreover, the crux of the Soviet-German agreement is that Germany remain tied to the Atlantic Alliance. Another way of stating this is that the Soviet Union and Germany have agreed that their security, and Europe's, require the continued presence on the continent of the United States. That is no mean achievement.

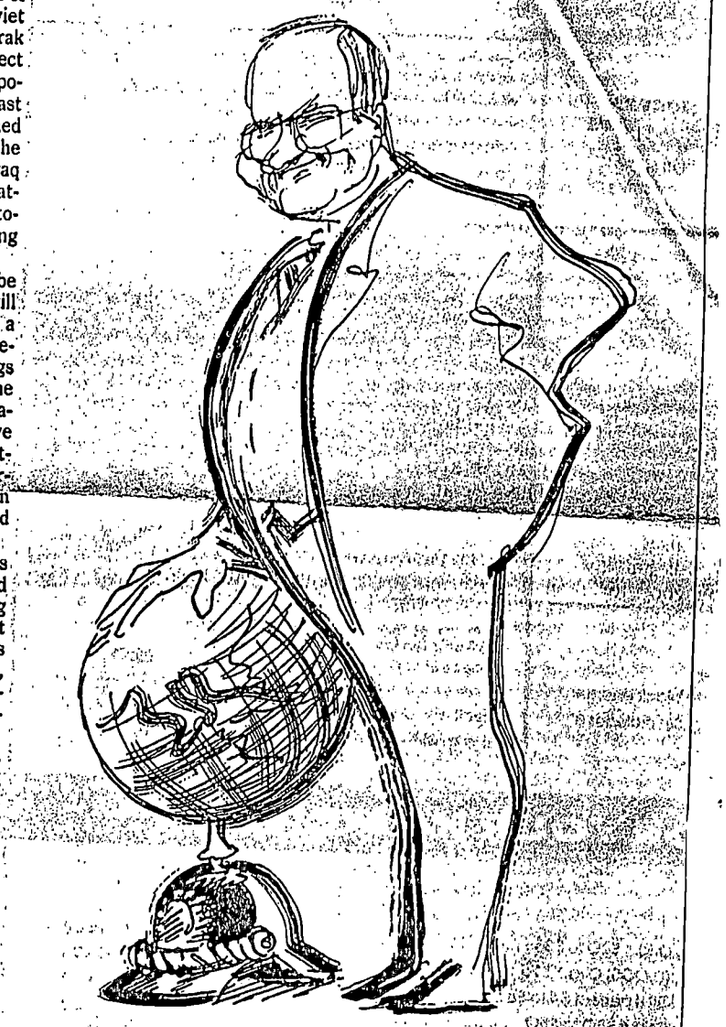
The Kohl-Gorbachev agreement was exactly what the Bush administration wanted, only sooner.

What makes the United States the universal choice for European stabilizer and German babysitter is that the United States is the only Atlantic or European power not viscerally afraid of Germany. Americans are able to view with some equanimity the reemergence of Germany as the dominant power in Europe. Americans find European fears of Germany understandable but still irrational. We see no prospect, as does erstwhile Thatcher trade minister Nicholas Ridley, of the Hun running wild. Moreover, it is hard to fathom what is the danger, other than to pride, of a German economy that dominates the continent. Bundesbank dominance already exists. Moreover, its effect on neighboring economies—helping to restrain inflation, for example—has been most salutary.

The real danger in Germany's rebirth lies in the realm of psychology. German unification is reawakening ancient fears, reviving now obsolete intra-European *Realpolitik* and returning Europe to the shifting alliance system that had been forcibly suppressed during the Cold War.

Last March, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher held a meeting about the future of Germany with several British and American intellectuals. One of the ideas bruited about was the need for Britain to strengthen Russia as a counter to Germany. This recapitulation of an idea a century old (the Triple Entente, the British-French-Russian alliance that balanced a newly united Germany) is a chilling reminder of the power of memory.

The danger for Europe (and for us) is that these old memories will reproduce the old *Realpolitik*. Europe has grown too small for balance-of-power politics. Its revival would not just bring back the balkanized state system that brought Europe such grief in this century. It would wreck the current move toward European unity, Europe's only hope for transcending its fratricidal past.



BY OHLSSON

GOP Tax Targets—State by State

By Paul Merski

President Bush and senior Republican congressmen last week announced they had agreed on a budget proposal to cap the amount of state and local income taxes taxpayers can deduct on their federal tax returns. The plan would cap deductions at $10,000. If passed and implemented, the plan will have widely different effects. The increased burden caused by reducing federal deductions for state and local taxes will be borne unevenly by the states. The result will be a list of "winning" and "losing" states with respect to their residents' tax burdens.

It is widely taken for granted that most tax deductions benefit only the wealthy. But approximately 70% of all itemized deductions benefit the middle-income ranges. Of the numerous exclusions and deductions, those for pension contributions, mortgage interest on homes, payments from employers for medical insurance and care, state and local income and property taxes, and Social Security benefits account for more than half the amount going to individuals. These deductions are popular because they benefit millions of Americans. With the exception of direct Social Security and Medicare payments, they provide the biggest middle-class benefit in the federal budget.

Reducing or eliminating the current deductibility of state and local income taxes will have a great impact on citizens of states that use these two forms of taxation as their major source of tax revenue. New York, Massachusetts and Maryland, which bear the greatest per-capita burden of state and local income taxes, will naturally be the victims of any reduction in the deductibility of those taxes. (New Jersey citizens will approach the top of the list after Gov. James Florio's new tax increases kick in.) Residents of these same states are already among those that pay the highest total per-capita federal taxes. Thus New Yorkers, citizens of Massachusetts, and Marylanders will all feel more strongly the bite of the tax burden their states impose on them.

Conversely, the federal tax liability of residents in states that have no income tax will not change one cent if the deductibility of state income tax is eliminated. Currently, seven states–Florida, Nevada, South Dakota, Texas, Washington, Wyoming and Alaska–impose no individual income tax. Three states–Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Tennessee–impose no levy on earned income, taxing interest and dividends only. (Connecticut also taxes capital gains.) Although residents of such states do not gain absolutely, they do gain *relative* to those of high income-tax states. The new disparity might well cause people to "vote with their feet" and move from high-tax states to lower-tax states. In this age of computers and faxes, why choose to live in high-tax states like New York or New Jersey at all?

Mr. Merski is director of fiscal affairs at the Tax Foundation in Washington, D.C.

Per-Capita State and Local Income Taxes

STATE	PER-CAPITA INCOME TAXES	RANK	STATE	PER-CAPITA INCOME TAXES	RANK	STATE	PER-CAPITA INCOME TAXES	RANK
New York	$876.18	1	Iowa	$375.77	18	Alabama	$238.51	35
Maryland	773.59	2	Pennsylvania	374.44	19	West Virginia	210.12	36
Massachusetts	676.64	3	Vermont	362.05	20	New Mexico	201.55	37
Minnesota	609.57	4	Indiana	352.15	21	North Dakota	170.94	38
Delaware	606.27	5	Colorado	351.39	22	Mississippi	134.82	39
Hawaii	569.76	6	Kentucky	345.12	23	Louisiana	130.60	40
Wisconsin	477.85	7	New Jersey	331.26	24	Connecticut	108.89	41
Oregon	463.91	8	Kansas	331.19	25	New Hampshire	27.51	42
Maine	460.76	9	Missouri	329.42	26	Tennessee	16.27	43
Virginia	458.50	10	South Carolina	328.84	27	Alaska	0	44
Ohio	455.14	11	Montana	302.82	28	Florida	0	44
California	454.34	12	Idaho	280.15	29	Nevada	0	44
North Carolina	429.09	13	Illinois	272.31	30	South Dakota	0	44
Michigan	428.58	14	Nebraska	269.68	31	Texas	0	44
Rhode Island	391.20	15	Oklahoma	256.87	32	Washington	0	44
Utah	377.23	16	Arkansas	249.23	33	Wyoming	0	44
Georgia	377.13	17	Arizona	245.83	34	Average	$364.00	

Note: Seven states tie at rank 44 because they have no individual income tax.

Source: Tax Foundation, Fiscal Year 1988

8/2/90

Mary Eberstadt

PEGGY'S TURN

The hottest political memoir in a long, long time sometimes makes you wonder: if it hadn't been for Peggy Noonan's literary gifts to Ronald Reagan and George Bush, why then Michael Dukakis might today be President!

Then there was this interesting meeting. (I'm getting ahead of myself in terms of the narrative, but why not?)

(I'm even going to do a digression. The sentence that begins the preceding paragraph—"Then there was this interesting meeting"—is, and I really hate to admit this, a thirtysomething *sentence. It's how my retarded generation talks. . . .)*

—Peggy Noonan
What I Saw at the Revolution

A book is like . . . a thing in nature, really, so endlessly variable, so variably endless. Like a flower was to Georgia O'Keefe, who painted the same ones over and over as if to say, Look here! Look on this thing this way, and that, and that.

(Where were we?) Well, *What I Saw at the Revolution*,[1] a memoir by former Reagan speechwriter Peggy Noonan, is such a book. Not only a book but a hit, a smash actually, the most talked-about political book of the season, maybe more. Solidly glowing front-page reviews in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* book reviews; full-page ads in same; excerpts in *Mirabella* and the *New York Times Magazine*; a boost by Joan Didion in the *New York Review of Books*; respectful to rave notices in the *Washington Times*, in the *Economist*, in *USA Today*; a place on the best-seller list; and more.

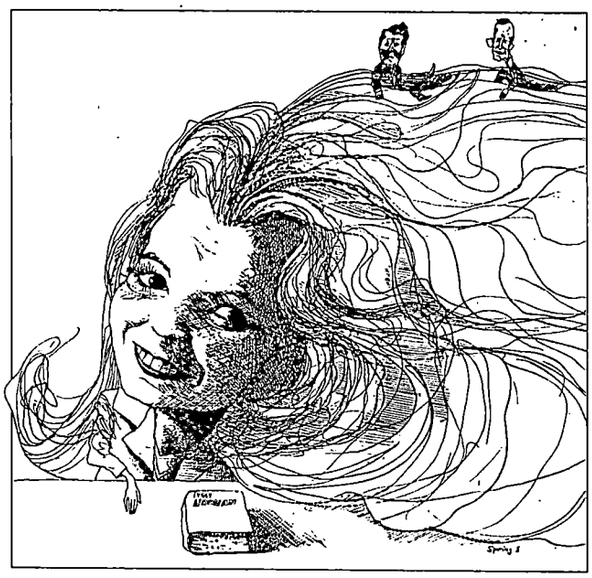
Now the thing about this book is, it has gossip. Good gossip and good details, mostly about Washington in the mid-1980s. It has some nice writing and sometimes some excellent writing, and it also has lots and lots of long sentences with their run-ons and many conjunctives and capital letters and italics—*yes, there are lots of italics*—and onomatopoeic spellings and idiosyncratic punctuation and, parentheses (very important). And sentence fragments. But most of all, exclamation marks! Exclamation marks, and similes:

> A speech is poetry: cadence, rhythm, imagery, sweep! A speech reminds us that words, like children, have the power to make dance the dullest beanbag of a heart.

But back to this book, it also has a story. A story of a girl from a poorish Irish family who grew up in a neighborhood where

> the commonest sight in the suburbs, the emblem of the age, was a hefty woman heaving down the street, four children straggling behind her as she pulls roughly on the arm of the youngest, whose mouth is ringed like a clown's by a cherry ice; she is huge and old and tired, she is carrying her fifth child, and she is huge and old. She is thirty-two.

A story of how a girl who wanted more than that, a rebel with a love of books, goes from waitressing and an obscure college to radio, from radio to writing for Dan Rather at CBS, from CBS to writing for Ronald Reagan at the White House, and finally back to New York. An opportunity tale for an opportunity time; Horatio Alger in Frye boots.



Now this girl, I mean this woman, became a speechwriter, and not only a speechwriter but the best-known speechwriter since at least the Kennedy years, maybe the best-known speechwriter of all time. She wrote fine speeches for President Reagan, some of them outstanding: on the 40th anniversary of D-Day, on John F. Kennedy, on the heroes of the *Challenger* space shuttle. She wrote during and after the '84 campaign, and she wrote the President's touching farewell speech of 1989. Mostly, she tells us (and when she doesn't, lots of other people in the book do!) she wrote . . . well . . . wonderfully:

> "Peggy wrote the Pointe du Hoc speech, Mr. President." Eager Ben [Bently Elliott, the chief speechwriter]. Reagan lights up. "That's it. That was wonderful, it was like 'Flanders Fields.'"

> After the speech [on JFK] Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis had walked up to him [President Reagan] "just glowing" and said in her breathy voice, "Mr. President, nobody ever captured him like that. That was Jack."

> The next morning [after Reagan's speech on the *Challenger* space shuttle] there was a deluge. Secretary Shultz called me, Admiral Poindexter, Senator Chafee. Ann Higgins sent up telegrams. A man sent words for a song, "They left us looking heavenward." Charles Jones, the manager of the White House mail section, wrote, "[. . .] please excuse the intrusion, but I want to congratulate you on a great speech."

> I would get it [a draft] back from Ben. He would not have changed it much, but he would have written little exclamation points along the margins, and sometimes on some sections he would write, "Excellent!" And I would be shocked that Ben's critical faculties had failed him. Then I would read over the speech and realize for the first time that it was actually pretty brilliant, so delicate and yet so vital, so vital and yet so tender.

She also wrote, briefly, for George Bush, giving him the "kinder, gentler nation" and "thousand points of light" phrases that endure to this day. And

[1] Random House, $19.95.

Mary Eberstadt is executive editor of the National Interest. *She was a member of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff between 1985 and 1987.*

that speech, too, went . . . you know:

I still like that speech; I reread it the other day. I felt as if I'd pulled together the strings of the highest, strongest kites, tied them together, and handed it off to a man who used it to lift him up high—ten points [in the polls] and fourteen points, and higher.

(Now at this point some people may be wondering, But, didn't ten or twenty other people also write speeches for Ronald Reagan? And I think they probably did. But, except for once or twice, you won't find their speeches mentioned in this book. And you won't find much about those other speechwriters either. Maybe that's because this is a personal memoir. Or maybe it's because "They [the other speechwriters] tended to be sad sacks and complain, and resentment isn't a magnetic personal style.")

Now anyone who's been to Washington knows you can't leave town without scores to settle and you can bet your Susan B. Anthony that plenty of them are settled here. Nancy Reagan is "Mommy," "Evita," "the Hairdo with Anxiety"; "a *Galanosist*, a wealthy, well-dressed woman who follows the common wisdom of her class." On Larry Speakes: "his face is sensuous and dumb." Robert McFarlane "decided long ago, as young people sometimes do, that intelligent people speak in an incomprehensible manner." Michael Deaver leaked to the press; he slighted speechwriters; he had "a liking for P-words." Maureen Reagan's "face was like the face of Bette Davis in *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* when Errol Flynn did something impertinent."

Then there are the conservatives. There are some nice words in the book about people who happen to be conservatives, for example Pat Buchanan and Bill Bennett. But about conservatives *qua* conservatives . . . well, that's something else again.

Now you may be thinking, Hold on, isn't Peggy Noonan herself a conservative? and the answer is yes, she says she is, meaning: she is anti-Communist, anti-abortion, and pro-economic growth. But she is also a writer, and when "you're a writer," she says, "you don't have a side." And maybe that's why so many of the things she writes about conservatives make them sound . . . well . . . pretty awful. Sometimes funny things are quoted about them without comment:

Yeah, said someone across a dinner table, if conservatives are so interested in traditional values how come half of them are faggots—I mean total flaming lulus?

Sometimes conservatives are described in more, well . . . declarative form:

. . . well, the hard-core movement people were so . . . well, you know how it is with intense people in an intense environment, and so many of these guys were fish who swam upstream, and add to that the difficult natures that politics often draws and movements draw, and . . . and add all that up and you get . . . well . . . what you get is a bunch of creepy little men with creepy little beards who need something to seethe on (State Department cookie pushers! George Bush! the Trilateral Commission!), some hate to live for. [ellipses in the original]

I think they go home and they fall asleep at eleven-oh-three and get up at five-forty-five and go jogging and then they eat cereal with the kids and correct their homework at the table and come in at seven-fifteen with their briefcases and say, "Good morning! What can we do to advance traditional values today?"

Now it's true that Ronald Reagan (Ronald Reagan, that's who Peggy Noonan wrote speeches for) was also something of a conservative and that many reviewers have remarked upon the kind treatment, the outright adulation, he is said to receive in this book. And it's true that at times he is described nicely, even poignantly: "He is probably the sweetest, most innocent man ever to serve in the White House." "He had courage." "He wasn't in it for the ego; he was actually in it to do good." In fact most of the book's best writing—its most insightful and feeling prose—is reserved for Reagan: his boyhood struggles, his consequent feel for the American Everyman, his unflagging, all-embracing sense of humor. (Chapter 8, which takes Reagan as its chief subject, is both the best in the book and one of the finest impressionistic accounts of Reagan in print.) There are some wonderful anecdotes:

He had a tact and delicacy so great that I suspect no one has ever been embarrassed in his presence.

Once he went down to Jacksonville, Florida, to meet with a big group of high school students. And a boy stood up and asked a question, a young kid with a thick southern accent and a speech impediment. No one could make out what he was saying. When the student finally finished the president leaned forward and said, "You know, I'm awfully sorry, but I've got this hearing aid here, and I can't understand. I'm so sorry," he said, as he put his hand to his ear. And the boy nodded. "That's all right," he said, with sympathy and grace.

A citizen sent him stationery with a nerd with a long nose peeking over a wall and saying "No More Mr. Nice Guy!" He sent notes to George Shultz on them.

He sent money to strangers and friends. Once he wrote someone a check for a hundred dollars, and the recipient couldn't cash it because it was signed Ronald Reagan and the cashier at the bank said that was worth more than the amount. Ronald Reagan had to call the bank and arrange for it to give the money. This happened a number of times.

Now this girl, I mean this woman, became a speechwriter, and not only a speechwriter but the best-known speechwriter since at least the Kennedy years . . .

But as I think it was Dürrenmatt said, no man can survive his biographer, and the funny thing about this book is that the sharpest similes and the most quotable quotes about Reagan show . . . well, show something else about him:

. . . the battle for the mind of Ronald Reagan was like the trench warfare of World War I: never have so many fought so hard for such barren terrain.

. . . when I thought of him in those days, it was as a gigantic heroic balloon floating in the Macy's Thanksgiving day parade, right up there between Superman and Big Bird.

Did he write at night, alone, in his diary, like Claudius: "They all think I am unaware, but I know of their m-m-m-machinations, I am not as d-dull as they imagine, or as removed."

But this is a memoir and as in any memoir not everybody in it is ridiculous or laughable or dumb. "Brilliant": that's Richard Darman. "He and his wife are bright and warm": Donny Graham, publisher of the *Washington Post*. "The gifted columnist": Meg Greenfield. "Grace meets grace": that's Ted Kennedy, responding to a speech by Ronald Reagan. "Sophisticated, experienced": George Shultz. A writer of "essays of great beauty, fluidity and knowingness": Francis X. Clines of the *New York Times*. "That intelligent woman": Elizabeth Drew. A man of "high standards"; a "terrific writer for broadcast": Bill Moyers. "Open-mind-

ed and fair"; "as corny and emotional about America as a drunken YAFer"; "I've always liked him": Dan Rather.

Now the fact is, nothing is easily gotten to, all the time, that's worth getting to. (Ooops! I know that sentence should have gone, say, "Sometimes it's hard to get what you want." But it's got authenticity this way; I like it.) There were, for example, the "mice," the assistants to Donald Regan and others who took it into their heads to edit speeches. But you always have your nay-sayers, your wet blankets, your guy who takes his hammer to the *Pieta*. Some said they resented how the *Times* and the *Post* and the networks always "found out," as the book puts it, who had written a speech the day it was delivered. There were other complaints too. Some said she was in it for the ego! Some said she wrote like a girl!

Mostly it probably came down to the jealousy thing. "I don't know what to think about jealousy. I couldn't believe Regan was jealous, but the others? Yes." Or maybe the class thing, what with the "Harvardheads" in the White House and the State Department guys with their "little bitty wire-rim glasses and wives named Sydney." The class thing, and the related thing about all those people in government who are . . . well, you know (I won't say it but it rhymes with "bitch"):

> I know it's not polite, I know class antagonism is distressingly retro, but the problem with the rich in America is that they are often embarrassed by their affluence, ashamed they have more (ashamed they want more!). They believe, as the born-in-affluence director Oliver Stone had Gordon Gekko say in *Wall Street*, "It's a zero-sum game."

And so on. The West Wing was full of "the daughters of millionaires" like "Miss Catsupfortune" and "Miss Daddysalobbyist." "Beware the rich, who are overrepresented in politics." "Well all right, maybe all rich men are thieves . . ." "But my only real complaint was that Darman was a millionaire . . ."

Or maybe it was the male thing: "What do you expect, it's a totally masculine culture." In Washington, "men were completely in charge." "When men are in politics together, testosterone poisoning makes them insane." "The members [of Congress] were held together at least to a degree by a leveling crudity, by the common coin of sexual sameness." "If you are a woman and you get the boys mad they will act like baaaaaad boys and send, as a member of the speech committee did, memos that begin, 'You're cute when you're angry!' " (PS: sometimes there was *both* the jealousy thing *and* the male thing because "when a woman at work in a male environment draws jealousy there's little she can do.")

Also, there was the clothes-and-accessories thing:

> A secretary told me, "You dress different." I was at that time partial to long black skirts and soft black boots. "That's not so bad," she said, "but everybody here at your particular level wears suits with a sort of man-tailored blouse and a scarf or a tie. But what's really different is your hair. You have this long, free-flowing hair."
>
> [Nancy Reagan] looked down at what I was wearing, which was, unfortunately, a wrinkled khaki skirt and a blue work shirt and heavy walking shoes with white woolen socks. She looked me up and down, and I swear her mouth curled.
>
> I was so excited I dressed nicely, with an expensive sweater and a truly adult Norma Kamali black linen skirt.
>
> [When] the job of head of the Office of Public Liaison opened up. . . . Pat [Buchanan] asked me to come by.
>
> "I read your memo. Shelley read it too, and she said something interesting. She said why not Peggy Noonan?" "Oh Pat. I don't know. I don't have enough clothes."

Now you may be thinking, hold on, isn't Peggy Noonan herself a conservative?

And sometimes there were just those days, like the day the *Challenger* blew up. As the book puts it, "The shuttle had gone kaboom, leaving the neighborhood optimist embarrassed at the cookout." You remember the *Challenger*: the terrible trail of smoke, the weeping families and crowds. Peggy Noonan remembers it too: the terror of the blank word processor, the horror of the ticking clock, the agonizing urge for a cigarette (just quit, and anyone who's done it knows how *that* feels!). But in the end the speech came out fine, it really did, because "the staffing process had no time to make it bad." Darman called it "perfect." The President called with thanks. ("I wanted to say: you know, I didn't have a cigarette.") All agreed: it was a "great speech."

And in fact, it was. Now the funny thing about the *Challenger* speech was, it was not only dignified and elegiac, it was also a speech that marked a turning point of sorts for Peggy Noonan. Because although it was horrible the way they died, really a tragedy, in Washington one mourns between phone calls, and before the funerals were over the networks and the newspapers and the magazines and really just about everybody had "found out" who'd written the speech; and if you go to Nexis today and punch in "Peggy Noonan" you are bound to find "author of the *Challenger* speech" close by; and to this day there are more Americans alive who know Peggy-Noonan-wrote-the-*Challenger* speech than there are people who can tell you the names of more than one of those heroic astronauts.

Well, what about it? As Ben Elliott said in a letter to *National Review*, Noonan "helped to make a great man greater; so if, along the way, she has also reaped a small share of the credit, what's wrong with that?" What indeed? Now many people would say, Nothing; and as William F. Buckley pointed out in *National Review* a few months ago (in an editorial retracting the magazine's former criticism of Peggy Noonan) (which was published after Peggy Noonan and two of Peggy Noonan's former bosses wrote in and complained about *National Review* complaining about her) . . . well, as Mr. Buckley pointed out, it's hard to be indignant about, uh, "taking credit" when Reagan himself didn't seem to mind the networks "finding out" and the papers "finding out" and Random House and the rest of us "finding out" who wrote his words.

So you can forget about the taking-credit thing and what some might call the exploitation-of-real-tragedies thing, they're not the problems here. You can forget about why it is that people who can write perfectly nicely, sometimes beautifully, why it is that when people like that start talking about themselves they put out these long sentences that go whooshing through the pages like a train in an Alfred Hitchcock movie. You can even forget, if you like, that every one=every one!—of the people ridiculed in this book is already, as every hostess and journalist and official in Washington knows, Out, Finished, Passé. And that almost all of the people praised in it are—how did Ronald Reagan put it?—better off than they were four years ago. (Some authors remember the little people who helped them make it!) (This author remembers the big ones!)

No, as T. S. Eliot said somewhere, That is not it at all. No, the thing about this book is the same old thing about people who live in places like Georgetown and Manhattan and go to the best parties and then tell everybody else how awful the rich are. It's the thing about people who call themselves conservatives and then make their names mocking the GOP and all those "creepy little men" in it who will never really Make It or get invited to the kinds of parties and dinners that those who have Made It like to complain about. It's the thing about women who are talented and accomplished and successful and who still carry on as if they are forever getting their livers yanked out like Prometheus. Maybe there should be a name for somebody with all those things. Maybe it's *Norma Kamali-ist*, as in: a wealthy enough, chicly dressed woman who follows the common wisdom of her new class. □

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Poindexter's Punishment

REP: JAMIE WHITTEN: Are you aware of any agreement, any assurance, by yourself or anyone else in high government office, to Khrushchev that if he would withdraw at the time under the conditions that you showed us, the U.S. would thereby commit itself to any particular course of action?

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ROBERT MCNAMARA: I am not only unaware of any agreement, it is inconceivable to me that our President would enter into a discussion of any such agreement. Moreover, there were absolutely no undisclosed agreements associated with the withdrawal of the Soviet missiles from Cuba.

In a recent book, McGeorge Bundy calls Mr. McNamara's premeditated lie to a congressional committee "most justified deception." The country eventually learned that President Kennedy had agreed to remove Jupiter missiles from Turkey in exchange for the Soviets ending the missile crisis. "There certainly would have been criticism from hardliners in the U.S.," Mr. Bundy wrote, but "the assurance itself and the secrecy with which we surrounded it were justified."

* * *

Justified or not, no independent counsel ever prosecuted Mr. McNamara. John Poindexter is not so lucky. On Monday, Judge Harold Greene must decide his proper punishment. Mr. Poindexter was not charged with any understandable crime—Independent Counsel Lawrence Walsh didn't allege that the diversion of Iran arms sales to the Contras broke any law—but with conspiracy and misleading and obstructing Congress. For this he could get 25 years and a $1.25 million fine.

Judge Greene may feel under some pressure to make Mr. Poindexter the first Iran-Contra defendant sent to jail. On the other hand, as the AT&T judge who oversees the U.S. telecommunications industry, Judge Greene hardly needs to prove that he is energetic. But to imprison Mr. Poindexter would most certainly align the federal judiciary on the side of congressional criminalizing of policy differences with the executive branch.

Independent Counsel Lawrence Walsh, who has so far spent more than $28 million, has filed papers demanding that Mr. Poindexter go to jail. "If, as occurred in this case, high-ranking officials of one branch of constitutional system will surely sicken and, eventually, die."

Mr. Walsh didn't show any such concern about lying by his clients, the Members of Congress who created his job and to whom he must report. While Judge Greene required former President Reagan to testify, he upheld the prosecutor's objection to the Poindexter request that some 65 Members of Congress and their staffers testify about what they knew about Iran-Contra and when they knew it. In so doing, Judge Greene accepted Mr. Walsh's argument that it was irrelevant to argue that Members of Congress lied when they said they were misled about Oliver North's work for the Contras.

Mr. Poindexter testified to Congress that the executive branch was abiding by the letter and spirit of the Boland amendments. His meaning was clear to everyone. Congress had voted down bills that would have barred *all* U.S. government aid to the Contras. The Boland compromise was that the CIA and other agencies were prohibited from using appropriated funds to help the Contras, but the White House and its National Security Council could strive to keep the Contras alive. As President Reagan testified, he would have sent a similar letter to Congress except that "If I had written it myself, I might have used a little profanity."

A National Security Agency staffer testified in the Poindexter case that there were several secret congressional briefings during the Boland period about executive-branch aid to the Contras. Still, Rep. Lee Hamilton testified that Boland was drafted to cover Mr. North. We don't think Mr. McNamara, Mr. Poindexter or Members of Congress should go to jail for these kinds of misleading statements. Does anyone think we should have indicted Members of Congress who failed to deliver on promised spending cuts after President Reagan raised some taxes early in his term? Should we criminalize assurances by Congressmen that the pending "civil rights" bill won't create quotas? In our system, voters not jurors decide when officials need to be punished for their policies.

So what is suitable punishment for Mr. Poindexter? Mr. North was fined and sentenced to community service fighting drugs in Washington. How about sentencing Mr. Poindexter to community service lecturing on sena-

Now the Hard Part

Behind the bright lights of the anti-communist revolution that has swept Eastern Europe lie the cold details of remaking nations and their economies. It is important that the West not lose interest as these incipient democracies now take up the hard part. For Czechoslovakia, that begins this weekend as citizens go to the polls for the first free election in 42 years.

The country's new Parliament will be drafting a constitution, an undertaking no less important than the task that confronted the Founders of the United States 200 years ago. This will be the fifth version of the country's constitution since the Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia united with Slovakia in 1918. The current squabbling between the country's Czechs and Slovaks reflects an identity crisis that has haunted Czechoslovakia throughout its history.

The internal divisions among the 10 million Czechs, five million Slovaks plus Hungarian, German, Polish, Ruthenian and Romany nationalities have made the country easy prey to external and internal predators. The Slovaks have felt all along that the dominant Czechs reneged on a promise of Slovak autonomy. But it wasn't until about the 20th birthday of Czechoslovakia before Slovaks could find someone to take up their cause. The tragedy was that that someone turned out to be Adolf Hitler.

When the *Fuhrer* swooped down on Czechoslovakia in 1938, he renamed the country "Czecho-Slovakia," with a hyphen and a capital S, the same spelling Slovakian separatists have been demanding this year. The 1948 communist *coup d'etat* brought Czechoslovakia under a Stalinist constitution. Perversely, Communist rule had the effect of unifying the country. The political and cultural liberties of the Czechs were trampled as much as those of the other nationalities. Anti-communism was a sentiment all groups could support.

But when constitutional tinkering in 1960 eased press and cultural restrictions, the issue of Czech domination of the other nationalities once again caught fire. Jan Carnogursky, one of Slovakia's leading human-rights and religious activists, and who emerged from prison as the November revolution began to unfold, wants Slovakia to apply as a separate entity for membership to the Common Market. He could succeed this weekend in leading his right-wing Christian Democratic Party to victory over the Civic Forum's Slovakian affiliate. Vaclav Havel, Czechoslovakia's current and undoubtedly future president, has been crisscrossing the country trying to defuse the issue, but without much success.

Since all parties agree that the country needs to adopt a market economy, tough issues such as privatization, currency reform and the development of capital markets rank low in the electioneering. Despite this promising consensus on economic policy, the people responsible for it will need solid political support, not factionalism, if they are to have the courage to carry through on these reforms.

The longer Czechoslovakia remains adrift in its constitutional void the greater the danger to all the good that it has achieved and to its great future potential. (Voters also go to the polls this weekend in Bulgaria, a country whose long road to recovery is suggested by the fact that, unique among East European countries today, one still sees the Soviet flag flying.)

Whether a consensus can be reached in Czechoslovakia on the sovereignty of the state hinges on the ability of political leaders at a crucial point in their country's history to devise a federal structure that recognizes the authority of the majority, while it extends to nationalities collective political rights sufficient to satisfy them. Such an extraordinary achievement would be a first in Eastern Europe.

Asides

Sick Terrorism

The federal government's top expert has determined that animal-rights activists can be bad for your health. Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan says their often-violent threats to necessary animal research delay cures for many serious diseases. He complained about "major disruptions to science by so-called animal activists who are, in fact, nothing more than animal rights terrorists."

Philip Geyelin

Bush Is No FDR

If Ronald Reagan had left behind anything remotely resembling Herbert Hoover's horrendous bequest to Franklin D. Roosevelt, we would, just to begin with, be more likely to be drowning in a torrent of progress reports on the first 100 days of President Michael Dukakis. There might, then, be something in the way of a useful analogy.

As it is, there is nothing that seems to me to justify what we have been subjected to in print and on the air in commemoration of the hundredth day of the presidency of George Bush—the "magical milestone," as one TV talk show host put it. Why "magical" and why a "milestone" when Bush's first term has 1,361 days to go?

You would have to be so politically dormant as to qualify for membership on the Oliver North jury not to be aware by now that the rationale for this ritual progress report on new presidents rests on the near 100 days it took FDR to respond to the calamity of the Great Depression with a monumental mass of public works programs, banking reforms, foreign subsidies and all the other relief measures of the New Deal.

What can all this have to do with Bush? Almost nothing, other than the natural impulse of political analysts to reach for instant historical analogies, aided and abetted by gang journalism and the power of a popular cliché. The net of it, to my mind, has been to put Bush to a premature presumptuous test—unfairly, more often than not.

Not even the numbers add up. Under the timetable of those days, Roosevelt was not inaugurated until March 4, giving him an extra six weeks to get ready. A shaken Congress was conditioned to comply quickly; FDR did not face today's dragged-out security clearances and protracted confirmation proceedings. The countdown on his fabled "hundred days" didn't start until March 9. The bell now ringing for Bush didn't ring for Roosevelt until June 16, when Congress finished its work.

Making that point and sensibly conceding a preference for careful "deliberation" over "hubris and haste," Theodore C. Sorensen, former special counsel for John F. Kennedy, argues that Bush, through an excess of timidity, has squandered his "honeymoon hundred." Maybe he has, if you accept Sorensen's premise that "each new president is offered free of charge a once-in-a-presidency opportunity to write his national agenda on a uniquely clean slate for a uniquely attentive audience."

Now that may have been so for Roosevelt, a charismatic Democrat responding to a deep and clearly definable crisis and to wide public disenchantment with a failed Republican presidency. For the ills he inherited, FDR had a predecessor of the opposition party to blame. To a degree, the same may be said of almost every modern president: Reagan, Carter, Nixon, Kennedy, Eisenhower. But Sorensen's dictum most emphatically cannot be applied to a rather more pedestrian Republican president, George Bush, who is picking up after a widely beloved president of his own party—a man he loyally served, without a whisper of public disagreement, for eight years as vice president.

That hardly provides him with a "clean slate."

On the contrary, for the assorted and in some cases intractable legacies he must deal with—a yawning budget deficit, bloated defense spending, the trade imbalance, Third World debt, the delayed fallout from Iran-contra, the drug scourge, the homeless, the ferment in East-West relations and within the Western Alliance—he has no handy scapegoat. He also has no easy way to take his distance from the policies of his predecessor. For Bush, the "Roosevelt test" simply doesn't work.

Indeed, the whole notion of a "hundred day" test doesn't work when you weigh the reviews of Bush's performance against the record of almost every other modern president. He has no "agenda," conveys no "mission," reveals no "core philosophy," the pundits complain, as if Bush had not more than fulfilled the norm for platitudinous pronouncements of noble purposes. He is too ready to compromise, it is said, as if he is in a position to overwhelm a Congress controlled by Democrats.

Frankly, I would agree that Bush hasn't yet told us where "he wants to take the country by the year 2000," as some critics insist he should have by now. But no polls I have seen suggest that this is something the public is clamoring to know. What the polls do suggest is that Bush has managed to project a distinctively new and apparently comforting image—not a Reagan clone, not a commanding figure, but also not the wimp with a mean streak that so many seemed to see not so long ago.

That's no mean accomplishment. It's also not such a bad beginning when you consider the first "hundred days" impressions conveyed by the pie-in-the-sky promises or pell-mell plunges of some of his predecessors—Reagan's "balanced budget" pledge, Carter's early, overly ambitious lunge into comprehensive nuclear arms talks with the Soviets, Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon, Kennedy's Bay of Pigs.

For Bush, the First 100 Days Have Offered Litt To Provide Strength for the Tough Times Ahead

By James M. Perry
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON—After his first 100 days in office, George Bush's poll ratings are about average for a new president, but more and more he's seen as someone blending into the landscape, reacting to events or allowing power to swing to the Democratic Congress.

The Wall Street Journal's regular panel of political experts credits Mr. Bush with surrounding himself with competent associates but worries he will have little to fall back on when he and his administration face real adversity for the first time.

"He has no constituency of his own," says John Sears, a Republican strategist. "He doesn't have people who will just automatically take his lead and go with him because they trust him or believe in him. So he exists after a hundred days still sort of naked in office."

"Jimmy Carter when he was high in the polls was as high as anyone," says Alan Baron, a Democratic strategist. "But when he started to drop, there was nothing to stop his fall." Mr. Baron figures the same sort of thing may happen to Mr. Bush.

'Always Reacting'

"I can't recollect a previous situation where a new president was being assessed as not giving the country a sense of where he's going," says GOP theoretician Kevin Phillips. "He's always reacting, never initiating. The public senses power is swinging to Congress," not necessarily a good thing, says Mr. Phillips, because voters "like Congress even less than the president."

"He just blends into the landscape," says Peter Hart, a Democratic poll taker. "If the landscape looks OK, Bush looks OK." But "there is no core constituency for him. He doesn't alienate any great body of voters at this stage but there's very little positive feeling about him." So, as the landscape starts to change, everything about him starts to change too.

It simply isn't enough to be a competent manager, the Journal's political sages agree. Mr. Bush seems to want to be "a Fortune 500 executive director" running the country, says Mr. Baron, or maybe the new Calvin Coolidge. That may work for a while. If Mr. Bush can avoid economic bad times and conclude some successful negotiations with the Soviets, he probably can escape a serious downturn in his political fortunes for a year or more, the panelists agree.

Mr. Sears argues Mr. Bush should have spent his first 100 days—"the days that he knows that he's not going to be in trouble in the polls—trying to build a constituency, trying to become predictable to elements of the population that like him and could become a core for him for the harder days ahead."

But the people he has tried to reach out to—upper-middle-class liberals—are just the people who would bail out in times of adversity.

Oil Spill

The Alaskan oil spill "symbolizes what he's all about," says Mr. Hart. Most politicians "would have been outraged and would have said, 'Heads are going to roll and I'm taking numbers.' But he held his balance and the event just overrode him, and that's always what seems to happen to him."

The consequence was an environmental "PR disaster," according to Mr. Sears, that ended any hope Mr. Bush might have had of making a "quick alliance with that group."

Another problem in trying to reach out to upper-middle-class liberals is money, says Mr. Phillips. "He [Mr. Bush] won't spend money on anything, whether it's the environment or the minimum wage, day care or education.

"He wants $441 million more for education. That's lower than [junk-bond salesman] Michael Milken's bail bond."

"Making a choice," says Mr. Sears, "is always difficult for him." Mr. Sears points out that the president has switched positions on gun control and tuition tax credits, and paid a price for it. "You have to prove yourself predictable in some fashion and stick to it," he says.

'The Fatal Thing'

"The one thing that's predictable," says Mr. Hart, "is you know he's going to compromise on every single thing."

Mr. Phillips: "That's the fatal thing."

Mr. Baron: "It's a very subtle kind of thing, whether you believe this guy or not. But when Bush says he's going to do something like this [change positions] there's immediate suspicion."

The panel agrees Mr. Bush has named competent people to serve him, but isn't swept off its feet by that fact.

"[Herbert] Hoover had a terrific cabinet," says Mr. Phillips. "I think where I would disagree with this administration is that they feel that if they pick good people and they put them in the right jobs they'll be viewed as competent and they'll handle everything that comes up and everything will go well. I don't believe that."

"It's the old insider fallibility," says Mr. Phillips. "Just when you need new people and new ideas what you get is the quintessence of the establishment out of a third-term administration."

"The big problems aren't going to be solved by the best and brightest mechanics," says Mr. Baron. "It comes down to the president's judgment."

The best thing going for Mr. Bush and the Republicans, the panelists agree, is the Democrats. For starters, three of the four panelists agree (Mr. Hart reserves judgment), the Democrats need to replace embattled House Speaker James Wright.

"They better get rid of him as soon as they can," says Mr. Baron. "He's got to go," says Mr. Phillips. Mr. Sears agrees, but figures the Democrats may fumble it.

Aggressive Strategy

More importantly perhaps, the panelists agree, the Democrats need a more aggressive strategy. Mr. Baron thinks the "loyal opposition" may be too loyal. Rep. Thomas Foley, Mr. Wright's likely successor as speaker, would be an improvement, Mr. Baron says, but neither Mr. Foley nor Senate leader George Mitchell "is much of an opposition politician."

Democrats need to challenge Mr. Bush more, the panelists say. Take him on, for example, on the minimum wage. Instead, says Mr. Baron, they are too willing "to compromise to get legislation through."

"Exactly right," says Mr. Hart. The problem, Mr. Hart concludes, "is that Democrats aren't afraid enough. They all came back after the 1988 election, a terrible wreck, and looked around to discover, 'Hey, we're all still here.' So they have no sense of urgency."

"They just sit around collecting their PAC money," says Mr. Phillips.

Meanwhile, the panelists agree, the people's agenda isn't being met. "People believe everybody in Washington is making a deal for himself," says Mr. Hart, "and no one's fighting for our cause." If such malaise persists, the panelists suggest, the ultimate blame will rest with the top elected official—the president.

Given Mr. Bush's problems, who will be president in 1993?

"Maybe Bill Bradley," ventures Mr. Hart. Democrat Baron and Republicans Sears and Phillips are in agreement: George Bush.

The Pundits On George Bush

John Sears, Republican strategist
"Making a choice is always difficult for him. You have to prove yourself predictable in some fashion and stick to it."

Kevin Phillips, Republican theoretician
"He's always reacting, never initiating."

Alan Baron, Democratic strategist
"The big problems aren't going to be solved by the best and brightest mechanics. It comes down to the president's judgment."

Peter Hart, Democratic poll taker
"You know he's going to compromise on every single thing."

Bush Spent Most of His First 100 Days Cleaning Up Problems of Reagan Era

By Gerald F. Seib
And Michel McQueen
Staff Reporters of The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON – President Bush says he wants to be the president who prepares the U.S. for the century ahead, but so far his most significant accomplishments have involved cleaning up problems left over from the past.

In his first 100 days in office, Mr. Bush and his aides have invested the most time and political capital on dealing with three such urgent issues inherited from the Reagan administration. The president's earliest big initiative was his plan to bail out America's sickly savings-and-loan industry—a plan that recently passed the Senate largely unscathed.

Next, his administration unveiled a new proposal for addressing the festering Third World debt problem, under which the U.S. is shifting its policy from one encouraging more bank lending to one that arranges debt reduction. Finally, Mr. Bush negotiated an agreement with Congress providing for continued humanitarian aid for Nicaragua's Contra rebels, thereby ending years of bickering between the White House and Capitol Hill over whether to send military aid to the Contras.

Otherwise, Mr. Bush has acted on a wide variety of disparate issues in his first 100 days—though critics contend his steps don't amount to a clear plan of action and in many cases are too small to make a difference. Among other things, Mr. Bush:

—Negotiated a budget agreement with Congress to cut the federal budget deficit enough to meet the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets.

—Suspended imports of semi-automatic rifles that have been used in drug-related crimes.

—Proposed a new $441 million education initiative.

—Proposed raising the minimum wage to $4.25 an hour, while also instituting a lower, six-month "training wage."

—Unveiled an eight-point plan to increase international lending and American investment in Poland.

—Proposed a new law and signed an executive order regulating ethics among government officials and lawmakers.

—Decided to pursue both the MX and Midgetman mobile land-based missiles by fielding the MX immediately and continuing development of the Midgetman.

On many of these issues, Mr. Bush already has had to trim his sails, though. His budget agreement with Congress is widely viewed as too vague and flimsy, and covers only one year rather than the desired two. Congress is about to pass a higher minimum wage than Mr. Bush wants, and the president is expected to veto the measure.

After repeatedly decrying the inequalities in the ethics rules governing Congress and the executive branch, Mr. Bush dropped a key proposal in his ethics bill that would have equalized the requirements by banning congressional honorariums.

Also, many lawmakers and education lobbyists have criticized Mr. Bush's education initiative as too small to have a significant impact. And environmentalists have criticized what they consider a slow and weak response to the Alaska oil spill.

On some issues, Mr. Bush has simply lost. He was defeated in an embarrassing fight with Congress over his first nominee for defense secretary, John Tower, although his second choice, Dick Cheney, was confirmed swiftly. And despite a continuing push to persuade Congress to cut the capital-gains tax, key Democrats continue to balk at the idea and it will be difficult to pass this year.

The Washington Times

Student hunger strike enters 7th day a

By Michael Breen
SPECIAL TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

SEOUL, South Korea — Hundreds of students protesting the death of an activist entered the seventh day of a hunger strike at the Myongdong Catholic Cathedral yesterday.

Nurses rushed several students to the hospital for emergency treatment after they collapsed, and many others were fed dextrose by medical students.

Last night the hunger strikers lit candles as night fell and held a rally with dissidents at the steps of the cathedral as hundreds of riot police took up positions nearby.

[Later, club-swinging riot police arrested more than 600 students trying to march to the cathedral, The Associated Press reported.

[About 5,000 troopers stopped 1,000 students a few blocks away and repeatedly charged into the column, dragging away struggling students in a confrontation that lasted four hours.

[Some riot police kicked and beat screaming demonstrators as they were hauled away, the AP reported. Police said there were injuries but had no figures.]

The hunger strikers are demanding that the government "reveal the truth" about the mysterious death of student newspaper editor Lee Cholgyu, whose body was found floating in a reservoir near the southern city of Kwangju on May 10.

The students reject state prosecutors' findings that he fell into the water and drowned while evading police.

The Myongdong fast, which has been partly inspired by student protests in China, has so far failed to attract popular support or media interest here.

But there are indications the protest may spread. One hundred five students of the Seoul's Hankuk University of Foreign Studies began a sympathy fast Monday at the college's Yongin campus, 30 miles south of the capital.

Dissidents claiming Mr. Lee was tortured to death by police have staged violent protests in Kwangju over the past two weeks.

A dissident leader charged yesterday the the United States was involved in a coverup of the incident.

Bae Jong-yeul, co- chairman of Chonminyon, an opposition coalition, claimed that a U.S. radar installation on a hill near the reservoir

BUSH

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viets were prodded on the issue during superpower summits in 1987 and 1988, but the initiative then languished.

West Berlin is a democratic island 110 miles inside East Germany governed by World War II allies France, Britain and the United States.

Berlin is divided by a 103-mile-long wall built by the fourth wartime ally, the Soviet Union, around the three zones administered by the Western powers. The Soviets have not participated in the administration of West Berlin since 1948, and the United States, France and Britain are virtually powerless in East Berlin.

West Germans fear that a united Berlin would not fare well within East Germany except under allied protection, and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl voiced that concern in a Tuesday night toast at the state dinner for Mr. Bush.

"No one who seriously ponders the situation of the divided city can have any doubt that Berlin will need the protection of the three Western powers in the future as well," he said.

Mr. Bush is not proposing to abandon that agreement, according to a White House official.

The White House refused to identify the author of yesterday's speech, calling it a group effort finished Monday night in Belgium by Chief of Staff John Sununu, National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, Communications Director David Demarest and European-Soviet security specialist Bob Blackwill.

The speech was delivered with flair by a president who finally had mastered the TelePrompTer and paced his words to applause that was a second or two behind the punchline, delayed by translation.

One paragraph captured the tone of the speech:

"For 40 years, the world has waited for the Cold War to end. ... The time is right. Let Europe be whole and free."

The speech was given at Rheingoldhalle inside a convention center, ostensibly because the weather was too unpredictable for an outdoor location. Security considerations were cited by some officials as the real reason.

Left-wing demonstrators, who oppose Mr. Bush's nuclear policy, were held at least a quarter mile away from the presidential motorcade by cordons of green-uniformed police and soldiers with dogs.

Political posters representing the four major parties in the June 15 state election were plastered on walls and trash cans throughout Mainz.

An opposition Social Democratic Party (SPD) poster featured a dramatic photo of Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev that was headlined: "Trust us, make friends."

Local politics figured strongly when Rhineland-Palatinate Prime Minister Carl-Ludwig Wagner petitioned Mr. Bush for relief from low-flying and night-flying U.S. Air Force jets and the huge military presence in the area. Mainz has 12,000 U.S. citizens among its residents.

The mayor, Herman-Hartmut Weyel, indirectly criticized Mr. Bush for not agreeing to immediate talks with the Soviets to eliminate short-range nuclear weapons in Europe. The mayor handed U.S. Ambassador Vernon Walters a resolution adopted by the city council that said, "We in Mainz know there is no escape inzfor us if these weapons are ever used."

AP

President Bush tastes wine at Oberwasal, a wine grower's village, while West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl looks on.

Mr. Bush's visit to the area was a thinly disguised move to help Mr. Kohl's Christian Democrat party in the June 15 election.

The City Council resolution was signed by members of all four major parties — the Christian Democratic Union, the left-wing Greens, the SPD and Mr. Kohl's coalition partner the Free Democratic Party. The upper house in West Germany, the Bundesrat, could change hands if the CDU loses Palatinate.

"In this era of both negotiation and armed camps," the president responded, "America understands that West Germany bears a special burden." He called on Warsaw Pact nations to accept NATO's latest arms control initiatives.

Mr. Bush and Mr. Kohl were the featured passengers on a castle-viewing cruise on the Rhine. Mr. Bush then departed for London and a private evening meeting with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

On Air Force One, Mr. Bush told reporters: "It was wonderful. The day was a good one. ... Put it this way, the TelePrompTer didn't break down."

During a speech last week at New London, Conn., Mr. Bush became confused when the machine projects speech texts broke

U.S. Places Priority on Cuts in Troops, Not Missiles

By MICHAEL R. GORDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 18 — For the first time since the United States and the Soviet Union began talks on long-range nuclear weapons 20 years ago, the negotiations for an accord to limit strategic arms are not Washington's top arms-control priority.

The talks on long-range nuclear arms resume in Geneva on Monday after a seven-month break. For part of that period, the Bush Administration reviewed strategic arms questions.

But senior Administration officials said in interviews in recent days that the negotiations for an agreement to cut conventional forces in Europe are now the American priority. The officials added that serious efforts would also be made to seek an agreement to cut long-range strategic nuclear arms.

Timetable Reflects Emphasis

The emphasis on conventional forces had become apparent in recent weeks. In Brussels last month, President Bush called for the completion of such an accord within a year. The Administration has set no similar timetable for completing a strategic arms agreeement.

"We thought it was important to give a push to the conventional arms talks," an Administration official said. "The strategic arms talks can go at their own rate."

Administration spokesmen have not publicly acknowledged any change in Washington's arms control priorities, which are already beginning to draw criticism from some arms control supporters. Some have already complained that the Administration is missing an important opportunity to speed up the negotiation of an agreement that was largely completed during the Reagan Administration because, they say, the Bush Administration is reluctant to face some arms issues at this time.

Why Priorities Were Reordered

Administration officials said the move to reorder the United States' arms-control priorities reflected several factors, among them foreign-policy considerations, worries over Congressional support for some strategic-weapons programs and a need to carefully review strategic arms issues so that the American negotiating position could eventually be improved.

And officials said the talks on cutting conventional forces are seen as an especially important opportunity in light of Moscow's recent initiatives. President Bush's call to complete such an accord within a year and his willingness to broaden the talks to include planes and troops helped the North Atlantic Treaty Organization forge a common stand at time when the Western alliance was divided over short-range nuclear issues.

Some Bush Administration officials, like the national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, are also reportedly sympathetic to arguments by the former Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, that the United States should not move quickly to cut strategic arms as long as the Soviet Union maintains important advantages in conventional forces.

But another factor delaying efforts to conclude an agreement on long-range nuclear arms is the difficulty that the Bush Administration has met in developing new positions in this area, officials said.

The White House has said that no major changes will be made in the American negotiating stage on weapons cuts when the strategic arms talks resume on Monday, but the United States may make new proposals later.

Important decisions have yet to be made by the Administration on such questions as what types of mobile missiles might be allowed. Administration officials assert that they cannot develop a position on mobile missiles until the stalemate within the Congress is resolved over what types of mobile missiles to build.

Concern over conservative sentiment, as well as a reluctance to tackle an issue that is likely to be divisive within the Administration, also helped dissuade some Administration officials from suggesting a more conciliatory approach on limiting the testing and deployment of "Star Wars" anti-missile systems, the most important major obstacle to a new strategic arms agreement, officials said.

The Administration does not plan to advance any compromise proposals at this time on the testing or deployment of "Star Wars" space-based defense or on the question of whether limits should be placed on sea-launched cruise missiles, another major obstacle to an agreement.

New Approach to Verification

One decision that has been made is to adopt a new approach toward verification. Under that approach, the United States will seek to negotiate and carry out trial inspections or other more lasting monitoring measures before an entire strategic arms treaty is completed.

Even though some decisions have not been made, some officials say the Administration has developed a basic philosophy on how to cut strategic arms that is likely to lead to some noteworthy changes in the approach taken by the Reagan Administration.

"The philosophical leaning is to change the emphasis on reductions for their own sake to improving stability and reducing the risk of war," an official aid. But translating this philosophical principle into a negotiating proposal has proved difficult in practice.

New Proposals Are Possible

As the deliberations proceed, significant new American proposals may be advanced, an official said.

Administration officials have examined a variety of approaches that would seek further constraints on land-based missiles with multiple warheads, a type of weapon that is considered particularly destabilizing by some officials. Officials have even discussed an idea to ban all land-based missiles that carry multiple warheads over an extended period, like 15 years.

The Administration's approach of treating strategic arms as a secondary priority has drawn fire from some arms-control supporters, who note that a strategic arms treaty was largely completed during the Reagan Administration.

"The apparent timidity of the Bush Administration to deal with the remaining differences in the largely completed strategic arms treaty is a terrible mistake," said Spurgeon M. Keeny Jr., the president of the Arms Control Association, a private group.

Old Achievements, New Hurdles

Status of the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks.

Where the Two Sides Agree

A 50 percent reduction in nuclear arms over a seven-year period.

Sublimit of 4,900 warheads or 1,600 launchers. Sublimit of 4,900 warheads on intercontinental ballistic missiles (with ranges greater than 3,300 miles) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles. Sublimit of 1,540 warheads on heavy intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Ballistic missiles warheads and air-launched cruise missiles will count as one warhead each under the 6,000 limit. No matter how many bombs and short-range attack missiles a bomber carries, its total load will count as one warhead under the 6,000 limit.

Submarine-launched cruise missiles are not included in the 6,000 limit. Separate limits would be reached later.

Verification will include on-site inspections, data exchanges and a ban on the encoding of data.

Where the Two Sides Differ

U.S. Position	Soviet Position
No more than 3,000 to 3,300 warheads on intercontinental ballistic missiles.	No further intercontinental ballistic missile sublimits. If there is a sublimit on intercontinental warheads, sub-launched ballistic missiles and bomber-carried warheads should be limited.
Mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles banned unless verification problems are solved.	Mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles permitted with limits on launchers and warheads.
No limits on conventionally-armed submarine-launched cruise missiles.	No more than 400 nuclear and 600 conventional submarine-launched cruise missiles.
Only nuclear air-launched cruise missiles with ranges greater than 930 miles to count; each heavy bomber to count as carrying 10 cruise missiles even if it carries more than 10.	Only nuclear air-launched cruise missiles with ranges greater than 370 miles to count; each heavy bomber to count as carrying maximum cruise missile load possible.
Ban on production, flight testing or modernization of new or existing heavy intercontinental ballistic missiles.	Ban on development, testing and deployment of new heavy intercontinental ballistic missiles.
Talks linked to resolution of Krasnoyarsk radar dispute.	Talks linked to strict interpretation of the Antiballistic Missile Treaty.

Source: Arms Control Association

THE WASHINGTON POST 11/16/90

Charles Krauthammer

An Executive Declaration of War

The case for reconvening Congress.

President Bush's announcement last week that he was doubling American troop strength in Saudi Arabia was no mere deployment decision. Despite subsequent administration protestations to the contrary, it was an executive declaration of war.

In America, however, the legislature is supposed to declare war. Which is why Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) is entirely right that Congress ought to be called back into session to debate a resolution to declare war or to give the president some equivalent authority to use force, if he deems it necessary, against Iraq.

Congress has a legitimate and essential role to play in the affair. The issue is not just constitutional. It is political. War cannot be waged successfully without popular support. If Congress is not consulted, it will simply criticize, fatally compromising any military action that runs into the slightest difficulty or delay, as all military operations must.

Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine), House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin (D-Wis.) and other congressional leaders are resisting the idea on the grounds that it is premature to vote

"You do not—you cannot—put 400,000 American soldiers in the Arabian desert for defensive purposes."

when the question of war is hypothetical. But there is nothing hypothetical now about the prospect of war. The new deployment creates an unstable equilibrium. You do not—you cannot—put 400,000 American soldiers in the Arabian desert for defensive purposes. The logistics are a nightmare. Morale is a wasting asset. And Saudi Arabia, already unstable, cannot cope indefinitely with the shock of such a massive foreign force.

It is therefore understood by all parties in the region, if not yet by Congress, that this is a use-it-or-lose-it deployment. By January, the president will have only two choices. He can use the 400,000 troops to make war. Or he can begin drawing them down, which will be read in the Middle East, correctly, as an American capitulation.

Congress should vote up or down on a resolution authorizing the president to use any means necessary, including force, to get Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. The only possible reason for delay would be to wait for a U.N. resolution to the same effect. A Security Council resolution authorizing force would help the president get a similar resolution through a Democratic Congress.

It remains a principle of Democratic faith, though a mystery to me, that Americans should care what the world thinks about American foreign policy. Indeed, there is something crazy, truly crazy, about a secretary of state going around the world begging and bribing a half dozen countries (China, the Soviet Union, France and others) to allow—allow!—American boys to go fight and die in the sands of Arabia. Yet such is the current American fascination with multilateralism that this absurd activity is considered normal. In fact, when Secretary James A. Baker returned with the most oblique and grudging expressions of permission, he was praised.

Americans, Democrats in particular, feel morally relieved when foreigners bless our works. Why they should feel better if an American commitment is blessed by Deng Xiaoping and the butchers of Tiananmen Square is beyond me. But it is a fact. If fight we must, we want the U.N. flag fluttering beside us.

The idea that U.N. sanction gives an action some higher morality is nonsense, but widely held nonsense. Indeed, in the early stages of the crisis, U.N. support disarmed the left. "What slowed people like me from coming out against this," said Todd Gitlin, ex-president of SDS, preparing for a new antiwar crusade, "was seeing the need for collective security."

Fine. It may be a tactical necessity to wait on the Security Council, but there is no other warrant for delay. It is important for Congress to declare itself on the Gulf as soon as possible. The operative word is "declare." Expressing itself, gassing off about the agony of it all, simply won't do. The country needs decisions. The worst thing Congress can do is simply to debate the issue without resolving it—i.e., without coming to a vote on the use of force.

Naturally, the congressional leadership has chosen just that course. It has decided to hold hearings on the Gulf. There are no plans for a vote. That means that Congress will be airing, for all the world and Saddam to see, American doubts without allowing them to be followed by an expression of American resolve.

On Nov. 8, the president in effect abandoned the containment option (waiting for anti-Iraq sanctions to work). His calculation is that Saddam can hold out far longer than can the coalition arrayed against him.

That calculation—and the war policy that follows from it—may be wrong. If it is, now is the time for Congress to say so. Congress should debate, then either approve the war policy or stop it now. There certainly is enough time. War will not start before the year is out. The time to decide the issue and take responsibility is not at the last possible moment, not after the first Americans have died under fire, but now.

BY MARGARET SCOTT

All the Lies Fit to Print

By Hilton Kramer

Journalists who lie in their news reports—and who do so knowingly, deliberately, programmatically—are not, perhaps, as uncommon as the folklore of their trade would sometimes have us believe. A comprehensive history of reporters' prevarications about the major events of the present century would make a fat and melancholy book. So would a history of the rewards and acclaim that have often been lavished on the most outrageous perpetrators of such journalistic falsehood.

Yet in any chronicle of calculated mendacity, a special chapter would have to be reserved for Walter Duranty, the infamous Moscow correspondent of the New York Times during the height of Stalin's terror. He was said by Malcolm Muggeridge, who knew Duranty in Moscow at the time, to be the "greatest liar of any journalist I have met in 50 years of journalism." Joseph Alsop concurred in this judgment—"lying was his stock in trade," he said. History has amply confirmed the truth of these charges, and now an excellent biography of Duranty—"Stalin's Apologist" (Oxford, 404 pages, $24.95) by S.J. Taylor—recounts in lurid detail the story of the writer who, against some very stiff competition, won the distinction of lying the most, and most effectively, about the worst of Stalin's crimes.

He lied about the enforced famine in the Ukraine that accompanied Stalin's collectivization of the peasants—a program that caused more deaths than Hitler's war against the Jews. He lied about the Moscow Trials. He lied about the terror, about the gulag, and about virtually every aspect of Stalin's consolidation of power. And he did much of this lying on the front pages of the New York Times, which rewarded him for his efforts by making him one of the highest-paid correspondents in the world. For this record of lies, moreover, Duranty was given the Pulitzer Prize. As Ms. Taylor—an American writer now living in London—correctly observes, in Duranty "the Western establishment that feted him, no less than the Kremlin, had found their man."

To appreciate the enormity of Duranty's performance, it has to be understood that he was neither the victim of misinformation nor the dupe of some deeply held political conviction. Not a communist himself—nor, indeed, a believer in much of anything but his own career, his pleasures and his privileges—Duranty simply held Stalin in high esteem, and systematically withheld from his readers the kind of information that would have cast doubt on the Soviet dictator's benign objectives. "You can't make omelets without cracking eggs," he liked to say.

The man who harbored these views seems always to have lived a dissolute and disorderly life. He was born in Liverpool in 1884 into a middle-class family that lost its money when Duranty was 15. He nonetheless managed to get to Cambridge and then to Paris, where he soon fell in with Aleister Crowley, a professional occultist as "the Beast" who specialized in organizing mystical orgies and smoking opium. With Jane Cheron, Crowley's favorite Scarlet Woman (as he called her), who also was an opium addict, Duranty quickly formed what Ms. Taylor describes as "an affable menage a trois: sex with one partner, drugs with the other, a little magic on the side." Duranty later married Cheron, with whom he established yet another menage a trois with his Russian mistress in Moscow.

It was in Paris, on the eve of World War I, that Duranty made his first contributions to the Times, and by the end of the war he was an important part of the paper's European coverage, even though the Times had been warned that Duranty was a shady character. His boss in the Paris bureau had described him as "unreliable and tricky," and other judgments were harsher.

Yet the Times stuck with him for nearly two decades. His energy, drive and intelligence—for Duranty was a very clever man—made him seem a formidable journalistic talent, and his sheer ruthlessness was a professional asset in an era of fierce journalistic competition. In the '20s he had guessed correctly that Stalin would be Lenin's successor, and this gave him an authority that defeated every effort to dislodge him from his post. He is even credited with coining the term "Stalinism" (in 1931). For Duranty, it would remain a term of praise to the end.

Bookshelf

"Stalin's Apologist"

By S.J. Taylor

As far as the Times was concerned, however, the end came in 1940 when the paper shut down its Moscow bureau and fired Duranty, who was at long last seen to be an embarrassment. He was 56 and virtually penniless. None of his efforts to earn a living as a writer or lecturer succeeded. Years of high living and heavy drinking had ruined his health, and he was soon existing on handouts from other journalists. When Stalin died in 1953, he made the front page for the last time—but this time it was the front page of the Morning Sentinel in Orlando, Fla., where he was living in penury. It was his last opportunity to pay tribute to Stalin's "strength and influence."

Four years later he wrote to the Times begging for a pension of $155 a month. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, the publisher, responded by writing a personal check for $2,500. A month later Duranty died in the Orlando hospital. He was 73. About this despicable character Ms. Taylor has written a book that is splendid in every respect but one: We never do discover how it was that the Times tolerated this record of mendacity for as long as it did. Perhaps she should make that the subject of her next book.

Mr. Kramer is the editor of the New Criterion.

KREMLIN DISAVOWS GEORGIA VIOLENCE

Medvedev Says Local Officials Did Not Advise Moscow of Decision to Use Troops

By ESTHER B. FEIN
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, April 25 — Kremlin leaders did not approve the decision to send troops into a main square in the capital of Soviet Georgia and were not aware of the action until after soldiers had killed demonstrators there 10 days ago, a ranking member of the ruling Politburo said today.

"Moscow found out only after it was done," Vadim A. Medvedev, the Soviet Communist Party's chief ideologist, said at a news conference in Moscow.

Georgi P. Razumovsky, a nonvoting member of the Politburo who went to Georgia for an inquiry into the clashes in Tbilisi, acknowledged at the news session today that there had been considerable correspondence between the Georgian authorities and the leadership in Moscow over the handling of a nationalist demonstration in Tbilisi. It began a hunger strike by 158 people on April 4, and by the weekend had swelled to several thousand people demanding greater autonomy from Moscow.

But Mr. Razumovsky and Mr. Medvedev insisted that the decision early April 9 to send in soldiers armed with sharpened shovels, clubs and toxic gas was made and carried out entirely on the local level, without the approval of Moscow.

"The decision to use troops was made locally, by local Georgian authorities," he asserted.

New Legislators Skeptical

Last week, several recently elected members of the new Soviet Congress of People's Deputies accused the leadership of denying its part in the decision to use force to disperse the crowd.

In a meeting on Friday at the filmmakers' union in Moscow, Eldar Shengelaya, a Georgian filmmaker and a deputy-elect, said that the Central Committee of the Communist Party "cannot but have known" and approved the action, and that the Soviet leadership was disingenuous in blaming the local authorities for the violence and the 20 deaths that followed.

The Kremlin has tried to distance itself from the brutal confrontation between special Interior Ministry troops and people attending the rally in Lenin Square in central Tbilisi.

But today was the first time that a member of the leadership categorically denied that Moscow had known in advance and authorized local authorities to send troops to forcibly break up the demonstration of about 8,000 people.

What Gorbachev Knew

Mikhail Shatrov, a playwright who is said to be well connected to the party leadership, told a meeting at Moscow State University on Friday that he had "absolutely accurate information" that Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, did not learn about what happened in Tbilisi until 10 A.M. Sunday, six hours after troops had killed 16 people and wounded more than 200 by the Government's count.

A student who attended the meeting with Mr. Shatrov said he described Mr. Gorbachev as "completely shocked by the decision and the consequences." But he did not identify who gave him this information.

At the news conference today, Mr. Medvedev also denied that there was an effort by the national leadership to suppress information about the events in the press. Georgians have complained that while their local newspapers reported fairly about the clashes, the national press was manipulated into withholding information critical of the military authorities, including reports that the troops used toxic gas against the crowd.

National newspapers have since reported that soldiers used chemical agents. But military authorities continue to insist — despite the findings of local physicians — that only tear gas was used.

New Assembly

Today in Tbilisi, about 3,000 people gathered in Lenin Square for the first demonstration since the April 9 violence, according to telephone interviews with people who attended.

Tamara Chkheidze, a reporter for the unofficial weekly newspaper Ekspress-Khronika, said that protesters, many accompanied by children and carrying flowers and wreaths, demanded the release of five leaders of informal organiizations who were arrested during the Tbilisi demonstrations.

People said there were no speeches at today's rally, but that a large banner was carried, calling for freedom for those arrested. They added that local officials went on television to urge residents not to attend the demosntration.

The authorities banned public demonstrations when they imposed a curfew on the city right after the clashes. When the curfew was lifted five days later, Georgians began holding a vigil at the site and they say they will maintain it for 40 days in accordance with local traditions of mourning.

Seoul Dooms Plane Bomber, But a Reprieve Is Expected

SEOUL, South Korea, April 25 (Reuters) — A court here sentenced a young woman to death today for blowing up a South Korean airliner and killing all 115 aboard. However, there were strong hints that she would win a reprieve.

Officials here said the Government, which puts full blame on North Korea for the November 1987 disaster, was likely to quash the death sentence on Kim Hyun Hui, who is 27 years old.

They said that despite repeated admissions of guilt, she was considered merely a pawn of the North Korean Communists.

Goodbye and Ciao to Soviet Tanks in Hungary

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

KISKUNHALAS, Hungary, April 25 — The Soviet Union began today to carry out Mikhail S. Gorbachev's promise to withdraw some of its military forces from countries of the Warsaw Pact.

Thirty-one heavy tanks of the 13th Guards Armored Division were loaded onto flatbed cars at a rail siding outside this provincial town 90 miles south of Budapest and left in the direction of the Soviet Ukraine.

Speaking at United Nations last Dec. 7, Mr. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, pledged that Moscow would withdraw 50,000 of its troops from Hungary, East Germany and Czechoslovakia. At the same time, Mr. Gorbachev said the Soviet Union would demobilize 500,000 of its total armed personnel and deactivate 10,000 tanks.

The departure today, believed to be the first in any of the three affected countries, was staged by the Soviet command in Hungary for maximal publicity.

Foreign reporters and television crews, mainly from the West, were warmly greeted by English-speaking officers and allowed to clamber over the tanks and railroad cars, photographing at will.

So tolerant were the Soviet officers that they appeared to take a bewildered pleasure in the unexpected presence of Ilona Staller, a member of the Italian Parliament of Hungarian birth, who has become known throughout Europe by reverting at public occasions to her former professions of strip-tease artist and pornographic-movie actress.

Miss Staller is in Hungary for a congress that the Italian Radical Party, which she represents, is holding in Budapest. Col. Boris Y. Adamenko, deputy chief of staff of the southern group of Soviet forces, raised no objection when Miss Staller, wearing a wreath of wilted flowers in her long blond hair, distracted attention by posing and mugging beside him into the cameras as he made the official announcement of the departure.

At the command of Italian photographers, Miss Staller released a white dove of peace at the side of the train, only to watch the frightened bird tumble into the fatal treads of a moving tank.

Only 18 soldiers accompanied the T-64 main battle tanks, armed with 125-millimeter cannon, to the Soviet Union. The withdrawal of troops is to begin next month. By some time next year, more than 10,000 Soviet soldiers are to have left Hungary.

Western military experts estimate the number of Soviet troops in Hungary at between 62,000 and 70,000. The tanks that left today are the first of 450 to be withdrawn from the country.

4/26/89

Cheney Defends Budget Decisions To Cut Some Weapon Programs

what of 1989 $?

By MICHAEL R. GORDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 25 — Defense Secretary Dick Cheney today defended his budgetary decisions to cancel weapon programs, retire Navy ships and cut the size of the Army while members of Congress complained about reductions in their favorite programs.

Mr. Cheney appeared before the House Armed Services Committee to explain how he proposes to cut military spending by 1 percent, after inflation is taken into account, as part of an understanding between the White House and the Congress over the budget for the 1990 fiscal year.

The cut will mark the fifth year in a row that military spending has declined in "real," or after-inflation, terms.

Mr. Cheney and other Administration officials have already outlined key decisions to scale back the Reagan Administration's plans for defenses against missiles and have disclosed President Bush's decision to field two new mobile land-based missiles.

New Missile Defense Approach

Today, Mr. Cheney explained some implications of these decisions, adding some new details.

Regarding "Star Wars" spending, the Bush Administration is putting emphasis on an new approach to the anti-missile program that involves thousands of relatively simple interceptor rockets orbiting in space. These "Brilliant Pebbles" would home in on enemy missiles.

Mr. Cheney said emphasis on this approach as well as budgetary limitations was delaying the development of other "Star Wars" approaches.

"If Brilliant Pebbles does not work out," Mr. Cheney said, the deployment date for other types of space-based interceptors would be "slipped by about two years." This would delay the time at which the United States would decide whether to deploy a space-based anti-missile defense into the late 1990's.

On land-based missiles, he reaffirmed President Bush's decision both to develop single-warhead Midgetman missiles and to put MX missiles on rail cars. The missiles would be mobile to safeguard them from enemy attack.

The New York Times/Jose R. Lopez

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney preparing to testify before House Armed Services Committee.

But the funds allocated for the Midgetman missile were very small, prompting concern among supporters of the program on Capitol Hill.

Mr. Cheney said that the Administration proposed to add $100 million to the 1989 budget, spend $100 million in 1990 and $200 million in 1991, a rate of spending that would delay the fielding of the first of the Midgetman missiles until 1997 or 1998. He said the Administration wanted to field a force of 250 to 500 single-warhead Midgetman missiles.

In contrast, the Pentagon wants to spend $1.2 billion in 1990 and $2.1 billion in 1991 for its favorite program to take 50 MX missiles out of silos and put them on rail cars. The first of the MX missiles would be put on rail cars in 1992.

Explaining his overall budget strategy, Mr. Cheney said that he had sought to insulate military pay and military readiness from budget cuts.

But some of the cuts drew fire from committee members, prompting the Defense Secretary to observe that members of Congress wanted him to cut the military budget without reducing funds for their favorite weapon systems.

To carry out the cuts, the Pentagon is making a number of Navy retrenchments.

Navy Plane Is Canceled

To the consternation of Marine Corps supporters on the House Armed Services Committee, the Pentagon is canceling the Navy's V-22 Osprey plane, which would be used to ferry marines into battle from ships and to deliver and pick up special operations forces. That cut will save about $8.5 billion over the next five years.

Mr. Cheney has also decided to cancel the procurement of new F-14D planes, a saving of about $2.4 billion over the next five years.

The Navy will retire an aircraft carrier, accelerate the retirement of old destroyers and transfer 10 frigates from the active to the reserve forces.

Mr. Cheney said that the Bush Administration has abandoned the Reagan Administration's objective of having a 600-ship Navy. By the end of 1991, the Navy will have 563 "deployable battle force ships," he said.

He ordered the Army to cut the purchase of AH-64 helicopters, among other reductions. Despite the Army's recommendation, he ordered a reduction of 7,900 Army troops.

Delay on Stealth Bombers

On the Air Force, the Pentagon budget defers the procurement of B-2 Stealth bombers in light of concern by Mr. Cheney over the reliability of cost estimates. Previous estimates put the cost at more than $500 million a plane.

Mr. Cheney also told the Air Force to cancel the purchase after 1991 of F-15E fighter planes.

The Pentagon also cut $200 million for the National Aerospace Plane, leaving only $100 million for the program.

Much of the attention of the House Armed Services Committee today focused on Mr. Cheney's decision to cancel the V-22, which the Marine Corps and the commander of Special Operations Forces say is needed. A chorus of Marine Corps supporters on the committee said the program should be restored, joining supporters in the Senate.

But Mr. Cheney said the ultimate program cost, which he put at more than $25 billion, was just too great.

Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said the cutbacks made by Mr. Cheney represented a reasonable balance, he said that the Joint Chiefs thought the military budget was too low."

Washington at Work

Scowcroft and Gates: A Team Rivals Baker

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20 — At the State Department, envious officials snipe at them as the Siamese twins of the White House, "fused at the hip." One runs at midnight and falls asleep in Cabinet meetings. The other jogs at dawn and stays up late reading intelligence on the Soviet Union.

One jokes with the President and stays close to his side. The other squires the paperwork and keeps watch on other agencies from the Situation Room in the White House basement.

In an Administration where secrecy and loyalty are prime virtues, Brent Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser, and Robert M. Gates, his deputy, are the most virtuous. Now they have leaped to prominence, filling the role in wartime that Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d filled in peacetime.

Their symbiosis has altered the lines of power in the national security apparatus, allowing the President to conduct his prewar diplomacy, and now his management of the war, with the speed and secrecy that he demands.

A new power base at Bush's side helping to control U.S. policy.

It has also permitted the two men to establish a new base of power at Mr. Bush's side as they help him draw control of foreign and military policy ever more closely to the Oval Office, while showing a new sense of confidence that lends fuel to the long-smolder rivalry between the White House and the State Department.

In recent weeks, White House officials and outside advisers have started to be more aggressive in getting out the message of Mr. Scowcroft's new ascendancy, predicting that when the war is over, Mr. Bush's personal stake in the Middle East will give Mr. Scowcroft, and through him Mr. Gates, more influence than ever over foreign policy.

They have also conveyed the impression that Mr. Scowcroft and Mr. Gates more than Mr. Baker have helped Mr. Bush steer a resolute course in the confrontation with Iraq.

"It was Brent's presentation at one of the meetings on Aug. 3, that Friday after the invasion, that made clear what the stakes were, crystallized people's thinking and galvanized support for a very strong response," said one of those officials.

There have been times when it seemed apparent to everyone in Washington that the White House had stepped in to override a Baker decision: in the last month, for example, a Soviet-American communiqué that some interpreted as linking the war to the Palestinian conflict was quashed, and plans to create a bank to help Iraq and other Arab countries after the war were shelved.

Clearly, Mr. Scowcroft and Mr. Gates are in a far stronger position than they were in October 1989, when Mr. Scowcroft permitted Mr. Baker to cancel a Gates speech expressing what Mr. Baker considered an excessively pessimistic view of Mikhail S. Gorbachev's chances for success.

Mr. Scowcroft's new prominence, and those few highly publicized missteps by Mr. Baker, have prompted conservative columnists in Washington to start writing about a new troika, Mr. Bush, Mr. Scowcroft and Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, eclipsing Mr. Baker.

Given Mr. Baker's instinct for survival, his decades-old relationship with Mr. Bush and his natural position of power, that may be over-simplified. Mr. Baker has his own coterie of loyal aides who protect him and engage in a subliminal rivalry with the White House. And he has his own political ambitions.

Relationship With Baker

Mr. Scowcroft's domain is smaller. And at least from the outside, his presence still appears to be that of Mr. Bush's shadow, available to a President who loves to talk about foreign policy and not a challenging near equal.

Mr. Scowcroft shrugs off such talk, insisting that he has a good relationship with Mr. Baker and explaining that what appear to be changes in stature are ephemeral.

"The lines are always shifting," he said in an interview in his spacious corner office in the White House, which is connected to Mr. Gates's much smaller office by a reception area. "In the early stages of this, August and September, diplomatic-military coordination was extremely important. Then there was a period when buildup was going on but the focus was on diplomacy and mobilizing the coalition. Then the thing shifts back to the military and as we get into the postwar period, it will shift back into the diplomatic."

For all of Mr. Scowcroft's self-effacing manner and Mr. Gates's near invisibility, the former Air Force general, a specialist in arms control who was credited with crafting the American proposals that led to a treaty cutting conventional armed forces in Europe, and Mr. Gates, a former deputy Director of Central Intelligence who is a specialist in Soviet affairs, are determined to play key roles in the postwar period.

Already, the 65-year-old Mr. Scowcroft is being packaged by the White House as more assertive, capable of letting displays of temper burst through his avuncular tone, and Mr. Gates has been permitted to make the occasional foray onto public television or Cable News Network talk shows.

In organizational terms, the war has been the ultimate test of the way Mr. Scowcroft and Mr. Gates have reshaped the National Security Council, the organ in the White House agency that coordinates foreign and military policy. Instead of formal meetings of the President, the Vice President, the Secretaries of State and Defense and the Director of Central Intelligence, options papers and day-to-day crisis management are handled by a Deputy's Committee controlled by Mr. Gates.

Mr. Bush makes policy in the Oval Office, with Mr. Baker, Mr. Cheney, Vice President Dan Quayle, sometimes Gen. Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and always Mr. Scowcroft. There is one aide present, Mr. Gates. That speeds up the decision-making process and cuts leaks to the press, which the President abhors, to a minimum. It also enhances Mr. Gates's stature as the only link to the inner circle.

Division of Responsibility

Mr. Gates, 47, runs the deputies committee with an obsession for security. The committee meets as often as once a day, through a video hookup that allows members to stay in their buildings. Mr. Gates does not use the system to discuss long-range policy.

"You can't tell who's off screen and so you can't have the kind of candid conversation that you can if you are there in person," a member of the committee said.

Mr. Gates's committee is in overall charge of writing option papers on a postwar settlement for the President, farming out tasks to the Federal agencies, with the State Department playing a key and sometimes rival role.

"There has been in one form or another an interagency committee to try and do this coordination," Mr. Gates said. "But we elevated the level of the participation so we could have people who could commit their departments, who could vote their department's stock in a sense."

Between Mr. Scowcroft and Mr. Gates, there is a clear division of responsibility. Mr. Scowcroft lets Mr. Gates handle much of the paperwork; unread files stack up on his desk. It is Mr. Scowcroft who has the bantering, personal relationship with Mr. Bush. Mr. Gates jogs with the President at Kennebunkport, Me., but a few steps back and silently.

Bush's Personal Adviser

That leaves Mr. Scowcroft free to carry out what he sees as his primary function.

"Brent looks upon himself as a personal adviser to the President, with an organizational structure to help him be that personal adviser," said Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger, an old friend of Mr. Scowcroft who worked with him at Kissinger Associates before Mr. Bush took office.

In August, Mr. Scowcroft sat for hours in Mr. Bush's boat off the Maine coast, serving as a sounding board for long-range ideas while Mr. Baker jetted off on diplomatic missions. Mr. Scowcroft helped fashion the outlines of a postwar political process, offering Mr. Bush the phrase that has become the White House slogan, "new world order."

The national security adviser, who believes in narrowly drawn military goals, was pivotal in defining the aims of the war in the gulf, especially the decision not to make the overthrow of Saddam Hussein a publicly stated objective.

Tales of Loyalty

Mr. Scowcroft is a vital link between Mr. Bush and Mr. Cheney and General Powell, both close friends.

"The national security adviser becomes more powerful if there is a counterweight elsewhere in the Administration to the Secretary of State," an official said. "He can play Cheney and Powell off against Baker, which gives him a new boldness."

Mr. Scowcroft's impatience about that sort of analysis stems from his conviction that it is not good for the President.

"There's not a disloyal bone in Brent's body," said Mr. Eagleburger. Of course, Mr. Baker's anatomy does not have any of those bones either, he rushed to add.

White House lore is full of tales of Mr. Scowcroft's loyalty. In early January, for instance, he got a severe case of flu but refused all pleas to stay home, even the President's.

Anxious not to let down his boss or give up his place at Mr. Bush's side, Mr. Scowcroft would send Mr. Gates to the 7:30 staff meeting as his proxy, while he curled up on his sofa under a suit jacket and caught a 30-minute nap. Then they walked the short distance to the Oval Office to meet with Mr. Bush.

A frustrated Mr. Bush spirited Mr. Scowcroft off to the Presidential retreat in Maryland for the weekend to rest.

"The President didn't ask me, he ordered me," he said with a satisfied smile.

Jose R. Lopez/The New York Times

Brent Scowcroft, center, the national security adviser, and his deputy, Robert M. Gates, meeting with President Bush in the Oval Office last week.

Brent Scowcroft

Born: March 19, 1925.

Hometown: Ogden, Utah.

Education: B.S., U.S. Military Academy; M.A. and Ph.D., Columbia University.

Career Highlights: Commissioned lieutenant general, Air Force, 1974; deputy national security adviser, 1973-75; retired from military service, 1975; national security adviser, 1975-77; became national security adviser, 1989.

Interests: Golf, fishing, late-night running.

Robert Michael Gates

Born: Sept. 25, 1943.

Hometown: Wichita, Kan.

Education: B.A., College of William and Mary; M.A., Indiana University; Ph.D., Georgetown University.

Career Highlights: C.I.A., various administrative posts, 1979-86; Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, 1986-89; became Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, 1989.

Interests: Early-morning jogging.

Attempts to Streamline Pentagon Procurement Soften Amid Resistance of a Jealous Bureaucracy

By ANDY PASZTOR
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Top Pentagon aides quietly made a startling proposal recently: Wipe out about 20,000 of the military's nearly 100,000 jobs directly responsible for purchasing.

The aides viewed the massive retrenchment as a bold first step in President Bush's campaign for "the most effective defense, not just the most expensive." And the cuts in purchasing personnel would be in line with statements by Defense Secretary Dick Cheney that "fairly major changes" were in store for the Pentagon's scandal-rocked procurement system.

But the reform-minded Mr. Cheney apparently pulled back. According to current and former defense officials, he rejected the proposal for deep cutbacks, claiming it was backed up by too little analysis and that it could disrupt the military's acquisition system.


Dick Cheney

Soon, perhaps later this week, the system's resistance to reform is likely to become more evident than ever. After President Bush is briefed on the matter, Secretary Cheney is expected to unveil a package of initiatives notable mostly for their modesty—changes that tinker with, rather than truly overhaul, the military's Byzantine weapons-buying machinery.

Clearly, even the defense secretary who came in promising changes has been daunted by his own procurement organization—a world-wide bureaucracy that spends nearly $1 billion a day and makes contracting decisions every two seconds. It's politically difficult to eliminate the patchwork of jealously guarded fiefdoms within the Pentagon, each one with some authority to decide which weapons to purchase and how much to pay for them.

The administration's caution carries risks. The lack of major initiatives threatens to undermine the administration's credibility in any effort to reform Pentagon procurement. "I would be surprised if the process produces many significant results," says former Republican Congressman Robin Beard, who advised Mr. Bush on defense issues during the campaign. Another former Bush campaign aide complains: "What the president has requested isn't getting done, and it will come back to haunt him down the road."

Already, such inaction has created an embarrassing delay in filling the Pentagon's top acquisition job. More than 25 senior defense-industry executives have been approached since January to take over the post, but all of them rejected the overture. Robert Costello, who held the job until he resigned a few weeks ago, believes a big reason is the administration's failure to show that it wants to "more vigorously shake up the bureaucracy."

Pentagon officials insist that seemingly minor reforms can yield immense savings. Overall, the $100-billion-a-year purchasing juggernaut "has worked at least reasonably well," Deputy Defense Secretary Donald Atwood told lawmakers recently. Now, he said in an interview, the administration's goal is to better "discipline the system, instead of trying to create a new system."

Barring last-minute revisions by the White House, officials say Mr. Cheney's blueprint for Pentagon "reform" envisions:

—More central control over how the individual armed services supervise weapons contracts after they are awarded. Mr. Cheney tentatively approved and sent to the White House a proposal to create a new organization, perhaps headed by a four-star general, to ride herd on contractors. But the idea quickly drew wails of outrage from senior generals and even some Cheney confidants, who contended it would only create a new level of bureaucracy. Now, Pentagon officials predict the concept will be watered down in the final document.

—Streamlined acquisition decisions for selected weapons. By building on procedural changes initiated during the Reagan administration, project managers would have less paper work, greater authority to order contractors to correct problems and more direct access to senior commanders.

—More scrutiny of expensive weapons before they enter production. Mr. Atwood, for example, has urged elimination of fixed-price development contracts that require government and industry to share the costs. Such arrangements, he argues, encourage both sides to skimp on important early research and testing, thereby boosting the eventual cost of weapons systems.

Mr. Cheney's aides also are pushing for announcement of long-term goals to cut thousands of low-level acquisition jobs. And they want to crack down on the perennial problem of spare parts. According to the General Accounting Office, military stockpiles of excess or unusable spare parts around the world—from jet-engine components to jeep tires—have now topped $29 billion, up from about $10 billion in 1980.

Past Failures

Earlier, much-publicized reform efforts have failed to produce major results. Despite a host of studies and legislation in the past few years intended to fundamentally after Pentagon procurement, the changes have been "largely improvements in form, not in substance," according to a report last December by a study group sponsored by Johns Hopkins University and the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

But in light of today's mounting deficit pressures, many Pentagon observers think this may be the best chance for meaningful reform in years. "Study after study has diagnosed the same problems and prescribed the same remedies," says Rep. Les Aspin (D., Wis.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. But this time, he says, the administration "can actually make the Pentagon take the medicine."

With more criminal charges expected this summer from the Pentagon bribery and influence-peddling scandal, the administration clearly is under pressure to deliver speedy results. But Mr. Cheney acknowledges that budget decisions and preparation of new arms-control proposals prevented him from focusing on acquisition issues until recently.

Congress, for its part, may be losing patience. Fraud and mismanagement "have slowly but methodically eaten away at public support for the military," says Rep. Larry Hopkins of Kentucky, a senior Republican on the Armed Services Committee. Military leaders must realize, he says, that acquisition reform "isn't going to be one of those fashionable issues that hits Washington and then blows away."

Standards for Proving Bias Charges Are Toughened in High Court Ruling

ESSAY | William Safire

Free the Baltics

CHICAGO

In light of the decennial eruption that threatens Communism in China; the newly elected delegates to this week's Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow are hard pressed by a challenge to Communist rule much closer to home: a courageous independence movement is sweeping the Baltic States.

Last November, Estonia's legislature passed a law asserting its right to veto Kremlin decisions and its people's right to private property. Moscow promptly declared that heresy invalid, but last week — defying a commission set up to delimit autonomy in Soviet republics — the Parliament of Lithuania went even further, declaring itself not only economically autonomous but "sovereign."

This breathtaking defiance of Soviet rule has gone largely unremarked in the West, but Moscow is profoundly concerned. The Kremlin directed a legal academician to warn in Pravda this week that such "complete separation" from Moscow rule provided justification for a crackdown by unidentified hard-liners "who long to turn the screw" and call for "a firm hand." The Kremlin's threat is palpable: "sovereignty" — the assertion of not only cultural autonomy but national freedom — will trigger a harsh Soviet response.

In the United States, the don't-make-waves set wants us to button our lip on internal turmoil within Communist countries, lest we encourage demonstrations that elicit violent repression. "Restraint on both sides" is urged when the only side threatening violence is a central tyranny.

Pusillanimous evenhandedness is uncalled for in this case because the Baltic challenge is not a Soviet "internal affair." The Baltic States are free and independent nations that were illegally awarded to Stalin by Hitler; the U.S. and many other democracies have never recognized the 1939 Molotov-von Ribbentrop pact.

Our sustained policy of non-recognition has active diplomatic expression. The legitimate former Governments of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia have legations in the U.S., supported by funds here denied the puppet regime a half-century ago. U.S. diplomats in the Soviet Union have always refused to meet the Baltic Communist usurpers; Baltic affairs are dealt with in our State Department's Eastern European section, and are pointedly not part of "Soviet Affairs."

I put a probe into State yesterday and received this official response: "The United States does not recognize the forcible incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union which occured in 1940. The Baltic peoples have never accepted the loss of their freedom and liberty. We strongly support their peaceful efforts to regain control over their own destiny."

So far, so firm; but follow-up questions about reaction to the startling reassertion of sovereignty get only a bland "we are watching developments with interest and sympathy," and official comment on the ominous warning in Pravda degenerates into terminal fudge-factory dithering: "That, too, is part of change and adjustment to change."

That is what is said when you have not decided what to do. President

Offer more than tea and sympathy.

Bush can do plenty, but his Administration has failed to focus on this crucial test of Soviet imperial intentions.

Centrifugalism in the Baltic States is not the same as the yearning for freedom in Soviet Georgia, or Armenia, or even the Ukraine. Because the first uprisings in Georgia and Armenia were crushed in what we recognize to be the Soviet Union, a case (a weak case) is made for limiting our reaction to hand-wringing and discreet cluck-clucking at Soviet brutality in those Soviet Socialist republics.

But the push for freedom in the Baltics has a different base in law. Our official position is that these are occupied lands; we should show at least as much concern for the well-being of their nonviolent citizenry as we do for the rock-throwers in what we call the "occupied" West Bank. (We can hope that newspapers will dateline future reports from "Soviet-occupied Riga.")

Mr. Bush, consistent with U.S. policy of a half-century, should make plain to Mr. Gorbachev that it is hypocritical to denounce Stalin's crimes while perpetuating them. The occupation of the Baltic States is an indisputable international crime that should be redressed right now.

In concert with the leading democracies, the U.S. President should invite the non-governmental leaders of the Baltic independence movements to be honored observers at the economic summit meeting this summer, and publicly plan now to receive them in Western capitals. By making them famous, we increase their strength.

A great struggle has begun; if our place is on the sidelines, we can at least get off the bench and cheer. □

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Civil Rights and Wrongs

The struggle for hearts and minds in the black community, which ultimately will be more important than the civil-rights bill Congress is debating, has recently grown a lot more complicated.

Growing numbers of blacks are calling for self-help, independence, progress through education and black enterprise. In Milwaukee, for example, state legislator Polly Williams conceived a school voucher program for the poor. Bob Woodson, who has led an effort to convert public housing to tenant ownership, this week was awarded a MacArthur Fellowship, known in some quarters as "the genius grant." Former EEOC head Clarence Thomas, now a federal judge, and economists like Thomas Sowell voice similar sentiments. Shelby Steele, an essayist and teacher, has lately garnered considerable attention for writing on race and the harm done by affirmative-action programs.

Meanwhile, grass-roots members of the black community are showing some impatience with racism as the all-purpose excuse for misbehavior, and with calls for racial solidarity at all costs. Most especially, as the trial of Washington Mayor Marion Barry accumulates evidence of drug use, a recent poll showed blacks viewing the mayor negatively by a margin of 47% to 19%.

On the other side are the militants who are calling, essentially, for a new black separatism. They include people like minister Louis Farrakhan, the Rev. Al Sharpton, and lawyers Vernon Mason and Alton Maddox, who gave us the Tawana Brawley story. Include in this number, also, those calling for an Afro-centered school curriculum for black children.

Both groups pose challenges to traditional civil-rights groups. Perhaps inevitably, that challenge has led to some confusion—the sort that was on display last week at the NAACP's 81st annual convention, particularly by NAACP head Benjamin Hooks. Throughout his career, Mr. Hooks has been nothing if not eloquent about the responsibilities of black leaders and image-makers. To take just one example, he recently delivered a scathing denunciation of 2 Live Crew, excoriating them particularly for trying to "wrap the mantle of black cultural experience" around their "vicious and sadistic" works. And in the course of his speech, Mr. Hooks strongly attacked those who would use racism as an alibi for the ills of the black community, and called for "a moratorium on excuses."

Yet in his fire-and-brimstone speech, Mr. Hooks charged that black elected officials were being subjected to victimization and harassment, comparable to the post-Civil War Reconstruction era. The victimized official he apparently had in mind was none other than Mayor Barry, whose prosecution Mr. Hooks presented as a typical instance of racial harassment, despite evidence that is nothing short of overwhelming.

Matters became still more confusing when at the same convention, Mr. Hooks lashed out at black scholars, who have pointed out the harms that accompany affirmative action. Referring to the scholars as "some of the biggest liars the world ever saw," Mr. Hooks told a reporter, "They're just a new breed of Uncle Toms as far as I'm concerned." Mr. Hooks said he particularly resented one "lowdown dirty rascal" for writing "a big story in a white magazine."

The particular dirty rascal Mr. Hooks seems to have had in mind was Professor Steele, who recently wrote a piece published in the New York Times Magazine. In it, Mr. Steele argued forcefully against racial-entitlement programs. He noted that racial-preference programs did not teach skills or educate, but that they did "encourage blacks to exploit their victimization" while also stigmatizing them with an implied inferiority.

Mr. Hooks offers a melange of black attitudes, but it is not clear for whom he actually speaks. Other influential blacks were quick to take issue with some of his statements. Columnist Carl Rowan wrote that Mr. Hooks encouraged thousands of black youngsters at that convention "to wallow in the absurd notion" that Mayor Barry was on trial because of selective prosecution of black leaders. Is this leadership, Mr. Rowan asked, "Or is it pandering to black frustrations and hatred that are being fanned by Farrakhan and those of his mentality?"

The confusion coming out of the NAACP convention is part of a larger ferment that signals an important turn in the road toward black progress, and one that is a lot more significant than the rhetoric wafted about the halls of Congress. Over the past generation, blacks in general and the NAACP in particular have won important and well-deserved victories. But surely there's room for more players and new thinking when as earnest a leader as Mr. Hooks finds himself, in the name of the black community, attacking Professor Steele and defending Mayor Barry.

A selection of today's events.

HOUSE

House to convene at 10 a.m.

9:30 a.m.

Education and Labor employment opportunities subcommittee mark-up of H.R. 1432, the Age Discrimination in Employment Waiver Protection Act. Rayburn HOB, Room 2261.

Ways and Means health subcommittee jointly with oversight subcommittee hearing on issues relating to physician self-referrals, including H.R. 939, the Ethics in Patient Referrals Act of 1989. Longworth HOB, Room 1100.

10 a.m.

Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee hearing on issues related to H.R. 1278, the Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery and Enforcement Act of 1989. Rayburn HOB, Room 2128.

Ways and Means human resources subcommittee hearing on proposed inprovements in child welfare, foster care, and adoption assistance program. Rayburn HOB, Room B-318.

SENATE

Senate to convene at 9 a.m.

9:30 a.m.

Energy and Natural Resources Committee hearings on S.710, S.711, and S.712 legislation to provide a referendum giving Puerto Rican residents the choice between statehood, independence or remaining a

2 p.m.

Appropriations foreign operations subcommittee fiscal year 1990 budget hearings on Central American foreign assistance programs in relation to international narcotics matters. Dirksen SOB, Room 138.

Appropriations Treasury, Postal Service and general government subcommittee fiscal year budget hearings for the National Drug Control Policy. Dirksen SOB, Room 192.

AROUND THE CAPITAL

10 a.m.

World Wildlife Fund and Wildlife Conservation International to discuss the ivory trade and its effects on the elephant population. National Press Club, Lisagor Room. Call: 778-9510.

Brookings Institution editors to discuss findings of a report dealing with government deregulation. 1775 Massachusetts Ave. NW. Call: 797-6105.

Education Secretary Lauro F. Cavazos to announce student loan default initiatives. 400 Maryland Ave. SW. Call: 732-4574.

Seminar on "U.S. Strategic Forces: Modernization Under Arms Control and Budget Constraints." Dirksen SOB, Room SDG-50. Call: 326-6490.

Consumer Federation of America, the National Insurance Consumer Organization and Public Citizen join with the National Association of Professional Insurance Agents to announce a plan to improve state insurance regulatory policy. National Press Club, Murrow Room. Call: 737-0766.

News conference to discuss the Taiwan government's "blacklisting" of overseas critics. International Center for Development Policy, 731 8th St. SE. Call:

D'Amato to lead roundtable discussion on the problems of homelessness and affordable housing. Dirksen SOB, Room 538. Call: 224-5596.

10:30 a.m.

U.S. Agency for International Development to hold a forum on "World Development and the Environment: Can They Co-Exist?" National Press Club, Main Ballroom. Call: 647-4274.

Feminist leaders to release findings and plans after consulting in France concerning RU-486, the French-developed "morning after" contraceptive pill, and abortion. National Press Club, Private Dining Room. Call: 522-2214 or 659-1606.

11 a.m.

Sen. Mitch McConnell to introduce the Lawsuit Reform Act of 1989 at a news conference. Dirksen SOB, Room 562. Call: 224-8285.

11:30 a.m.

Librarian of Congress James Billington to announce 30 sites throughout the United States where a new traveling exhibition on the history of the Congress will be on view. Madison Bldg., sixth floor. Call: 707-2905.

Sen. John Glenn to discuss "Tomorrow's Work force: Is Congress Responding" at the final day of the ninth annual meeting of the National Action Council for Minorities in Engineering. Grand Hyatt Hotel. Call: 682-3032.

11:40 a.m.

Group of teachers and parents unsatisfied with the performance of Ballou High School Principal Bernard C. Lucas Sr. to hold a picket line and protest to call for Mr. Lucas' ouster. Outside Ballou Senior High School, 3401 4th St. SE. Call: 635-1369.

Junk Central Europe's Factories and Start Over

By Peter F. Drucker

ybody in the fall of 1989—a few onths ago—was sure that German on would take years. Similarly, the common wisdom is that liquidating inist economies of Central Eu- ast Germany, Czechoslovakia and (all areas that before World War economically fully developed)— e many years. Actually, the are coming with lightning speed, e is no slowing or stopping them. goods turned out by Central Eu- ants have become unsalable. 5, Volkswagen expects to make abbits in a plant in Zwickau, East , that last year turned out 50,000 , expensive and chronically mal- g Trabant cars. But what is that g to make during these next five ot a single Trabant can be sold East Germans can buy, for less igger and infinitely better West- Fords, Volkswagens, Opels or tral European-made textiles, ap- toys, hand tools, processed foods have all become similarly unsal- are, indeed, no longer on the lves in Berlin, Budapest and nd even the lushest government uld not make a Western manu- ut into its automobile bodies the l pockmarked sheet steel that uropean rolling mills turn out. ntral Europe to regain a modi- sperity, its industries must be- luctive and competitive in no This requires, however, that in- mployment be slashed more than it has ever been slashed, severe depression. East Ger- l labor force numbers nine mil- f a total population of 16.5 mil- German economists, including trade unions, estimate that be- ee million and four million ll have to be laid off if East dustry is to survive in a compet- t. This, although East Germany st efficient industries of the en- Bloc.

naround

economic turnaround has to be rope's top priority. Without it e neither social nor political t the region's fragile democra- ot stand prolonged mass unem- hey need something unprece- ical i cuts coupled with em- ai- ance or, at least, income ..s is the turnaround chal- l Europe.

osperity and stability not urope that is at stake, n Europe as well. A suc- of Central Europe of- pportunities to West- ve all to West Ger- ong investment-led urope the world's economic leader.

But failure to turn around the economies of Central Europe, and fast, would surely trigger a mass exodus of despairing people from the East—a larger-scale repetition of the flight of 3,000 East Germans a day that inundated West Germany before the Berlin Wall crumbled last autumn. And if prolonged mass unemployment were the price for the turnaround, it would evoke the same response. "I am optimistic," said a West German publisher when he told me of his buying a number of East German newspapers. "But it's a high-low poker game with the biggest stakes ever."

To produce 250,000 cars a year in Zwickau, Volkswagen expects to employ no more people than had been employed in the same plant to build 50,000 Trabants. In other words, four out of every five Trabant workers should never have been on the payroll.

Central Europe's most efficient steel mill, Witkowice in Czechoslovakia, produces about the same tonnage it did in 1938, but with a substantially larger work force. In the West, even an inefficient steel mill turns out 2½ times the tonnage per worker it did 50 years ago, or about three times what Witkowice does.

Even the plants in Central Europe that have kept abreast of technology are overstaffed. The Tungsram works outside of Budapest, of which General Electric recently acquired control, make a first-rate light bulb. But they employ almost 50% more people, proportionately, than do GE, Siemens and Philips in their light-bulb plants in the West.

These are not isolated examples. In a Stalinist economy, over-staffing is not mismanagement; it is a virtue and built into the system. All incentives reward putting more people on the payroll: capital available for investment in the plant; raw materials allocated to the plant; managerial pay and managerial perks. As a political system too, Stalinism pushes over-staffing. Large plants are expected to create jobs to reward the party faithful.

A Stalinist economy also *mis*-employs. All its emphasis is on the heavy industries of the 1920s: coal mining, steel, commodity chemicals. As a result, employment in Central Europe is concentrated in the "smokestack" industries in which there is over-capacity world-wide. A good many, some very big employers among them, will shut down. A likely candidate for the padlock is the large chemical complex in Bitterfeld, East Germany, probably Europe's biggest. Because its raw material is lignite—a sulfur-laden, ash-rich, soft coal—its costs are double those of its petroleum-using competitors across the border in West Germany. And reducing lignite's life-threatening pollution to the minimum acceptable level would drive up costs by an added two-fifths or so.

Yet, typically there is little alternative employment available in the areas in which these over-manned or obsolete plants are located. Stalinism deliberately organized its political control around one big plant or industry that dominates its region. Zwickau, Witkowice and Bitterfeld are all single-employer towns. It is precisely there, however, that jobs will have to be cut the most.

There are substantial employment opportunities in Central Europe. Many workers will be needed, for instance, to rebuild the obsolescent, dilapidated factories that are Stalinism's legacy. To convert Zwickau into an efficient Volkswagen plant should keep one-third of its present work force busy. Rebuilding Central Europe's industry could provide jobs for something like 5% of the total industrial work force, it is estimated. It won't come cheap, though. Volkswagen, for instance, plans to invest $3 billion in Zwickau—more than it should cost to build such a plant from scratch. In East Germany capital will not be much of a problem, however; West Germany has deep pockets. In Hungary and Czechoslovakia, too, capital to rebuild the plants seems to be available from the West.

Another substantial employment opportunity—perhaps for as much as another 5% of the work force—lies in rebuilding the run-down infrastructure of Central Europe. East Germany, for instance, has fewer telephones now than it had before World War II; its railroads and highways also have fallen well below pre-war standards. The biggest infrastructure need in all of Central Europe is housing; communist regimes always treat it as a stepchild. What is needed is not public housing but housing that gives privacy, is privately financed and privately owned. "If only," a Czech friend said, "we could find someone like your Mr. Levitt who built the Levittowns in Long Island and around Philadelphia after World War II."

But the biggest employment opportunities lie in services. Communist regimes consider them "bourgeois" and are hostile to them. There is, therefore, tremendous demand all over Central Europe for every kind of service: retail and wholesale distribution; repair and maintenance; banking and insurance; restaurants, laundries, dry cleaners and so on. Services, as we know, can come into being practically overnight and without much investment. All they require is a local entrepreneur. And since factory workers in Central Europe have been badly paid, shifting into service work often means making more money. Europe's best chance for a successful turnaround may then lie in rapidly building a thriving service sector.

The biggest question regarding Central Europe's turnaround is a political one. Will governments refrain from doing the wrong things, however popular they might be?

The worst thing Europe's governments could do—and the one they are, alas, most likely to do—is subsidize continuing industrial over-staffing. Unless Central Europe's manufacturing plants become competitive very fast, there will be no turnaround. Cutting piecemeal is the wrong move in a turnaround, and the most expensive move in the end. One must be able to tell people, "We're done with cutting. Let's start building." Otherwise no one does any work.

Productive Jobs

Any financial assistance given — and quite a bit will be needed—should be aimed at creating new, productive jobs. There might also be a need to provide income maintenance—e.g., following early retirement. But subsidizing unproductive and redundant jobs can only obstruct economic recovery. It ultimately endangers social stability.

Equally dangerous would be protecting Central European industries from competition within Europe. There will be high barriers in Europe against Japan and South Korea. But rapid European economic integration must not be sacrificed to the short-term problems of Central Europe.

Finally, there is the legacy of 40 years of Stalinism: the hostility in Central Europe to services and especially to the independent entrepreneur. "We need 500 house painters in Prague alone," my Czech friend said, "and there'd be more than enough work for them. But the government monopolies wouldn't sell them ladders or paint brushes or paint. They'd consider them antisocial and parasites." In the last analysis, Central Europe's turnaround may therefore well be as much a matter of political courage and political will as of investments and of economics.

Market economics and free enterprise, it is now being said, have won over communism. This is not really true. Communism collapsed from within, economically, politically and, above all, morally: It defeated itself. Free enterprise and market economics—and democracy as well—will have won only when they have turned around Central Europe.

Mr. Drucker is a professor of social sciences at the Claremont Graduate School in California.

Drucker on Management

"If only," a Czech friend said, "we could find someone like your Mr. Levitt who built the Levittowns in Long Island and around Philadelphia after World War II."

Personalities

By Chuck Conconi
Washington Post Staff Writer

The **George Bush** administration has hardly begun, but it isn't too early to get in a bid for his presidential papers. The president's alma mater, Yale University, and universities in Texas, the state he has called home for 40 years, are already competing for the presidential library and a piece of history—not to mention the tourist dollars.

Yale made an early bid four years ago when Bush was vice president and repeated the offer after his election in November. In Texas, meanwhile, Rice, Texas A&M and the University of Houston are aggressively trying to get Bush's attention. A&M has gone so far as to form a steering committee on the project and has enlisted graduate students to help design the building. Bush is aware of all the activity but has said little, and **Jack Siggins,** Yale's deputy librarian, speaking with Ivy League confidence, said, "Let me just say that there's a lot of time. A lot of things can happen. You never can tell." It might also be pointed out that Bush, a man of many homes, has also lived in Massachusetts and Maine.

Out and About

Former president **Ronald Reagan,** who has decided that his presidential library will be built in Ventura County, Calif., hasn't forgotten his alma mater, Eureka College. The Illinois school, from which he graduated in 1932, isn't getting his historic papers, but it is getting some different memorabilia. Among the items going to Eureka, Newsweek magazine reports in the current issue, are a "Kadaffy Duck—Mad Duck of the Mideast" T-shirt, a blue presidential yo-yo, scuffed Tony Lama cowboy boots with a huge presidential seal, and autographed copies of "The Secret of Inner Strength" by **Chuck Norris** and "Guide to Romantic Living" by **Jane Seymour.** There's even a Reagan likeness sculpted from a bar of soap by an 11-year-old girl who wrote, "Tell **Mrs. Reagan** I did not have enough soap to do her. Tell her I'm sorry." It may be that Eureka is getting the best of the deal . . .

REUTER

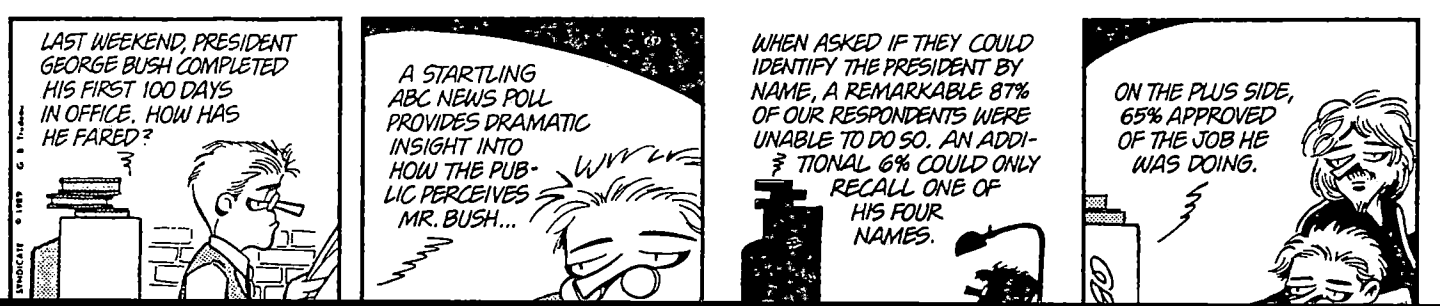
President Bush looks around wife Barbara at a deluge of confetti in New York yesterday.

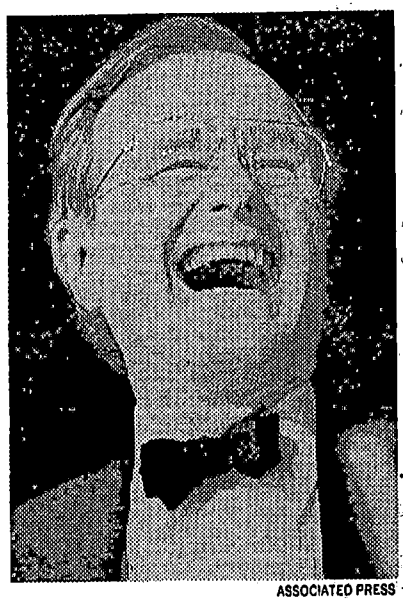
President Bush made an unscheduled helicopter stop to Walter Reed Army Medical Center to visit Rep. **Claude Pepper,** who has been under treatment there for the past month for a stomach disorder. Bush was returning from New York City, where he had attended ceremonies commemorating the 200th anniversary of George Washington's inauguration. Bush met privately for some 20 minutes with the 88-year-old Florida Democrat, the oldest member of Congress . . .

A number of Washington celebrities think they're funny—and some even convince others. A group of them will be at the Madison Hotel Wednesday in the third annual Funniest Celebrity in D.C. contest. All this effort will benefit the Make-a-Wish Foundation, which grants a wish to children suffering from life-threatening and terminal illnesses. Among the funny Washingtonians exhibiting their stand-up comedy routines are Secretary of Veterans Affairs **Edward Derwinski;** United Press International White House correspondent **Helen Thomas;** Regardie's magazine Publisher **Bill Regardie;** Mutual Broadcasting executive **Ron Nessen,** former press secretary to President Ford; former Washington Redskin **Pete Wysocki;** Mutual Broadcasting newsman **Jim Bohannon;** WCXR-FM announcer **Mark Kessler;** Channel 4 anchor **Dave Marash;** WPGC announcer **Michelle Wright,** and veteran newswoman **Sarah McClendon** . . .

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau

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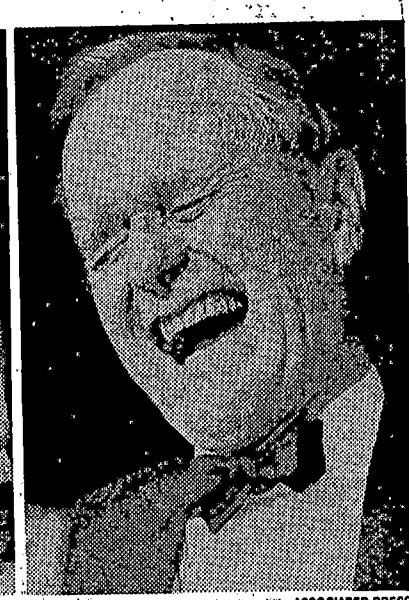
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President Bush breaks up over Jim Morris' impression of him at the White House Correspondents' Association dinner Saturday night.

It's Bush & Shandling's Show

Serving Up a Comic Surprise at the White House Correspondents Dinner

By Martha Sherrill
Washington Post Staff Writer

Under the weird twilight-blue ceiling of the Washington Hilton ballroom, 2,500 journalists and their special dates from government and industry crushed together Saturday night for the 75th annual White House Correspondents' Association dinner.

There is nothing elegant about this black-tie mob scene. And yet, Washington's most powerful people—starting with George Bush—were willing to endure major crowd discomfort.

Maybe for the jokes.

"I'll tell you one thing about Barbara," the president said after dinner. "Ever since she drank that radioactive iodine, she's been doubling as a nightlight in the upstairs bedroom . . .

"Her new nickname? The Three Mile Island Fox," he continued, referring to the treatment of his wife's thyroid condition.

Bush was scheduled to yuck it up at the microphone for 10 minutes or so, but he pulled a stunt of his own—surprising everyone, his staff included. After seven minutes of joking, Bush yanked TV comedian Garry Shandling from behind a curtain and had him work the crowd pro bono.

Bush introduced him as "an average American tourist" who'd been pulled from the White House tour line. Nobody in the jaded crowd of news types, quite frankly, believed him.

O ye of little faith.

Truth is, Shandling and girlfriend Linda Doucett had flown in from L.A. and were taking a VIP tour of the West Wing earlier in the day. And as they were lurking outside the Oval Office—kind of

See CORRESPONDENTS, B3, Col. 1

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Bush and Correspondents' Association President Jeremiah O'Leary watch Shandling perform.

Press Dinner

CORRESPONDENTS, From B1

gawking at it—Bush turned up unexpectedly.

"The president walked in," Shandling said yesterday on the phone, "along with Mrs. Bush and their dog. They came right over and said hello—much to my amazement. And he asked me what I was doing in town, and I said I had been invited to the correspondents dinner."

Bush suggested to Shandling that they do a routine together.

"I thought he was just joking," said Shandling. "Because—as I said on stage—I've never really taken him seriously before."

Later Saturday afternoon, Shandling returned to the White House and sat around with Bush, his aide Tim McBride and speech writer Edward McNally. "We went over his jokes," said Shandling, "then I mentioned a couple jokes that I was thinking of doing. He was especially warm and friendly. It was a very easy atmosphere."

At the Hilton, Shandling recounted his visit, saying, "I was in line at the White House. It was the liberal line—which is the line that has to pay," and he included a plea he'd made to the president: "I hope you won't ask me to do that State of the Union thing."

Bush closed their act. "It's getting late," he said, "and fortunately there won't be time tonight for my slide shows of the trip to Honduras."

Impressionist Jim Morris began his Bush bit in silence—just moving his head, sort of stammering, trying to get some words out. The president, watching Morris do his inarticulate-thing, started laughing hard, and finally held his big white dinner napkin over his face.

"The Bush impression was perfect," said one White House correspondent. "I mean, we watch him every day—all day long."

"Mean. Mean. Mean. Mean," said CBS' Mike Wallace after the routine. "It was pretty cruel, accurate and funny—just what it should have been at an event like this."

It was Tom Hayden's first correspondents dinner—he's refused invitations to them for years. "People I know are killing to get into this dinner," Hayden said. "But I just don't know. It's really interesting how democratic societies have an obsession with royalty. Except here, the court jester gets to rule instead of the king."

Journalists come to this dinner every year with significant others—their sources. And in general, spouses stay home. Anna Perez, the first lady's press secretary, came as the date of George Curry of the Chicago Tribune, even though it was her 10th wedding anniversary. Christopher Matthews of the San Francisco Examiner left his wife—and their baby daughter born just that day—in the hospital.

Bringing the best date—the most powerful, topical, or eye-catching—has become a competition. Lloyd Grove of The Washington Post received after-dinner praise not only for inviting Garry Shandling as his guest, but for getting Shandling the fateful VIP tour of the White House.

There were no huge attractions this year—no Donna Rice, Sly Stallone or Vanna White. Nobody seemed to mind much. In fact, it became rather a joke. "Seen any stars yet?" David Blundy of the London Sunday Telegraph kept asking in the most uninterested voice. A few rumors, though, did circulate that Kevin Costner and Mary Tyler Moore were coming—invited by Life magazine—but they never appeared.

The New York Times did a good job—snagging White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, Attorney General Dick Thornburgh and First Family member Dorothy Bush LeBlond (who yelled out from her table, "Oh, Daddy, please don't go into that!" when the president threatened to mention a recent Times editorial).

Somebody thought to ask Bruce Babbitt, and Tip O'Neill was taking up a lot of space at the same table as Kitty Kelley. Former Zen governor Jerry Brown came as the guest of The Wall Street Journal, and drew a crowd of devotees.

Notably absent: Jim Wright.

There was no Fawn and Ollie show, but some of the North trial players did make it. Prosecutor John W. Keker came, and a couple members of his team, Michael Bromwich and David Zornow. Someone said that one of them bet money that Brendan V. Sullivan Jr., North's attorney, wouldn't show—even though a place was reserved for him. And he didn't.

Following the dinner, after-parties thrown by various newspapers promised the chance to schmooze with someone reasonably interesting. And there was a great deal of drinking—drinking without spouses present. And the crowd conditions were no less uncomfortable than at the dinner itself. "Do you even know whose party this is?" asked a speech writer reaching for his second beer.

People kept talking about Bush's Honduras joke—unofficially voted the night's best.

Shandling, when asked for a critique of the president's performance, said: "I thought he did a great job. I have a feeling he's going to be very, very good at it from here on . . . I think he's probably got it now."

re: strategy (the importance of flexibility) — —

"A PLAN IS VALID ONLY UNTIL THE OPPONENT MAKES HIS FIRST MOVE."

Count von Moltke.

Clausewitz.

George F. Will

Beneath The Glare Of Lenin

Watching a new thought pass through a Marxist gathering is, said H. G. Wells, like watching a breeze blow across a field of ripe corn: the breeze passes and the serried ranks of minds return to their original position. Wells never saw the likes of Aleksandr Obolensky and Leonid Sukhov.

Obolensky will someday be the answer to a trivia question, but today he is not trivial: he is the first person publicly to challenge a supreme Soviet leader in an election. At the new Congress of People's Deputies, he offered himself as an alternative candidate to Gorbachev for president.

"I understand," he said with nice understatement, "that I have a very slim chance. I want in our history an example of something resembling alternative elections. This is what my voters wanted and what I promised them."

He does not yet quite have the hang of it. In a democracy, making promises is enough; keeping them is foolhardy. Anyway, only one-third of the delegates would vote even to include his name with Gorbachev's on the ballot (which Gorbachev won 2,123 to 87).

However, Obolensky's antic spiritedness was dazzling in light of this: the debate occurred in the shadow of one of those huge, overbearing Soviet statues designed to diminish individuals—a monstrous gleaming likeness of Lenin, glaring into the future.

"Mass protests from below, as in Beijing, invariably face the reluctance of elites to liquidate themselves."

The statue represents an intractable problem. All the symbols and icons are antithetical to pluralism. None is more so than Lenin, the mummified corpse at the center of the state.

The referents of American political argument are Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln—all of them embodiments of democratic consensus. The omnipresent visual and ideological referent in the Soviet Union is the father of totalitarianism.

Lenin lived in the clean, well-lit prison of one idea: "scientific socialism." His remorseless savagery flowed from it and from the lesson he chose to learn from the European left's greatest trauma, the suppression of the Paris Commune in 1871. The communards were, Lenin said, guilty of "excessive magnanimity. . . . [The Commune] should have exterminated its enemies."

By exterminate, Lenin meant exterminate. Having supplanted the idea of individual guilt with class guilt, he set about killing categories of people and

Soviet political vocabulary, including symbols and heroes, is utterly antidemocratic. There are few indigenous cultural resources for democrats to draw upon. Thus it is breathtaking to read the words of Leonid Sukhov, a deputy identified as "a driver from Kharkov." His words were spoken beneath Lenin's glare and to Gorbachev:

"I compare you not to Lenin or Stalin, but to the great Napoleon, who, fearing neither bullets nor death, led the nation to victory, but owing to his sycophants and his wife, transformed the republic into an empire. You can put me to death, but I fear this path."

Dwell upon that last sentence. Democracy is trying to sprout in stony soil indeed. Death-on-a-whim has been so central to the political culture that it is part of the syntax of public discourse. But once such discourse is public in the sense of political, everything changes, or perhaps has changed.

Note that Sukhov's statement is movingly European, making its point with reference to one of the continent's great shared experiences, Napoleon. The reference says: history did not begin in 1917. Then, we seceded from European civilization; what was done can be undone.

The hall in which the Congress meets is a more promising venue for the incubation of lasting liberalization than Tiananmen Square could ever be. Tiananmen Square is no place to give structure to yearnings. The Congress' hall is the scene of reform from above. This is, necessarily, reform on a short leash; it can be jerked around, even choked. But mass protests from below, as in Beijing, invariably face the reluctance of elites to liquidate themselves and usually founder on the task of institutionaling an impulse in the open air.

In Beijing brave words of defiance were hurled at power. In the Moscow Congress, words have been addressed to power which submitted to be addressed in a setting of rules and respect.

Obolensky's and, even more, Sukhov's words are more momentous than Gorbachev's arms proposals. Those proposals are consistent with modernization and rationalization of Soviet armed forces, irrespective of any changes in Soviet global goals. Besides, policy changes can be changed back.

But dramatic political words cannot be called back. They reverberate. Doing so, they change the public's most important sense, the sense of the possible. And that change can in time change the goals of the state.

6/1/89

Cheney Imposes Censorship—on Own Speech

By Molly Moore
Washington Post Staff Writer

ANNAPOLIS, May 31—Was it dissent in the ranks of the Bush administration?

Or was it merely the sweltering Annapolis heat?

Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney deleted a large chunk of his prepared address to the graduating class of the U.S. Naval Academy today—1½ pages of text endorsing President Bush's proposals for conventional arms reduction in Europe.

But there was no hidden political agenda, according to Pentagon officials.

"The only reason he cut it was because it was very hot," said Defense Department spokesman Fred S. Hoffman. "Obviously, it seemed like the prudent thing to do."

The 1,064 graduates, outfitted in their stiff, long-sleeved formal dress uniforms, were sweating under the baking sun in the football stadium during the mid-day ceremony. A thirsty murmur rose from Class of '89 as a midshipman filled glasses with ice water at the speakers' rostrum minutes before Cheney took center stage. Cheney told one staff aide that he realized the speech was "getting too long" as he gazed at the faces of the graduates, according to chief spokesman Pete Williams. He said Cheney, who wrote the part of the speech he deleted, stands behind the written text.

Cheney, in the section that was not delivered, called Bush's proposals to reduce NATO and Warsaw Pact troops in Europe "truly outstanding," but added, "no one should discount the complexity of the negotiations to follow."

He also issued a challenge to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, noting, "If Mr. Gorbachev is serious about wanting to reduce arms significantly, if he is serious about a less threatening Soviet military posture . . . then he should accept the president's proposals."

But Cheney also cautioned, "We must take advantage of every opportunity to make this a safer world, without dropping our guard against the real threats that continue around us."

Cheney agitated some administration officials last month when he said in a televised interview that he did not believe Gorbachev would succeed in his efforts to reform the Soviet Union.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

6/5/89

How Bush Triumphed

Right after President Bush bolted from a mid-May National Security Council meeting with the complaint that he was learning nothing new, he began to demonstrate a tactical skill that even ardent admirers were despairing of ever seeing in him.

The subject before the NSC was the one that had confused and almost becalmed the young Bush presidency: Mikhail Gorbachev, helped by West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, was driving a stake into NATO's heart on the eve of its 40th anniversary summit.

Bush's unreported NSC walkout displayed the frustration eating away at him. For weeks he listened as the national security bureaucrats, ordered to produce new policy to meet the Gorbachev threat, got stuck on old concepts. Learning nothing, he stalked out. Within days he had formulated new tactics to deflect Gorbachev and, for now at least, move NATO to higher ground. His main collaborators: Secretary of State James A. Baker III, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs.

Whether the Brussels summit really did make the glorious and lasting history that so many sudden admirers of the president are proclaiming will not be answered any time soon. The United States got far from everything it wanted. Administration insiders know—and privately admit—that future modernization of the Lance short-range missile, desired by the United States, almost surely will not happen now.

Nor does there seem much chance of meeting the ridiculously accelerated time table of conventional arms reductions set by Bush. The full extent of British and French complaints about inclusion of their warplanes in conventional arms cuts is not yet half realized. Hidden problems in the rosy Brussels communiqué abound, headed by the familiar puzzle of verifying cuts in troops, tanks and artillery.

But at this stage of the Bush presidency and considering Gorbachev's impact on Western Europe, what's politically significant is that the president revealed previously hidden tactical prowess. He showed it by drafting a policy, acceptable to all NATO allies, that slows to a halt Gorbachev's peace offensive in Western Europe and salvaged a potential NATO-destroying summit.

The president's tactical approach to Brussels had three elements:

First, it used Soviet conventional disarmament proposals that Gorbachev handed Baker in Moscow last month as the foundation for the far more dramatic U.S. plan. That moved NATO off the slippery slope of bickering whether to negotiate the reduction of short-range nuclear missiles.

Second, it isolated Genscher, who was described privately by a senior presidential adviser one week before the summit as the only key player in the Western alliance who "does not want an agreement."

Third, it built up West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, as distinct from coalition partner Genscher, without wounding British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Kohl, his political future on the line, naturally cooperated. It was the chancellor who quietly suggested after hours of wrangling over the missile issue in Brussels that the heads of government go to dinner and turn the question over to the foreign ministers.

That was key to the Bush-Baker tactic for achieving a short-range agreement by delaying negotiations on withdrawing the missiles and putting the dramatic conventional arms cuts first. This tactic opened at least a chance for modernization of the Lance.

Once the heads of government walked out, the most fascinating duel of the summit began: the worldly, experienced Genscher, with 15 years as foreign minister under his belt, against the steely-eyed Texas dealmaker Baker, whose silky smoothness is familiar to Washington but still untested on the diplomatic circuit.

Baker smootched, flattered and beguiled Genscher, waiting him out for hours until all the other ministers were safely in the secretary's camp. The German finally caved. When the deal was struck, Bush had the words he needed, and Kohl could point to Genscher as the fall guy who accepted the U.S. language. That gave the chancellor a needed political escape hatch back home.

Bush's triumph was the first taste of tactical success as president. It was an essential win in what was merely the opening skirmish in the great struggle against Mikhail Gorbachev for the heart and soul of Europe.

George F. Will

In Search of an Administration

The Bush administration, if there ever is one, may refute the modern assumption that the presidency is inevitably central to America's political system. But Congress, off to a comparably meandering start, is proving that it cannot supply a substitute for energy in the executive.

It is mid-May and the administration has not filled about 80 percent of senior executive-branch positions: an administration spokesman says the delay is, at least in part, evidence of virtue. That is, President Bush's unprecedentedly high ethical standards require exceptionally scrupulous scrutiny of personnel.

Congress, too, is a problem. Bush extended to Congress his hand—on the Inaugural platform, frequently since—and does not seem discouraged by the fact that congressional Democrats continue to gnaw on his knuckles. His first choice for defense secretary was eviscerated. His choice for ambassador to South Korea is under fire. (He was a Bush aide who was in the Iran-contra loop that Bush was, he says, out of.) Bush's choice to head the Justice Department's civil-rights division—a black Republican—is being attacked by the civil-rights industry because he is unsympathetic to their racial spoils system called "affirmative action."

Congress' energies are being consumed in the War of Purification. House Democrats, moved by fear and armed with embalming fluid, ponder what to do with Jim Wright. He is finished, but will not yet fall down. Demonstrating the derangement that is bred by prolonged immunity from political competition, he sways in the center of the ring, rubber-kneed, throwing phantom punches, a grinning ruin.

Soon he will disappear, like the Cheshire cat, leaving only the grin behind. He will go on his own or the House Democratic Caucus—acting on the most complicated impulse its neurological system can handle: anxiety about reelection—will remove him.

And then soon the War of Purification may grind to a halt.

Rep. Tony Coelho, House Democratic whip, once was one of the boys who bore 'mid snow and ice the banner with the strange device, "Ethics!". He burned with indignation about the "sleaze factor," and that was back when the "sleaze" included Ed Meese's failure to disclose a gift of souvenir South Korean cuff links valued at more than $100.

Coelho is now in the midst of an entertaining series of explanations about who did what for him regarding his purchase of $100,000 worth of junk bonds.

"On one policy after another Bush has taken positions and then retreated from them . . ."

Mutual-assured destruction may be working. We may be near a cease-fire in the War of Purification because the shelling is coming close to Democrats.

And what is Bush doing with this moment of Democratic disarray? Once upon a time there was an English King called Ethelred the Unready. Bush may be remembered in story and song as George the Receding. On one policy after another he has taken positions and then retreated from them, annoying some people in the taking of them and everyone else in the retreats from them.

So far (stay tuned) the issues include: semiautomatic assault rifles; Boston Harbor (cleanup funds have been cut); the Navy (Dukakis was lambasted for opposing a new carrier and proposing elimination of a battle group; Bush is retiring a carrier and cutting the number of ships to Carter levels); education (the education president's education initiative involves a sum, $441 million, that is more than $100 million less than Michael Milken's 1987 earnings); tuition tax credits (pre-election, "Yea!"; post-election, "Who, me?"); global warming (Newsweek's report begins: "The Bush administration had the greenhouse surrounded last week, taking positions on all sides of this crucial environmental issue."). Can a retreat from opposition to negotiations now regarding short-range NATO missiles be far off?

Bush seems outmaneuvered by the subtle Gorbachev and the brutal Noriega. Like King Canute commanding the waves, Bush commands Noriega to obey and Noriega, like the waves, disobeys. Bush, in his Texas A&M speech, responded to Gorbachev's nimbleness by responding to Bulganin and Khrushchev. He dusted off President Eisenhower's "open skies" proposal from 1955, the year Davy Crockett coonskin caps were a national craze.

The Texas speech revealed a national need. Bush's Inaugural address was liberally supplied with clichés—new breezes blowing, doors opening, pages turning. The Texas audience was buffeted by yet another "new breeze" (blowing across the Russian steppes, of course). A grateful nation will thank the speech writer who stocks the White House pantry with a fresh supply of canned cheerfulness.

However, in a Washington without a decisive center, it does seem that the pages of history are being turned accidentally, not by decisions but by breezes blowing listlessly through negligently opened doors.

Jeane Kirkpatrick

A New Europe . . .

PARIS—In Europe, change and talk of change are everywhere.

The approach of 1992 and the new Europe, the democratization of Hungary, Poland's new freedom, the rise of nationalist and democratic movements in the Soviet Union, Helmut Kohl's difficult and unexpected demands for the removal of short-range nuclear missiles, the British Labor Party's return from the political desert of unilateral disarmament—these and other transformations dominate the conversations of Europe's political class. There is an atmosphere of excitement and expectation.

The new Europe emerging from its long gestation will be as different as a butterfly is from a crawling caterpillar. No one is certain about the size or shape of the new Europe or exactly how it will function, but its evolution is already having an impact on the politics of member states and on the imagination of Europeans.

The opportunity to win (or preserve) political prominence through the institutions of the new Europe is attracting creative, ambitious political figures who are already busily trying to expand the scope and power of the new domain. The prospect of membership in this huge, rich market is exciting and stimulating in countries that have reluctantly learned since World War II to regard themselves as something less than powers of the first rank.

"If there can be a market of 300 million [people], why not a market of 600 million?" said a rising star in the French political firmament.

Why not? Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky says his country is nearly ready to make a formal application for membership in the EC. Why should not the countries of the East—as they retrieve their national independence—be part of the new Europe?

The Soviet grip on Eastern Europe has already loosened enough that Hungary has been granted observer status in the European Parliament at Strasbourg. The economies of Eastern Europe are open enough that there is competition for their markets and growing Western participation in their industrial development.

The rapid democratization of Hungary's politics, the less dramatic but real political reforms enacted in Poland, the progressive openings of *glasnost* in the Soviet Union have raised hopes and stimulated democratic and nationalist movements throughout Eastern Europe. The most exciting political struggles today are inside the Communist countries of Eastern Europe, where reformers vie with Stalinists or Brezhnevists for control of the future.

In Western Europe, discussion also focuses on Gorbachev's economic and social failures and on his diplomatic successes. Western Europeans worry aloud that Gorbachev's reforms are still reversible, but fear that his diplomatic victories might be permanent.

There is a widespread view that the goals of Soviet foreign policy are to separate West Germany from the new Europe and the new Europe from the United States, leaving West Germany and Europe unprotected.

Anxiety about the West German role in the new Europe was, of course, heightened by Chancellor Helmut Kohl's demand that the United States negotiate the removal of short-range nuclear weapons from German soil.

But this proposed denuclearization is only one facet of resurgent concern about a resurgent Germany. The depolarization of East/West relations recreates the possibility of a Central Europe, and there is no question about who is the dominant power in Central Europe. West German economic power is viewed as awesome. West German economic penetration of Eastern Europe has already enhanced it. Western Europeans (and some Eastern Europeans) scare themselves with images of a powerful, reunified, neutral Germany dominating Central (and perhaps Eastern) Europe.

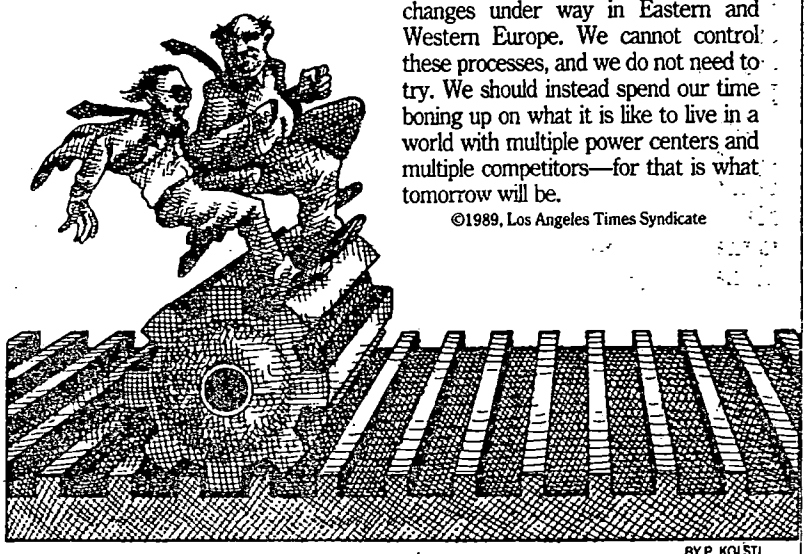
Manifestly, Europe is in flux. And that means U.S. foreign policy in the region is in flux. West German reluctance to accept nuclear weapons threatens NATO's "forward strategy," the centerpiece of which is the defense of Germany. The United States could not conceivably maintain large numbers of exposed, outnumbered U.S. troops in Germany without nuclear protection.

Of course, a reformed democratic Soviet Union would dismantle its huge conventional and unconventional forces and would constitute a threat to no one. But the Soviet Union is not so reformed, and it has not yet begun serious reductions in military forces and military budgets.

Confronting all this change, what should the United States do?

First, we should remember that maintaining American troops in Europe is a burden and not a privilege. In fact, it is not clear that today's rich, technologically advanced Europe requires the kind and amount of protection the United States has provided since World War II. A united Europe can surely provide a greatly strengthened European "pillar," as they call it, for the defense of its own independence.

It is a hopeful time. I believe Americans should enjoy rather than fear the changes under way in Eastern and Western Europe. We cannot control these processes, and we do not need to try. We should instead spend our time boning up on what it is like to live in a world with multiple power centers and multiple competitors—for that is what tomorrow will be.



BY P. KOLSTI

Cheney: Arms Statements Are Soviet 'Ploy'

Europe Warhead Cuts Called 'Pittance'

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Saying the Bush administration will resist being drawn into a public relations contest with the Soviet Union, Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney yesterday dismissed recent Soviet statements on nuclear forces in Europe as a "ploy" and part of a strategy designed "to create turmoil" in the NATO alliance.

But Cheney also said he was "encouraged" about prospects for reaching an agreement with the Soviets on reduction of conventional forces in Europe, saying that the latest Soviet proposal mirrors the U.S. and NATO position on key components.

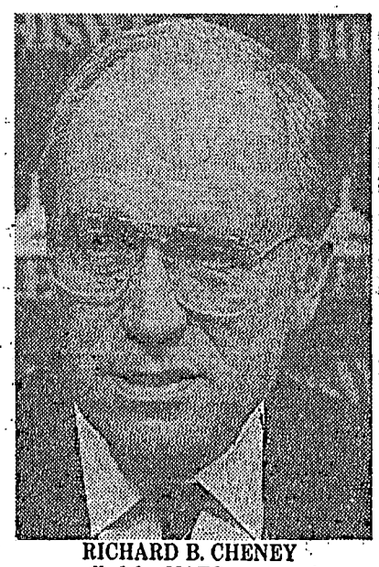
Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev told Secretary of State James A. Baker III in Moscow last week that the Soviets would unilaterally eliminate 500 nuclear warheads in Eastern Europe, a move likely to increase divisions within the NATO alliance over negotiations to reduce short-range nuclear forces and modernization of the Lance missile.

"He has got so many ratholes over there in Eastern Europe that 500 is a pittance," Cheney said at a luncheon with reporters.

Arguing that the United States had eliminated 2,400 warheads in Europe over the last decade with little fanfare, he called on the Soviets, who have about 10,000 warheads in Eastern Europe, to reassure the West by going far beyond what Gorbachev pledged last week. "All they have to do is do it," he added. "There's no restraint on them."

The defense chief was similarly harsh in his reaction to a warning issued by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on a visit to West Germany last weekend.

Shevardnadze said that if NATO proceeds with the modernization of the Lance missile, the Soviets might develop their own new class of missile or halt the destruction of their SS-23s, as called for in the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty signed in 1987 by Gorbachev and President Reagan.



RICHARD B. CHENEY
... called for NATO cooperation

"That doesn't make any sense," Cheney said, noting that it would violate the terms of the INF agreement. "That's not a serious proposition. It's designed more than anything to create turmoil in the alliance."

The modernization issue has split the alliance, with West Germany and others opposed and the United States and Great Britain firmly in favor. But Cheney said that the disagreement "should not be allowed to dominate" the NATO summit meeting later this month and said he does not believe it is "crucial" to find a compromise before then.

Cheney said the United States would try to use the NATO summit to remind people that the changes under way in the Soviet Union are the "culmination of 40 years of successful strategy" by the alliance and that continued cooperation and military resolve are needed.

Cheney said Gorbachev "is playing to the tendency of many in the West to treat [U.S.-Soviet negotiations and relations] like a political campaign," but said the administration prefers quiet diplomacy to tactical gains.

He said that while Gorbachev had received considerable publicity for his statements last year about cuts in some conventional forces in Europe, the Soviets' actual proposals, outlined recently, are the same as those proposed earlier by the United States and NATO.

"They've come to our position," he said. "We didn't get there because we ran out and catered to the desire of so many people to have a new proposal this week because Gorbachev had one last week. We got there because we spent all the time and effort of putting together a solid alliance position."

Gas Masks and Fish Police: Moscow Up Close

By ERIKA HOLZER

So you think you know Moscow. Did you know Muscovites are so inured to the sight of falling-down drunks that the genuine heart attack victim who collapses on a public street is in real danger of being ignored? Sure, you've heard of thought police, but how about fish police? They're the tough guys whose helicopters circle low scouting for outlaw smoke, that telltale sign of *kopchushki*—a smoked fish delicacy

Bookshelf

"Growing Up in Moscow: Memories of a Soviet Girlhood"

By Cathy Young

privately traded between wily Latvian villagers and Moscow vacationers. Soviet military preparedness? Perhaps you weren't aware that a fourth grader's "defense training" entails wearing a gas mask or that from seventh grade on, boys and girls attend twice-weekly "military instruction" classes, learning among other things how to assemble the Kalashnikov submachine gun. On the lighter side, Soviet kids dote on Tom Sawyer, Jules Verne adventures and a largely plagiarized Soviet version of "The Wizard of Oz."

Fascinating nuggets? There's a goldmine of them in the reminiscences of 25-year-old Cathy Young, who, as Katya Jung, spent 16 precocious years in the Soviet capital.

In "Growing Up in Moscow: Memories of a Soviet Girlhood" (Ticknor & Fields, 334 pages, $18.95), Ms. Young proves herself a talented raconteur. In a cogent and remarkably self-possessed narrative voice, she combines perceptive observation and a good eye for the colorful detail, the deft character sketch, with a refreshing irreverence and a wry sense of humor that borders on the mischievous.

While an occasional anecdote is less than stimulating or drags on too long (the opening chapter dissects the mindset of an indulgent nanny), the pace for the most part is cheerfully brisk and punctuated with that typically wry cultural commentary, the Russian joke. On one sobering aspect of anti-Semitism, colleges off-limits to Jews (a prospect faced by the author), the joke is: Three young men are taking a college entrance exam in history. "Ivanov, what is the date of the bombing of Hiroshima?" "August 6, 1945." "Good! Petrov, how many people were killed or injured?" "About 75,000." "Good! Rabinowitz, list all the victims by name."

Not that Katya Jung ever saw herself as a victim. The pampered middle-class child of college-educated professionals, she was blessed with a father who revered books, was an avid reader and aspiring writer by the time she entered a special school (English classes from the second grade on) and became a model student with a discerning eye, though critical of the moral guidance counselors who permeated school life.

But by third grade she already had begun to "feel at home in the world of slogans and paeans to Lenin, to the Revolution, to the Socialist Motherland." At these first signs of "a mild case of brainwashing . . . my father took my political education into his own hands. . . . Soviet society was not in fact the best and freest in the world. Lenin was not the best friend children had ever had." Years later she would be appalled to discover that "even among the freethinking intelligentsia . . . very few ever said anything critical of the Soviet system in front of, let alone to their young children. I knew kids who . . . spoke indignantly of the 'anti-Soviet propaganda' in the West while their parents read Solzhenitsyn . . ."

Her rudest, most painful awakening would be triggered by schoolmates such as these. By age 15, her political education was expanded to include labor camp horror stories. ". . . it began to seem . . . that I couldn't find a single person in whose family there had been no arrests, no jailings"—including her own grandparents. "My readings and reflections, mostly on the French Revolution," she writes, had "left me convinced that to cause human suffering in the name of whatever idea, whatever higher goal, was monstrous." And so her "nebulous humanitarian notions" about the individual's right to think and speak freely "solidified into a startlingly Jeffersonian idea," which appears in her diary: "All in all, the best kind of government is one that makes its presence felt the least in the lives of its citizens."

She writes of her despairing search for even one like-minded person. "It was as if I were a character in 'The Invasion of the Body Snatchers' and had suddenly realized that all the creatures around me, whom I had taken to be human, were actually pod persons—and God, I had to be very careful not to let them know I wasn't one of them." She had to learn "not to confuse bitching, political jokes, utter contempt for civics classes, and lust for all things Western with dissent . . ." Self-deprecating about being only a "closet" dissident, she observes that the "necessity to lie was perhaps the one real way in which I experienced oppression in my life."

Which is why she took grim satisfaction in answering a teacher's parting question. Learning that Katya and her parents were "in application" to emigrate, the disapproving teacher said, "You'll tell them the truth about our country, won't you?" "I will," she promised.

In "Growing Up in Moscow," she has.

Ms. Holzer is a novelist, journalist and lawyer in Bedford, N.Y.

How to Recapture School Dropouts

New figures confirm that one in every four New York City public school students drops out of school, despite special programs. Schools Chancellor Richard Green voices concern over the high rate and suggests the need to restructure the system profoundly. That's a sobering conclusion but there is encouraging evidence, and a growing national consensus, that less radical approaches can do the job.

Ultimately, dramatic changes in dropout numbers, particularly in urban districts, depend on better identifying and helping at-risk children in the early grades. But even for older children, there are sensible things to do. Jay Smink, executive director of the National Dropout Prevention Center, based at Clemson University in South Carolina, offers some common elements of successful dropout prevention programs.

Students at risk of leaving school need to know that someone cares about them and their education. Formal mentoring programs enhance their sense of self-worth. Alternative schools, offering smaller classes and less anonymity, can recapture dropouts from other schools. Many districts have retained students who also work by extending the school day and the academic year.

For older students, work experience during high school teaches that the academic skills they have acquired can lead to gainful employment. For younger students, talking about career goals emphasizes the connection between school performance and the ability to obtain a job.

Some schools offer different incentives to students. At a troubled middle school in Charleston, S.C., students with improved grades can dip into a "grabber box" and pull out a certificate for a free T-shirt, movie or other reward. But corporations need to donate more than free gifts to help prevent dropouts. Staff exchanges, lectures by executives and tutoring sessions are also effective.

Vote for Better Schools

Today, New York City voters can help make the public school system more effective for all students. Each of the city's 32 nine-member Community School Boards is up for renewal, and every registered voter, parent or not, is eligible to participate.

A Board of Education hot line offers candidate information: (718) 935-3050. Voting will be conducted at regular polling places from 6 A.M. to 9 P.M. By choosing wisely, voters can send a powerful message against corruption and conflict of interest. The larger the turnout, the louder the message.

In New York, some of these programs are already in place. About 55,000 students attended summer school last year, with an 85 percent passing rate. Some 30,000 students attend part-time evening courses. A new night high school that opened in February already has 125 students. Other steps include reorganizing large high schools into schools-within-schools, establishing more orientation "houses" for ninth-grade students and hiring more guidance counselors.

For high dropout rates to persist is dismaying but there is obviously much that remains to be tried. New York's future depends on finding the approach or approaches that work.

The Worm and the Apple

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, *Publisher 1896-1935*
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, *Publisher 1935-1961*
ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, *Publisher 1961-1963*

5/2/89

The U.S. vs. the U.S. on the FSX

President Bush has now improved the terms of the $7 billion FSX fighter plane deal that the Reagan Administration reached with Japan. If Congress goes along, Mr. Bush will have removed a growing irritant in relations between America and a valued ally.

But the FSX episode nevertheless shows how high a price Washington pays for the incoherence of its policy-making toward Japan. Instead of presenting a unified front, each Federal agency deals separately with Japan's shrewd negotiators, a sure recipe for a bad deal and prickly relations.

•

The FSX is a new fighter plane Japan plans to develop, patterned loosely on America's F-16. Japan has every right to develop its own military equipment. But the deal is particularly painful to the United States for several reasons.

If Japan were to buy the American F-16 off the shelf, it would (a) get the world's best fighter at an unbeatable price, and (b) help significantly to relieve its trade surplus with America, now $55 billion a year and rising again. Instead, Japan chooses to develop its own fighter at three times the cost, which increases America's burden in defending Japan, while probably facilitating Japan's challenge to America's civil aviation industry.

This appears to be of little concern to the Defense and State Departments, whose main interest is to maintain good relations with Japan. They agreed last year to transfer the F-16 technology Japan needed for the FSX. In so doing, they excluded the Commerce Department and failed to nail down important details, like how much of the production work American firms would receive and what technology the United States would receive in return.

Robert Mosbacher, the new Secretary of Commerce, objected to the deal. Now Washington has improved it. The best logical choice for both sides would still be for Japan to buy American-made planes, but it is probably too late to insist on that. The Administration therefore sought to patch up the old agreement, notably by insisting that American companies get about 40 percent of the production work.

This should be enough to keep a critical technology, engine production, in America, although the agreement apparently does not specify this. Mr. Bush also made clear that certain technologies would definitely not be passed to Japan, another point that had been left murky.

Washington's policy toward Japan, Robert Pear wrote recently in The New York Times, "is so confused and uncoordinated that many American officials say they cannot figure out how it is made or why economic concerns are regularly subordinated to military and political objectives." Each agency tries to cut its own deal, a luxury hard to afford now that Japan is so significant an industrial competitor.

Even now, the Bush Administration has not wholly learned the lesson. When Masaji Yamamoto, director general of the Japan Defense Agency's procurement bureau, came to Washington last month, he was allowed to meet separately with American officials at the National Security Council, the Pentagon and State.

The details of the FSX deal are classified, at Japan's request, and so cannot be publicly debated. That's all the more reason for Congress to review the agreement carefully. Even more important is to recognize that economic strength and national security are two sides of the same coin, and must be considered together if the United States and Japan are to compete and cooperate.

6/1/89

Bush Declares 'The Time Is Right' To 'Let Europe Be Whole and Free'

President Vows to Put Soviet 'New Thinking' to Use

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

MAINZ, West Germany, May 31—President Bush, affirming that the "liberating power" of democracy has been unleashed across the world, said here today that the "time is right" for the nations of the East and West to reconcile.

In a speech capping the NATO summit and his visit to West Germany, the president said that for 40 years, "the world has waited for the Cold War to end . . . The world has waited long enough. The time is right. Let Europe be whole and free."

The president arrived here from the summit, where Western leaders applauded as he unveiled a plan for reduction of conventional arms and smoothed over a dispute concerning the future of short-range nuclear missiles that most West Germans would like removed from their soil.

Bush used the address here, in the heart of antinuclear territory, to portray his administration as ready to seize the opportunities provided by the "new thinking" in the Soviet Union and to emphasize his belief that the West must encourage the spread of democracy.

After a two-hour boat ride down the Rhine River with the other leaders, Bush flew to London. He was greeted there by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and is to hold talks with her Thursday before returning to Washington Friday.

In ceremonies at Rhein Main Air Base as he left West Germany, Bush told the military

See BUSH, A32, Col. 1

PAUL GREENBERG

The chorus and the pretenders

Perhaps the most remarkable part of the remarkable changes now sweeping the world is how unremarkable they seem.

Eastern Europe slips almost naturally into becoming what it was for so long — Central Europe. Only in Romania were the most revolutionary changes accompanied by civil war, and it was mercifully brief. The idea of one Germany still sets off instinctive fears here and there, but it comes to seem as inevitable as one France or one England. The natural flow of people, ideas and currency begins to dissolve complex plans and forebodings. Formal structures — political, military and economic — will have to be worked out; but there is little doubt that they will be.

In South Africa, Nelson Mandela is released on schedule and, despite an abstract defense of violence as a legitimate reaction to apartheid, he speaks of peace, prepares to negotiate and praises South Africa's president as a man of good will. He tells young people to go back to school, and they do. Peace, it's not only wonderful, it seems normal in a land that has been torn by tension for decades. The scattered violence on the occasion of the hero's release seems peripheral, peace and hope seem the norm.

In the Soviet Union, the proceedings of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union begin to resemble those of any other parliamentary body, complete with open debate between the Old Guard and Young Turks. The astounding has been accomplished, the miraculous may take a little longer.

Only in the vastness of China and a few scattered outposts like Cuba does the *ancien regime* persist, and the cracks beneath the surface are evident there. Totalitarianism, a feature of the political landscape for the better part of this tormented century, becomes the exception. The wave of the future has become the fast-receding past. And it all seems so normal.

There was a huge demonstration for democracy in Moscow, Marx Prospekt, this month. The London Times said 300,000 people marched, while the crowd numbered only 100,000 according to The New York Times. (Crowd estimates long have been the most conservative thing about the good gray Times.) In any case, it was clear the demonstration had the protection of the police and the connivance of the new Soviet leader. Like many another spontaneous demonstration in that locale, it had been planned for some time.

Even now the official ideologues are explaining that Lenin always favored the free market. As evidence, they cite his New Economic Program in the 1920s. Democracy becomes the creed of the new Soviet establishment. Perhaps one day the Chinese will note that Mao Tse-tung let a thousand flowers bloom (preparatory to cutting off their heads) as evidence that he really favored freedom of thought. Whatever ideological sleight-of-mind is necessary, the transition to democracy will be welcome.

Buried in the new party platform adopted by the Central Committee last week was this small detail: "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union believes that the existence of individual property, including ownership of the means of production, does not contradict the modern stage in the country's economic development." Exclamation point. This is the political equivalent of the weather service announcing that, in this modern stage of meteorological development, it's no contradiction to have the sun rise in the west. That is just what it seems to be doing in the new Marxism, which sounds a lot like the old capitalism.

The CPSU is beginning to sound a lot like the GOP. You have to be an ideological jap-dancer to keep up with the Communist Party's contortions these days. Is this the party line or a conga line doubling back on itself? Poor Webster's is so far behind that my copy still defines communism as "a theory advocating elimination of private property" and socialism as "any of various economic and political theories advocating collective or governmental ownership of the means of production."

The Central Committee has just erased the first commandment of Marxism-Leninism. At this rate, communism will not be defeated; it will simply become meaningless.

The historian and dissenter Yuri Afanasyev set the tone for the demonstration in Moscow when he proclaimed: "Long live the peaceful revolution of February 1990, which is now under way." Recognize the historical allusion? After all those years of Soviet propaganda, it is almost forgotten that the Russian Revolution occurred in February 1917, not October. That was the Bolshevik Revolution. It was the February Revolution that toppled the czar, established a provisional government with Alexander Kerensky as minister of justice, and planned a Constituent Assembly that would enshrine the civil liberties of all. The major thrust of the February Revolution was not much different from that of the demonstration in Marx Prospekt: democracy, moderation, equality before the law.

This February, Russia seems to be picking up where Kerensky left off. The signs carried by the demonstrators could have been addressed to the czar and his nobility. "Boyars!" said one. "We are coming for you!" After 73 years in the wilderness, once again the people were rising against a tiny, collapsing aristocracy.

Much of the world now seems in the benevolent grip of a February Revolution. Will it succeed this time? Or will its moderation, its peacefulness, its air of normalcy be swept away by the winds of October? To make a revolution is one thing, to keep it another — as Americans discovered in the 18th century. The world has Robespierres aplenty, but few Washingtons.

How natural this year's revolution appears — how normal. But nothing may demand artifice like the natural. The most peaceful of gardens needs tending, lest it become a jungle. A chorus of Mirandas now hails this Brave New World, but to keep it will require the judgment and perspective of a Prospero.

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

ARNOLD BEICHMAN

What will all the intellectuals, particularly the semiskilled intellectuals of Hollywood, do now that the peoples of Central Europe and the Soviet Union have abjured socialism? What are the Marxist academicians in our universities going to do now that the peoples of Hungary, Poland, East Germany and Romania have clearly indicated that they want a market economy and an end to the one-party state and central planning?

Nothing. They go on just as if nothing that is happening in the world could possibly alter their demonology about capitalism. As documentation let me cite "Godfather III," now in production in Rome's Cinecitta studios and scheduled to open next Thanksgiving. Al Pacino and Diane Keaton are in it under the direction of Francis Ford Coppola, who was responsible for the earlier "Godfathers."

The London Economist advance on the movie points out that the first two "Godfathers," were not simply gangster pictures; they were metaphors for the evolution of capitalism in America in this century, with Michael Corleone, the brightest and the best, as a fallen angel.

Reports the Economist: "Godfather III" will again focus on Michael, and on the family's compulsion to establish its legitimacy through business transactions with the Vatican."

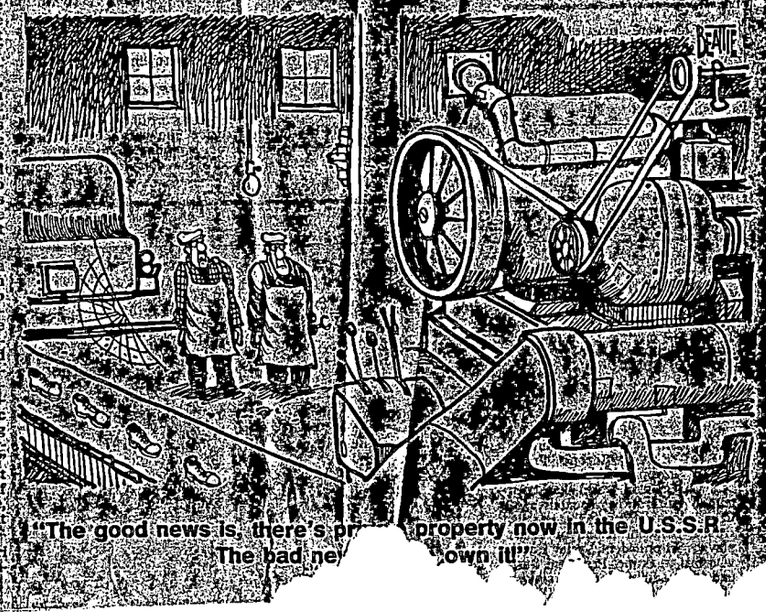
It is rather startling to think according to Hollywood's Coppola and the millionaire bankers who are supporting his film, that in the era of Adolf Hitler and the Holocaust horrors of Nazism and in the era of Josef Stalin and Mao Tse-tung and the terrors of communist totalitarianism, that capitalism is still the enemy of mankind; that Mafiaism and capitalism are synonymous and that the Vatican is just a branch of capitalism where indulgences are sold to the highest bidder, in this case Corleone.

People marched by the hundreds of thousands in the streets of Leipzig and East Berlin, they marched in Prague, they marched in Warsaw, they dared bullets in Romania, but for Hollywood the enemy is not failed communism but successful capitalism.

By exploiting successful capitalism, Mr. Coppola has raised a budget for "Godfather III" of $44 million. He is being paid $6 million to write and direct the film. And here he is making a film, according to the Economist, which is informed by a deep-rooted resentment of the political-economic system and which, compared to socialism/communism, has helped great masses of people to better their lives.

Had Mr. Coppola been a movie director in Stalin's Russia, he would by now be a moldering corpse. The worst that will happen to him in capitalist America if "Godfather III" is a box-office flop is bankruptcy.

How right Henry Kissinger was when he wrote so presciently thirty years ago, "Marxism is accepted where it doesn't exist, rejected here does."



Of Mother Russia — and a Hat

By Janusz Glowacki

Lithuania notwithstanding, there is little doubt that Mikhail Gorbachev is doing all he can to reform his country, but there is no doubt that he will have a very hard time.

I was there in January and I saw the hundreds of obstacles that stand in his way. Here is one small story, about one insignificant medium-sized man's hat.

Just before my return to New York, I went on an excursion with a group of Polish intellectuals to Zagorsk, a town an hour from Moscow, to see a famous 14th-century monastery, an icon museum and the grave of Boris Godunov.

When we were about to leave the icon museum, it turned out that a distinguished Polish novelist in our group had lost the ticket for his hat. The museum's cloakroom, for the sake of order, gives separate tickets for coats and hats.

A cloakroom attendant, an elderly woman with a decisive face, declared that yes, the hat was there; she even took it out from under the counter to prove it. But without the ticket she wouldn't think of giving it back.

Outdoors, it was 24 degrees below zero and an icy wind was blowing. We assumed that the woman was joking. We were wrong.

The writer, undefeated by seven years in Stalinist prisons, now broke down. He began to plead, then to threaten, and he finally proceeded to get hysterical.

Everything in vain.

A half-hour passed. The situation looked hopeless and nothing changed. We were part of an official foreign delegation, one of whose members had just been named Deputy Minister of Culture in newly democratic Poland. Outside we were awaited by a black Chaika limousine with hand-embroidered curtains and a chauffeur. We were accompanied by an excellently connected and worldly wise interpreter. It didn't help.

In the meantime, we attracted the curiosity of soldiers in Soviet Army uniforms who guarded the museum and who now started to circle us.

The novelist looked at them and quickly said that his hat was worn out and that he didn't actually like it. Besides, he said, he could wrap his head in a scarf. He started pushing us toward the door. But our interpreter took the high road. He ran after the novelist, tore his coat off and in a dramatic voice stated that if the hat wasn't back on the novelist's head within the hour, it meant that nothing had changed in the U.S.S.R.

Then he disappeared.

Now the army guards came unexpectedly to our support and made efforts to soften up the cloakroom attendant. But she declared that she was not afraid of them anymore, that lawlessness in the Soviet Union was over, and that every citizen had the duty to guard the rules and regulations. The guards spread their hands in resignation, and went back to guarding the sacred icons.

All of a sudden, the interpreter materialized. With a victorious smile, he pushed before him the artistic director of the museum.

We jumped to our feet, hopefully buttoning our coats.

But our joy was premature.

The cloakroom attendant informed the artistic director that the cloakroom did not fall within the purview of the Department of the Arts. The artistic director looked humiliated. He turned on his heel and left.

But our interpreter didn't give up. Twenty minutes later he presented us with an elegant, polite woman who, it turned out, was the museum's administrative director.

Now everything ran smoothly. After a brief interrogation, a report was drawn up. It was signed by the director, the novelist, the cloakroom attendant and the interpreter, after which the hat was returned.

On our way back to Moscow, I looked out the windows of our comfortable limousine as we passed the snowy fields and crude cottages that witnessed the Napoleonic wars. And as I contemplated my fellow writer's hat, I wondered in what shape and form the eternal spirit of Mother Russia would be reborn. □

Ken Shulman

It was 24 below zero. We thought she was joking. Yeah. She wasn't.

The writer, undefeated by seven years in Stalinist prisons, broke down.

Janusz Glowacki, a playwright, emigrated from Poland in 1981.

Bennett Strategy Would Protect The Real Victims

If George Bush gives the drug speech he's expected to give Tuesday night, he'll finally have presented the country an anti-drug strategy worthy of the name. He'll also be endorsing the inspired madness in the political method of Washington's most interesting public figure, "drug czar" William Bennett.

Bill Bennett is fascinating because he's so disdainful of Washington's conventional political limits. Most cabinet members (e.g., Attorney General Richard Thornburgh) are heralded as skilled for figuring out the prevailing political interests and then somehow accommodating them. Mr. Bennett would rather force those interests to accommodate him. In his favorite metaphor for Washington—football—he insists on "playing offense" and "moving the ball," lest others first move it on him.

With his drug strategy, Mr. Bennett and his band of neoconservative aides are moving the ball less against one political constituency than against an entire world view. "We're trying to change the terms of debate," he says, much as he did earlier as education secretary.

He wants to hold all drug users accountable for the problem, not just the Medellin cartel or local dealers. The cocaine addict

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

of tomorrow is the casual user of today, he's found; he wants to stigmatize the casual user. He sees merit in traditional drug treatment and in pursuing cartels, too, but his centerpiece is street-corner law enforcement—more certain arrest, more certain punishment. Like Pogo, he thinks the public now understands that the drug problem is us, our appetite for drugs, and wants to respond accordingly.

"We've seen this hardening of public opinion. It's happened very quickly," says the man who grew up in the Age of Aquarius and once had a blind date with one of its victims, Janis Joplin. "The culture is changing."

Mr. Bennett's strategic departure is radical enough that it even had to be sold to many in the Bush administration. The Justice Department, fond of high-profile "kingpin busts," resisted the down-and-dirty street-level approach. Others resisted Mr. Bennett's revolutionary notion that the strategy itself be held accountable, judged by survey results of future drug use. And while George Bush has embraced Mr. Bennett's ideas, the first draft of his Tuesday speech turned out by the White House staff was largely a rehash of old drug cliches. A White House used to reacting and playing defense can't quite believe Mr. Bennett has given it a chance to play offense.

The Bennett strategy has also turned the tables on Congress. Created by Sen. Joe Biden (D., Del.), among others, the "drug czar" was supposed to whipsaw the executive into pursuing congressional priorities. Shortly after Mr. Bennett's nomination, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan called to tell him that the czar's job was simply to expand drug-treatment spending, a form of pork-barrel. But Mr. Bennett has called Congress's bluff. The members' usual agenda of "spend more" won't be enough, especially since the Bennett strategy also calls for more than $1 billion in new spending.

If they do take on Mr. Bennett, Democrats will find an opponent well-armed for argument. The drug czar is at his best when carving up reigning pieties, such as the one that blames "root causes" for the drug problem. "When you get a difficult social problem, there are always those who want to make up the most difficult answers," he says.

The language of sociology—with its excuses and "victims"—has corrupted the way we look at social ills. Poverty, family breakdown, poor schools—these are all problems. But while we wait to solve them, lives are being lost. Drugs, especially crack, have made parts of our inner cities a Hobbesian world, a "state of nature," where life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." The first duty of government in that world is to take back the streets, to "ensure domestic tranquillity," as Mr. Bennett puts it. Since the buying and selling of drugs is a market, the duty of government is to disrupt the market wherever it is.

William Bennett

"If a mother doesn't want to send her child to school because of drug activity in the streets, how can you worry about root causes?" Mr. Bennett asks. In the notorious case of Dooney Waters, a Washington, D.C., crack-house child, social workers well knew Dooney's predicament. They just didn't dare risk their lives in the state of nature that is a crack house. In the inner city, Mr. Bennett sees a new "invisible man," stealing novelist Ralph Ellison's famous metaphor to describe the majority who don't do drugs or join gangs. They are the victims government should protect.

Mr. Bennett wants nothing less than to rehabilitate the notion of "individual responsibility." In drug users, many have preferred to see only victims; Mr. Bennett sees offenders first, violaters of the social contract. He wants sanctions—names in the newspaper, boot camps, loss of welfare benefits—as a form of community stigma as much as punishment. Liberals, and conservative legalizers, will object, but the public seems fed up enough to try it.

Whether the public also has the stomach to follow through when the going gets tough, even Bill Bennett isn't sure. "That's the question I'm asking. . . . It's going to be hard. Arresting the mayor's son, the kid next door," he muses. "But if we're serious about it, I don't think it will have to be very hard for very long. Because people will stop using drugs." He's that rare public official who's willing to risk his reputation in order to try.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1989

Forty-Four Years Late, Peace in Europe

By Leszek Kolakowski

It is commonly believed that the peace arrangements after the First World War made the Second World War inevitable. On closer inspection, this seems by no means certain. To be sure, many grievances and many claims were left unresolved in 1919. But so they were after 1945, and for that matter, after every previous European war. Many tribes live together in Europe—sometimes peacefully, sometimes not—without clearly defined boundaries between ethnic, linguistic and religious communities.

The quarrels over these territories must seem exotic to non-Europeans. Where, they must wonder, is Dobruja? What happened to Karelia? Anything peculiar about Upper Adyga? Why is Lvov so important? Do you really mean to suggest that Catalan and Castilian are two different tongues? What do the Basques want? What are the Flemish and the Walloons unceasingly fighting about? What language do the Alsatians speak? Why is Yugoslavia falling apart?

Have you never heard of the Cieszyn region in Upper Silesia? Thanks for telling me that Rijeka and Fiume are the same thing, but what do they need two names for? Who precisely are the Ukrainian Uniates? And tell me why—exactly why—were the Jews slaughtered by the Nazis?

Unending Conflicts

The list never ends. Nor do the conflicts. If we were to assume that unsettled claims in Europe must inevitably provoke wars, we have to assume that wars in Europe will never stop, for there is no way—short of Hitlerian and Stalinist annihilation and deportation of entire nations—that all those claims ever could be settled according to commonly accepted legal, ethnic and historical criteria. But there is no reason to accept this gloomy assumption. Among Europe's uncountable wars, big and small, there has not since 1919 been a war between democratic countries.

This is not to imply that democratic countries have always behaved impeccably. Some did revolting things in their dependencies; others displayed an abominable cowardice toward despotic regimes; but they have not waged wars against one another. It is not likely that any of the conflicts and grievances within Western Europe today could trigger a European war. It is only the post-Yaltan division of Europe, whereby Central European states were forced by violence into the Soviet empire, that could cause it.

The Second World War was not an unavoidable cataclysm, effected by impersonal forces beyond human control. Nor was there anything inevitable in the victory of National Socialism in Germany, or in the Third Reich's dazzling successes between 1938 and 1942. The West could easily have defeated Germany at any time between 1937 and 1939, if there had been the will to fight, as Gens. Keitel and Jodl admitted.

The Germans march into the Rhineland; they annex Austria, the Sudetenland, Bohemia. The Reich's early conquests are almost bloodless. The Western states are "seriously concerned." Hitler laughs: Let them be "concerned," those miserable cowards—they will swallow anything. Everything works as he predicted, blackmail, intimidation, lies. So why shouldn't Poland be the next loot? There was no reason to expect anything save more "serious concern."

But it didn't work out that way. Hitler and Stalin divided Central Europe, but war had begun, and nobody could withdraw any longer from the horrible roulette table.

The Second World War was the product of the decisions of individuals: of the pusillanimity of those in the West who believed, or pretended to believe, the Nazis' lies; of the Nazis' direct accomplices; and, above all, of Hitler himself. Social and psychological conditions made the Nazi seizure of power and all the subsequent genocidal carnage possible; nothing made it unavoidable. Retrospectively, events seem to have been carried along by a fatal necessity, but this is an illusion. The past is inevitable only once it has become the past.

I remember vividly hearing the announcement of the German invasion of Poland on Sept. 1, 1939, and then, two days later, the news of France and Britain declaring war. I was just 12. Then came the German bombs, and a desperate escape to eastern Poland. On Sept. 17, the Soviets occupied eastern Poland and we returned home to Lodz again through burnt-out villages and cities. Deportation and five years of murderous oppression followed. Of the men in the family, one was killed in battle, another was murdered by the Gestapo, two were sent to Auschwitz (they survived), and a fifth was held in a POW camp (he survived as well). A standard Polish family story.

Within a few years, the world will be ruled by people to whom the Second World War will be no more than stories from a textbook. The last heroes, the last soldiers, the last hangmen will die or retreat and the living memory will fade away.

In the first weeks of the war, nobody knew what was in store. Some older people who remembered the German occupation during the last war expected that this one would be worse, but similar. Nothing of the kind. We lived through not military occupation but a genocidal terror. Some 6 million Poles, half of them Jews, perished by German hands.

Poles are amazed when they read memoirs of the German occupation of France. French life managed to continue, though at a lower level. The French still published books and magazines, attended high schools and universities, gave each other literary prizes, made movies, watched movies and so on. To us, the war meant a catastrophic break of continuity; everything fell apart—all of life was dominated simply by the will to survive.

From the first moment, we Poles deluded ourselves that the Germans would quickly lose the war. It was a most beneficial illusion. It sustained us, and contributed greatly to the final victory, after long years of suffering.

Then the ambiguous peace arrived, based upon a new surrender to another tyranny and on new illusions—the "democratic cooperation" with Stalin expected by President Roosevelt, perhaps even sincerely, who knows? But the fate of Poland was sealed in Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam without Poles' voices being heard, just as the fate of Czechoslovakia was set in 1938.

Forty-four years of peace, that is, of non-war, were purchased by the enslavement of Central and Eastern Europe. Aspects of the postwar order—the annexation of the Baltic countries, for example—had as their only legal basis the Hitler-Stalin pact, decades after both Hitler and Stalin had met their ends.

And so, some people in Central and Eastern Europe keep saying that the war has not ended. There was no peace treaty. Poland's never regained its independence, the ostensible cause of war in 1939. But thinking in such legal terms is of little help. This peace treaty, a treaty that would take the Europe of 1937 as a legally valid starting point, will almost certainly never be concluded. The borders that were drawn by Stalin's decrees were indeed enforced by violence and mass deportations, without the consent of any of the peoples concerned.

But 44 years later, as the third generation of inhabitants grows up inside those borders, the most sensible course for Europe is to accept the permanence of those national borders, especially between Poland and Germany in the west, and between Poland, Byelorussia, Lithuania and the Ukraine—although this should not preclude independence for those countries that were entirely swallowed by the Soviet empire. The de-Sovietization of Central Europe will result not from a treaty nor, let us hope, from another war, but from the self-assertion of nations. This process has begun and will not stop, however long, difficult and dangerous it may prove to be.

The war is coming to an end through the lapse of time, by historical exhaustion (or should we call it convalescence?). Within a few years more, the world will be ruled everywhere by people to whom the Second World War will be no more than stories from a textbook. The last heroes, the last soldiers, the last hangmen will die or retreat and the living memory will fade away. Only then will real peace, based on reconciliation, be possible.

Younger Generations

To those who lived under German rule or fought against it, May 1945 was a moment of great joy. The overwhelming majority of Germans, including anti-Nazis, must have perceived it as a national catastrophe. That is natural, that one cannot help. But younger generations of all nationalities will feel neither emotion, just as my generation cannot enter into the emotions of the people who witnessed November 1918.

Young Germans on the one side and young Poles, Russians and Serbs on the other will not be divided by feelings they have not experienced. Their minds will therefore be more open; but not, we may confidently hope, open to the prospect of any future European war.

Mr. Kolakowski, a fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, and a professor at the University of Chicago, is the author of "Main Currents of Marxism." He was expelled for political reasons from the University of Warsaw in 1968.

Jeane Kirkpatrick

Castro's Blues

The death of Communism is less an event than a process—a process now painfully under way in Cuba. The Marxist regime is still in power, but the world revolution from which it drew energy and sustenance has died.

The latest phase in relations between the Soviet Union and Cuba teaches us new lessons about the extent of Cuban dependence on the Soviet economy and the extent of Soviet dominance in Cuban foreign policy.

In Cuba, Fidel Castro is girding his countrymen's loins for the "special period" of hardship, when the revolution will be tested as never before.

The economic crisis of which Castro warned last January is nearly upon them. The socialist trading system of barter and subsidies has collapsed with the transformation of Eastern Europe. Eastern European countries are now reorienting their trade to the West—and to hard currency.

The Soviet Union has neither the resources nor the inclination to continue a system under which it provided oil, food, machinery and consumer goods in exchange for Cuba's sugar, nickel, fruit and political and military support for world revolution. The Soviet Union, too, is interested in dealing in convertible currency. So early in 1990 the Soviet government gave Castro notice that from January 1991 forward, Soviet trade with Cuba would be at world prices in convertible currency.

At the end of August, announcing that "We must be ready to face even more difficult circumstances," the Havana government proclaimed that Cuba had entered the "special period" of siege.

The government extended rationing from the basics to almost everything, overhauled the system of distribution and exhorted the people to redouble "creativity" and "vigilance." It cancelled some commercial flights due to fuel shortages and dramatically slashed the consumption of fuel and electricity.

Recrimination against the Soviet Union became more frequent. The all-purpose explanation for Cuba's economic difficulties became: "As it is known, the U.S.S.R. is having difficulties supplying us with various basic goods we traditionally have received from that brother country."

Cuban officials said that because the Soviets were unable to deliver 2 million tons of oil and derivatives, the sugarcane harvest suffered, and fuel deliveries to trucks were cut by 50 percent, with consequent effects on transportation. Consumption of electricity was sharply curtailed, affecting irrigation and agriculture. Refrigeration capacities were cut, affecting the preservation of already-short food supplies.

Work on an oil refinery at Cienfuegos and at the Che Guevara nickel plant—both projects developed with Soviet aid—was shut down. Each Cuban family was required to reduce its average monthly consumption of electric power by 10 percent. Any family failing to comply with these reductions would receive no electricity for at least 30 days.

Castro himself announced that 400,000 bulls were being domesticated to supplement the 200,000 bulls already available to replace tractors as they run out of gas in Cuban fields.

Castro has let his "disappointment" with the failure of Soviet "fraternal" deliveries be known. But Soviet economists do not agree that their government caused Cuba's problem.

"The Cuban economy's advancing disease has not been a secret from anyone for a long time now," commented Komsomolskaya Pravda recently. First, the article charged that the Cubans had exaggerated the Soviet shortfall. Instead of 2 million tons short in oil and derivative deliveries, it was 580,000 tons short. Moreover, in the first six months of 1990 the Soviet Union had actually delivered 100,000 tons more of oil and derivatives than in the first six months of the previous year, it said.

So what is happening? Soviet analysts speculate aloud. Either the Cuban government is stockpiling this year's deliveries in anticipation of harder times to come, or the Cuban government has sold Soviet oil to third parties to procure foreign exchange. Both explanations are plausible. Castro is deeply concerned about the future, and he is selling what he can.

The Madrid daily El Pais described on Oct. 17 the sale by the Cuban government of a large number of antiques, stamp and coin collections and paintings. The decision to auction paintings by the distinguished artist Joaquin Sorolla was regarded as especially significant. Sorolla's paintings are the property of Cuba's National Museum of Painting and are regarded as part of the "national artistic heritage." But they have been auctioned to the highest bidder in Sotheby's and Christie's London galleries.

A manuscript of Federico Garcia Lorca—a cherished possession of the National Library—has also been sold recently. Spanish sources report on frequent trips of antique dealers from Barcelona and Madrid to Havana to procure thousands of pieces of antique furniture, carriages and so forth. Obviously, Fidel Castro is seeking to provide for a rainy day.

"Castro combines strategic and tactical abilities rarely surpassed among world leaders," Harvard professor Jorge Dominguez wrote in his 1989 study of Cuba's foreign policy. Clearly, those tactics are better suited to foreign affairs than to the Cuban economy.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Bush's Unwanted Visits

CINCINNATI—President Bush had just tried again to rev up both Republican partisan spirits and the national mood for war, when an important party leader here asked a question echoed by GOP colleagues across the country.

As Air Force One left Cincinnati for its next destination Friday, the Ohio Republican mused: "I wonder whether the president was here to help us or help himself." Then, in effect answering his own question, he told us: "If I had my 'druthers, I would have preferred he not come."

Bush on the campaign trail has fortified his own approval ratings by playing down his surrender to Democratic demands on the budget and donning his commander-in-chief's cap to assault Saddam Hussein as "worse than Hitler." It is questionable how much he helps Republican candidates with such unpresidential hyperbole. Beyond debate is how unwelcome Bush is among his party's faithful.

The president's post-Ohio stop Friday first appeared a week earlier on internal White House schedules as a luncheon in Springfield, Ill., to help Jim Edgar's tight race for governor. But Edgar, a tried-and-true Bush backer, asked the president not to come because he would muddy the picture.

Two other longtime loyalists were visited by Bush despite misgivings in their camps. If Gov. Bob Martinez of Florida had heeded his advisers, he would have called off Bush's stop at Orlando the day before to try to help his come-from-behind reelection campaign. Nor were staffers of Ohio governor candidate George Voinovich happy to see the president here.

Actually, Bush was in Cincinnati mainly to help a former administration official Ken Blackwell, who is attempting to become the first black Republican Congressman in modern times. Blackwell supporters hoped the presidential visit would bring dubious white voters to the polls. But when the candidate insisted on accompanying Bush back to the airport, a manager fretted that Blackwell could be doing "more useful things."

It is doubtful any Republican president received a cooler welcome from the conservative Cincinnati Enquirer than the editorial that greeted Bush Friday. Asserting that Bush had "caved in" on the budget, the Enquirer advised that "if Cincinnatians seem a little less enthusiastic about the president and the message he brings, he will understand why."

Lack of enthusiasm was reflected the day before in Orlando by congressional candidate Bill Tolley, running uphill in what ought to be a Republican district. Without directly criticizing the president, he suggested that the budget fight confused voters about who's to blame. "I think most people here," Tolley told us, "agree with Newt Gingrich [for voting against the budget]."

The president has sought to cut through this GOP malaise with a peculiar political speech consisting of three parts. First is standard GOP cheer-leading that Bush has refined to an effective formula over 25 years. Then comes a half-hearted, somewhat embarrassing defense of the budget agreement that produces pained looks on the faces of paying Republican listeners. Third is the call to war.

Clumsily, Bush announces he is about to "shift gears" away from partisan oratory. He then reiterates his "no compromise" dictum against Iraq, with heavy emphasis on the harsh treatment of American hostages. In Massachusetts Thursday, he got out of control in claiming that Saddam has surpassed Hitler in brutality. His set speech, as delivered here, left $50-a-ticket listeners passive and unresponsive—surely not eager for combat in the desert.

Whether preparing America for war is the true purpose of Bush's less-than-welcome late campaigning, his entourage appears more absorbed in its own status than in the fate of struggling Republican candidates. His Thursday campaigning, including a long, unscheduled press conference, seemed mainly in response to that day's New York Times dispatch by Maureen Dowd suggesting confusion at the White House on Gulf rhetoric. The president was described as furious at Dowd.

He might well be more concerned with what a well-known Ohio GOP legislator told us following Bush's so-so reception here. "He has torn the fabric of the party by breaking his word on taxes," said the Ohioan. "It can be repaired, but not for many months and not without a lot of effort." Such an effort was nowhere on the White House scope as the president spread his bifurcated message coast-to-coast.

nitely not designed for adults.

Ulysses Johnson, assistant principal at Watkins and a 24-year veteran of the District of Columbia school system, said the visitors also provide a valuable role model for inner-city students, many of whom live in crime-ridden neighborhoods.

"Seeing people doing something helpful rather than something destructive is very valuable," he said. "The male role model is especially helpful, as many come from a single-parent home, having only the mother."

Valerie Lobban, whose daughter Lauren is a first grader, tries to visit for lunch at least once a month.

"It gives you a chance to spend time in their environment," Mrs. Lobban said, "and it gives them an opportunity to show you off, too."

Gary Baxter, a contractor, tries to schedule jobs on Capitol Hill so he can have lunch with his 6-year-old daughter, Pyrrha, at least once a week.

"Like a lot of the fathers, I'm not with her mom," Mr. Baxter said. "It's just another way of showing her that I care about her. Frankly, I like being with the other kids, too."

Ms. Evans's students agree that having parents visit for lunch is fun.

"They like the school," said Jeral Brown, 6, "and they help you if you spill anything."

Dining at School With a Difference

THE cuisine at Cafe Watkins on Capitol Hill in Washington may be sort of, well, juvenile, but it's the clientele that attracts lunchtime visitors.

Since January 1988, parents of students at the Catherine R. Watkins School have been encouraged to join their children for lunch. The benefits go far beyond the surprisingly tasty food, parents and educators agree.

"It provides a direct link during the day between the school and home," said Valerie Evans, a first-grade teacher. "It brings a little bit of the home culture into the school — how they eat, how they act."

Each week about 20 parents come for lunch at the public school, helping the staff manage the potentially chaotic process of feeding 450 pupils in grades 1 through 4. Parents help keep the lines to and from the cafeteria straight and quiet and usually sit with their children's class at tables defi-

Jeane Kirkpatrick

Turn Saddam Back

It is wonderful that Saddam Hussein released his foreign hostages. But it is also important not to be overwhelmed with gratitude, nor to imagine that with their release the Iraqi leader has made a major concession that the United States should now match with a concession of its own.

In advance of anticipated meetings with U.S. leaders, Saddam undoubtedly intended the hostage release to communicate that he is not wholly evil, that he is a man with whom we can do business, that he is ready to deal.

Some observers fear the possible meetings of President Bush with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz and Secretary of State James Baker with Saddam will set in motion a negotiation ending in some sort of compromise in which Saddam gets an oil field or an island or two. Why else would Baker travel to Baghdad and Tariq Aziz to Washington, insistent voices ask, if not to begin a negotiation by another name?

Bush is fluent in the oblique language of diplomacy, and it is possible that in the desire to avoid war and achieve some of his goals he will be sucked into a process of mutual concessions. But it is more likely that the proposed talks are intended—as Bush has said they are—as a last effort to communicate the U.S. government's seriousness of purpose to a ruler who has little feel for Americans, little experience with the world beyond the Middle East and a habit of underestimating his opponents.

Two strong speeches delivered last week explain again why it is important that the United States and the associated coalition remain firm and clear in the Gulf.

In one, that eminently clear-headed former president, Richard Nixon, explained again why the United States is and should be there. First, because "Saddam Hussein has unlimited ambitions to dominate one of the most important strategic areas in the world. Because he has oil, he has the means to acquire the weapons he needs for aggression against his neighbors, including . . . at some future time, a nuclear arsenal."

Second, because if in this first post-Cold War crisis Saddam profits from his aggression, "there are other potential aggressors in the world who will be tempted to wage war against their neighbors. If we fail to roll back his aggression—peacefully if possible, by force if necessary—no potential aggressor in the future will be deterred by warnings from the United States or by U.N. resolutions," Nixon said.

Vice President Dan Quayle addressed the same themes in a speech at Seton Hall University, also emphasizing Saddam's ardent desire to be "leader of a new Arab superpower."

"To that end, he spent some $50 billion on arms imports during the '80s alone. He has launched two wars of aggression during this period . . . at a cost of some 1 million lives thus far. He has built the sixth largest military force in the world. He has acquired a sizable stockpile of both chemical and biological weapons . . . and he has launched a massive program to acquire nuclear weapons."

Both these speeches are persuasive. Today Saddam Hussein is the leader of a middle-size power in the Middle East. If permitted to succeed in Kuwait, this violent man of boundless ambition and large arsenals of unconventional weapons will be in a position to destabilize moderate Arab regimes, establish hegemony in the Gulf and emerge as a world power.

An effort is afoot to spread the impression that Israel would be the principal beneficiary of military action against Saddam Hussein. But that is nonsense. Kuwait itself, Saudi Arabia, the Emirates and Egypt are the states most threatened by Saddam's weapons. Of all the states in the region, Israel is best able to deter an attack.

At the same time, another effort is under way in the United Nations in which Arab states are seeking to use the Gulf crisis to extract U.S. support for an "international peace conference" on the Arab-Israeli problem. The outcome of this effort will be clear in a long-pending vote on a resolution—a vote which last week was once again postponed, but which may occur this week.

Some voices are urging that the United States should strike a deal that will permit Saddam to "save face." That is exactly what we should not do. It should not be possible to invade, occupy and devastate a neighboring country without "losing face."

Having trashed Kuwait, disrupted the region, cost the United States more than $30 billion and other members of the coalition perhaps $30 billion more, Saddam should not be permitted merely to walk away without penalty. *That* would be destabilizing to the region and to the world.

At the very least, he should fully and unconditionally withdraw from Kuwait and compensate his victims and their allies for the economic costs of his violence. He cannot undo the human misery and death, but justice, common sense and U.N. Security Council Resolution 674 call for financial compensation.

Finally, Americans should face the fact that this man and his regime can't be trusted with weapons of mass destruction. Iraq's partisans make the curious argument that the possession of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons "balances" the power of Israel and "stabilizes" the region. This is like saying guns in the hands of a mass murderer "balance" guns in the hands of the police.

Saddam Hussein has a record of aggression. Israel has a record of being the object of aggression. The difference between aggression and self-defense is basic to both law and morality.

Bush has committed American power and reputation to turning back Saddam's brutal power drive. This undertaking has already disrupted the lives of hundreds of thousands of American service families and cost the U.S. billions that could have been applied to reducing the deficit. It has involved us in some unsavory—but perhaps necessary—alliances and deals. Now it simply must succeed.

6/5/89

Meg Greenfield

Anticommunism Redefined

Just about everyone in our public life who is in trouble these days—a population about twice the size of Iceland's—sooner or later pronounces himself a victim of McCarthyism. Whether or not the label is fitting—in most current cases it is not—the legacy of the late senator from Wisconsin is properly understood to be political hit-and-run assaults of the most cynical, demagogic kind. What is less well understood is a second part of Sen. Joe McCarthy's malign legacy. He managed to give anticommunism a bad name.

In the streets and assembly halls of Warsaw, Beijing, Moscow, Riga and Tbilisi, we now see how perverse this legacy was. You don't hear the quite common (until lately) term of contempt, "virulent anticommunist," used any more. Nowadays everyone, including half the communist governments of the world, it sometimes seems, is anticommunist. My humble point is that in addition to new policies and initiatives, what this country sorely needs in the wake of the worldwide convulsion is a new political vocabulary and a revised political map.

I do not mean that Sen. McCarthy made anticommunism suspect and a term of ridicule, especially among liberals and moderates, all by himself. He had plenty of help over the decades: mad would-be nuclear bombers, lunatic inquisitors, people who would embrace and even idolize any ruling butcher, thug or embezzler anywhere so long as he professed himself a foe of Soviet power. But I don't think this element of the ding-dong American right had nearly so devastating an impact on its alleged Soviet enemy as on its domestic political opponents, the liberals, who were often kept so busy contradicting and deriding its crazy excesses that they seemed pretty much to forget what the main conflict was about.

What this country now needs is a new political vocabulary and a revised map.

By the "main conflict," I mean the liberals' main philosophical conflict, which is not nearly so much with the gnats of the far right as it is with the mammoths of Soviet-style Leninism around the the world. Periodically in recent years people who believe more or less as I do will have found themselves being asked if their anticommunism does not suggest that they are really "conservative" rather than "liberal" in outlook. This question has always amazed me because, as I immediately start arguing to no apparent effect, it seems to me that communism, as we have seen it in practice around the world, represents the true antithesis of humane, liberal values in every respect. Its imposition represents the death of liberal values, not the ascendancy of an unfortunately extreme form of them.

This last point is key, and it is well understood by those who observe that from Eastern Europe to the Caribbean, when communist governments have taken over their first targets and victims have invariably been the social democrats they recognize as the main threat. Our currently accepted mapping of the political terrain does not properly reflect this. The most misleading and destructive aspect of its configuration is that which suggests that there is a direct line from liberal to Leninist, and that Leninist is where you end up if you are a liberal and forget to get off the train at your stop.

The illusion has been strong, and it has not, I fear, been merely the work of those who rightly can be called McCarthyites—i.e., those who smear all liberals as "commies," etc. It has also, unaccountably, been bought into at least as a presumption by many liberals themselves who persist not in being Leninists, but in accepting that theirs is a generous, decent and responsible version of the hideous other thing. Sometimes this was expressed, or at least clearly implied, in the idea that awful as communist systems might be, they were the price you were going to have to pay (or, more precisely, let other people pay) for past economic repression and neglect. The theory here was that political freedom was a luxury, a fringe, that could not be afforded by people who required an economic life-support system in a hurry. Well, we all know how dismally that worked out. And now, thanks to those fighting, shouting, disrupting, demanding citizens in countries around the world, including in the industrialized Eastern bloc, we know something about the importance, the indestructibility and the paramountcy of—yes—liberal values in challenging and undermining left-wing tyrannies.

With the wonderful, ego-saving capacity we all have to remember only where we were right and to forget the times we were wrong, Americans on all political sides have managed to see in events abroad vindication for themselves. On the right, people who swore that the communist systems of the world were permanently incapable of change are hailing the change as evidence of how well they themselves have done their work. On my side, where people are much merrier political felons, I note that we have cheerfully and shamelessly appropriated the whole thing. Never mind, for example, that until pretty recently we were dismissing "Captive Nations" week and other such manifestations of sorrow over the situation in Eastern Europe as the mischievous, warmongering handiwork of far-right émigré groups. Now the Baltic nationalists, along with all the other protesters, many of them properly described as absolutely "anticommunist," have been blithely christened "liberals" by us. They are ours.

I have been wondering when more than just a few American conservatives would notice that every time there is a confrontation somewhere in the world, we manage to dub the good guys liberals and the bad guys conservatives and pretty soon that is the common currency. To be sure, there is in the heavy-going literature of Kremlin studies some authority for this, and it is also the case that there is in logic some reason for it, since the resisters of change in those obsolete, repressive systems tend to be fierce defenders of party and cultural orthodoxy. But, in truth, I am less interested in when the American Right realizes its wallet has been lifted and calls the police than I am in when the American Left (the terminology, alas, persists) acknowledges to itself the meaning of its own present exuberance, not to mention the implication of its own 1989 vocabulary. "Liberal" in the current lexicon equals opposition to the communist systems that have been the greatest predators of liberal values.

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Hill will invite Soviet advice on arms cuts

5/2 89

By Peter Almond
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Congress will ask the Soviets to help it make cuts in the U.S. military budget by providing firsthand information on their military plans.

The unprecedented move — seeking expert testimony from the nation's chief global adversary — was to be formally announced today by the House Armed Services Committee.

It will include a series of hearings and other direct contacts with Soviet military officials intended to help the committee decide where to make cutbacks in the U.S. armed forces.

Committee Chairman Les Aspin, Wisconsin Democrat, described the proposed action as a "major initiative." He said the committee intends to supplement classified Defense Intelligence Agency briefings with direct Soviet inputs, including visits to Soviet military installations never before seen by Western officials.

Neither White House, nor Defense Department, nor State Department officials have expressed any objection to the congressional contacts — unprecedented in their intensity — as long as members do not try to negotiate any deals with the Soviets.

Rep. Bill Dickinson, Alabama Republican and ranking minority member of the committee, said he agrees the Soviet situation is fluid and has to be examined carefully before the committee approves Defense Secretary Richard Cheney's budget.

But he said if the objective of the contacts is to justify opening up the budget package he will object. All kinds of defense programs would come under attack and Mr. Cheney's package would become unwrapped, he said.

"We are dealing with a moving target," Mr. Aspin said of the Soviet defense plans, knowledge of which is vital to the United States as it prepares to cut or delay major weapon systems.

"The Soviets are talking about unilateral moves that have not yet been implemented," Mr. Aspin said. "We don't know if Gorbachev will

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EXPERTS

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succeed or even survive. If he succeeds, we don't know where Soviet defense programs will be several years from now. If he is replaced, we don't know if his successors will completely reverse or modify his plans.

"Here in the United States, we're so used to managing responses to an increasing Soviet threat that we have little idea how to cope with a decreasing threat. The committee initiative is designed to help both the committee and the American public think through the implications, which could be far-reaching."

The first of the planned contacts is Friday when committee members meet in the House with a group of retired Soviet generals and admirals.

Next Tuesday the committee members will begin a series of small "roundtable" meetings with a group led by Andrey Kokoshin, deputy director of the Soviet Institute of the USA and Canada, and Roald Sagdeyev, former director of the Soviet Space Research Institute and arms control adviser to the Kremlin.

Over Memorial Day the committee expects to visit the Soviet Union, with a possible unprecedented visit to a Soviet SS-24 rail-mobile intercontinental missile — the already-deployed Soviet answer to the 10-warhead MX missile the administration intends to put on rails.

Later in June, Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, former chief of the Soviet General Staff and now a personal advisor to President Mikhail Gorbachev, is due to testify before the House committee here. A number of other contacts are expected in a Soviet legislative blitz on Congress.

According to State Department officials, representatives of most Western nations refuse to testify to Congress, preferring to deal directly with the administration.

"Only the executive branch can negotiate agreements with the Soviets," Mr. Aspin agreed. "But because of that, a congressional committee is in a better position for expansive give-and-take and exploration of new ideas. We can air new ideas with a Soviet think tank that American and Soviet diplomats could never discuss directly, precisely because the diplomats are negotiators."

Over the weekend, Mr. Aspin sent a memorandum to members of the procurement and military nuclear systems subcommittee saying the committee is faced with "some far-reaching decisions concerning the B-1B" bomber.

According to his staff, the controversial plane's electronic countermeasures system will cost about $1.2 billion to defeat expected advances in Soviet radars and still won't meet Air Force specifications. The Air Force also reportedly plans to ask for an extra $300 million next year for the technologically troubled B-2 Stealth bomber — effectively delayed two years.

Many Democrats in Congress, however, want to cut funding for those expensive and advanced weapons — such as the B-1 and B-2 bombers — designed to meet what many insist is a receding Soviet threat.

The key to many of the advanced U.S. programs is Soviet military planning, which to U.S. officials is still uncertain. Only old T-55A and T-62 tanks have so far been taken out of Hungary and East Germany, and military production remains at high levels, according to defense officials.

Edward Rowny, President Bush's senior arms-control adviser, on Friday cited General B.V. Snetkov, commander of the Group of Soviet Forces in East Germany, as saying in the publication Sovietskaya Rossiya on April 18:

"Some of the most modern tanks being withdrawn from East Germany will remain in the Army's arsenal; others will be mothballed, and yet others will have their guns and machine guns removed and will perform 'peaceful service' in the national economy. ..."

Said Mr. Rowny: "This contradicts Gorbachev." On Jan. 18, he said, Mr. Gorbachev said that none of the 10,000 tanks to be cut in Europe would remain in the army's active inventory or in storage.

"On SNF [short-range nuclear forces] and conventional forces, the Soviets have created a credibility gap so wide one could drive a tank through it," he said.

Yesterday, however, a former presidential arms-control adviser, Paul Warnke, presented a report calling for President Bush to match Soviet moves towards "defensive defense" with similar actions, including opening talks on short-range missiles with the Soviets — an issue that is dividing the NATO alliance.

5/11/89

Why Does Zbig Trust Gorby?

By Mary Tedeschi Eberstadt

It is only three years since Zbigniew Brzezinski warned in "Game Plan" that the Soviet "desire for global pre-eminence" remained a fixture of foreign affairs and that the U.S. might still lose the East-West contest "by default." With the publication of "The Grand Failure: The Birth and Death of Communism in the Twentieth Century" (Scribner's, 278 pages, $19.95), preoccupations like these seem to have left him altogether. By the late 1980s, Mr. Brzezinski now argues, communism the world over has reached a state of "terminal crisis."

In China, economic reform has been purchased at the cost of an "ideological dilution" that may well prove irreversible. In Eastern Europe, indigenous political life has been "reborn" and opposition movements have appeared in every nation now subject to Soviet domination. Would-be revolutionaries from Asia to Latin America are abandoning Marxist practice for the likes of "market socialism," while communist parties themselves are falling victim to the pervasive appeal of pluralist democracy.

The "precipitating cause" of these transformations, Mr. Brzezinski argues, is the Soviet Union itself, where a new generation of leaders has at last begun to grasp the "fatal dilemma of the communist system": "Its economic success can only be purchased at the cost of political stability, while its political stability can only be sustained at the cost of economic failure." The roots of today's changes run deep; if not Mikhail Gorbachev, then "some other Soviet reformer would in all probability have emerged by the mid-1980s." The particular fate of *perestroika*—"protracted but inconclusive turmoil," in Mr. Brzezinski's own estimate—is somewhat beside the point. With Stalin gone and Lenin going, "the political disintegration and the doctrinal eclipse of communism as a distinctive historical phenomenon" seem assured.

That collapse has been made the more imminent, the author argues, by the miserable legacy of the Marxist-Leninist experiment. Mr. Brzezinski deftly summarizes the human toll taken by decades of purges, collectivizations and other atrocities. He makes good use of recent scholarship to document the material failures of the communist world, from the inability to supply even basic consumer goods to the neglect of life and dignity implied by such relative measures of well-being as statistics on health and mortality. To judge by the appendix, not a country in the communist orbit has kept pace with—much less surpassed—any state in the free world over the decades since World War II.

"The Grand Failure" should have enduring worth as a succinct and remarkably thorough account of the costs of communist rule. The question remains, however, whether the evidence assembled here can support Mr. Brzezinski's prediction of "the eventual demise—within a historically foreseeable period—of communism as this century has come to know it."

One would not know from reading "The Grand Failure" that the bell has tolled for communism before. Event after tragic event—the Hitler-Stalin pact, Khrushchev's secret speech, China's Cultural Revolution, "The Gulag Archipelago"—have confirmed its moral bankruptcy; so too have millions of its victims and refugees. Its theoretical limits and contradictions have been adumbrated for generations. And while communism's pretensions to material and social superiority have proved hardier than most claims made on its behalf, it is years since those pretensions have been accepted by any but the most hardened Western sympathizers.

By such measures, indeed, the "failure of communism" has been plain for decades. To read "The Grand Failure," with its concentration on the system's weaknesses, is to wonder how it survived at all, much less imposed itself on much of the world. Yet the history of Marxism-Leninism, to judge even by the past 15 years, is at least as distinguished by its grand successes as by the times it has fallen flat. It is true that the Soviet Union now stands to lose many of its geopolitical gains of the 1970s and early 1980s. It is equally true that it managed these and other advances despite a sickly economy, a backward society, a restive Eastern Europe and other problems cast in "The Grand Failure" as harbingers of death.

The protean essence of communism—its ability, through the efforts of a few ruthless practitioners, to adapt and persist whatever its manifest handicaps—has long surpassed even the grandest imaginings of Marx. That essence remains the chief asset of the communist world today. It persists in the Philippines, El Salvador, Peru and other countries still vulnerable to communist assault. It is perhaps most visible in the Kremlin, where the general secretary, who only recently presided over one of the ghastliest occupations of this century, has risen from the ashes of Afghanistan to become the boldest "statesman" on the world scene.

One wishes Mr. Brzezinski had lingered over the Marquis Astolphe de Custine, who observed in Russia 150 years ago that "the only domain in which the tyranny shows invention is in the means of perpetuating its own power." As a moral and material experiment, communism has failed in its every incarnation. As a method of securing and exercising power, however, it has rewarded its practitioners as no other ideology of this century. Those now gathered around its coffin may want to stay and watch a while longer.

Mrs. Eberstadt is executive editor of the National Interest.

Bookshelf

"The Grand Failure: The Birth and Death of Communism in the Twentieth Century" by Zbigniew Brzezinski

Selling Sacrifice: Gulf Rationale Still Eludes Bush

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 15 — More than three months after the Persian Gulf crisis began, the Bush Administration still seems to be seeking a rationale to convince the American public of the need to commit hundreds of thousands of troops for a possible war to free Kuwait from Iraq.

News Analysis

In an interview tonight on Cable News Network, President Bush acknowledged this problem, when he said: "If I haven't done as clear a job as I might have on explaining this, then I've got to do better, because I know in my heart of hearts that what we are doing is right. I know what the United Nations has done is correct. I know that we've got to stand up to this aggression."

The Administration has found itself with often contradictory-sounding explanations. This was highlighted this week when Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d, talking more like a former Republican campaign chairman, shrugged off the President's earlier message that the gulf operation was "not about oil" and linked it directly to oil supplies and the health of the American economy.

"If you want to sum it up in one word, it's jobs," Mr. Baker said. "Because an economic recession, worldwide, caused by the control of one nation, one dictator, of the West's economic lifeline will result in the loss of jobs on the part of American citizens."

An Argument That Resonates

The fact that Mr. Baker would suggest that the protection of jobs was a primary reason American troops might have to fight a war for Kuwait seemed to be both a search for an easily appealing rationale, as well as an acknowledgment that the Administration's explanations up to now have failed to resonate with the public.

Mr. Baker's attempt at political manipulation, and the negative reception it has received from commentators, seem to have stirred the President to engage in a new effort to win the backing of the American public. In addition to the long interview with CNN, he will also be appearing in the "My Turn" column in the forthcoming issue of Newsweek.

The Bush Administration came into office priding itself on prudence and pragmatism. In its first 18 months, when the most important foreign policy decisions involved reacting to events initiated by others in Eastern Europe, its instinctive caution and pragmatism worked well enough.

But mobilizing the country for possible war is a different enterprise, one in which a President must take the initiative to persuade the nation that his aims are clear and the sacrifices justified.

Slogans Aren't Substance

"That requires a clarity of purpose that can only grow out of a vision of America's role in the world," said Michael J. Sandel, a Harvard University political theorist. "Pragmatism is not enough. Slogans comparing Saddam Hussein to Hitler, or claiming that the whole thing is about 'jobs,' are no substitute for serious moral and political arguments."

From the very start of his term, though, Mr. Bush has seemed to believe that political debate, and the building of constituencies, were the stuff of election campaigns, while governing involved pragmatic decision-making.

As a result, when Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker found themselves in the position of having to shape a national consensus for a large-scale foreign commitment, their instincts seem to hark back to campaign tactics. They appear to approach the building of a domestic political base for war as though it were another political campaign, where different slogans are employed each week, hoping that eventually one will strike the right chord.

This ad hoc approach led into a web of contradictions. On Oct. 16, the President said that "the fight isn't about oil; the fight is about naked aggression," while on Nov. 13, Mr. Baker said that it was about "jobs." How can it be about jobs, but not be about oil?

Defending What?

On Aug. 8, the President declared that the mission of American troops was "wholly defensive," but on Oct. 23, he declared that "we're dealing with Hitler revisited, a totalitarism and brutality that is naked and unprecedented in modern times. And that must not stand." How can the United States insure that the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait will not stand, if the mission of American troops is "wholly defensive," to protect Saudi Arabia?

These contradictions not only arise from the Administration's lack of a clearly defined purpose, but also from the very ambiguous nature of the stakes in the gulf crisis and the Administration's difficulty in sorting out the complexities.

"In World War II," said the historian Daniel J. Boorstin, a former Librarian of Congress, "the threat of Hitler was so clear and unambiguous that to be anti-Nazi was to affirm something. If your enemy is sharp and clearly defined, then just by opposing him you have principles of your own. But who is Saddam Hussein? Most Americans had never even heard of this man. Is he really Hitler, or something else? There is a real confusion here about what these people over there are all about."

> Falling back on the instincts of the electoral campaigner.

If there is any argument that seems to resonate with American troops in Saudi Arabia, it is that Saddam Hussein is a dangerous dictator with chemical weapons and a nuclear potential, who, if not stopped now, will threaten world peace.

But up to now, the President has limited himself more to name-calling than explaining why this particular dictator, with these particular weapons, in this particular spot, must be stopped.

"If you say that this man is Hitler, then Hitler calls forth a Churchill," said Fouad Ajami, a Middle East expert at Johns Hopkins University. "Bush has to meet him on the symbolic level, with a sweeping historical vision and the stirring oratory that will make men ready to sacrifice to stop him. But a nation that has just bid farewell to the cold war and ideological passion is not easily summoned for a warring assignment in a faraway place against a man whom people sense is not really part of our story."

Soviet Diplomat Urges Delay In U.N. Action on Gulf Crisis

Continued From Page A1

tary force, then you should act immediately. If you adopt it without action you send the wrong signal. I'm not for bluffing with dangerous things."

Bush Administration officials in Washington said that Mr. Primakov's comments were familiar to them and that they did not believe he was speaking for either Mr. Gorbachev or Mr. Shevardnadze.

No Reward, U.S. Says

"Our position has always been one that Saddam Hussein cannot be rewarded for his aggression," he said. "This is something that Primakov himself has been told. Secretary Baker had an extremely good round of discussions with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze on this subject in his recent meeting and we expect the President will likewise have a very good discussion with President Gorbachev in France."

Mr. Primakov said the five countries with permanent Security Council seats — the United States, Britain, France, China and the Soviet Union — should join with the Arab League countries to send an envoy to Baghdad to present President Hussein with what he called "a face-saving package."

> Moscow envoy says Iraq needs a way to back out.

Such a package, he went on, would "draw together" all the ideas that have been suggested for liqking a resolution of the gulf crisis with an overall Middle East settlement which would include a resolution of the Palestinian problem.

'Face-Saving Package'

"We should gather up all the things that have been said in the United Nations and the Arab League about negotiating Iraq's dispute with Kuwait and settling the Palestinian problem and give them to him in one big face-saving package," he said.

Mr. Primakov, who made two trips to Baghdad on Mr. Gorbachev's behalf last month, insisted that Iraq must withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait, as the Security Council demands, and that Mr. Hussein should not be allowed to reap any tangible rewards from his invasion of Kuwait on Aug. 2.

But he said President Hussein might still be persuaded to give up Kuwait peacefully if the permanent Security Council members and Arab League countries can convince him this will lead to withdrawal of foreign forces from the gulf, a resolution of the Palestinian problem and the establishment of a new security structure designed to stabilize the whole region, guaranteeing the safety of both Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Mr. Primakov said the idea of a new, and perhaps final, attempt to negotiate a peaceful settlement to the crisis is likely to be raised in Paris on the sidelines of the meeting of the 34 members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe next week.

This meeting will bring together the heads of state or government of four of the five permanent Security Council members, though not of China.

Western diplomats who had questions about Mr. Primakov's statements recalled that after Mr Primakov's second visit to Baghdad, which ended Oct. 28, President Gorbachev said his envoy had detected signs that "Iraq's leadership might at last heed the voice of the United Nations."

But later official pronouncements from Baghdad suggested otherwise.

New Mideast Effort

President Bush, President Francois Mitterrand of France and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd of Britain all said in addresses to the General Assembly this year that an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait should lead to a new effort to resolve the whole Middle East question, including an agreement on Israel's boundaries, suggesting that President Hussein has a chance to present a withdrawal from Kuwait as a move that opened the door to a national homeland for Palestinians.

President Hussein has also hinted that he might be prepared to surrender Kuwait in return for the withdrawal of foreign forces from the gulf and settlement to the Palestinian and other Middle East issues.

Western diplomats say they are concerned that the Soviet Union wants to forge an unrealistically close link between the crisis in the gulf and the Palestinian problem.

A Shift Is Noted

Mr. Primakov admitted that there has been little sign so far that the Iraqi leader is preparing to cooperate with the Security Council demand to withdraw from Kuwait. But he said he had seen "an evolution of his position" between his two visits to Baghdad.

During his first visit on Oct. 5, Mr. Primakov said the Iraqi leader spent much of their time together arguing his claim that Kuwait is an integral part of Iraq that was artificially separated from it by Britain in colonial days.

But when he returned to Baghdad on Oct. 28, Mr. Hussein no longer appeared interested in defending the takeover. Instead, he wondered how the Security Council could guarantee a resolution of the Palestinian issue if he gave up Kuwait. He also worried about his personal safety, recalling several plots against him after he agreed to a cease-fire with Iran two years ago. And he asked for guarantees that Iraq would not be attacked.

by a top Gorbachev aide, Yev
Primakov, who called for a
initiative to persuade Preside
dam Hussein of Iraq to give up
peacefully.

United Nations action would
help an operation led by the
States to drive President Sadda
sein's forces out of Iraq. All of
ington's major European allies
Britain and all of its major Arat
have made Security Council appr
precondition to taking part in s
operation, according to a r
European Community official.

Leading figures in Congress
both parties have said they woul
a special session, in the event
favorable vote in the Security C
to debate President Bush's policy
gulf. But it might prove difficu
critics of the policy to vote aga
with a United Nations resoluti
ready on the record. Congres
leaders decided Wednesday not t
for a special session now but res
the right to do so later.

The Bush Administration con
it crucial that any resolutic
brought to a vote before Nov. 30,
the United States yields the chai
ship of the Security Council to Y
That small Arab nation has s
been an American ally in the Pe
Gulf crisis and could tangle a new
lution in parliamentary comple
the senior official said.

'Don't Act Like Cowboys'

Top Administration policy m
have said in the last week that d
Mr. Bush's deployment of hundr
thousands of fresh troops to Saudi
bia and the surrounding regio
decision has been made yet to st
offensive. No attack is likely, they
said, before January or Februa
the earliest.

A United Nations resolution, li
troop deployment, would be part
effort to persuade Mr. Hussein th
only options are retreat or destru
But it, like the troop deployment,
the risk of frightening the Ame
people, too, and convincing m
them that a war is imminent.

The senior American offic
that, following Congressional a
advice, the Administration wa
an effort "to not move prec
don't act like cowboys,
through the United Nations
tent that you can."

Under Security Council
proval of a resolution auth
use of military force requir
nine affirmative votes, and
five permanent members —
States, the Soviet Unio
France and China — must
yes or abstain.

The Soviet Union and C

Agence France-Presse

For Book Lovers In Uniform, a Touch of Home

Members of a United States Marine unit scanning the shelves of a small library at a recreation center established for American and British troops in Saudi Arabia.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 1991

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

'A Declining Power'

The missile attack on Israel now complicates the war. The strong impression remains, however, that the spectacular initial success of American arms in Iraq portends many benefits that might ultimately be reaped: prospects for less instability in the Middle East, a lower price of oil, a deterrent to potential aggressors around the world. But the most significant gain of all will come if victory lets America, and above all its elite, recover a sense of self-confidence and self-worth.

Wednesday night's air attack was preeminently a display of competence. More than 100 Tomahawk cruise missiles led the attack, followed by Stealth airplanes and then waves of conventional war planes. Iraq's command and communications facilities were put out of operation, at least in the crucial attack hours. Iraq was not able to launch its SCUD missiles or otherwise take offensive action, either because the chain of command had been broken or the facilities themselves were destroyed. The air defense was neutralized. All this with extraordinarily low losses of three planes by the allied forces and minimum damage to civilian targets.

Secretary Cheney and General Powell warned yesterday against euphoria, of course, an attitude now confirmed by the assault on Israel, the victim of one Arab nation's invasion of another. However at this juncture, the attack with Scud missiles mainly conveys desperation by Saddam Hussein. It's evident that at some point, the campaign will enter a ground phase, in which high casualties are always possible. But it's also true that as pressures mount, Iraqi troops will start to surrender. It's possible that in the end the coalition will not only succeed in freeing Kuwait, but be forced by events to decide what to do with Baghdad. Whatever the precise endgame or whatever further fighting or casualties may lie ahead, the essential outcome is already clear, decided in the first two hours of combat.

Thursday's outcome vindicates American generalship, though we hope the ground stage is equally careful and imaginative. It also vindicates American weaponry; the high-tech weapons were instrumental in the success. (We ourselves are proud to have supported the small band of officials who kept the Tomahawk from being traded away in arms-control talks in the mid-1970s. And if our system succeeded yesterday in shooting down a SCUD aimed at Saudi Arabia, it is a great advertisement for SDI.) Wednesday's suppression of piracy can also be set aside the strategic contraction of the Soviet empire as vindication of the military buildup by President Reagan.

Most important of all, Wednesday's success vindicates American political leadership, in the person of President Bush. We have already commented on the incredible success of his political management, in winning the support of Arab allies, then the United Nations, the American people and finally the Congress. But when the time came, he also showed the moral courage to make an emphatic decision, attacking at the first opportunity after the UN deadline, with discriminate but overwhelming force. No equivocation, no gradualism, no Vietnam.

If the success vindicates the President, it debunks his critics. As the planes flew, protesters in San Francisco burned a police car in the name of "peace." Flag-burning continued even yesterday, after the battle results came in. Yes, this is democracy and freedom in action, but what strange Gods do these people worship?

More seriously, only last Saturday 47 U.S. Senators voted against what was done Wednesday night. After the vote, commendably, they united behind the President. Yet their rhetoric of fear and irresolution still echoes. The President's course was opposed, too, by most opinion-leaders in the press, all of the traditional doves plus a surprising contingent of one-time hawks.

This hand-wringing was of a piece with currents that have been building for a generation. We have always dated them to November 1963, a month that opened with the assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem in Saigon and closed with the assassination of John F. Kennedy in Dallas. Vietnam dragged on, followed by the inflation, the collapse of the Bretton Woods monetary system, Watergate, even more inflation, hostages in Iran, the economic rise of Japan. America—or at least its intellgentsia, its media, most of its political leaders and great swatches of its business establishment—came to doubt its own competence and self-worth.

This mood did not break in the face of a record peacetime economic expansion, or even with the collapse of the Soviet superpower. As the latter occurred, an obscure professor's book became a best-seller because pages 514-535 discussed "imperial overreach" and suggested American decline. Perhaps the elite mood did not break because the President who presided over these events, a California movie actor not prone to introspection, was so self-evidently not one of them. The common people by and large proved immune to the national self-doubt, but the danger is that such moods can be self-realizing. Even now we suffer a new recession only partly because of the shock of Iraq; it started earlier, with an epidemic of hypochondria among bank examiners. Yesterday's financial markets, with a 114-point surge in stocks, suggests a confidence-boost that may lift the economy.

More broadly, we hope that Wednesday display of competence, resolution and leadership will be the first step in breaking the sourness, in building a new mood that allows America to manage its own problems and play its proper role in the world. It seems a strange and anachronistic notion, we recognize, that a nation should seek its self-esteem on the battlefield. But after all, that is where it was lost.

Present at the Destruction

The new and obvious reality: Mikhail Gorbachev has become a drag on reform. He has just delivered a body-blow to glasnost, placing the media under the control of his compliant legislature to "ensure objectivity." Western leaders are ratcheting down their expectations; an enlightened despot will not lead the U.S.S.R. to democratic capitalism. But the question is often asked: If not Gorbachev, what?

An alternative exists—the forces that truly want reform, the governments of Boris Yeltsin, the Baltic republics and republicans in Ukraine and elsewhere. Western governments could begin dealing directly with those leaders on some matters, thereby supporting confederal tendencies already under way.

But this, it is argued, would risk further crackdowns, backed by charges of "outside interference." Mr. Gorbachev at least will enforce public order. That will let the new European democracies develop without having a chaotic civil war to their east or an upsurge of "ethnic rivalries" in the Baltics and southern republics. The withdrawal of the Red Army from Germany will proceed.

And the Soviet Union would go back into the deep freeze, the nation's 20 million bureaucrats a deadening influence on all change.

The problem with this view is its assumption, with little basis in historical fact, that empires tightly controlled from the center are stable. At this stage, the deep-freeze option probably doesn't exist. Mr. Gorbachev broadened the country's political base in the hope that his party could relieve deep tensions without surrendering control. Now he knows he was wrong. With strong urging from party reactionaries, he's trying to put the genie back in the bottle.

That may be impossible, even with the power that derives from the barrels of guns. The crackdown in Vilnius caused division and instability, not unity. The crucial factor was the response of the other republican leaders. The leaders in Russia, Ukraine and the other Baltic states see the Lithuanian struggle as part of their struggle, not as a discrete revolt by some other nationality. The Russian empire is not a typical empire; even many Russians don't want it.

There is a trend toward decentralization in all spheres of Soviet life. It is induced not only by the fax machine but by psychological imperatives. If Mr. Gorbachev merely keeps the lid on a boiling pot, the final revolution, when it comes, could be the worst of scenarios.

It is also doubtful that popular opinion in the democracies would tolerate continued cooperation with Mr. Gorbachev if he continues to shed blood. The peoples of Poland and Czechoslovakia already are displaying reduced tolerance.

Direct dealing with alternative leaders need not be launched dramatically. The West can't cut off all contact with the center, which controls the guns. Still, a long-term strategy has to evolve that backs the good guys against the bad guys. The West cannot continue to ride pitifully along on the coattails of Mr. Gorbachev.

The Men Who've Learned From Vietnam

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

For 20 years those who oppose the use of American military force have chanted, "No more Vietnams." They never imagined that Colin Powell and his fellow generals would agree with them.

The assault on Iraq is a long way from over, but its initial, ongoing ferocity shows that no one has learned the lessons of Vietnam better than the U.S. military. Virtually without exception, America's Desert Storm generals, and each of its 13 leading field commanders, fought in Vietnam. Some were wounded in battle (army Gen. Barry McCaffrey lost an arm); all were educated by it. They have taken that experience and molded it into a battle plan of overwhelming force, precisely delivered.

This is a war necessary to remove Saddam Hussein as a Middle East threat. But the tragedy is that 30 years ago war might not have been necessary to remove a Saddam. If an American president had put 400,000 troops in the Middle East in the 1950s, an aggressor would have backed down. Vietnam made the world doubt. Saddam has resisted for six months because he thinks he can outlast us, as others did in Vietnam and Lebanon. He has misjudged both George Bush and America's generals.

Caspar Weinberger, the former defense secretary, recalls talking with his then-military aide, Colin Powell, during the 1983 Marine deployment and bombing in Lebanon. "We had many conversations about it, and he agreed with me that the Marines had no clear purpose there," says Cap.

William Taylor, a retired colonel and now a military analyst at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, taught Gen. Powell at the National War College in the 1970s. "Most of the students with him thought that they were sent to Vietnam to do a job without clear goals and with political restrictions," says Mr. Taylor. "This time, they're saying, Let's get it right."

No one is in a better position to get it right than Gen. Powell, who served two army tours in Vietnam. A soothing personality, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs has made himself part of President Bush's small inner circle of advisers. He's also skillfully exploited an obscure 1986 defense reorganization, Goldwater-Nichols, to make himself perhaps the most politically dominant general since George Marshall in the 1940s.

The joint staff that used to report to other generals now reports to him. The military chain of command is also more streamlined, reporting directly from Norman Schwarzkopf in Saudi Arabia to him. So Gen. Powell has the authority, if he chooses to use it, to avoid the sort of inter-service rivalry that proved so damaging in Grenada.

In Vietnam, then Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara micromanaged "every bomb drop," as one former general puts it. In designing this still-unfolding battle plan, President Bush and Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney left it up to the generals. Once they had designed it, Mr. Cheney spent a day and a half in Riyadh in December asking tough questions. But after he (and Mr. Bush) approved the plan, implementation was left to the generals.

That plan has the clear objective lacking in Vietnam: Destroy Saddam's military capacity and clear him from Kuwait. It also has domestic support, represented by the vote from Congress.

And from the first week of the military buildup in August, Gen. Powell has advised that if force is to be used it should be applied quickly and massively. Mr. Bush's Nov. 8 decision to double the deployment was based on advice from both Gens. Schwarzkopf and Powell about "what they needed to win," as one military source puts it. Now they're being given the authority to execute that plan to the hilt—no "pauses" for misguided diplomacy, no political meddling that would only raise casualties.

It's always possible, of course, that today's generals have learned some lessons too well. Some critics worry about the generals' Vietnam-inspired belief in the public's impatience; this might induce them to accept a quick but murderous ground attack on Iraqi troops in Kuwait.

Colin Powell

But as former Air Force chief of staff Michael Dugan says, "I remember the exact moment the U.S. public turned against Vietnam: The week Life magazine published the photographs of all of the previous week's casualties." Desert Storm's generals understand the political cost of casualties.

Civilian leadership is also needed to overcome the military's bureaucratic instincts. The Tomahawk cruise missiles that silently struck Iraqi targets were once actually opposed by the Navy brass. Cruise missiles also nearly died in the SALT "arms control process" of the 1970s.

But in actually fighting a war, the Bush administration has learned the lesson of Vietnam, too. As one source describes Secretary Cheney's view, "his doctrine of war is, don't screw around." For 20 years, says another administration official, two "lessons" of Vietnam have competed for dominance in the public mind. One—still prominent among Democrats—is that U.S. military intervention carries the seeds of its own failure.

The competing lesson is that military force can well serve U.S. purposes if political leaders provide clear goals and don't obstruct the mission. What a splendid irony it will be if Colin Powell buries not only Saddam Hussein, but also once and for all the false lessons of Vietnam.

6/21/90

Book World

The Classic Study of Stalin

THE GREAT TERROR
A Reassessment
By Robert Conquest
Oxford University Press. 570 pp. $24.95

By W. Bruce Lincoln

Between the fall of 1936 and late summer 1938, an unprecedented reign of terror gripped the Soviet Union. From Moscow to Vladivostok, and in all the cities and hamlets between, Stalin's police took victims by the millions, killed more than one in 10, and swept the rest into that terrifying archipelago of forced labor camps that stretched across the frozen wastes of Russia's Far North.

When it was first published in 1968, Robert Conquest's "The Great Terror" was widely regarded as the best work about the horrors of this terrible era in the Soviet Union's history, and the years that have intervened have not diminished its importance. Conquest now has updated his book, integrated into its pages new material (some of it recently published in the Soviet press), and added a new conclusion about "The Terror Today." This new version of "The Great Terror" does not change in any substantial way the story of the Great Purge that Conquest told 22 years ago, but it dots many of the i's and crosses the t's of his earlier account with much greater emphasis.

Hundreds of thousands of Communist Party faithful, including all but 29 of the 139 Central Committee members and candidate members elected at the 17th Party Congress in 1934, disappeared into graves or labor camps before the end of 1938. All who had served in Lenin's Politburo (except for Trotsky, who would be assassinated in 1940, and Stalin) perished. So did most of the Old Bolsheviks who had struggled so valiantly to bring their party to power in October 1917.

A list of the Great Purge's most prominent victims reads like an honor roll of Lenin's confidants and Bolshevik Civil War heroes. Kamenev, Zinoviev and Bukharin are there. So are Marshals Blyukher and Tukhachevsky and most of the Soviet Union's senior officer corps. Three of the Red Army's five marshals, 13 of its 15 army commanders, eight of its nine senior admirals, 50 out of 57 corps commanders, 154 out of 186 division commanders, all of its 16 army commissars, 25 out of 28 corps commissars, 58 out of 64 divisional commissars, all 11 deputy commissars of defense and 98 out of the 108 men who sat on its Supreme Military Council—all were caught up in the Great Purge's fury.

The Great Purge's dimensions were far greater than even these shocking casualty lists indicate. Conquest estimates (in statistics many of which are now supported by data recently published in the Soviet Union) at least 7 million Soviet citizens were arrested during those two years. Of these innocent victims, more than 1 million were executed and another 2 million died or were killed in forced labor camps that, by the end of 1938, held between 6 million and 7 million prisoners. What scattered shards of a civic conscience that had remained among the Russians after the bloodletting of the Civil War and the struggles for collectivization were eradicated and a veritable army of men and women of talent and initiative were swept away. Their loss deprived the Soviet Union of its best writers, poets, musicians, professors, engineers, military strategists and technicians, none of whom it could afford to lose.

Official censuses did not include among the Great Purge's casualties those who "died in custody," although many of them perished as a result of repeated and vicious tortures. "Anything was permitted," the historian Roy Medvedev wrote at the end of 1988 when he recalled those terrible times. "If it was necessary to cut you to pieces, they cut you to pieces; if it was necessary to whip you, they whipped you; if it was necessary to rape your daughter before your eyes, they raped your daughter." To fill out this already horrendous picture of death and suffering, the KGB (according to an account published in Moscow less than a year ago) reported that its Stalinist predecessor, the NKVD, had carried out just under 20 million arrests and inflicted about 7 million purge-related deaths for the somewhat longer period between the beginning of 1935 and Hitler's attack against the Soviet Union in mid-1941.

By the end of 1938, the Great Purge had obliterated every trace of opposition, dissent, criticism or debate about Stalin's leadership and had consumed some of its own leading architects, most notably two NKVD chiefs. At that point, Stalin, whose grip on the party and the Soviet Union had seemed less than certain at the time of the 17th Party Congress, had become the undisputed dictator of the Soviet Union with greater power than any Russian autocrat since the time of Ivan the Terrible. So confident—and so arrogant—about his absolute power had Stalin become that he reportedly warned Lenin's widow, Krupskaya, that the party would nominate another widow for Lenin if she continued to complain about the imprisonment, torture and execution of her old comrades.

After almost a quarter of a century, it is good to see Conquest's fine book again. It reminds us not only of the brutality of Stalinism but also that, even a quarter century ago, a great deal could be discovered about the darkest recesses of the Soviet experience if a historian was willing to apply the noble scholarly virtues of dedication, care and skepticism to the scattered and incomplete sources of the pre-*glasnost* era.

The reviewer is the author of eight books about Russia, including "Red Victory: A History of the Russian Civil War."

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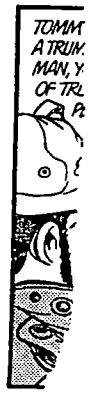

Bush Offers Lofty Goals, Scant Funds

BUSH, From A1

"It repeats a pattern that has been going on for the last six months, and is part of the Reagan legacy," he said. "You do a press release, you do your PR on a new program or a new endeavor, and you do the hype that day . . . and then you walk away from it. You don't follow through, you don't say how you're going to pay for it."

Bush's speech last week celebrating the 20th anniversary of man's landing on the moon offered a major new U.S. space commitment to "a sustained program of manned exploration of the solar system—and yes—the permanent settlement of space." He called for establishing a permanent lunar base and a manned mission to Mars in the next century and completing the manned space station in the next decade.

"Why the moon? Why Mars? Because it is humanity's destiny to strive, to seek, to find," the president said.

But when asked how the administration proposed to underwrite the far-reaching new goals, given recent cuts in the space budget on Capitol Hill, administration officials could not say.

"I don't know what the budgets will turn out to be," said Richard H. Truly, administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, adding that it would be "very affordable, I believe, in the total context and over a long period of time."

Only two days before he delivered the speech, Bush, asked whether he was planning a major new space policy initiative, responded, "I want to be sure that what I propose passes any test of fiscal sanity, fiscal reasonableness." After the president's announcement, Truly said, "I have not presented the president with a specific and detailed list of budgetary

Space proposals could cost $400 billion.

requirements" for the moon-Mars objectives.

A senior administration official defended the president's approach as an attempt to rally Americans behind the broad goals first, hoping money will flow later. "A grand vision may make the case for more money," he said.

On his visit to Eastern Europe, Bush was similarly long on inspirational support for reform in Poland and Hungary and short on cash.

In his speech at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Bush offered evocative phrases to recall the many difficulties of Poland during and since World War II, and he used the words "dream" and "dreams" 21 times in the address to describe hopes for Poland's future. "America stands with you," he declared.

Bush had promised in a speech last April to reward Poland's movement toward democracy, but the additional direct U.S. aid he announced for Poland, about $115 million, was greeted with disappointment by Communist Party and Solidarity labor movement leaders. In fact, even the aid Bush announced will not reach Poland right away—the foreign aid bill approved by the House last week includes only $25 million for Poland. Most of Bush's proposed direct U.S. aid would come in future years, although debt relief from the West may come earlier.

"We can't do everything," Bush lamented later in the European trip.

Stuart E. Eizenstat, who was domestic policy adviser to former President Jimmy Carter, said, "It's sad to see the head of the greatest nation on Earth go to Poland and Hungary and offer a pittance when the Japanese are putting up multi-billion-dollar Third World debt programs . . . . It's a commentary less on the administration than on the state of this country, that we are so strapped for resources, not because we don't have them, but because we refuse to pay for them." He added, "We become kibitzers, having lofty goals and let the other countries come in" and provide the money.

Eizenstat said Bush has done "a quite brilliant job of putting a positive thrust on a negative fiscal situation . . . stating goals which tend to be not only popular goals but Democratic Party goals, and therefore he can steal the thunder from Democrats. It makes him the architect and Democrats the mechanics . . . ."

Bush, for example, said last year he wanted to be the "education president," and has repeatedly expressed a desire to improve education. However, Bush has refused to put a large amount of new federal resources into education. He proposed $441 million in new spending, but at the same time recommended an education budget that in many areas did not keep pace with inflation, forcing cuts in current programs, and which would be subject to additional reductions as part of his "flexible freeze."

Charles B. Saunders, senior vice president of the American Council on Education, said the rhetoric of the Bush administration has "shifted 180 degrees" from the Reagan years, but the results have not been markedly different. "The administration very proudly asked for $441 million more for education this year, but when we looked at the bottom line . . . there simply wasn't anything more," he said.

Rather than face the budget crunch, Panetta said the administration "is creating an image of a rich bounty of funds through these daily press releases." He said Democrats have used such tactics in the past, and noted that the Great Society "collapsed" in part because it never met expectations that were raised for it. "The kinder-gentler society faces some of the same dangers," he said, if it offers the promise of "something that is never delivered."

"Pretty soon, people are going to say, 'the king has no clothes,' " said Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.). "This guy only has a speech."

Staff researcher Bruce Brown contributed to this report.

Bush Proposes Lofty Goals, But Not Financing for Them

Budgeting for Space, East Europe Criticized

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEWS ANALYSIS

President Bush has given Americans soaring rhetoric and ambitious goals in his recent speeches, from the opening of Eastern Europe to the sending of astronauts to Mars. But his budget for actually realizing these goals has been bargain-basement or nonexistent, according to fiscal analysts and members of Congress.

They said there has been a wide disparity between the popular goals the president has touted and the paucity of resources available to pay for them in an era of persistently high budget deficits. Bush has insisted at the same time that taxes not be raised to finance expanded government spending.

"It's not that we're not a rich enough society to do a lot more of these kinds of things," said Rudolph Penner, a former director of the Congressional Budget Office. "It's simply that the American people don't want to pay for them. Whatever the costs are of the Mars trip, if you told every American that their taxes are going up so many dollars, they wouldn't want to pay for it."

Rep. Leon E. Panetta (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Budget Committee, said Bush has scored political points by associating himself with such popular programs as space exploration while simply ignoring the expensive price tags. By some administration estimates, achieving a Mars landing could cost $400 billion.

See BUSH, A8, Col. 1

Up Freedom! Faxes to the Rebels, Gunfire Via Cellular Phone

Viewpoint

By Michael Gartner

Save the newspapers from the past week. Your grandchildren will want them.

Never has there been a week when freedom spoke so forcefully in so many places. In China, of course. In Poland. In the Soviet Union. The world changes. The newspapers chronicle it all.

So save them. But remember to tell your grandchildren this: Those newspapers chronicle it all, but in these revolutions—the violent and the peaceful—the written word of the newspaper is almost irrelevant. These revolutions are being aided and abetted by the new technology. They simply would not have happened without radio, without television, without the fax machine. The cellular telephone is playing a role, too.

The students in China are being fed facts and hope from campuses in the U.S. At Berkeley and Columbia and elsewhere, brilliant young sympathizers—Chinese and American and Chinese-American—send documents and articles and letters to their brave counterparts in China. The fax machines are, in a way, the fuel of the revolution: The faxed materials inform, encourage, embolden the young revolutionaries. They have become the wall posters of this generation. Never has there been anything like it.

While the students here in America provide the fax, the Voice of America provides the facts. Calmly and thoroughly, it broadcasts the news of the revolution. Tens of millions of Chinese apparently are tuning in their radios to get reliable, fast reports on the revolt in Tiananmen Square. The reports spur hope and support. It is the Voice of America at its best.

So fax machines abet the students. Radio informs the Chinese. And television informs—and appalls—the American public, including the president of the United States. Snapshots from historic events get engraved in our minds. For my father's generation, it's the newspaper photo of the flag-raising at Iwo Jima. For my generation, it's the newspaper photo of the young girl at Kent State wailing over the body of a student killed by the National Guard. For my daughter's, it surely will be the unarmed, white-shirted young Chinese man who stood defiantly in front of a line of tanks—and stared the tanks down.

That image, telecast over and over by American networks this week, cannot be erased. "I believe the forces of democracy are so powerful, and when you see them, as recently as this morning—a single student standing in front of a tank, and then, I might add, seeing the tank driver exercise restraint—I'm convinced that the forces of democracy are going" to triumph, George Bush told his press conference Monday morning. The man who can shape a nation's reaction gets his hope and outrage from the television screen.

And then, hourly, the networks break in with more news from the front, news telephoned from China in the same matter-of-fact way that you call your mother on Mother's Day. Phoning from the front the news as it happens. Ernie Pyle wouldn't believe it.

One reporter, a man from CBS, is roughed up and taken away as his audience listens. He is reporting by cellular phone, and we hear him hustled off midst the background gunfire. The phone apparently falls to the ground, and the line stays open for a while. We still hear shooting and then the disconnect signal. It's all done with the technological ease of a businessman calling in from his car.

Except, of course, for the gunfire. It's unforgettable. And eerie.

Then, the nightly news shows turn to the story from Poland, where there was an election, of all things, and where the Communists were battered. What do we see? Some somber members of Solidarity compiling the results in a cafe—on mini-computers. There they are, making history, overthrowing an ideology, winning a revolution of sorts—and certifying it by computer. While we watch from our dinner tables.

Finally, the news shows turn to the Soviet Union. There, the Congress of People's Deputies is debating right and wrong. A deputy lights into the KGB. President Mikhail Gorbachev offers to help the poor and cut defense spending. A professor gives up his seat to a rabble-rousing populist, and the populist immediately demands that the president annually stand for a vote of confidence. Otherwise, says Boris Yeltsin, "we may find ourselves captive of a new authoritarian regime."

Newspapers chronicle it all, but in these revolutions the written word of the newspaper is almost irrelevant. The revolutions are being aided and abetted by the new technology.

Remember, this is the Soviet Union.

And, incredibly, it's all on live television.

Nearly 30 years ago, in 1960, television changed the course of America. It happened on Sept. 26, the night Richard Nixon debated John F. Kennedy. "It was surprisingly dull, hardly a debate at all, and I thought Nixon had a slight edge in what little argument there had been," Russell Baker, who was covering the debates for the New York Times, writes in "Good Times," his new autobiography. (It's a wonderful book. Buy it.) "With no real blows struck, the event seemed a dud, and my story's lead said the two had 'argued genteelly.' "

But Kennedy had won a great victory. "I missed it completely," Mr. Baker writes, "because I had been too busy taking notes and writing to get more than fleeting glimpses of what the country was seeing on the screen. Most of the country had been looking, not listening, and what they saw was a frail and exhausted-looking Nixon perspiring nervously under pressure. It was a Nixon catastrophe.

"That night, television replaced newspapers as the most important communications medium in American politics."

Television then went on to bring us the horrors of Vietnam and to cause us to demand that the war be ended. Later, it brought us the Watergate hearings and helped us understand our own peaceful change in government. And now, it brings us revolutions—live from Tiananmen Square, live from a computer center in Warsaw, live from the Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

Uprisings in which the uprisers are armed with fax machines and computers, in which the reporters are armed with cellular telephones, in which a nation being torn asunder listens to the event over radio beamed in by satellite, in which policy makers set their policy after watching the gunfire from their livingrooms.

That's the world this week.

Stay tuned.

Mr. Gartner is editor and co-owner of the Daily Tribune in Ames, Iowa, and president of NBC News in New York.

The Editorial Notebook

7/6/89

Who Killed Russian Democracy?

An Honest Answer Would Test Glasnost

A hundred forbidden topics can finally be argued openly in the Soviet bloc. Russians for the first time can read that Trotsky was murdered by Stalin. Poles can assert that the Soviets, not the Nazis, slaughtered Polish officers at Katyn near Smolensk. The Baltic peoples can say aloud that their fate was sealed in a deal between Hitler and Stalin.

But a harder test for glasnost will be to tell the truth about the stifling of Russian democracy.

In 1917, when Russia was churning with discontent, a provisional government led by Alexander Kerensky was battered from the right by supporters of the deposed Czar and from the left by Lenin's Bolsheviks. No slogan figured higher in Bolshevik demands than "Long live the Constituent Assembly!" So Trotsky shouted as he stormed out of a debate with Kerensky supporters.

For a century, the demand for an elected parliament had been the rallying cry of every faction from left to center. "All the best people in Russia," wrote the radical playwright Gorki, "had lived by the idea of a Constituent Assembly." On returning from exile, Lenin denied that he opposed elections: "I would call these charges delirious raving if decades of political struggle had not taught me to view honesty in an opponent as a rare exception."

Amazingly, in this turmoil, an election took place. In November, 42 million voted in Russia's only free elections. The Bolsheviks polled 24 percent, failing to carry even Petrograd. The winner was the non-Marxist Social Revolutionary Party, with 58 percent. Now Lenin took a scornful tack: "Since we made the mistake of promising the world that this talk shop would meet, we have to open it up today, but history has not yet said a word about when we will shut it down."

Even as the new deputies arrived in Petrograd and began to convene at Tauride Palace, troops blocked their way. This provoked a memorable outburst from Deputy S. A. Sorokin, who recalled that thousands had died to bring about a Constituent Assembly:

"Now when the great dream is about to come true, you dally with the idea of a Bolshevik paradise, you refuse to do your duty . . . If you cling to this mad delusion, you will reap its certain fruits: starvation, tyranny, civil war and horrors which you cannot even imagine."

On Jan. 18, 1918, the soldiers allowed parliament to open. In a chaotic session, Bolsheviks shouted "Judas! Traitor!" as deputies refused to vote them total power. In this hubbub, the Assembly somehow managed to proclaim a republic and adopt other radical measures.

All this was happening under bristling guns. Finally after 14 hours, a sailor named Zheleznyakov said, "The guard is tired," and democracy was dissolved. "The simple, open, brutal breaking up of the Constituent Assembly," Trotsky recalled, almost with relish, "dealt formal democracy a blow from which it never recovered."

Seventy years later, a new Soviet Parliament is groping to recover what was thrown away. But silence persists about how the old Assembly was killed. Glasnost has its limits.

KARL E. MEYER

Russia Hasn't Yet Tamed the Golden Hordes

Global View

By George Melloan

Outbreaks of violence in Central Asia are being attributed by Soviet authorities to "inter-ethnic" conflicts, mainly between Uzbek and Kirghiz factions. But Moscow has a far bigger problem than that. Central Asia, populated mainly by the descendants of Genghis Khan, has never cottoned to Russian rule. Now it is in a position to do something about it.

Shukrulla Rahmatovich Mirsaidov, prime minister of the most populous Central Asian republic, Uzbekistan, recently issued a "declaration of economic independence." He is demanding greater control over the republic's resources. Uzbekistan already is conducting some foreign and domestic trade independently of Moscow's directives. The Soviet Parliament, desperately trying to stave off economic collapse, may have added impetus to such ad-hoc decentralization moves last week by pushing for devolution of central-government property to regional and local authorities to promote market economics.

A housing shortage was the flash point of Central Asian unrest. Rapid growth of the population has been aggravated by an influx of refugees from other trouble spots, such as Armenia and Azerbaijan. There are well-founded suspicions that the KGB stirred up some of the ethnic quarrels over housing to provide an excuse for the military crackdown unleashed on the region by Moscow early this month.

The most serious "inter-ethnic" conflict is between the Central Asian peoples as a group and the Russians. It has existed for centuries. Ivan the Terrible, reacting against many years of devastating assaults on Russia by the Mongols and Tartars, conquered the Khanate of Kazan in 1552, giving Russia its first Moslem subjects. The Russians completed their conquest of the region in 1873.

But this part of the Russian empire, as with others, has been held together mainly with force and cunning, not by mutual advantage of the type that has made other empires thrive. Some of the more idealistic Bolsheviks of the Lenin era hoped to create a genuine "union" of peoples of disparate cultures. But just as communism ultimately failed as an economic idea it also failed as an instrument for creating social and cultural comity.

Central Asians helped the Bolsheviks overthrow Czar Nicholas II. The Uzbeks had visions of shucking off the czars and setting up a European-style democracy, as might befit a country nearly as large as Spain. But all those early dreams were wiped out by Stalinist tyranny. Islam was brutally suppressed. Secret-police methods of political control were installed, and the Central Asians were no better off than they had been under the czars.

During World War II, Stalin moved factories to Uzbekistan to get them out of the reach of the Germans. The Russians also have developed Uzbekistan's natural resources—gas, oil, a variety of metal ores, uranium and the gold of the Kyzyl Kum desert. But the region still is heavily agricultural. One of the many Uzbek grievances is over their share of the fruits of their natural wealth. Pipelines carrying Uzbek gas to Russia pass through regions that have no access to fuel, they complain.

One of the biggest failures, however, has been the self-conscious Russian attempt at cultural imperialism. No one would doubt the richness of Russian culture, but Central Asia has its own cultural history. Indeed, it was a thriving outpost of Persian civilization at the time of Alexander the Great's conquests in the fourth century B.C., when Russia was a vast wilderness. The emperor Tamerlane, sitting in his wealthy capital of Samarkand, ruled a 14th-century empire that stretched from Baghdad to Delhi.

I had a firsthand glimpse of the Russian-Uzbek cultural division in 1967 when I toured Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara—three ancient Uzbek cities—for an article in this newspaper about Soviet tourism. The Soviets had just opened up Central Asia to tourists. I asked the Intourist bureau at the Tashkent Hotel for a ticket to a concert that would give me a taste of the local culture. What I got instead was a ticket to a viola concert by a Russian woman. It was almost a private performance because the vast hall was nearly empty. Russian culture was not a big draw in Tashkent.

A few nights later, I made the same request in Bukhara, an ancient city that still had at its center the large domed caravansary that once was an overnight haven for the richly laden camel caravans traveling the silk route between the Middle East and China. This time, the Intourist desk was manned by Uzbeks and a young Uzbek guide conducted me to a concert very much to her own liking, seating me in the front row with a jolly group that seemed to be members of her extended family. This time the performer was an Uzbek man plucking a stringed instrument and keening the haunting, unrhythmic music of the Turkic world.

"He is a classic," my guide whispered, and a packed house seemed to agree, applauding each song wildly. The guide's kinfolk, pleased at having a visitor from a distant planet, treated me to a glass of Pepsi.

In Samarkand, another guide showed me the observatory where Ulugh Beg, the great Uzbek astronomer, in the 15th century had made precise calculations of the distance to the sun. Nearby, gleaming in the spectacular light that followed a thundershower, were the beautiful turquoise domes of mosques that still decorate Tamerlane's capital. At that time their use for worship was being discouraged by the Russians. Indeed, the grand mosque at Bukhara, with columns made of wood from the Holy Land, had been converted to a billiard parlor by Soviet authorities.

On a still-seamier note, I had been greeted in Tashkent when I deplaned at 2 a.m. after a five-hour flight from Moscow by a tough-looking fellow who had joined the young man from Intourist. His purpose was to see that I stopped in the airport lounge to have a drink with some of his friends, two men and two women. It soon became obvious that these were my local KGB shadows, folks I kept glimpsing out of the corner of my eye throughout my innocent pursuit of the tourism story.

Today's unrest is the legacy of economic exploitation, KGB fun and games, and attempts to suppress Islam (which have proved unsuccessful). It comes as no surprise today that local politicians in Tashkent and elsewhere in Central Asia have been emboldened by *glasnost* to begin to talk about Uzbek independence and about keeping some of the wealth of their country for the direct benefit of the people there. As with the Baltic peoples, they complain about having their young men drafted to serve in the Soviet army. Those soldiers proved highly unreliable when they were sent into Afghanistan early in the war there, so much so that they were quickly withdrawn. The Afghan rebels looked more like brothers than did the Russians.

None of this says much about the future of Central Asia, particularly now that Soviet troops are on the scene. But it is useful to remember that it does have a culture, and a polity, of its own. And after all these years, the Russians are discovering that their brand of imperialism has not been a big success.

Poles Move to Mend Solidarity Split

Mazowiecki, Walesa May Address Issues at Meeting This Week

Associated Press

WARSAW, July 1—Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki offered today to meet with Solidarity union leader Lech Walesa in an effort to ease the bitter political struggle that has divided the Solidarity movement into opposing camps.

An aide to Walesa said the union chairman was aware of the offer and that arrangements for a meeting this week would probably be announced soon.

The move by Mazowiecki, a former Solidarity editor handpicked by Walesa to head the Solidarity-led government, came at a meeting here of local Solidarity Citizens Committees, the grass-roots political wing of the labor movement. Walesa has accused his former ally of moving too slowly on political and economic reforms, while backers of Mazowiecki have accused Walesa of dictatorial tendencies and have called for transformation of the divided Citizens Committees into a new political organization that would marshal popular support for the government.

Addressing the gathering in the parliament building, Mazowiecki said he was always willing to talk with Walesa even though he had been attacked by him. He said he would call Walesa on condition that the conversation would be conducted as a "full partnership" and not as Mazowiecki "paying a serf's homage."

"I think that certain issues should be toned down," Mazowiecki said. "I am proposing to Mr. Walesa to talk this coming week." Mazowiecki said they should talk "not to remove all differences between us, because that would not be true, but to talk so that disputes and battles proceed in a way that does not destroy the common good of Poland and Solidarity's legacy."

Walesa and Mazowiecki factions competed aggressively for the allegiance of the Solidarity rank and file during the weekend meeting, and the fight seemed to end in a draw. Delegates were not enthusiastic over the call from the Mazowiecki faction to create a national federation that would act as a base of support for the government, but in a straw poll today they also rejected Walesa's proposal that the Citizens Committees be opened to members of other political groups.

The question of the committees' role is important because they constitute the country's strongest political force. In parliamentary elections last year and local elections last month, virtually all candidates endorsed by the Citizens Committees won.

Walesa argues that the local committees should admit supporters of other budding political parties and become forums for discussing public issues. He also says they should be free to criticize the government.

Supporters of Mazowiecki accuse Walesa of demagoguery and of seeking personal control of the committees. They want the committees to band together to create a national federation to defend Mazowiecki's nine-month-old government, which is carrying out sweeping, often painful economic reforms.

At a meeting of ranking Solidarity members last week, 63 of Walesa's most senior allies broke ranks with him on the issue, accusing him of trying to make the Citizens Committees into a tool of his widely expected campaign for president.

Don Ritter

Cloud Over Glasnost

A dark cloud has appeared on the horizon of glasnost, although Soviet officialdom characterizes it as blue sky. On April 11, the front page of Pravda printed the text of a decree signed by Mikhail Gorbachev. In this law, the criminal code of the U.S.S.R. dealing with "state crimes" was amended. Unfortunately, in propaganda style, the new law is being presented in the Soviet press as being a beneficial legal reform designed to prevent nationalist and ethnic "anarchy" and to "defend democracy." But it is clearly designed to intimidate would-be critics, dissidents or nationalists into accepting glasnost on the state's terms—or else.

Although Soviet authorities point out that the new law is less harsh in some of its penalties than its predecessor, key portions are new and clearly reactionary, Stalinist and antiglasnost; they give the state a virtual free hand to enforce a selective glasnost, which can be used, if authorities so choose, to stifle and silence—with force—freedom of thought, speech and press.

Article 11 (1) Insulting or Defaming State Organs and Public Organizations—a veritable sword of Damocles—states:

"The public insulting or defamation of the U.S.S.R. supreme organs of state power and government . . . or officials appointed, elected, or approved in offices by the U.S.S.R. Congress of People's Deputies or the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, or public organizations . . . is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a period of up to 3 years. . . ."

On April 13 the newspaper Soviet Culture published a letter asking: "What does 'defamation' mean? On what basis will the courts determine where criticism of ministries, departments, their leaders, and social organizations ends and where defaming them begins?" Aleksandr Sakharov, doctor of juridical sciences, said in an interview in Literary Gazette April 12: "In my opinion this new legal norm requires immediate clarification so that the authors of critical articles will not be included with extremists and anti-Soviets and be punished. . . ."

Another feature, Article 7, could bring a prison term of up to 10 years for "public calls for the overthrow of the Soviet state and social system or for its change . . . involving the use of material assets or technical means from . . . organizations" abroad.

An article in Pravda April 14 helped clarify one possible Soviet interpretation of Article 7. Pravda called for "the direct prohibition of activities by extremist formations such as the 'Democratic Union,' which are liable to do restructuring immense harm." Pravda further stated that "the real aim of the Democratic Union . . . is to remove the Communist Party from the political arena and totally change the social system." Pravda also makes the patently fabricated charge that "there was a connection, both direct and indirect, between Western special services' activities . . . and the work of the Democratic Union."

Will the Soviets use the decree to arrest those who belong to these unofficial (so-called extremist) organizations and who, because of glasnost and perestroika, are trying to change the Soviet system so it is more equitable and democratic? Will freedom-seeking national activists in the Soviet Union who have spoken to Western journalists during glasnost, worked with Western human rights organizations or sought the support of kindred Western organizations be silenced with the threat of up to 10 years in a prison camp?

Why has the West not recognized the potential implications of this decree for glasnost? Bohdan Horyn, a leading member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, had this comment to make: "The publication of this decree on April 11, 1989 signifies a total reversal to antidemocratic methods in our political and social life. . . . The West closed its eyes to this unlawful highhandedness."

If this is the legal foundation of perestroika and glasnost—if we are dealing with inherently unstable structures built on foundations of sand—the West must speak out on all levels. In economic matters, the Soviet Union should not be granted most favored nation tariff status or access to Western credit and technology until it extends to its own people the legal underpinning of the freedoms they deserve. All our major agreements with the Soviets—political, military and economic—are ultimately successful if they are based on legal assurances that glasnost and perestroika are not reversible. A clear message should be sent by Congress and the administration to the Soviet Union: this new Presidium decree poses a threat to U.S.-Soviet relations.

The writer, a representative from Pennsylvania, is the ranking House Republican member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the Helsinki Commission) and cochaired the legal issues section during the commission's trip to the Soviet Union last November.

The Washington Times

NATION

Bush's Pentagon defers to Baker's view of the world

By Rowan Scarborough
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

When conservatives criticized arms control concessions made in Moscow by Secretary of State James A. Baker III, they were without one ally familiar in the Reagan era — the Pentagon.

The Pentagon was mostly silent, except for a few public statements of support — a lukewarm endorsement that illustrated one of the most fundamental changes in government brought by the succession of President Bush.

The Pentagon's 750-person policy shop, once dominated by conservatives free to express views that often enraged the bureaucracy, today embodies the "pragmatic" style of the Bush administration. Activism has given way to the more ruminative and theoretical approach of academics and diplomats.

In the Reagan years, the policy branch was a freewheeling enterprise. It dominated the arms control debate, worked to get military aid to anti-communists in Central America and Afghanistan, and set up roadblocks for American technology going overseas, often to adversaries of the United States.

The roster included Richard Perle, the "prince of darkness" who influenced Mr. Reagan more than anyone on arms control, and Richard Armitage, a one-time Navy commando who worked the deals that got U.S. weapons to clients abroad.

Now, Defense Department policymakers, headed by Undersecretary Paul Wolfowitz, follow the lead of the State Department on arms control and other national security issues, say analysts inside and outside of government.

"Here, under Wolfowitz, it's much more like running a think tank, actually a very rigidly contolled think tank, staying very close to your own office, and report everything through Wolfowitz," says a source familiar with the policy office.

Mr. Wolfowitz' career includes stints as a college professor and diplomat, with his last State Department tour as ambassador to Indonesia. Described as a man who is reluctant to rock the boat, Mr. Wolfowitz keeps close tabs on his staff and discourages conversations with congressmen and reporters.

His restrained style contrasts sharply to that of his predecessor, Fred Ikle, a leader in the conservative movement that brought Mr. Reagan to power.

Mr. Ikle, described as "aloof" by those who worked under him, is credited with recruiting skeptics of the pre-Gorbachev Soviet Union and freeing them to spread their message throughout the Reagan administration.

Mr. Ikle declined in an interview to compare his management style with that of Mr. Wolfowitz. But he readily discussed the days when his office was a force in government.

"My management policy was light management, to let people do their thing, do what they were responsible for and give them a lot of leeway," says Mr. Ikle, now a scholar at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "I would step in more where there was a gap. I did not micromanage at all.

"I think we gave weight to the Pentagon in the overall national secruity policy, which includes foreign and military relations."

Mr. Ikle's top aides are gone too.

Mr. Armitage, now the U.S. negotiator for a new agreement on military bases in the Philippines, was replaced as assistant secretary for international security affairs by Henry Rowen, a former Stanford University professor.

The Washington Times

Mr. Perle, who fought well-publicized battles with a State Department he believed too eager to sign an arms pact with the Soviets, left the Pentagon in 1987. His post is now held by Stephen Hadley, the assistant secretary for international security policy. A former Defense Department official, Mr. Hadley spent the past 12 years practicing corporate and civil law with the prestigious Washington firm of Shea & Gardner.

"Hadley sees himself as a lawyer in service of a client," said one official. "Perle saw himself as the standard-bearer of a movement. They're fundamentally different."

Perhaps these new defense players — Messrs. Wolfowitz, Rowen, and Hadley — would have been out of sync in the anti-Soviet Reagan years.

But defense officials insist they are better suited for an era of crumbling communism and a declining defense budget.

The new players also must set priorities in conjunction with a State Department run by Mr. Baker, the administration's most dominant Cabinet member and the president's most trusted adviser. Mr. Ikle and his troops had no such hurdle.

"They have to work under difficult and different circumstances and with a shrinking defense budget," Mr. Ikle said. "Many things were easier with an expanding defense budget."

Race, Partisanship Play Key Roles in How South's 10 New Districts Will Be Mapped

By Hastings Wyman Jr.

Although the 1990 Census has not been completed, the remapping of Congressional districts for the next decade is already taking shape.

The state legislatures begin redistricting next year, and it is already clear that two major factors will be influencing Congressional mapping in the South: political partisanship and race.

At stake in the South are an estimated ten new seats in Congress: four in Florida, three in Texas, and one each in Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia. No Southern state will lose a seat.

Partisanship is intensified today because, with an incumbency re-election rate exceeding 98 percent, both parties view new or drastically altered districts as rare opportunities to increase their share in the House.

In the 12-state South today, there are 123 Congressional districts — 77 held by Democrats, 46 by Republicans.

Working in the Democrats' favor is their far superior strength in the Southern state legislatures: They control both Houses of every Southern state legislature, and hold 73 percent of the seats.

Ten years ago, when Democrats had 85 percent of Southern legislators, the South gained eight seats through reapportionment, and the Democrats had (not coincidentally) a net gain of eight seats in the 1982 election.

Working for the GOP will be governorships in four or more Southern states, depending on the outcome of elections this fall. And in several Southern states, the Republican minority in the legislature is large enough — one-third or more — to sustain its governor's veto. This gives Republicans the power to influence, if not control, the redistricting process.

The racial issue will arise because, under the Voting Rights Act, the Justice Department must approve any Southern redistricting plan before it can take effect.

And recent court decisions have interpreted the act to require creation, where possible, of districts with a black majority.

"The Justice Department basically told us, 'Whenever you can draw a black district, you must,'" says a Louisiana legislator. Usually, the Justice Department defines a "majority black" district as one having 55 to 60 percent or more black voting-age population, in order to account for a voter turnout somewhat lower among blacks than whites.

There are currently four black Congressmen from the South, all Democrats: Mike Espy (Miss), Harold Ford (Tenn), John Lewis (Ga), and Craig Washington (Texas).

Redistricting could more than double that number. For this reason, civil rights groups generally favor majority black districts, as do most — but not all — black

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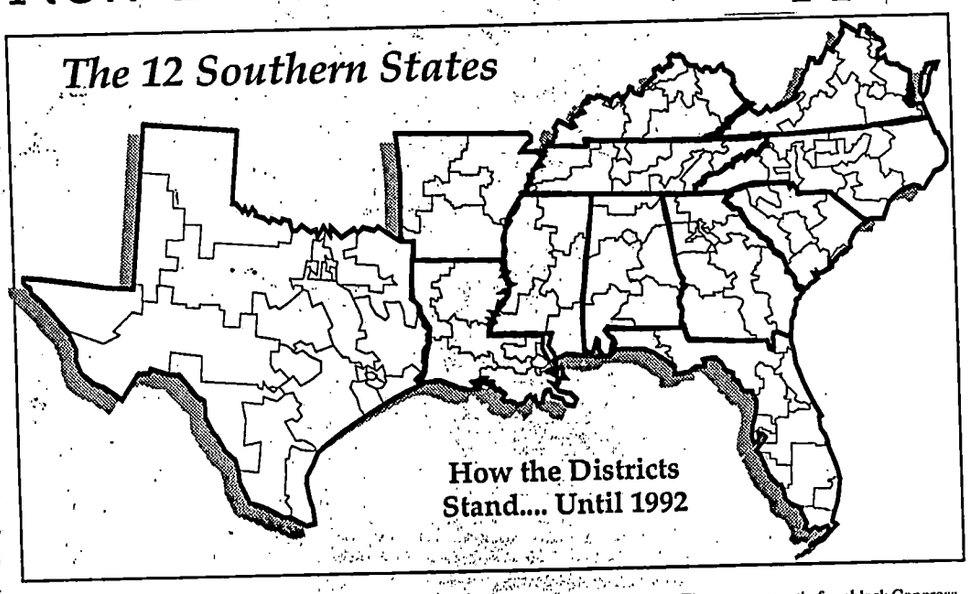

A State-by-State Analysis of Redistricting Prospects in the South After 1990 Census

Continued from page 14

legislators, who comprise about 10 percent of Southern legislatures.

Because creating majority black districts usually makes surrounding districts whiter and more likely to vote Republican, GOP legislators also are likely to favor creation of more black districts.

Lewis's 5th district in Atlanta, for example, which is 60 percent black, resulted in part because of the efforts of then-state Sen. Julian Bond (D) and the Republican minority in the Georgia Senate during the post-1980 redistricting.

Indeed, redistricting federal and state legislative districts is one of the few areas where black and Republican politicians work together — "an unholy alliance," one civil rights activist calls it.

White Democrats in the South are in a bind. Black voters provide the winning margin for many Southern Democratic officeholders, so most Democrats are uncomfortable opposing black political interests.

But Southern Democratic legislators aren't interested in making their own re-elections more difficult.

Here's a state-by-state roundup of the Congressional prospects in the Southern states.

Alabama

Although Democrats have 79 percent of the legislature, Gov. Guy Hunt is a Republican and a good bet for re-election, giving the GOP some leverage in redistricting decisions.

This is also a state where a majority black district could be created, most likely in the "black belt" that cuts across the state below Birmingham.

This area — much of it in the 7th district (Tuscaloosa) represented by Rep. Claude Harris (D) — elected blacks to Congress as late as the 1890s.

A black district here could help the GOP hold on to the 2nd district (Montgomery), held by Rep. Bill Dickinson (R) and improve Republican prospects in several Democratic districts.

Arkansas

Democrats control the legislature (89 percent) and are likely to re-elect Gov. Bill Clinton (D). Population patterns make creation of a majority black district impossible; the state has four Congressional districts and is only 14 percent black.

There is a possibility, however, of concentrating black voters in one district along the Mississippi Delta in eastern Arkansas. This would increase black influence by pushing the minority percent to the high 20s.

Whether the Voting Rights Act requires maximizing black influence, short of a majority, is unclear.

Black voters are currently divided between the 1st district (Jonesboro), held by Rep. Bill Alexander (D), and the 4th (Pine Bluff), held by Rep. Beryl Anthony (D). Making Alexander's district more black and Anthony's more white could improve Republican prospects in Anthony's.

Florida

The Sunshine State is expected to gain four seats, second only to California's six or seven. The GOP now has ten of Florida's 19 Representatives.

Although population and registration trends favor the GOP, they may not be in a powerful position when the legislature draws new lines next year. Republican Gov. Bob Martinez looks increasingly like a one-termer, especially since ex-Sen. Lawton Chiles (D) entered the gubernatorial race.

With a Democratic governor, Democrats would call most of the shots, even if Republicans should manage to win control of the state Senate. (They need five seats.)

While no black district is likely in Florida, there is a possibility of a second Hispanic district in the Miami area, which could be a boon to Republicans.

Speculation about the other new seats centers on the Daytona Beach/Gainesville area, further south near Fort Pierce or Broward and Palm Beach, and on the west coast near Sarasota.

Georgia

With the Peach State likely to gain an additional seat, observers foresee creation of a "95 percent Republican" district in the Atlanta suburbs and a possible majority black district in south Georgia.

The heavily Republican district appeals to Democrats (81 percent of the legislature) because it would strengthen the Democrats in several currently marginal districts — the 7th (Rep. Buddy Darden), the 4th (Rep. Ben Jones), and the 9th (Rep. Ed Jenkins).

The new district would comprise eastern Cobb County — now in Darden's district — and most of Gwinnett County.

Whether a new majority black district can be created is questionable. The 30 counties in south Georgia where the state's "black belt" is centered have all been losing population.

The 5th district (Atlanta), represented by Lewis, is expected to retain its black majority.

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Kentucky

If Kentucky keeps seven seats, the 3rd district (Louisville) will need population "and will want the least Republican areas" from the 4th district (the suburbs), says a Hill staffer from the Bluegrass State.

The 3rd district is held by Rep. Romano Mazzoli (D), who faces significant opposition this November after winning his primary with just 45 percent of the vote.

If Kentucky should lose a seat, the Democratic legislature would probably put two Republican incumbents in the same district.

Louisiana

The state already has a majority black district — the 2nd (New Orleans) — which is represented by Rep. Lindy Boggs (D), who is white.

The district has been losing population, and some black politicos fear that it will lose its black majority next year. Boggs, 74, may retire in 1992 — or may not. Insiders say it is possible to add additional black areas to the 2nd from nearby districts represented by Reps. Bob Livingston (R) and Billy Tauzin (D).

Race could also play a part in the 8th district (Alexandria), represented by Rep. Clyde Holloway (R). The 8th has a Democratic history, but the district elected — and re-elected — Holloway when he landed in a runoff with a black Democrat. The legislature "could make [the 8th district] a little blacker, but not majority black," says a legislator.

Mississippi

Like Louisiana, this state already has a majority black district, the 2nd (the Delta), currently represented by Rep. Mike Espy.

Observers believe the 2nd has lost some black population and that to keep it 55 to 60 percent black, black areas will have to be moved into the district.

The most likely source is from the neighboring 4th district (Jackson), currently held by freshman Rep. Mike Parker (D). The 4th has been represented by Republicans in the past, and the GOP is getting ready to make a major post-redistricting push here again.

However, the GOP has only 14 percent of the legislature and incumbent Gov. Ray Mabus (D) doesn't come up for re-election until 1991, so Republicans' hopes may be premature.

North Carolina

The Tarheel State may gain an additional district, and both partisan and racial considerations are likely to play a part.

One plan would put the new district in a mostly Republican high-growth area along Interstate 85 between Charlotte and Greensboro, simultaneously making Rep. Bill Hefner's (D) 8th district (Salisbury) safely Democratic. A majority black district might be created in eastern North Carolina.

Ken Spaulding, a black attorney who got 48 percent in the 2nd district (Durham) Democratic primary in 1984, notes the legislature has already shown its responsiveness to black opinion by eliminating the runoff in primaries if the leading candidate gets at least 40 percent.

Rep. Walter Jones (D), 76, may retire from the one-third black 1st district (Greensville) before the 1992 election, and that could ease the way for a majority black district.

The Republican governor has no veto power, but the GOP is hoping the coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats will keep control of the lower House in the 1990 elections.

South Carolina

Blacks here are supporting the creation of a new 60-percent black district. The odd-shaped district would take areas from four of the state's six districts.

If the new district is created, it will likely result in two Democratic incumbents ending up in the same district — either Reps. Robin Tallon and John Spratt, or Tallon and Rep. Liz Patterson.

The incumbents favor minor adjustments in current districts, but Justice Department policy, combined with partisan politics, will favor the new black district.

Gov. Carroll Campbell (R) is highly partisan, favored for re-election, and may or may not have to continue to struggle with a veto-proof lower House.

Tennessee

The Volunteer State should stay at nine districts. The population growth has been in the Nashville and Memphis suburbs. The 9th district (Memphis), held by Rep. Harold Ford, has lost population, but not enough to threaten its black majority.

The Democrats in control can leave well enough alone or make trouble in the 7th district (Memphis suburbs) for Rep. Don Sundquist, the only Republican west of Knoxville.

Texas

The Lone Star State should gain three seats. Redistricting will focus initially on the cities — to satisfy the Voting Rights Act. A new black district might be created in Dallas and another Hispanic district in San Antonio.

In Houston, there's a conflict between creating a new Hispanic district and keeping newly elected Rep. Craig Washington safe. Rep. Joe Barton's (R) 6th district (College Station), stretching from the outskirts of Fort Worth to Houston, is likely to get split up, leaving a turf battle among Barton and Reps. John Bryant (D) in the 5th (Dallas) and Martin Frost (D) in the 24th (south Dallas).

Virginia

With a Democratic governor and legislature, this state won't be giving anything to the GOP. But there is a battle brewing: Will the extra seat go to a majority black district in the Tidewater area or to the fast-growing northern Virginia suburbs?

Gov. Douglas Wilder (D), the nation's only black governor and a loyal Democrat — possibly with national aspirations — hasn't taken a firm stand, though he's said to be against "a district with a specific demographic content."

Hastings Wyman Jr. is editor and publisher of Southern Political Report.

Notable & Quotable

From an article in the Aug. 17 issue of Eesti Estonia, a weekly newspaper published in Talinn:

Dear Saddam!

. . . I fear that perhaps the scandal brought about by the Kuwaiti incident is causing you to lose sleep. Allow me as an Estonian (that is to say, as a representative of a country that has been occupied for the past 50 years) to dispel your fears.

. . .

On the basis of the Estonian experience, I can predict what is in store for you from the international community. There will be strong denunciations from London, Paris and Washington. Freedom-loving leaders from around the world will speak eloquently of Kuwait's rights to self-determination and pledge with one voice to never, ever recognize the illegal annexation of Kuwait. . . .

You can be certain that the USA, whom you regard suspiciously, will publicly show strong indignation. For decades, American presidents will scold Iraq once a year for occupying Kuwait. That day will be declared "Kuwaiti Independence Day" by Congress. A representative from the White House will meet publicly with freedom-fighting Kuwaiti activists and Kuwaiti women in folk costume. . . .

Of one thing you can be certain—just as Americans are capable of giving the world's most moving speeches, it will not take long until they begin making statements such as, "We must live in the real world, and Kuwait is part of Iraq." Therefore don't take their moving speeches too seriously. Keep in mind that for Americans speaking about freedom is like praying in church. You don't necessarily have to believe in your words, but they'll make you feel better.

* * *

11/6/90

USIA chief makes waves, enemies with brash acts

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The personal behavior of U.S. Information Agency Director Bruce Gelb, already facing a revolt by Voice of America employees, has even affected U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf, China and other world trouble spots, according to senior government officials.

Mr. Gelb's one-man diplomacy and unpredictability have caused him to be shut out of key administration matters and made him a source of derision among top government peers, the officials said.

Among actions said to have caused his credibility problems are a delayed deal to broadcast U.S. messages into Kuwait and Iraq over VOA; a move to stop VOA's Chinese airings of interviews with dissident Fang Lizhi; and aborted efforts to arrange a meeting for chicken entrepreneur Frank Perdue with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mr. Gelb even stood up President Bush at a recent human rights proclamation signing and had lunch instead with Vice President Quayle and six others, officials said. Mr. Gelb's absence, publicly noted by Mr. Bush, angered the protocol staff, "who don't like to see the president confused," officials said.

A senior White House official said Mr. Gelb has "no credibility" among presidential advisers and "noses wriggle" whenever his name is mentioned.

Mr. Gelb, in an interview yesterday, said Mr. Bush told him over Christmas "there was no problem" with his absence at the human rights ceremony. He had two simultaneous events on his calendar, he said.

He said he has "good relations" with most top administration officials and labeled as "gossip" the stories being spread about him.

Mr. Gelb said he would meet today with VOA employees about his reported efforts to take over the broadcast agency's key functions.

For at least a year, Mr. Gelb has been sidestepped on some crucial foreign policy decisions and was kept completely unaware of events leading up to the U.S. invasion of Panama because White House national security officials "don't trust him," said USIA and White House officials.

USIA's operations center could not reach Mr. Gelb at home to tell him about the invasion after it was announced on television, so he went to work the next morning unaware of the U.S. military landing, officials said.

"He said he had taken an over-the-counter sleeping pill" and slept through USIA officials banging on his door in the middle of the night, said a USIA associate.

"I don't take sleeping pills," Mr. Gelb said yesterday. But he acknowledged being unaware of the Panama invasion until the following morning. "It was closely held," he said.

A senior White House official said Mr. Gelb has "no credibility" among many top presidential advisers and that "noses wriggle" whenever his name is mentioned.

In interviews with more than a dozen top government officials, incidents cited to explain disdain for the USIA director included these:

- Last fall Mr. Gelb unexpectedly agreed on his own with Bahrain information minister Tariq Almoayed to give the Persian Gulf government $1 million worth of U.S. radio equipment in exchange for having a VOA relay station in Bahrain to beam the U.S. message into Kuwait and Iraq.

The USIA director did not consult national security officials, the State Department, the U.S. ambassador in Bahrain or even his agency's own technical experts before making the agreement. And because Mr. Gelb accepted Mr. Almoayed's word that VOA could use a radio frequency actually owned by Kuwait — now controlled by Iraq — the VOA transmitter has been "sitting in the desert" for several months unused during the current Persian Gulf crisis.

"We hope within the next five days to be up and ready to broadcast medium-wave radio [into Kuwait and Iraq] on VOA with a shared antenna, where we will share 50 percent of the time with the Bahrainis," Mr. Gelb said yesterday. He said the agreement "could not have happened" except for his friendship with Mr. Almoayed.

- Last July Mr. Gelb quietly attempted to block news over VOA of Chinese dissident Fang Lizhi's release by Chinese authorities, and his criticisms on American news programs of a U.S. "double standard" on human rights that favored the Beijing regime over the Kremlin.

USIA and VOA officials said Mr. Gelb directed that VOA not carry a July 23, 1990, interview with Mr. Fang on NBC's "Meet the Press." However, after a reportedly heated argument, VOA Director Richard Carlson defied Mr. Gelb and aired the "Meet the Press" interview and another Fang interview by VOA.

Mr. Gelb acknowledged trying to keep news of Mr. Fang's release off VOA airwaves.

"Because of the extremely delicate nature of having one of the world's great human rights activists being released from China, I thought on my own recognizance that it was very important that we did not use that in an inflammatory way during that period immediately after his release from China," Mr. Gelb said.

Mr. Carlson declined to comment yesterday but did not dispute the incident.

Kemp Leads a Cabinet Revolt, Targeting Darman As Sparks Fly Over Direction of Domestic Policy

By Alan Murray
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON—While President Bush has been focusing on the prospects for war in the Middle East, his domestic-policy advisers are in a battle of their own.

The president is scheduled to meet tomorrow with his top economic-policy advisers to begin mapping out a domestic strategy for the coming year. He will find his administration remains badly divided, with Budget Director Richard Darman—until now the 500-pound gorilla of domestic policy—coming under heavy attack from Housing Secretary Jack Kemp and an army of disgruntled bantamweights.

Richard Darman

The battle is as much over style and personality as it is over substance. But at stake is whether the president pushes an ideological agenda that marks out a new direction for his administration, or whether he stays the course with measures designed to build upon this year's budget agreement.

As long as the internal fighting continues, it's bound to fuel the perception that the administration's domestic policy lacks direction. "There's no sign yet that there is a really coherent strategy," complains Stuart Butler of the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank. "It seems to be all bits and pieces."

Mr. Darman this week tried to forge peace with his critics. He called Mr. Kemp over the weekend and arranged for a private meeting on Monday morning. Neither Mr. Darman nor Mr. Kemp would discuss the lengthy meeting in detail, but they are said to have buried the hatchet.

Nevertheless, resentment against Mr. Darman continues to run high within the administration. And conservative commentators have pilloried the budget director repeatedly in recent days.

In part, the attack on Mr. Darman is ideological. Many conservatives are angry that he negotiated a budget package that relies heavily on tax increases, and one that seems to rule out tax cuts in the future.

Widespread Control

Many administration officials also resent Mr. Darman's dominance in the policy arena. As budget director, he has managed to seize widespread control over domestic policy, consulting only with Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and Chief of Staff John Sununu, and leaving others on the outside. "I think it's getting to be a little bit of a closed shop," says former Reagan administration policy adviser Martin Anderson.

And Mr. Darman's style doesn't help, either. The budget director caused a minor furor recently when he gave a speech ridiculing the "new paradigm," a name for a set of policy initiatives being promoted by White House staffer James Pinkerton. Administration officials say some of the budget director's tactics have also irked more senior presidential advisers, including Secretary Brady.

There is press speculation that Mr. Darman may be on his way out of the administration. But top officials say the idea that Mr. Darman's job is threatened is overblown. And even Mr. Darman's harshest critics acknowledge that he's not behaving like someone whose job is on the line.

Last week, for instance, Mr. Darman attended a meeting of a group of junior officials, including Mr. Pinkerton, who are working on an "empowerment" initiative that would include policies such as providing vouchers for education and turning public housing over to the poor. The budget director, while indicating some support for the effort, mainly doused it with cold water.

"His performance was amazing," said one official aligned with Mr. Kemp. "If he had felt threatened, he wouldn't have come. But instead, he seemed to be flexing his muscles."

The policy dispute began to mushroom in this year's budget debate. Mr. Darman's budget strategy may have produced an agreement, but it also left President Bush in constant retreat, backing off first from his no-tax pledge, then from his proposal to cut the capital-gains tax, and finally from his promise not to raise tax rates.

Mr. Kemp argues that the administration now needs to push a bold and aggressive agenda to grab back the initiative from Congress. He favors a renewed campaign to cut the capital-gains tax as well as the "empowerment" initiative, which would restructure government programs to give more control and more choice to people receiving government benefits.

Jack Kemp

But other top officials are reluctant to renew the capital-gains debate. They fear Democrats would simply use that as an excuse to beat up on the administration for catering to the rich. And while Mr. Darman says he supports the empowerment agenda, he argues that it is merely warmed-over proposals from the past.

For his part, Mr. Darman argues that the budget agreement offers a new opportunity for the government to set priorities. He and Michael Boskin, the president's chief economic adviser, are promoting measures that would shift more government spending into investment and research and less into consumption. Conservative critics, however, charge that approach could become an excuse for more pork-barrel spending by Congress. "That's dangerous," says Mr. Butler. "You can call aid to families with dependent children an investment, education an investment. You can call anything an investment."

Elderly Lobby

In addition, Mr. Darman is looking at proposals that would cut government benefits to the affluent and elderly, and possibly increase them for the needy. But any such proposals would reignite the elderly lobby that created such havoc last year.

Treasury Secretary Brady is taking a third approach, focusing on his department's effort to overhaul the banking system. With many analysts in part blaming a bank "credit crunch" for the economic slowdown, efforts to make the banking system healthy should take top priority, he believes.

Which way will President Bush go? Mr. Butler argues that the president should make a clear choice between the Darman agenda and the Kemp agenda. "I think there ought to be two resignations handed to him, and he should pick up one or the other," he says.

But the president's more likely course may be to try to negotiate a compromise between the two. And that may only fuel the perception that the Bush administration has no domestic-policy agenda.

"There's a lot of internal talk in the administration about how to regain the initiative, but I don't think it's going to work," asserts Jeffrey Bell, a GOP economic consultant.

Former Banking Regulator Says Senator Offered Him a Deal on Behalf of Keating

By Jill Abramson
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

WA[illegible]N—A [illegible]ner top banking [illegible]hics [illegible]

(D., Calif.), John Glenn (D., Ohio), and John McCain (R., Ariz.).

Nor[illegible] of the sen[illegible]ors under investigation ay's [illegible]

NYT 9/10/90 DM+EW- a friend of mine wrote the editorial. T

ESSAY | William Safire

Broadcast to Baghdad

WASHINGTON

Six months ago, the Voice of America — in its finest hour — broadcast an editorial reflecting the official views of the U.S. Government to the world.

Titled "No More Secret Police," the timely and courageous broadcast began: "The success of dictatorial rule and tyranny requires the existence of a large secret-police force, while the success of democracy requires abolishment of such a force."

The V.O.A. noted that when East Germans became free, they demonstrated with public slogans against what they called "bloodsuckers" represented by Stasi, the Gestapo and the K.G.B. "In Romania," our broadcast said, "thousands of citizens shed their blood to bring down the dictatorial regime of Nicolae Ceausescu . . . against well-trained security forces armed to the teeth."

Indisputably true. "The secret police are still widely present in countries like China, North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Cuba and Albania," said the V.O.A., drawing on the human rights report of the State Department required by Congress. But thanks to 1989's wave of freedom, "we believe that the 1990's should belong not to the dictators and secret police, but to the people."

That accurately represents American values. But when Saddam Hussein heard it, he reacted — and the effect of his reaction on our timid State Department and obsequious senators led him to believe that the U.S. was a paper tiger.

"Our guess is that the President [Hussein] himself heard it on February 15," reads a classified cable from our Ambassador, April Glaspie, to Secretary James Baker, now vouchsafed to me in partial response to a Freedom of Information request made several months ago.

Our Ambassador was "convoked" by the Deputy Foreign Minister to protest a "flagrant interference in the internal affairs of Iraq and the direct official instigation against the legitimate authority." She reported that the Iraqi emphasized "that incitement against the government and supposed analogy to Romania were deeply damaging."

Our Ambassador was evidently distraught. "They read the editorial as U.S.-sanctioned mudslinging with the intent to incite revolution," she cabled home on Feb. 27. A day later, she added: "The Soviet Embassy is also busy here insuring that news of the editorial has been spread throughout Baghdad."

Secretary Baker apparently directed her to grovel. ". . . it is absolutely not United States policy to question the legitimacy of the Government of Iraq nor to interfere in any way in the domestic concerns of the Iraqi people and Government," she then wrote the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tariq Aziz. "My Government regrets that the wording of the editorial left it open to incorrect interpretation."

Her way out: The word "dictators" was translated in Arabic as *abaatira*, which means "playboys" or "bons vivants" — therefore, the broadcast could not have applied to Saddam Hussein, especially "As Assistant Secretary Kelly told his Excellency the President [Hussein] on February 12, President Bush wants good relations with Iraq, relations built on confidence and trust . . . ."

Back in Washington, at the Secretary of State's breakfast meeting, John Kelly (hired by James Baker because he had been reprimanded by George Shultz) excoriated those democracy-pushers at V.O.A. who were undermining his seduction of Saddam Hussein and demanded they be slapped down. Secretary Baker agreed; he told the U.S. Information Agency to get written clearance on its editorials from State.

Six weeks later, in a meeting with five U.S. senators proudly broadcast by Iraqi radio (but curiously still unpublished in our Congressional Record), the Butcher of Baghdad complained again about the offending editorial. Senator Bob Dole ingratiatingly if inaccurately assured him that the writer had paid for his mistake with his job: "That person was fired."

The lessons from this sorry episode are two: first, that whenever a dictator demands that we back away from American values, we should never forget that appeasement and apologetics lead only to contempt for our resolve.

Second, when preparing a strong message to the people of Iraq, including four million persecuted Kurds: Dictator Hussein is apparently highly sensitive to any news that reminds his subjects of the uprising that led to the punishment of dictator the Ceausescu.

President Bush's speechwriters should eschew clearing his copy with the Baker-Kelly hand-wringers at State, and should ask instead for a draft of his message from the guy who wrote the V.O.A. editorial, "No More Secret Police." □

Richard Cohen

Under Cover of Daylight

There's a story about John F. Kennedy that goes like this. Asked how he was going to announce that he had chosen his own brother Robert as attorney general, the president-elect said he would wait until about two in the morning, open the door to his Georgetown house and whisper, "It's Bobby." In this way, and in this way only, George Bush is a Kennedy.

Whispering George said the other day that American forces in the Persian Gulf region would be greatly expanded. Another 150,000 soldiers would be dispatched (nearly doubling the force already in the Gulf) and with them commensurate amounts of tanks, planes and even another battleship, the storied Missouri. This, Bush said in a statement, would provide the United States with "an adequate offensive military option"—in other words, what it takes to go to war.

And just when and under what circumstances did Bush reveal that the United States might go on the offensive in the Persian Gulf? Was it in a grand televised speech to the nation? Was it in an address to a joint session of Congress, one of those March of Time occasions dripping history? No, neither one. The president held a news conference. In fact, and in greater detail, the president held an *afternoon* news conference. Chances are you were at work.

George Bush came to the White House determined to be the anti-Reagan. Not for him, this man of detail and acronyms, were the props of the Ronald Reagan years nor the excessive—even obsessive—concentration on public relations. George Bush would have no Michael Deaver. His press conferences would be frequent and much more modest events—none of those grand Reagan entrances with the president like some aging Hapsburg monarch arriving for a court occasion. Like wholesome food, Bush's approach is admirable. Like wholesome food, it is also boring.

Worse, Bush's approach is misleading. A president who holds a daytime press conference, televised though it may be, is signaling that he's not got much to say—and doesn't particularly care if he isn't going to get much of an audience. The reason daytime television has significantly lower advertising rates is that it has significantly fewer viewers—and not the sort of viewers, incidentally, who can accurately be called opinion makers. They howl when their soaps are interrupted.

It's one thing for Bush to be the homespun anti-Reagan, quite another for him to essentially duck the American people. This president seems loath to bring the people bad news. Take, for instance, the manner in which Bush reversed himself on taxes. The medium for this announcement was the bulletin board in the White House press room. Had Bush taken to the airwaves, had he bothered to explain his about-face to the American people, both his reputation and his approval rating might not have taken such a beating.

Now the president is doing something similar when it comes to the far graver matter of war. It's not that he need be embarrassed about the course he has chosen. He has led the nation honorably and with some skill in this matter: Saddam Hussein is wrong; Iraq must pull out of Kuwait; the taking of hostages is immoral and the harming of them is unforgivable. Nothing to be ashamed of there—although that's not to say that the refusal to negotiate (or at least pretend to) and provide Hussein with a way to save face is such a smart move. It's not—and it ought to be tried.

But war with Iraq, should it come, might well turn into a horror. Washington has its scenario *du jour*—everything from a quick capitulation by Baghdad after the Air Force does its work to a prolonged ground war in which many thousands of Americans die. Add to that latter scenario the fears of some experts that a war would convulse the Middle East and no moderate Arab regime would survive, and you have more than enough for the American people to chew on—and, maybe, question.

Over and over we commentators are told by military experts to watch our analogies: The sands of Araby are not the jungles of Vietnam. True enough. But the U.S. effort in Vietnam suffered from a scarcity of candor and from the reluctance of politicians to operate like honest loan officers: Here are the costs. Full disclosure was warranted then, and it is warranted now.

A president has an obligation to explain as best he can why he may ask some people to die—and many more to kill. This is George Bush's solemn obligation. A prime-time television speech is in order. How can we read Bush's lips if we can't even see them?

Washington at Work

Eager Point Man as Grand Old Party Debates Concept of New Paradigm

By JASON DePARLE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17 — Jim Pinkerton folds his 6-foot 9-inch frame into a comfortable slouch on his office sofa, and explains why he is greedily consuming one after another ice-blue mentholated throat lozenge.

"I've been talking a lot," rasped the 32-year-old junior White House aide.

He is also being talked about.

Until recently, Mr. Pinkerton was best known for his beanpole build and the 1988 campaign research that helped turn Willie Horton into a household name. But in the last few weeks, he has re-emerged from semiobscurity into the midst of a clamorous Republican battle over "the vision thing."

His version of vision carries the ungainly name, "The New Paradigm." For more than a year he had been plying it with evangelical but little noticed zeal, arguing that its reliance on the market and promise of decentralization can change the world.

Then Richard G. Darman, in his first foray out after the budget bloodletting, mocked the slogan in a biting speech. Major Republican conservatives, seizing the opportunity to attack the budget director who had helped bring President Bush to abandon the no-tax pledge, rallied to defense of Mr. Pinkerton, his paradigm and its promise of a post-New Deal new deal.

Great Republican Debate

Suddenly, the Republican ranks seemed riven over whether George Bush is a New Paradigm President and the Republicans a New Paradigm party.

Is this a silly fight over semantics? Or, as Representative Richard A. Gephardt recently suggested, the assigning of a new name to the old Republican indifference?

Not in Mr. Pinkerton's view.

"It matters because it's shaping the Republican agenda for the next two years of George Bush's Presidency and arguably for the rest of the decade," he said. "It's not just a battle for the soul of the party but also for the soul of the country."

The fight is interesting not just for its passion, but also because it is one that Mr. Bush's flip-flop governing style invites. No one turned to talk of new paradigms in order to define what Ronald Reagan stood for.

Or as Mr. Pinkerton says in his New Paradigm speech: "Fighting taxes and Communists has brought us about as far as it can." To take the party further, he fills his speeches with new-day-is-dawning references lumping New Paradigm with world transformations like the fall of the Berlin wall.

James Pearson Pinkerton

Born: March 11, 1958

Hometown: Evanston, Ill.

Education: B.A., Stanford University, 1981

Career Highlights: 1979-80, Reagan Presidential campaign; 1981-83, researcher, White House; 1984-85, deputy director for strategic planning, Republican National Committee; 1985-87, research director, Fund for America's Future; 1987-88, director of research, Bush Presidential campaign; 1988 to present, deputy assistant to the President for policy planning.

Interests: Movies, chess.

In its specifics the New Paradigm is a set of five familiar principles: a reliance on decentralization, market forces, "empowering" the poor, individual choice and "an emphasis on what works."

Sometimes Mr. Pinkerton calls it a "nonbureaucratic idealism." Sometimes "politically correct capitalism." Sometimes "informed pragmatic idealism."

Translation?

Mr. Pinkerton points to education vouchers, home-ownership for the poor, enterprise zones, the earned-income tax credit and a capital gains cut as favorite New Paradigm causes, though he says he sees many other applications. Among the promises he says it holds is the opportunity to broaden the Republican electoral base by adopting Democratic social goals without abandoning traditional Republican economics.

Like the New Paradigm, Mr. Pinkerton himself can be hard to define. He is a friendly, earnest and self-effacing man who is affectionately described by friends as "goofy," and who once contemplated a career as a quiz show contestant. He punctuates conversations with references to Max Weber, Alvin Toffler and the movie "Rollerball." He urges the President to plant more trees.

Though he insists he is more interested in ideas than power, he is no political innocent. Now an inter-party diplomat busy organizing dinners with Democrats sympathetic to his ideas, he has built his career as an aide to Lee Atwater, the ailing chairman of the Republican National Committee. And though Mr. Pinkerton mourns a politics that is thin on new ideas, he also helped to create it, suggesting in the 1988 campaign not only that Mr. Bush seize on Willie Horton but also on the Pledge of Allegiance.

Of High Ground and Low

Does Mr. Pinkerton have a dual legacy as a traveler on both the high ground in politics and the low?

"Inevitably, yes, and here I stand, warts and all," Mr. Pinkerton said, in a conscious echo of Cromwell. "There's some parts I'm prouder of than other parts."

Mr. Pinkerton now alternates between defending the use of Mr. Horton and apologizing for it. The result of its use against Gov. Michael S. Dukakis, the Democratic Presidential candidate, was a surge in the polls and the charge that the Bush campaign was playing racial politics by employing one of the most potent American psychosexual symbols. Mr. Horton, the furloughed murderer, is black and his rape victim is white.

Mr. Pinkerton says that Governor Dukakis's furlough policy in Massachusetts was a fair issue and that the Bush campaign itself never mentioned Mr. Horton's race. Mr. Pinkerton insists he never intended for Mr. Horton's race to become an issue.

While Mr. Pinkerton said he never thought it was certain that Mr. Horton would be used in racist ways — "maybe that was naïve," he said — he now faults himself for running that risk. He says he should have found ways to discuss Mr. Dukakis's policy without focusing on Mr. Horton.

"I envisioned the possibility that it could play out this way," he said. "Others would jump on the issue, and others did, and use it in a racially divisive way.

"In some sense I'm responsible — I won't try to evade that."

Formative Years

If Mr. Pinkerton feels at home in conversations where ideas are swapped like Frisbees — unconnected to immediate action — it should come as no surprise; he grew up in a series of college towns — Cambridge, Mass.; Boulder, Colo., and Evanston, Ill. — where his mother, and later his stepfather, were professors. His father, also an academic, died when Mr. Pinkerton was 3.

Being the single child of a single woman helped promote a certain precociousness, as he was dragged to Bergman films and civil rights rallies at a young age. Although as a high school student he was drawn to George McGovern, he became impatient with what he saw as liberals' softness on Communism. Shortly after arriving at Stanford University in 1975, he was calling himself a libertarian.

Pressed for Elaboration

Politics is the only profession he has known, first as a volunteer on the 1980 Reagan Presidential drive, then a junior White House researcher and later as an assistant to Mr. Atwater. Until recently, Mr. Pinkerton's tenure as a $77,500-a-year domestic policy aide had been a quiet one.

Conversations with Mr. Pinkerton about the paradigm can turn Jesuitical. Wouldn't it be a New Paradigm move, for instance, to require businesses to give their employees health insurance, since that would help "empower" them to work?

No: that would violate the principle of market autonomy. But he says that Congressional passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act, which guarantees the civil rights of the disabled, was classically New Paradigm since it "empowered" the disabled.

But didn't the measure force businesses to accommodate the handicapped? (Or, for that matter, isn't it an awful lot like plain old liberalism, which he holds in disdain?) No, he insists, and so the arguments go, inviting the suspicion that what's "New Paradigm" is to some degree simply those policies that Mr. Pinkerton happens to like.

Not so, he says, arguing that he has enumerated its principles. But he says he welcomes the dispute, insisting, "The most valuable thing is to get people to think about change."

Mr. Darman argued, persuasively to some, that the first four principles collapse into one and the fifth — "whatever works" — seems to vitiate them all. Among several reasons why the attack was puzzling is that Mr. Darman has said he supports the actual planks, like education vouchers and enterprise zones.

White House aides speculate that Mr. Darman was taking a swipe at Mr. Pinkerton because he suspected him as a source of anonymous press criticisms of Mr. Darman's role in the budget deal.

"I don't want to get into Darman at all," said Mr. Pinkerton, who said that more senior White House officials had told him not to comment. He said that he dropped off a note in Mr. Darman's office 10 days ago, suggesting that the two of them put the dispute behind them, and that Mr. Darman later stopped by his office, where they held a "correct" conversation for about 30 minutes.

Mr. Darman did not return telephone calls asking for his thoughts. As the President's aides parry and thrust about what Mr. Bush believes, the President has had little to say. One pictures him like Ward Cleaver, situated serenely in the family den, unaware that his boys are upstairs mixing test tubes of ideology that might blow out a White House window or two.

But is Mr. Bush, whose Presidency, conjures to many the word "custodial" more easily than "innovative," a likely leader of the charge?

Though Mr. Pinkerton insists he serves "the first President to govern in the spirit of the New Paradigm," when asked for examples, his usually expressive face goes blank.

Civil rights for the disabled, he says.

And what else?

Mr. Pinkerton pauses and hunts down an April speech, where the phrase "New Paradigm" fell from Presidential lips.

"I think the President's said enough about this to be properly credited with a significant role in this," he said, sounding more dutiful than convincing.

"I truly mean that.

"Sincerely."

Paul Hosefros/The New York Times

Jim Pinkerton: "It matters because it's shaping the Republican agenda for the next two years."

'It's also a battle for the soul of the country.'

A Mild Quake Shakes Indiana

WEST LAFAYETTE, Ind., Dec. 17 (AP) — A mild earthquake shook west-central Indiana early today, and officials said it had no connection to the New Madrid fault elsewhere in the Midwest. No damage or injuries were reported in the quake, which occurred shortly after midnight and measured 3.0 on the Richter scale of energy release and ground motion, said Larry Braile, professor of geosciences at Purdue University.

Busing Reconsidered

Seattle is mostly a tolerant and lush place. It tries very hard to be very good. For 12 years, long after many communities have decided that school busing for racial balance paradoxically does not achieve racial balance, the city has persisted without so much as a court order. Now even Seattle is nearly ready to consider alternatives. Today the school board is to consider five plans for scaling back the busing project. The most ambitious proposal, by trustee Kenneth Eastlack, would effectively end the idea of busing children around the city solely for racial purposes.

The emerald city is coming to recognize that this much-heralded policy doesn't improve schools or integrate them very well. It unavoidably causes many poor children to spend an hour or more of potential learning time riding around on a bus. And affluent white students find a way out of the system.

When the city began the program in 1978, it tried to mix and match youngsters all over town, designating the fourth through sixth grades and the high school years as pairing-off periods. Part of the enrollment at a neighborhood school would be swapped for students from a campus at the opposite end of town (in Seattle, north is white and south is black). That didn't work, so the authorities eventually came up with a "controlled choice" formula that tries to keep minority enrollment at any school within 20 percentage points of the total minority share of the district.

The result? Black south-siders have about twice as much chance of being sent by bus to an out-of-neighborhood school as north-side children. About 80% of south-siders are bused to school, against only 35% of north-siders. The white share of the system's enrollment has dropped to 45% from 62%. Total enrollment in Seattle schools has dropped by more than half over the past 20 years, to about 41,000. In the city's current economic boom, households without children have been buying many of the nice homes, while families moved to the suburbs.

Mr. Eastlack, who represents a white, working-class area of West Seattle where opposition to busing is most pronounced, thinks it's time to act. Lest enrollment take another sharp drop, he wants to clear the air in time for fall's reopening. Mr. Eastlack favors some integration program, in part because he thinks the district will be sued into one in any case, but he's recommending a loosened formula: no more than 80% of one race in a school. All of the schools currently would meet that standard without forced busing.

Seattle is fortunate, in that unlike a number of other American cities its schools are still run by an elected board and not a federal judge. It can choose. In fact, choice is the key word here. It is now possible to suggest for the first time that the busing model in the U.S. may be in the process of being taken over by the choice model—an alternative that draws parents more tightly into the education of their children.

As Polly Williams is attempting to demonstrate in Milwaukee, empowering parents to second guess the teacher unions and central office is critical to busting the yoke that weighs heavy on school performance in general and that of poor urban minorities in particular. If the intent of busing and other integration plans is to make sure all students have an equal opportunity for good schools, the provision of choice through vouchers or simple school-selection options is looking more than ever like a better way to go.

Asides

House Unmasked

It looks as if freshman Congressman Chuck Douglas of New Hampshire is on his way to lifting one of the great veils of secrecy that envelops political behavior in Washington. This one allows House Members the hypocritical luxury of co-sponsoring popular bills and then letting them languish or die in unfriendly committees. Last month, he simply said that on June 15 he would reveal the names of those Members who backed Texas Democrat Charles Stenholm's balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution but refused to sign the necessary discharge petition to permit a floor vote. Though several Members pressured Rep. Douglas to back down, they also scrambled to sign the petition. Yesterday, Rep. Douglas announced that in only three weeks a 218-Member majority had signed, assuring the first vote on a balanced-budget amendment since 1982. Now that the Douglas "sunshine" tactic has worked, we hope other Members use it to pry loose legislation the House leadership has buried.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

The Dirty Tricks Gang

A roundup in recent days of Red Army Faction suspects in East Germany—some of whom were involved in attacks on U.S. soldiers—and mob attacks last week on dissidents in Romania tell us something both about the past and the present. The German investigations will confirm what anti-terrorist forces in the West have long had cause to believe—that much of Western Europe's terrorism and political violence have been stage-managed by the secret police of Communist countries. The assaults in Bucharest by "miners" while authorities turned a blind eye make it clear that in some East European countries the word Communist has been expunged, but not the tactics.

East Germany's new Interior Minister, Peter-Michael Diestel Friday called the links to terrorism of the former government "one of the most shameful chapters" in East German history. Yesterday the East German police arrested yet another suspected member of the Red Army Faction, thought to have been involved in the 1981 bombing of the U.S. Ramstein Air Base. On Saturday, authorities arrested a 40-year-old woman wanted in connection with the 1985 murder of a U.S. soldier outside a discotheque near Wiesbaden.

German investigators say their arrests show that the former Stasi, or East German secret police, had regularly offered refuge, false identities and political protection to West Germans being sought for terrorism. The wave of arrests in recent days has focused particularly on the Red Army Faction, which has claimed "credit" for a long string of terrorist crimes, including the murder in November of Alfred Herrhausen, the highly respected head of Deutsche Bank.

Mr. Diestel clearly has learned enough from the Stasi files to know that such groups were not merely crazies but were instruments of a government. The crimes were in fact committed by a Communist state hostile to the West.

That tells a lot more than some ple have cared to know about the ces of terrorism in Europe. One e most spectacular in the long list nes was, of course, the shooting pe John Paul II in St. Peter's e in 1981 by the Turk Mehmet ca. Although Italian authorities r chose to directly accuse other governments of instigating the attempt, investigations of Mr. Agca's pre-crime activities leave little doubt. His sojourns in Bulgaria and East Berlin, where someone of his background would have been known to the secret police, and the aid he received from Sergei Antonov, a Bulgarian state airline employee, were part of a damning chain of evidence.

Obviously the world is not as easily fooled by such tricks as it once was. Who can really believe that a group of ordinary Romanian miners organized themselves and arranged transportation to Bucharest and other cities in a spontaneous show of support for Romania's President Iliescu?

But some credulity gaps remain to be closed. Defectors from East European governments over the past two decades have testified that East European secret police organizations, by and large, operated under the guidance of that vast mother organization in Moscow, the KGB. The KGB still is very much in business. Moscow insiders say its funding has been expanded by Mikhail Gorbachev for two reasons: It has lost important assets, such as Stasi; and keeping the KGB happy is vital to a Soviet leader attempting a major reform.

According to an article on this page in November 1984 by Zdzislaw M. Rurarz, former Polish ambassador to Japan, the Polish secret police were under KGB guidance at the time of the assassination of the Rev. Jerzy Popieluszko, a Polish Catholic priest. He had become a thorn in the side of the Communist Party.

Last month, a BBC documentary offered impressive evidence that a Soviet KGB officer assisted efforts to inflame Czechoslovakians against the old Stalinist regime. The plot was to replace the Stalinists with a new Communist leadership more to Mr. Gorbachev's liking. The effort failed and Vaclav Havel, definitely not Mr. Gorbachev's man, has just been elected president of the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Europe has changed dramatically in a year as the Poles, the Czechoslovakians, the Hungarians and the East Germans have shucked off Communist regimes. Continuing investigations in East Germany will shed much light on what has gone on before. But the age of state-supported thuggery is not yet over by any means. It's always good to keep that in mind.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Ecoteur's Credo: To Save the Trees, Cut Down People

By Doug Bandow

Since the advent of Earth Day in 1970, the environmental movement has been characterized by such mainstream groups as the Sierra Club and the Audubon Society. Some are more pushy than others; some are less willing to accommodate alternative uses of public lands. But all are committed to the democratic process.

Today, however, an increasing number of environmental activists are unwilling to compromise, despite their past successes. Instead, they are taking the advice of Dave Foreman, founder of Earth First!, who recently urged the readers of Mother Jones to commit civil disobedience: "You know what you can do. Do it."

Once that would have meant the sort of disruptive but nonviolent protests that Earth First! is scheduled to begin today as part of a summer-long campaign to halt timbering in northern California. However, despite their protestations to the contrary, some may be moving toward violent activities. Late last month two Earth First! activists were arrested in Oakland after a pipe bomb in their car exploded; both have been active in anti-logging activities and are being investigated in connection with the bombing of a nearby lumber mill earlier in the month. (They deny knowledge of the bomb and claim someone was trying to assassinate them.) Mr. Foreman is facing trial, along with three others, for allegedly conspiring to down several electrical transmission towers.

Ecoterrorism first gained notoriety in the early 1970s, when a lone environmental activist, "the Fox," engaged in a sustained campaign of eco-sabotage, or ecotage, against Chicago-area firms. The late Edward Abbey romanticized ecoterrorism in his 1975 novel, "The Monkey Wrench Gang," in which four people roam the West wreaking unimaginable havoc. Mr. Abbey became a spiritual adviser to radical environmentalists: "If opposition is not enough, we must resist. And if resistance is not enough, then subvert," he said.

Nevertheless, there was no formal structure for ecoteurs until 1981, when Mr. Foreman, a former lobbyist for the Wilderness Society, created Earth First!. Although the organization does not formally engage in ecotage, Mr. Foreman conceded shortly after its formation that it was intended "to inspire others to carry out activities straight from the pages of 'The Monkey Wrench Gang.'" Mr. Foreman has also written two editions of "Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching," which offers detailed advice on how to drive spikes into trees to shatter chain saws and sawmill blades; scatter caltrops on roads to flatten tires; disable construction equipment; pull up mining markers and survey stakes; and fell powerlines, which, explains Mr. Foreman, "are highly vulnerable to monkeywrenching from individuals or small groups."

Last year the Mountain States Legal Foundation established an ecotage hotline, which recorded sabotage in California, Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon and Washington. Tree spiking—which almost killed a mill worker struck by a shattered saw blade in 1987—seems relatively common in the Northwest. So is sabotage against construction and timbering equipment. A cross-country motor-cross race was halted when garroting wire was strung at neck level. Ski lifts have been vandalized, and other examples abound. Public officials play down the importance of ecoterrorism, but Mr. Foreman argues that they are trying "to keep it quiet" because reporting such activities "would only encourage similar acts by many more of the millions of Americans who are strongly against the rape of what's left of our wilderness."

Of course, not everyone who is outraged over, say, government-subsidized timbering, which is both environmentally destructive and financially wasteful, engages in ecotage. Underlying the activities of many ecoteurs is the philosophy of "Deep Ecology," which places the preservation of nature above the promotion of humankind. In a sense it is a move back to pantheism, with the belief that nature is sacred. Mr. Foreman, for one, has attacked the "anthropocentric" philosophy of the West, arguing that the "wilderness has a right to exist for its own sake." He views monkeywrenching as "a form of worship toward the earth. It's really a very spiritual thing to go out and do."

Adequate legal penalties are a necessary part of any effort to combat ecoterrorism. Yet Western forest and range lands are too sparsely populated to be well defended against determined ecoterrorists. The best response is more subtle—environmentalist, community, business and political leaders need to reinforce the basic belief, held by most environmentalists, that violence is not justified as a means of overturning defeats in the political arena, and that the protection of human life remains people's paramount responsibility.

Particularly important is the role of environmental groups. Since they are committed to many of the same goals as Earth First!, they have a special duty to discourage violence in the name of the environment (as has Natural Resources Defense Council attorney Robert Kennedy, for example).

Moreover, pork-minded legislators need to abandon the sort of spendthrift and ruinous management policies that have rightly angered many environmentalists. Land should be privatized and subsidies ended. That abuses exist is no excuse for violence, but reforming current policy would reduce people's incentive to violate the law.

With groups apparently prepared to bomb sawmills, down electrical towers, and decapitate cyclists—and ads being placed for terminally ill volunteers to launch kamikaze attacks on dams—ecoterrorism can no longer be dismissed as minor. We risk the development of an ecological guerrilla movement, one ready even to kill, unless all participants in the political process reaffirm the importance of both nonviolence and human life.

Mr. Bandow, a Cato Institute fellow, is the author of "The Politics of Plunder: Misgovernment in Washington" (Transaction, 1990). This article is adapted from a Heritage Foundation backgrounder.

House Panel Axes B-2, Mobile Missiles

Cuts Would Be Deepest in Decades

By Patrick E. Tyler
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Armed Services Committee yesterday voted to kill the B-2 "stealth" bomber and both mobile strategic nuclear missiles requested by the Bush administration, a move that sets up a confrontation with the Senate on where to set the floor for the biggest decline in U.S. defense spending in decades.

The committee also adopted recommendations of its subcommittees in cutting the president's $4.9 billion request for research into ballistic missile defenses by nearly $2 billion. The "Star Wars" program launched during the Reagan administration was cut $1 billion by the Senate Armed Services Committee.

In almost across-the-board fashion, the House committee voted to delay or scale back most of the next generation of advanced weapon systems that were conceived and ordered by the Pentagon during years of intense U.S.-Soviet competition and robust U.S. defense budgets.

"The administration has asked for more costly weapons than can possibly fit in the years of declining defense budgets ahead," said committee Chairman Les Aspin (D-Wis.). "Killing the B-2 was a decisive move," he added, "to bring the defense budget in step with fiscal reality."

The committee voted to delay full-scale development of the Advanced Tactical Fighter and the Army's new light helicopter. It slowed the Seawolf attack submarine program to one ship per year and voted for a pause in development of the Navy's classified A-12 attack plane designed to replace the aging carrier-based attack planes.

In addition, the House bill calls

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House Panel Slashes Defense Programs

DEFENSE, From A1

for a reduction of 129,500 members of the armed forces during the fiscal year that begins in October, steeper than the 100,000 decline passed by the Senate panel.

The House bill, adopted on a 40 to 12 vote, overall cuts $24 billion from the $306.9 billion request submitted by President Bush in January, while the Senate proposal would cut $18 billion. Even this smaller cut, which a Pentagon spokesman deemed "prudent," represents a steep decline in spending and prompted Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, to call it "the most sweeeping degree of change we've seen in a defense bill since I've been in the Senate."

The House cuts are closely aligned with reductions proposed by Senate Budget Committee Chairman Jim Sasser (D-Tenn.) and it remains unclear whether Nunn can sustain the votes for his higher level of spending on the Senate floor. Referring to the earlier Senate action, Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-Okla.) said, "They took some hostages and we reciprocated."

Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney has warned that cuts in defense as deep as those proposed by the House would wreak havoc on the military. But the House panel led by Aspin, backed by House Democratic leaders, has moved forward with drastic cuts to meet fiscal targets imposed by the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit-reduction law.

In a decisive 34 to 20 vote yesterday, the committee rejected an attempt led by Rep. Ike Skelton (D-Mo.) to reinstate the B-2 after a procurement subcommittee recommended killing the program upon completion of the 15 planes now under construction by Northrop Corp.

"That was a big historic vote for this committee, which has never, never voted to kill a major weapons system," said one staff member.

Skelton said he was not embarrassed by the defeat. "Honestly, this is going to be decided on in conference." The Senate and House bills will go to floor votes and any differences will be worked out between conferees later this year.

SEN. SAM NUNN
... will seek to restore some cuts

REP. LES ASPIN
... says cuts reflect "fiscal reality"

Aspin, who supported the controversial bomber last year, joined the opposition to the plane last week, saying it was not clear the batwinged aircraft was needed at the cost of tens of billions of dollars.

The Bush administration last January asked for a fleet of 132 stealth bombers to penetrate Soviet airspace well into the next century to seek out and destroy Soviet mobile targets after both sides had exchanged nuclear salvos. The planes use special materials allowing them to slip past enemy radars undetected.

In May, Cheney revised the administration request to 75 bombers, which effectively drove up the cost of each plane to $865 million.

The House language calls for completion of the B-2 research and development phase, then terminates the program. The Senate Armed Services Committee earlier approved a B-2 funding plan that would require additional testing but maintained the basic commitment to build all 75 planes.

The full House committee also adopted the recommendations of its research and development panel to terminate the Pentagon's plan to put its MX missile force on railroad cars and to build a mobile single-warhead Midgetman missile to protect the U.S. land-based nuclear forces from a surprise Soviet attack.

Instead, the committee called on the Bush administration to come up with a new plan for one land-based missile. The members left $640 million in research and development funds for a single land-based missile plan.

McCurdy said the House action was justified because the Bush administration is planning in the second round of strategic arms talks with the Soviets "to move away from" mobile missiles with multiple warheads toward single-warhead missiles based in silos. During a recent meeting at the White House with Cheney and national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, McCurdy said he got the impression the administration was willing to trade the current MX missile force for the Soviet force of SS-24 mobile missiles.

The Senate voted to continue research and development funds for the MX and Midgetman, but it denied procurement funds.

In a surprise move, the House panel also reinstated the V-22 Osprey tilt-rotor aircraft after Cheney last year won congressional approval to terminate the program.

Soviet Effort for Patent Law Reform Gaining Momentum

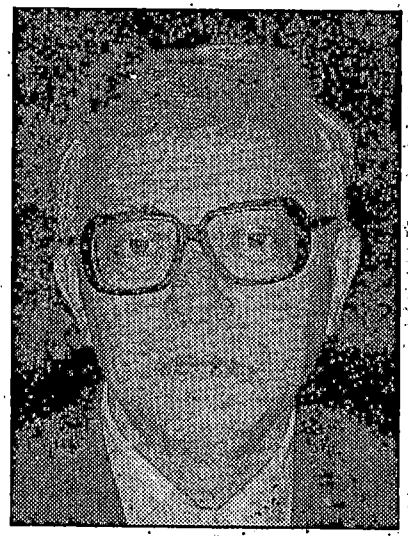
By EDMUND L. ANDREWS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 1 — Amid efforts by the Soviet Union to liberalize its stagnant economy, a seemingly quixotic movement to adopt a Western-style patent law is gaining momentum.

Proposals have been put forward to give people and private corporations exclusive rights to their inventions for 20 years from the time they apply for a patent. In the process, the plan would reverse doctrines dating back to the Revolution of 1917 that allow state enterprises to appropriate almost any technology and offer only token compensation in return.

"If we want to make our economy free, if we want to build business, we must bear some responsibility" for protecting inventions, said Edvard P. Gavrilov, a professor at the Moscow Institute of the National Economy and president of the All-Union Patent Law Association, a national association of patent experts. He added: "I cannot steal your watch. Why should I be able to steal your idea?"



Peter Wegner for The New York Times

"I cannot steal your watch. Why should I be able to steal your idea?" said Prof. Edvard P. Gavrilov, a Moscow economist who favors a proposed patent law.

Effort Begun in 1985

As early as 1985, President Mikhail S. Gorbachev expressed support for overhauling the Soviet patent system, Professor Gavrilov said. While the issue had not received high priority amid the many economic and political changes, the State Committee on Inventions and Discoveries, which oversees the patent system, recently organized a committee to make recommendations. That committee is led by Mikhail Gordisky, head of Soyuzpatent, an arm of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce.

Of particular importance to Western companies, the proposals would do away with provisions of current law that deem some fields, including pharmaceuticals and chemical processes, simply unpatentable.

The measure received a push last month in the trade agreement signed here by President Bush and President Gorbachev.

As part of a deal to obtain most-favored-trade status with the United States, the Soviet Union pledged to sign an international treaty governing copyrights and to provide patent protection along the lines of Western laws. The proposed measure is expected to be considered later this year by the Supreme Soviet, the nation's parliament.

The proposal also has strong advocates among Soviet patent experts, who argue that a new law would help attract Western capital and technology and enable the Soviet Union to make better use of its rich scientific research. Compared with Japan and West Germany, for example, the Soviet Union has few inventions patented in the United States.

Milton Wayne, a patent lawyer in New York who has worked on Soviet patent issues for 15 years, said: "The research they do is first class in some areas. The problem they have is that they don't know how to exploit it properly."

Areas of Patent Strength

The strongest area of Soviet patents has been in heavy industry, particularly steelmaking, Mr. Wayne said. And only last week, E. I. duPont de Nemours & Company, received approval from the United States Food and Drug Administration to market ethmozine, a drug for treating irregular heart beats. Du Pont licensed that drug in 1974 from the Soviet Government.

The advocates of patent reform acknowledge that, with the Soviet economy in its worst crisis in years, they face a steep barrier of indifference. "I am afraid most of our leaders consider it of little importance," Professor Gavrilov said. "There are many other burning issues to be considered. The specialists have to push — can I use the word lobby? — to include this legislation on their agenda."

In theory, the Soviet Union has long offered patent protection. In practice, protection for inventors is all but nonexistent. In addition to those fields that are not regarded as patentable, the law denies patents to anybody who develops a technology that has any relationship at all to work that person is doing for the Government.

Practice of Awarding Certificates

In lieu of a patent, the Government awards most people an "inventor's certificate," which assigns the rights to an invention to the Soviet Government and to any state-owned enterprises that want to use it. Inventors are legally entitled to compensation, but Professor Gavrilov said the sums rarely exceed a few hundred dollars.

Although the law theoretically lets inventors choose whether to apply for a patent or a certificate, 80 percent of all inventions receive certificates.

Under the proposed legislation, most technology would be patentable, including genetically engineered micro-organisms and cell cultures. Inventors would be able to sell their patent rights or assign them to their employers in much the same way that company employees assign their rights in Western countries.

In drafting the legislation, Soviet trade and patent officials have carried on lengthy discussions with experts at the Office of the United States Trade Representative and the United States Patent and Trademark Office. The American team was led by Jules Katz, deputy United States trade representative.

Mexico Acts To Sell Banks

MEXICO CITY, July 1 (Reuters) — President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico sent a measure to the nation's lawmakers last week to sell the state-owned banking industry, which was nationalized in 1982, and permit foreign ownership of up to 30 percent.

The bill would establish three types of ownership shares, with a minimum of 70 percent to be held by Mexicans and foreigners who are legal residents of the country. It also lowers barriers on setting up overseas banking branches in Mexico.

Mr. Salinas's announcement in May that the banks would be returned to private hands alarmed Mexicans wary of the type of manipulations that were rampant before the banks were privatized at the height of Mexico's debt crisis in 1982.

To allay such fears, the bill stiffens penalties for bank manipulation and restricts the private operations of bankers in their own banks.

House Panel Votes to Cut Off Bomber

By ERIC SCHMITT

WASHINGTON, July 31 — In a blow to the Bush Administration, the House Armed Services Committee voted today to end production of the Stealth bomber and make deep cuts in the "Star Wars" anti-missile program.

The action by the committee was its first to eliminate a major weapons system. It sets the stage for a battle with the Senate that will almost certainly need to be resolved in a conference committee.

The Senate Armed Services Committee has approved spending for two more Stealth bombers, beyond the 15 that Congress has already authorized. The House proposal would end the program after the 15 planes are built.

A $24 Million Trim

The Pentagon has hailed the bomber, the B-2, as an essential part of its strategic arsenal. Opponents of the $63 billion program argue that the Stealth, named for its ability to evade radar, is not only too expensive but also unnecessary in a time of easing global tensions and mounting Federal deficits.

The decision came as the panel was approving a military budget that would shave $24 billion from the Administration's proposal for the fiscal year beginning Oct. 1. The action would set military spending at $6 billion less than what the Senate Armed Services Committee approved two weeks ago.

A rebuff to the Pentagon, and a challenge to the Senate.

The full Senate is expected to vote on its committee's proposal this week; the House is expected to take up its version after members return from their August recess. Floor fights are likely on a few issues, including the Stealth bomber.

The two chambers' subcommittees on military appropriations, where the actual money for the military will provided, are expected to act within the next several weeks.

Whatever level of spending is finally approved, it will reflect Congress's determination to slash Pentagon spending more than at any time in well over a decade. Congress is showing "much more of a longer-term vision than ever before," said Gordon Adams, director of the Defense Budget Project, a research organization here. "Both sides realize that with the end of the cold war, the old rules of military spending don't apply."

The committee voted to slow production on several systems, including the Army's LH helicopter and the Air Force's C-17 cargo plane and Advanced Tactical Fighter. On the anti-missile program, the panel proposed cutting nearly $1.6 billion from the Administration's proposal, to $2.9 billion.

The committee also voted to cut troop strength by 129,500 next year, 29,500 more than the Senate panel approved, and nearly four times what the Administration had proposed. The House panel approved aid to help people forced out of the armed services, including separation.

The most divisive issue, however, was the decision on the Stealth bomber. The panel rejected, 34 to 20, an amendment by Representative Ike Skelton, Democrat of Missouri, to approve $200 million for advanced research costs.

Fate of the Stealth

The bomber's fate in the House was probably sealed last week when the Armed Services Commitee chairman, Les Aspin, reversed his position and said he would oppose further production.

The Wisconsin Democrat threw his support to a measure sponsored by Representatives Ronald V. Dellums, Democrat of California, and John R. Kasich, Republican of Ohio, to stop production after completion of the 15 bombers already built or under way. The measure would allow continued research on the aircraft and development of its advanced technology.

Mr. Aspin cited three reasons for ending production of the B-2, which is built by the Northrop Corporation. First, the cost per plane has risen with the Bush Administration's plans to cut production nearly in half, to a total of 75 planes. With fewer planes to spread the costs of research and development, each one would now cost about $840 million, up from $530 million.

Second, Mr. Aspin said the power to elude radar detection that gave the plane its nickname had not been fully proved. Finally, he said, the Air Force has failed to demonstrate that the bomber would make a "unique and necessary" contribution to the nation's strategic arsenal.

The bomber is still a top priority for Senator Sam Nunn, the Georgia Democrat who heads the Senate panel. But Mr. Nunn warned last week that unless Administration officials and military leaders rallied political support for the Stealth, his position might fail on the Senate floor or in conference.

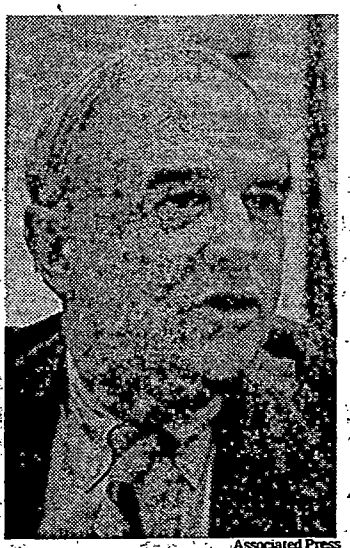
Spending on the anti-missile program, a divisive issue for several years, is shrinking; the only question is how much. The Senate Armed Services Committee pared the Administration's request by nearly $1 billion, to $3.7 billion; the House panel today exceeded that cut, proposing spending of $2.9 billion.

Floor fights to cut "Star Wars" spending even more deeply are expected in both houses; a growing number of lawmakers question the need for a space-based defense when global tensions are diminishing.

The battles over expensive military hardware will in large part shape cuts in troop strength for 1991. To reach overall Pentagon spending levels for next year, lawmakers are weighing cuts in weapons against reductions in personnel, which provide greater savings in the short run.

With several costly new programs demanding Pentagon spending at roughly the same time, among them — the B-2, the Seawolf submarine and the Arleigh Burke class of destroyers, lawmakers are facing difficult choices.

"In the past, Congress has been reluctant to terminate programs," said John Isaacs, legislative director of the Council for a Livable World, an arms control group here. "Now there's more of a tendency to terminate programs outright."



Associated Press

Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, reversed his position last week and said he would oppose the Stealth bomber program.

Veto Threatened on Phone 'Junk Mail' Bill

WASHINGTON, July 31 (AP) — White House officials today threatened a veto of legislation making its way through Congress aimed at curbing "junk mail" on fax machines and telephone answering devices.

Alixe Glen, deputy White House press secretary, said the measure was unnecessary. Few people complain about the problem, and there are are already systems to deal with it, she said.

By voice vote, the House approved legislation on Monday to authorize the Federal Communications Commission to set up a national listing of telephone subscribers who do not want the unsolicited messages.

The bill, on which the Senate has not acted, would require the F.C.C. to establish penalties for advertisers who fail to abide by the list. Solicitations by charitable and political organizations would be exempt.

"This legislation empowers consumers and businesses with the ability to 'just say no' to unsolicited telephone advertisements," said Representative Edward J. Markey, Democrat of Massachusetts, chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Subcommittee on Telecommunications and Finance.

The legislation was crafted with help from the communications agency, the telephone industry and the direct marketing industry, Mr. Markey said.

Rapist Back in Jail

TAMPA, Fla., July 31 (AP) — A man who was chased out of several California towns three years ago after serving a prison term for raping a teen-ager and chopping off her forearms went back to jail today when he pleaded no contest to stealing a $10 camera. The man, Lawrence Singleton, changed his plea from not guilty to no contest on the misdemeanor charge this morning and was sentenced to 60 days. He continued to deny committing the theft and said the charge had resulted from the overzealousness of a security guard.

In Search of a Post-Postwar Rhetoric

When President Bush Went to the Oratorical Cupboard, It Was Bare

By Charles Paul Freund

JAMES BAKER last week called the mess in Iraq "the first post-postwar crisis," meaning of course that, Panama notwithstanding, it was the first major confrontation of its kind in decades that would not be played out under the familiar rules of U.S.-Soviet gamesmanship. That would make George Bush's speech last Wednesday, in which he justified his commitment of U.S. military power to Saudi Arabia, our first post-postwar rhetorical flourish.

No small event. Indeed, Bush's opening words seemed self-consciously to herald a new epoch. "In the life of a nation," he said, "we're called upon to define who we are and what we believe."

That call has had a certain enhanced urgency since communism limped offstage last year, leaving us holding a bag of Cold War assumptions in which we had invested much of America's postwar politics and culture. Because heads of state never draw more heavily on national mythology than when they are dispatching soldiers to risk their lives, Bush's address stood to be an important indication of the role for which America's political culture would begin preparing in the post-communist world.

Charles Paul Freund is an Outlook editor.

It was in fact a revealing address, one that suggested that, for purposes of identity-making, there is little of our traditional mythology to draw on these days, and that implied potentially larger cultural problems ahead.

Bush cited two reasons for committing military force to Saudi Arabia: that "we must resist aggression," a moral imperative; and that the United States "could face a major threat to its economic independence," making military commitment a practical necessity.

So far, so good. In the political language we have spoken and heard throughout our history, our moral and practical incentives to action have always been presented as separate and distinct. We have not always openly acknowledged any practical interests we may have had in a given conflict, but we have consistently defined our military actions in terms of a higher historical purpose. We have, at various times, used our military strength to realize our manifest destiny, to make the world safe for democracy, to build an arsenal of democracy against fascism and to halt the spread of communism. The last time we committed troops to the Middle East, for example, Ronald Reagan pointedly explained that the Marines were in Lebanon, among other reasons, lest the region "fall into the hands of a power or powers hostile to the free world . . . .

It doesn't matter whether such a rhetoric of higher purpose reflected a national consensus or sought to create one. It doesn't even matter whether any of our various higher, moral purposes actually existed. This is the way great powers do business: by telling themselves they are fulfilling their responsibilities to history.

In his Wednesday address, George Bush was unable to continue in this tradition. The vocabulary that had served so many of his predecessors was simply not available to him. We heard a post-communist political language forming in his speech, a language in which the moral and the practical reasons for action become the same reason. In the current crisis, the aggression we are resisting is directed not against an ideal for which we stand, but against our wallets.

Bush tried hard to stake out a historical responsibility that the United States could fulfill in the Saudi desert. Saying that "America has never wavered when her purpose is driven by principle," Bush several times invoked the traditional American battlecry of "freedom." He tied our Saudi commitment to the "struggle for freedom in Europe" in terms of continuing Western "stalwartness," and noted generically that "we must resist aggression, or it will destroy our freedoms."

But Bush's only effort to link Kuwait or Saudi Arabia to freedom was to note the West's heavy dependence on Persian Gulf oil and to declare that Saudi independence is thus in our "vital interest." The role of the threatened Gulf states in the machinery of freedom remained, in the logic of Bush's address, purely economic.

Bush's major rhetorical device, in constructing his argument against aggression, was Hitler, whom he evoked by a reference to "blitzkrieg," by delicately noting "the case in the 1930s" (apparently so that he would not have to say the word, "Germany") and by recalling the lessons of appeasement. In demonizing Iraq's Saddam Hussein, an eminently demonizable figure, Bush was able to draw on a vital aspect of American culture: hatred of the bully. Saddam Hussein's sudden media Hitlerization was already well underway by the time Bush spoke, another chapter in a process we have seen several times in recent years involving such figures as "strongman" Noriega of Panama, the "fanatical" Khomeini of Iran and Libya's "madman" Gadhafi.

But if Bush set out in his speech "to define who we are and what we believe" in the post-postwar world, then the portrait he has drawn suggests some serious cultural challenges ahead of us, at least in the absence of yet more dramatic changes in the world. Bully-hatred offers obvious cultural satisfactions, but no one has ever built a national identity on it. The world is full of bullies, and some of them are our friends. The ones Bush suggests deserve to be put in their place are those who directly threaten our interests. Those interests seem to be devolving to what's in our billfolds.

Great powers protecting their material interests is of course the way the world has always worked. When we prop up the weak Middle Eastern regimes that are economically important to us, to cite a single historical parallel, it is not much different from the way in which the British propped up a tottering Ottoman Empire for decades in the 19th century: A stable Middle East served their material interests.

But the rhetoric of higher historical purpose, so clearly missing from Bush's speech, is not a luxury. The ability to influence events in one's interests comes at great cost to a culture, not only because maintaining an effective military has become fantastically expensive but because citizens will sometimes be called upon to risk their own lives. They need to believe it's worth the potential sacrifice, and simple material wealth has not often been used to persuade them. Among the reasons is that those serving in a nation's armies are rarely the same people who enjoy that nation's riches. Few people will be willing to die for somebody else's ability to heat a bigger house than they'll ever live in, or to drive a fancier car.

Great powers thrive on fulfilling their perceived historical missions. They have at various times carried out their historic "mission to civilize," or borne the "white man's burden," or spread the "true faith" among the "heathen," or assisted history in creating the "dictatorship of the proletariat." When the consensus belief in that purpose has been shattered, as happened to us in Vietnam and apparently to the Soviets in Afghanistan, great powers have found their power difficult to wield.

"Standing up for our principle is an American tradition," Bush said Wednesday. He's right. But now what?

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Perestroika's Political Problems

Before announcing his most ambitious installment of *perestroika*, it took Mikhail Gorbachev nearly two hours last Wednesday to describe the devastation that has befallen Soviet agriculture since the 1929-33 collectivization of the Soviet Union's peasantry. The task of fixing Soviet agriculture may be mind-numbing, but Westerners who are transfixed by the apparent liberalizations of *glasnost* better pay attention to this problem.

Glasnost's most important accomplishment has been more intellectual freedom within the Soviet Union, a hopeful sign. Mr. Gorbachev's foreign-policy initiatives are little more than hopeful-sounding propositions. The Red Army has withdrawn from Afghanistan, though its puppet regime remains. The cost of the Soviet Empire is still enormous, an untapped source of funding for internal economic reform. In all, by now we have few doubts that Mr. Gorbachev is serious about substantial reform, but neither he nor glasnost is likely to be sustainable without real economic advances from perestroika.

The record to date isn't hopeful. Private cooperative enterprises were introduced with fanfare a year-and-a-half ago. Some 48,000 concerns emerged to fill gaps in the state-controlled service and retail sectors, according to Radio Liberty's John Tedstrom in Munich. Consumers mobbed the cooperatives for goods, as did some profiteers who internally re-exported products to black markets in regions where the items weren't available.

The co-ops quickly were rolling in both profits and some consumerist gripes, which attracted political fire from the reform's opponents. A more secure Mr. Gorbachev, of course, could have used this opportunity to encourage the opening of even more co-ops, letting market competition sort out the problems. Instead, the government this year issued a series of decrees restricting the co-ops' activities.

The prohibitions include bans on selling jewelry containing precious metals, foreign-currency dealing and offering certain medical procedures in private clinics. The medical clinics were especially popular with average Soviet citizens who've endured the country's notoriously poor medical system, but an estimated 30% of the 4,500 private medical clinics are out of business.

Now, perestroika is coming to the *kolkhoz* (collective) and *sovkhoz* (state farm). It will be possible under Mr. Gorbachev's plan to lease land for 50 years and farm it privately or cooperatively. Gosagroprom, the farm superbureaucracy the general secretary created in 1985, will be decentralized. Prices farmers can charge to distributors will be made more flexible, but retail prices will remain unchanged. There is, however, no talk of real, transferrable property rights. The peasants are canny enough to understand that if they can't sell the land, they don't own it.

As with the private co-ops, the Gorbachev farm program at least points Soviet agriculture in the right direction and may even produce some discernible progress. The fact remains that, unlike a normal economic system designed to facilitate wealth production, Soviet reforms function inside a system indifferent to or even hostile to their success.

Party officials and the collectives' bosses will decide the new parcels' rent and location. They will control the availability and cost of financing, farm equipment, fertilizers and processing facilities. They will allocate markets. The peasants themselves, well-schooled in risk aversion, are unlikely to jump at the bait, save perhaps a few gutsy Balts, Kazakhs or Ukrainians. No doubt some especially adept private farmers will accumulate wealth, but they've already seen what happened to successful co-op entrepreneurs.

Indeed, when the party opposition succeeded in rolling back the co-op movement, it seized the opportunity to cut down glasnost a peg. The co-op bans extend to the manufacture of icons and other religious objects; publication of scholarly, artistic or literary material; making or showing or distributing films or videos; offering services to the national communications and broadcast networks; and running schools. For glasnost that's a bad omen.

It's also a bad omen for the man who created glasnost and perestroika. If Mr. Gorbachev's domestic policy consists of issuing orders that ultimately go nowhere, then most likely he is going nowhere. No doubt changing the Soviet system is an arduous process and Mr. Gorbachev may yet find the means to overcome his opponents. His internal difficulties, though, should serve as a cautionary notice to external admirers who wish to do business with him.

$15 Billion for What?

What would Mikhail Gorbachev's Soviet Union do with $15 billion? This is the amount of aid that West Germany and France would like their partners at the Houston economic summit to send to the Soviets. While opponents of aid are arguing, correctly, that the Soviet bureaucracy would surely waste the money, there is another dimension to this question. What reason is there to believe that most of this $15 billion would spend any time at all in the Soviet Union? Hard currency is fungible. It can go anywhere, buy anything.

According to figures cited in May by National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, Soviet transfers to some of its most prominent client states add up to something over $15 billion. The Rand Corp. breaks down the Soviet aid disbursements this way:

Cuba: $5 billion; **Afghanistan**: $3 billion; **Vietnam**: $2.5 billion; **Syria**: $1.5 billion; **North Korea**: $1 billion; **Libya**: $1 billion; **Angola**: $1 billion. The total is $15 billion.

To their credit, President Bush and Secretary of State Baker have pressed the Soviet leadership relentlessly on the question of its continuing aid to the Cubans. And Messrs. Gorbachev and Shevardnadze have been equally persistent in rebuffing these entreaties. This is no small matter.

Despite various reports that the Soviets are unhappy with Castro, there is little concrete evidence that the Soviet Union is prepared to step down from its relations with Cuba or, for that matter, with Afghanistan, Vietnam, Syria and Libya. In no sense is the behavior of these countries consonant with the reformist image that Mr. Gorbachev asks the West to accept as genuine.

Indeed at the risk of being sniffed at by our more credulous colleagues for "old thinking," it should be plain that the Soviet Union's relations with these states remains rooted in the Cold War. How come? Why is it that Mr. Shevardnadze simply cuts off Secretary Baker or Western reporters when asked about Cuba or his apparently bankrupt treasury's ability to keep sending aid to these other dictatorships?

The Soviet Union, of course, has a concrete military presence in both Cuba and Vietnam. And while the Red Army, on balance, may be out of Afghanistan, the Soviets continue to rely on that country's compliant communist government for natural gas. The Syrian relationship is predicated almost wholly on continuing purchases from the Soviet arms industry. Whatever the state of play in the external Soviet empire, there is absolutely no reason why a "helpful" West should now start transferring hard-currency aid or credits to a Moscow that can't and *won't* promise not to pass along the money to these pariah nations.

Fidel Castro to this day continues to throw into his dungeons opponents who dare to speak out for democratic reforms. Some of Mr. Gorbachev's former clients in Eastern Europe already have begun to wind down their long relationship with Fidel. Most recently, Czechoslovakia's Vaclav Havel sent Castro a stiff letter denouncing his continuing human-rights violations. Two days ago, seven Cuban dissidents sought asylum at the Czech Embassy in Havana; there is no expectation that Castro will give them exit visas.

The West Germans have been pressing the hardest in Houston for aid to the Soviets, and no doubt have an interest in linking aid to their unification drive and desire to rid East Germany of Soviet troops. But they have to understand we also have a special interest in the presence of an unreformed Stalinist state in our own back yard.

Most likely, the Houston summit will address the Soviet aid question in its communique later today. We hope that it shows some understanding that at this point in time, putting cash in the Kremlin's hands is not yet a policy that is either economically or morally defensible.

Popadiuk's office called 2:30pm, 7/18 - they can't find anything - have talked to people who wrote speeches, t-p's, etc - NADA

Peg

Roy L. Prosterman and Tim Hanstad

Fight the Deficit With Estate Taxes

With the federal budget deficit estimated at $169.7 billion for the coming year—exclusive of the new costs in the Mideast and the huge savings and loan bailout—the pressure is on to find the "tax revenue increases" that President Bush now concedes are necessary to help in deficit reduction. One tax that has received little attention in the discussion of possible sources of new revenues is the federal estate tax, which applies to property held at death. Yet, as a tax that can target the relatively wealthy and that deprives heirs only of money that they have not earned, it is a potential source of significantly increased revenue that can command widespread public support.

There are two reasons why estate taxes should assume special importance in the present policy debate over new revenue. First, as a result of demographics and economic growth, burgeoning amounts are expected to be passed to heirs over the coming years, up from an estimated total (in constant dollars) of $778 billion during the five years 1987-91, to $1.098 trillion in 1992-96. Second, taxes currently levied on these huge transfers are very modest in comparison with those of a number of the other industrialized democracies. A death transfer tax burden [illegible] with that levied in Japan, for example, might be expected to yield roughly $50 billion a year in incremental revenue in the early '90s, enough to make a larger dent in the U.S. budget deficit than any of the taxes now under serious discussion.

The federal estate tax was reduced sharply, and with little media attention, by the Tax Reform Act of 1976, which among other changes, replaced the former separate deductions for gifts made during life and the taxable estate with a single, unified tax credit that has risen to $192,800. The top rates also dropped, from 77 percent to a present ceiling of 55 percent. In addition, amounts passed to one's spouse were completely, rather than only partially, exempted from taxation. The unified tax credit, at its present level, cancels out the federal tax due on an individual estate of $600,000 and allows both parents combined to pass a $1.2 million estate on to their children tax-free. The net effect of the present rules is that, on a single individual's $1 million estate, federal taxes average only $119,800 (state taxes average $33,200); even on a similar amount of taxable income earned by the recipient the tax burden would be roughly twice as great.

Under the rules in effect before the 1976 law, 7 percent of all estates—one family out of 14—were subject to the federal estate tax; now that figure has dropped to one-third of 1 percent—one family out of 300. In Japan, the comparable figure today is 7.9 percent of estates, nearly the same as the earlier U.S. percentage. In Japan and England, the amounts exempt from death transfer taxes are roughly $385,000 and $156,000, respectively, much less than the $600,000 allowed in the United States. Maximum rates in Japan and West Germany (the latter for transfers other than those to children) are 70 percent, versus 55 percent in the United States (set to drop to 50 percent in 1993).

Most telling are the differences in revenue generated by different sets of national rules. In 1989, federal estate tax revenues accounted for approximately 0.63 percent, or $6.2 billion, out of total federal tax receipts of $975 billion. Gift taxes—which are treated with estate taxes as a single taxation scheme—accounted for a further 0.18 percent, a grand total of 0.81 percent. Before the 1976 law, the combined percentage was 1.7 percent of federal tax receipts, or twice as high. In Japan, death taxes alone account for 3.7 percent of national tax revenues, and before Britain made changes in the late '80s, the share there was 5.8 percent.

If the U.S. rules had been changed to once more reach the largest 7 percent of estates, and with an eye further to achieving the present Japanese percentage of revenue, 1989 estate-tax revenues would have been $36.1 billion instead of $6.2 billion. Comparable figures for the '90s would be about 40 percent higher, because of the large increase expected in amounts passing upon death, yielding a differential of over $40 billion a year versus the present estate tax rules; and parallel gift taxes would yield a further $10 billion annually. Altogether, the prospect exists for additional tax revenue of some $50 billion a year. Moreover, because this is a tax increase on windfall income, it is not subject to "higher taxes hurt productivity" allegations.

Even if federal estate and gift taxes today were restored only to their relative significance before the 1976 law—about 1.7 percent of federal tax receipts—an additional $12 billion of revenue would be generated each year in the 1990s. From both a policy and a revenue perspective, higher estate taxes should clearly be one of the highest items on the Washington agenda.

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Chile Is Planning Ceremony to Bury Allende

By SHIRLEY CHRISTIAN
Special to The New York Times

SANTIAGO, Chile, Aug. 30 — Chile will formally bury former President Salvador Allende Gossens next week in a ceremony that has revived the controversies surrounding his Government and his death in a military coup nearly 17 years ago.

The Allende family and the Government of President Patricio Aylwin, a Christian Democrat who was a strident opponent of Dr. Allende's Socialist-Communist coalition Government, have tried to balance the ceremony in a way that will render homage without angering the army.

Mr. Aylwin and his Cabinet plan to attend the Mass for Dr. Allende in the Santiago Cathedral on Tuesday and to accompany the coffin to the General Cemetery, where it will be placed in a new family mausoleum. But the Government turned down requests for the remains to be brought to the presidential palace en route to the cemetery and to declare a day of national mourning.

Although critics have charged that the funeral will be manipulated politically by Allende supporters, Isabel Allende, one of the former President's daughters, said it was intended to fit within the "framework of reconciliation" for the country.

"As a family, we feel an enormous responsibility to contribute to the coming together of the country and to the process of democratic recovery," she said.

Among those irritated by the funeral plans was Gen. Augusto Pinochet, the army commander, who ruled Chile from the coup until Mr. Aylwin's inauguration last March. Almost as soon as the family began to talk of the funeral plans a month ago, the army announced that it would render no military honors to Dr. Allende.

But the family said it had not requested military honors.

"We feel very well represented with the popular homage that Salvador Allende is going to receive," said his widow, Hortensia Bussi de Allende. "We don't want to create problems."

After Dr. Allende's death on Sept. 11, 1973, in a palace under bombardment by the armed forces — his personal surgeon, who was present, said he had committed suicide — his body was buried, without identification, in the mausoleum of some of his in-laws in a cemetery in Viña del Mar.

Mrs. Allende, whom the military took to the brief burial service before putting her on a plane for exile in Mexico, said she was denied permission to open the coffin and confirm that her husband's body was inside.

Two weeks ago, the former President's Health Minister, Dr. Arturo Jirón, who had fled the palace just minutes before Dr. Allende's death, took part in the exhumation and identification of the remains.

'A Date That Divides'

Isabel Allende said that Sept. 4 — the 20th anniversary of the election that brought Dr. Allende to the presidency — had been chosen as the day of the burial because the date of his death, Sept. 11, "is a date that divides" Chile.

Those who criticize the ceremonial occasion have included not only army officers but also a number of political leaders from parties of the right and center-right that supported the Pinochet Government.

They claim that it will be used to push the country, particularly Mr. Aylwin and the Christian Democrats, into revaluating the Allende Government and giving him a better place in history than he deserves.

The overthrow of Dr. Allende by the armed forces had widespread backing from a public outraged over property confiscations, runaway inflation, shortages and general chaos. Congress had fallen just short of the votes to impeach him. Many people, including leaders of the Christian Democrats, thought Dr. Allende's backers were preparing for some kind of paramilitary uprising.

In the years since then, Dr. Allende's Socialists have acknowledged many of the errors of his Government but have denied the charge that they were preparing to take up arms.

Soviets Said to Be Removing Arms From Europe Before Treaty

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

The new East-West treaty on conventional forces in Europe will require destruction of far fewer Soviet weapons than once anticipated because Moscow has withdrawn many of its forces from the region covered by accord before it takes effect, U.S. and diplomatic officials said yesterday.

A U.S. military official said the Soviets had redeployed "tens of thousands" of arms east of their Ural Mountains in what appears to be a deliberate effort to exempt them from the treaty provisions. The unregulated movement of tanks, artillery, planes and armored combat vehicles is permitted while the negotiations continue but must cease after the new treaty takes effect.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III said yesterday that nations belonging to the former Warsaw Pact military alliance will have to destroy 19,000 tanks under the accord. That number is roughly 13,000 fewer Soviet tanks than NATO officials predicted last year eventually would have to be destroyed. Officials said the difference is caused by the smaller number of tanks now in the zone between the former inter-German border and the Soviet Urals.

Asked about the Soviet arms movements, Baker said, "we have asked for and been receiving some accountings with respect to what they are doing." He said the Soviet effort "points up . . . the significance of getting an agreement in principle" Wednesday on the treaty provisions, ensuring that the treaty will be signed as planned in two months and abbreviating the period in which the Soviets can legally move their forces in the area.

Other officials said Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his aides had provided assurances that Moscow is not attempting to develop a new "strategic reserve" of conventional, or nonnuclear, arms east of the Urals, and pledged that some of the weapons being deployed there would be unilaterally destroyed.

President Bush said yesterday that the treaty "would decisively improve the balance of military power on the continent and back our hopes for lasting stability."

Baker and others noted that the West had informed the Soviets this week of its weapons redeployments in Europe, including shipments of modern U.S. arms to allies whose weapons will be destroyed under the accord. "We are trying to ensure that the oldest weapons get replaced with the newest" to gain maximum efficiency from the arsenal allowed to remain, a senior U.S. official said. "This means, for example, that we will probably get rid of all the Portuguese tanks and give them some new ones."

Baker said at a White House news conference that the treaty would limit Eastern and Western forces each to 20,000 tanks, 20,000 artillery pieces, 30,000 armored combat vehicles and 2,000 helicopters. He declined to specify a number for combat aircraft, explaining that it "is still subject to some discussion with allies on both sides."

Baker also said the treaty would allow roughly two-thirds of the tanks, artillery and combat vehicles on each side to be owned by the United States and the Soviet Union, while 75 percent of the combat helicopters could be owned by one of the superpowers. Under the treaty, the Western forces are those held by the 16 nations belonging to NATO, while the Eastern forces are those of the six nations that once belonged to the Warsaw Pact plus the forces remaining on former East German territory.

9/27/90

Sequester Chaos?

Washington just relived a famous scene from an Indiana Jones movie. Shrouded in black, the bad guy brandished his scimitar expertly, seemingly poised to do great damage to our hero. Jones shrugged, pulled out his gun, and shot the villain down. This is about what happened to stunned Members of Congress on Tuesday when New Hampshire Sununu pulled out a copy of the Anti-Deficiency Act.

The White House Chief of Staff announced that if there is no budget deal, President Bush is ready to veto any continuing resolution and go directly to the Gramm-Rudman budget cuts. There will be no melodramatic apocalyse for the evening newscasts because Mr. Bush, under his authority in the Anti-Deficiency Act, can manage the sequester to avoid chaos.

As we wrote Tuesday, the Anti-Deficiency Act is the law that says Congress must approve all government expenditures, but with one huge exception: The President can order expenditures "in cases of emergency involving the safety of human life or the protection of property." This gives Mr. Bush great discretion to keep paying essential government workers even when Congress fails to write a budget.

Mr. Sununu took to Capitol Hill a 12-page interpretation of the Anti-Deficiency Act written by Jimmy Carter's Attorney General, Benjamin Civiletti, in 1981. The end-is-nigh media reports warn that Gramm-Rudman would mean havoc in the skies from fewer air-traffic controllers, a vegetarian diet for Americans from the furloughing of meat inspectors, the rending of garments, and the weeping and gnashing of teeth. Nonsense. As examples of where "life" or "property" are so at risk that the President can keep people at their jobs, Mr. Civiletti's memo cited air traffic and meat inspection.

There is nothing in Gramm-Rudman that limits the President's emergency powers under the pre-existing Anti-Deficiency Act. White House budget officials are probably now reviewing which workers are essential and which can be sent home. The Reagan administration went through this drill when it kept essential workers on even after vetoing continuing resolutions. Military personnel, the FBI and federal prison guards are clearly necessary to protect life and property. Congressional staffers most likely come under a different heading. Some things, of course, cannot be protected: It's hard to imagine the threat to life or property from closing down the office that sends out Congress's franked mail.

There are some other improvements Mr. Bush could make to the distribution of cuts under Gramm-Rudman. Education, Labor and the EPA are among the agencies scheduled for sequester cuts of less than 5%. Maybe when a budget is eventually passed these agencies can contribute to a fund to pay air traffic controllers.

The Monday deadline for Gramm-Rudman is where separation-of-powers hits the rubber. "As the law is now written, the nation must rely initially for the efficient operation of government on the timely and responsible functioning of the legislative process," Mr. Civiletti wrote in his memo. "The Constitution and the Anti-Deficiency Act itself leave the Executive leeway to perform essential functions and make the government 'workable.'"

There is fine justice in the prospect of Congress losing control over the budget because of its recidivist failure to pass budgets within legal deadlines. Mr. Bush has every right and even an obligation to use his Anti-Deficiency Act powers to avoid any mindless sequester. Congress can agree to a budget that guarantees spending cuts and creates incentives for economic growth. Or it can watch Mr. Bush solve the budget deficit on his own.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Flora Lewis

New Isolationism, Same Old Mistake

By Joshua Muravchik

WASHINGTON

So far, the chief critics of President Bush's bold military action in the Middle East are not liberals but conservatives such as Patrick Buchanan, Robert Novak and Edward Luttwak — yesterday's most redoubtable hawks and interventionists. Strange new world!

The sudden disappearance of the cold war has pulled the rationale out from under the internationalist foreign policy that America has pursued for 40 years. With a victory over Communism behind us, why care what happens to the Emirate of Kuwait?

One answer is oil, but the larger answer that has resonated in President Bush's statements is collective security. No longer divided automatically along East-West lines, the community of nations is joining to repulse an unmistakable act of aggression — just as President Woodrow Wilson hoped it would when he dreamed up the League of Nations. When we recognize in Mr. Bush's policy the heritage of that liberal Democratic president, whose name is synonymous with woolly-headed idealism, we begin to understand why the Buchanans, Nunns and Novaks are alarmed.

They see themselves not as isolationists but as realists. They don't want to spend American treasure and lives unless clear American interests are at stake. With the collapse of Soviet power, however, the difference between realism and isolationism is evaporating. When America is the world's only superpower, nothing threatens us directly.

All plausible threats are indirect and most are a lot more remote than the prospect of a belligerent, anti-Western tyrant gaining hegemony over the world petroleum trade. That even such stakes as these leave the conservative realists skeptical of American action shows how close to isolationist their sensibility is.

> Our last bout with that approach ended at Pearl Harbor.

The last time America found itself in such an impregnable situation was in the immediate aftermath of World War I. The Kaiser had been defeated. New democracies were being erected on the ruins of old empires. Mussolini and Hitler were a couple of marginal eccentrics. Bolshevism scared some people, but most regarded it as an aberration. No wonder our isolationists succeeded in defeating Wilson's visionary schemes. Thanks in part to their imprudence, within 20 years we were fighting for our lives.

In our collective memory, Wilson's idealism shares blame equally with isolationism for that disaster. The system of collective security that he sired came crashing down as soon as it was tested by the Japanese in Manchuria and then by Mussolini in Abyssinia. But was Wilson's vision faulty? Or did the fault lie with the isolationists who, by keeping America out of the League of Nations, made collective security a hollow shell while the aggressors gathered strength?

Today's United Nations-sponsored mission to restore Kuwait's independence is giving the idea of collective security a new trial. Thanks to forceful American leadership, the effort is likely to succeed. Without it, the U.N. would be as feckless as the League was in the 1930's.

Success will set a valuable precedent. But a single case will not prove that collective security can become the basis of world order, and the U.N. charter more than a dead letter. The time when the U.S. can relinquish the prerogative of acting unilaterally to defend its interests or principles is not yet on the horizon.

But where Mr. Bush is right, as was Wilson, is on the principle of investing America's power in the effort to fashion an environment congenial to our long-term safety by enforcing a modicum of lawfulness in relations among states. An implicit assumption is that we cannot know what threats may lurk in the post-Communist world any more than we could foresee in 1920 the strength of Nazism or Communism. A corollary is that our abdication will encourage such threats to grow.

The realist-isolationists would rather bask in our status as the sole surviving superpower and avoid the risk and expense of policing the world. There will be time enough to act, they will say, when some local quarrel or bully grows large enough to present a clear danger to us. And so there was after the attack on Pearl Harbor, too. □

Joshua Muravchik is resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

10/5/90

Bush Backs Off . . .

While acknowledging no policy change, President Bush is undermining private predictions by Saudi war hawks and the Pentagon's "surgical strike" brigade that the United States will start war against Iraq on or about Oct. 18, the dark night of the Persian Gulf's next new moon.

Bush has seemed surreptitious in moving away from what has long been eyed by Saudi insiders, and a few eager Pentagon generals, as the first likely date to start bombing Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait and maybe out of Iraq. That would be followed by reinstatement of the Kuwaiti emir as the legitimate ruler.

But however veiled, Bush's move is real. His U.N. speech this week muffled war drums. It suggested a diplomatic solution to border problems after Saddam Hussein quits Kuwait. It even hinted at wrapping in the Arab-Israeli dispute and trying for a wider Mideast settlement.

Bush's speech got a sympathetic hearing in unlikely quarters. Two days later, the lead editorial in the New York Post, one of Israel's truest supporters, said war, Israel's favored solution, might be avoided by emulating President Kennedy in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. That would mean getting Iraq out of Kuwait, imposing rigorous control over Iraqi armaments and permitting Saddam, like Fidel Castro, to retain power.

Presidential aides deny any change in policy, but insiders trace a subtle shift to several sources. The Soviet Union has alarmed the United States with a warning that it wants a non-war solution and will go to the mat in the United Nations against Bush if he starts war without clear provocation and without U.N. approval.

Moscow's smart initial support of Bush in the Gulf crisis gives it leverage. It gets more from France and other European powers that have backed the United States against Saddam with money (but few troops). They support the Moscow warning. If Bush moved alone, he might face a blast from the United Nations.

Bush is also said to be painfully aware that hopeful, early predictions of Saddam's vulnerability to political enemies in Baghdad have not yet been borne out. In addition, cautious Pentagon brass led by Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs, never did agree with the ousted Air Force chief, Gen. Michael Dugan, that surgical bombing would produce quick, bloodless victory.

To the contrary, Bush is known to have been warned to expect a possibly high body-bag count. That is increasing pressures from his political advisers to go easy in stepping into a war that could undermine his presidency.

The slippery terrain of what had been considered Bush's virtual "war policy" has embarrassingly revealed itself to the White House on several occasions during the buildup to the 250,000 American troops soon to be in or near the Persian Gulf. An impeccable administration source told us that the Navy made a serious mistake in loading the Fourth Marine Expeditionary Brigade in East Coast ports last month. Short of Navy supply ships, called sealift, because of its insistence on building aircraft carrier task forces the past decade, the Navy overloaded its boats carrying the Marines and their equipment.

The Marines could not possibly have mounted a landing operation against Iraq from the Persian Gulf because of their extraneous baggage. That, not the advertised "training exercise," was the real reason the 13,000-strong brigade landed on the beaches of Oman this week: the brigade and its weapons had to be unloaded and properly "combat-loaded" before taking up its designated station in the Persian Gulf.

No one had envisioned this mistake, which delayed the brigade getting on station by almost one month, but there have been others. When Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf ordered the Navy to program cruise missiles on the battleship Wisconsin to take out key Iraqi targets, the Navy said it would take about a month: CIA and Defense Intelligence Agency spy cameras had failed to take the photographs needed to compose electronic terrain "maps" to guide the missiles to their targets.

Such mishaps baffled and angered senior planners. They also alerted Bush's men to the fact that in the actual prosecution of war, similar mistakes would probably be unavoidable and possibly a lot worse. That multiplies presidential doubts about the quick, bloodless victory predicted by some of America's Arab allies and Pentagon advocates of the efficacy of air power.

Bush's caution is matched by a stream of warnings from top-level military players no longer in office. One warning, known to be under close study by some of Gen. Powell's key aides, was written by retired Lt. Gen. William Odom, who played a major role in setting up former President Carter's Rapid Deployment Force for the Gulf. Odom compares the forecasts of quick, bloodless victory over Saddam to the spirit of Union forces just before their rout by the Confederates at Bull Run.

"It was going to be a turkey shoot," Odom wrote. In his new mood, George Bush is going to be mighty careful about buying any 1990-style "turkey shoot."

Charles Krauthammer

. . . And Stumbles

As usual, Margaret Thatcher had it right. On her recent U.N. visit, she stated Western aims in the Gulf: not just unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, but reparations for the devastation and punishment for the criminals who ordered the invasion.

Thatcher's point is that this is more than just a fight for cheap oil. It is also a fight for a principle: aggression doesn't pay, and, worse, it gets punished. If that lesson is delivered early, the post-Cold War era could turn into a long era of peace.

George Bush had been struggling for weeks to make this principled case. Then Monday at the U.N. he seriously undermined it with a vacillating offer of a "diplomatic" Gulf solution. "In the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait," he declared, "I truly believe there may be opportunities for Iraq and Kuwait to settle their differences."

What can this possibly mean? Before Aug. 2, Kuwait tried desperately to settle its differences with Iraq by negotiation. Iraq answered with invasion. Bush's gesture can only be a signal to Iraq that after withdrawal it can return to demands for the Rumaila oil fields, Bubiyan Island, a chunk of the Kuwaiti treasury and a say in Kuwait's government.

But surely after its aggression, Iraq can have no more claims against Kuwait than Germany can have against the Sudetenland. On the contrary. Kuwait now has serious claims against Iraq. Otherwise, how have we deterred the next thug from invading, withdrawing from, then negotiating with his neighbor?

Bush went on to offer Saddam another reward for good behavior. Iraqi withdrawal, he declared, would create the opportunity to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict. For two months Saddam had been trying to lend legitimacy to his seizure of Kuwait by linking it to Israel's occupation of the West Bank. For two months Bush had resisted the linkage. Now he is sending a signal to Saddam that playing his cards right could, with American assistance, make him a hero of Palestine.

The linkage between Iraq's occupation of Kuwait and Israel's occupation of the West Bank is fraudulent. The correct analogy is between the two victims of aggression, Kuwait in 1990 and Israel in 1967, both victims of war begun by powerful neighbors explicitly intent on wiping them off the map. The only difference is that Kuwait lost the war and is indeed being eradicated. Israel fought and won.

To compare the resulting unsought Israeli occupation of the West Bank to Iraq's deliberate and unprovoked seizure of Kuwait is pure cynicism. Saddam is engaged in systematically pillaging, depopulating and destroying Kuwait as a society. Israel controls the West Bank, but has left it socially, economically and culturally intact.

After his speech, President Bush denied that he was trying to create any linkage between the occupation of Kuwait and the Arab-Israeli dispute. There is, after all, something bizarre about suggesting that when one Moslem country swallows another, the Jews should be asked to pay the price. But surely the president is not so naive as to believe that his speech did not broadcast a signal to Baghdad: withdraw today, be rewarded tomorrow.

After all, what does a "diplomatic" solution mean if not a bargain in which both sides come out with something? Yet the whole premise of American policy has been that aggression cannot get any reward—hence Thatcher's insistence on reparations and war crimes trials—or it will be repeated. Is that not what Bush's vaunted post-Cold War order is about?

It is not good enough to say I didn't mean it. The administration also says it didn't mean the signals it sent to Saddam *before* the invasion. But they did their damage. The State Department, down to Ambassador April Glaspie, met Saddam's bullying with a sympathy and an acquiescence that could only be taken as encouragement. Saddam concluded, reasonably, that swallowing Kuwait would elicit no American response. An administration with such a sorry history of signal-sending should be more careful about creating linkages it later denies.

If this week's signal was wrong, the timing was worse. Just a week earlier, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze had delivered a stern warning to Saddam to get out of Kuwait or else. The Security Council had voted an air blockade. Under American direction, the world was closing in on Saddam.

Throughout the crisis all the players have taken their lead from the United States. Our message, up to then consistent, had been that Saddam had two choices—withdrawal or war. It is an important message, because only if it is believed is there any chance that Saddam will choose withdrawal.

Now that Bush has wavered, others are following suit. Tuesday, the Saudi foreign minister delivered a speech at the U.N. that was one long linkage between Kuwait and Palestine. On the same day, the chief of the Soviet General Staff delivered a firm warning to the United States against contemplating war.

Wall Street got the message too. In two days after the president's speech, the price of oil fell $5.50 on rising hopes of a "diplomatic" solution.

Were they overreading the president? Hardly. In the Middle East all communication is by signal and code word. The Middle East is a semiotic minefield where a misplaced nuance can break a policy or bring down a government. This administration, we are told, is composed of big boys who know this well. If so, they should watch their language. If they don't mean what they say, they shouldn't say it.

Black Humor and Dreams of Baseball Help Hostages Pass the Time in Iraq

By TONY HORWITZ
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BAGHDAD, Iraq—Vernon Nored settles deep into the sofa, cracks a Tuborg beer and switches on the television just as Eric Davis steps to the plate in game one of the World Series.

The Cincinnati Reds' hitter swats a ball deep to center field. "It's outta there!" Mr. Nored shouts, spilling his beer. "No doubt about it!"

The home run was hit three weeks ago. But Mr. Nored, an avid Reds fan and U.S. engineer held hostage in Iraq, has just received a tape of the Series from his wife in Ohio. "I'm pretending I don't know who won," he says. Outside, an armed guard patrols the high wall around the compound that Mr. Nored shares with a dozen other hostages. "I can identify with Pete Rose this year," he says of the former Reds' manager, who watched the Series from a prison in Illinois.

The three-month-old Persian Gulf crisis is starting to take a toll on the estimated 2,500 foreign hostages in Iraq. In the weeks just after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, many assumed their release was imminent. "I had my bags packed, waiting for the phone call," says a British oil worker. Now, he and 60 other hostages living in tents at the British Embassy are digging trenches that they hope will offer protection against stray shrapnel.

"If the bombs come, we're sitting at ground zero," the oil worker says of the embassy, which straddles the Tigris River at Baghdad's center. As a bit of black humor, the hostages have propped plastic machine guns before each trench. And with characteristic British pluck, they hold cricket matches each Friday on the embassy's wide lawn, clapping politely as white-uniformed batsmen pock balls into the bougainvillea.

The hostages in Baghdad know they are the lucky ones. More than 600 others are being held at strategic sites outside the city, as human shields against U.S. bombs. The rules governing exactly who is seized and who isn't remain unclear, so many detainees in Baghdad don't leave their compounds for fear of being picked up. "I'm taking this in five-minute stretches," says a hollow-eyed man from Colorado. "How can I fill the next five minutes? And the five after that?" His latest time-killer is a frayed copy of "Clear and Present Danger," a fat novel he's read before. Asked what he craves most, the Coloradan answers: 7-Eleven convenience stores.

"They have Haagen-Dazs ice cream and Doritos and newspapers and telephones," he says with a dreamy smile. "In one stop you can do all the things you can't do here."

In fact, physical privation is the least of the hostages' problems. Most are billeted at diplomatic quarters and luxury hotels, with swimming pools, tennis courts and ample supplies of food and alcohol. The hotel-bound hostages find themselves eating breakfast beside journalists and government delegations who are free to leave when they please. "Are you a visitor or a long-term guest?" inquires the check-in receptionist at the five-star Al Rasheed, which has an ironic advertising motto stating: "It is more than a hotel."

In the cramped diplomatic quarters, middle-aged men must share bedrooms and kitchen duties with strangers. "It's like being at summer camp, with Saddam as counselor," says the Coloradan. Even so, hostages have, for the most part, hung together. When Iraqi President Saddam Hussein said five of nine Finns could go home, the group drew lots to decide who stayed and who went. And when 14 U.S. hostages were released in October, many others gathered at the embassy to see them off, saving their tears and cries of anger until waiting cars left for the airport.

What most hostages find hardest to bear is their isolation. Foreign newspapers are unavailable; overseas phone calls take hours to place and usually are limited by operators to 10 minutes. Hostages listen hourly to short-wave radio broadcasts, for any hint that freedom—or fireworks—is imminent. Morale is so low that many say even war is preferable to the limbo they're now in. "If it's going to happen, let it happen," says an Italian oil consultant, Paolo Palazzotto. "I can't read. I can't concentrate. I feel like a frozen vegetable."

Mr. Nored keeps sane by filling his days with small chores. He does a bit of maintenance around the embassy. He tries to keep a diary but finds "there's nothing to put in it." He writes to his uncle, whom he hopes can unearth documents about a 19th century forebear from Saudi Arabia. Americans who can prove Arab ancestry generally have been released, though embassy officials say Mr. Nored—black, Roman Catholic, and a longtime employee of the Army Corps of Engineers—isn't likely to be granted his freedom.

Mr. Nored also spends hours answering dozens of letters sent by his aunt's fourth-grade class in Cincinnati. "I have a dog and a brother, 10 fish, two parents and a boyfriend," writes a nine-year-old girl. "I hope you are free soon. Thinking of you. Sincerely, Molly."

Most letters mention the Reds, a matter of keen personal interest to Mr. Nored. "I used to live in the ballpark," says the heavy-set 45-year-old, who sold lemonade and peanuts at the ballpark as a youngster, and later parked cars there. As an adult, he went to as many games as he could, including the 1976 World Series.

"I would have been at this one, too," he sighs, watching the Reds pile up runs in game one. Another video atop the TV is of his daughter's first birthday party back in Ohio. Iraqi TV isn't so entertaining. "Normally, all we see is Saddam," he says. Early in the crisis, there also was a nightly Iraqi show called "guest news," which showed interviews with the hostages and focused on the comfortable quarters in which they live.

Like most hostages, Mr. Nored spends hours mulling over the circumstances that landed him here, and "what ifs" that might have landed him elsewhere. He arrived in Kuwait in mid-June, on temporary assignment, and was due to leave in August, soon after Iraq invaded. He speaks no Arabic, isn't particularly interested in the Middle East, and can't make much sense of his predicament. "That's just the way things go down," he says.

He cracks another Tuborg and turns his gaze to the TV. By the seventh-inning stretch, the score is 7-0. Mr. Nored has scheduled his viewing of the other three games for the rest of November.

"The Reds are gonna take this Series," he says, "no doubt about it."

Montedison Asset Swap

MILAN, Italy—Italian chemicals concern Montedison S.p.A. said its Ausimont N.V. unit completed a previously announced asset swap with Atochem S.A., a unit of France's state-controlled oil group Elf Aquitaine S.A.

Under the terms of the swap, Atochem's North American unit will give Ausimont its fluoropolymers facility located in Thorofare, N.J., as well as unspecified technological and marketing rights connected with the plant. In return, Atochem will gain control of Ausimont's organic peroxides production unit located near the Italian town of Marengo.