

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2009-0275-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0275-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Media Articles Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 85043
Folder ID Number: 85043-002

Folder Title:
September 1990

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
V	0	0	0	0

September 1990

Talks Next Sunday To Address Unity In Isolating Iraq

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine, Sept. 1—President Bush announced today that he and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev will meet next Sunday in Helsinki for a one-day summit to discuss the Persian Gulf crisis and other issues in a step that White House officials hoped would show superpower solidarity against Iraq.

The meeting was announced as United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar ended two days of talks in Amman, Jordan, with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz without any tangible progress toward a diplomatic solution to the military standoff in the Arabian desert.

But the biggest breakthrough of the day was the takeoff from Baghdad airport of three jetliners carrying more than 550 Western and Japanese women, children and ailing American men away from their month-long captivity in Kuwait and Iraq.

In Cairo, the Arab League held together a thin majority of its divided membership to again condemn Iraq's Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait, to demand war reparations for Kuwait from Baghdad and to try to impose discipline on member nations promoting their own peace plans.

Bush, nearing the end of his vacation in Maine, said he initiated the meeting with Gorbachev. While Bush sought to dampen speculation that he and Gorbachev would try to produce a diplomatic plan for ending the Gulf crisis, he said it is important for the two superpowers to maintain cooperation in their response to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's aggression in the Middle East.

Asked what he hoped to accomplish during his brief meeting with Gorbachev, their first since the May 30-June 3 summit in Washington, Bush said, "Being sure we're together."

Topics at the Helsinki meeting, details of which were worked out this week by Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, will not be limited to the Middle East, Bush stressed. The two leaders are expected to discuss the ongoing talks to reduce conventional forces in Europe and recent developments on Cambodia and Afghanistan.

While Bush said there is no special Middle East agenda for the meeting, his aides made clear that the image of the two leaders standing together in condemnation of Saddam was a desirable outcome.

"I don't think that's the expressed purpose of them going, but if that's a product that comes out of it, that's fine with us," said White

House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater. "We're eager at every turn to show the solidity of world opposition against him."

In recent days, Soviet officials have expressed some reservations about the U.S. military presence in the Gulf region. But Bush, praising the Soviets for their cooperation, said the meeting with Gorbachev was not "driven by any worry that we might be apart, rather that there is a wide array of questions that could use consultation at this time."

Bush spoke to reporters before the first plane loads of Westerners had left Baghdad. He accused Saddam of "a certain brutality, a certain tawdry performance" in holding the women and children after announcing they could go free. "It is so base and so outrageous that I think most people in the Arab world are very embarrassed by this, and I think that's certainly true of others around the world," the president said.

In Kuwait City, the small group of U.S. diplomats continued to hold out against Iraqi demands to shut down the embassy, which is operating on a backup electricity generator and relying on a backup water supply, administration officials said here.

National security adviser Brent Scowcroft said U.S. Ambassador to Kuwait W. Nathaniel Howell had reported that "things are difficult, but they're struggling along." Deputy White House press secretary Roman Popadiuk, calling morale there good, said the embassy still has several days' supply of water and power.

Bush said he saw no reason for optimism about a diplomatic breakthrough because of Saddam's continuing inflexibility.

Scowcroft said that a plan to send a special envoy to Jordan's King Hussein to discuss international aid to Jordan and to press for Jordan's full compliance with the U.N. embargo had been changed, but he would not elaborate. "There will not be, at least at the moment, a delegation to Jordan," he said.

Bush said he would not comment on a Washington Post report that he had decided to forgive Egypt's \$7.1 billion military debt, which would require congressional approval. He said his "gut instinct" was to go ahead with debt forgiveness because Egypt has played a key role in the current crisis.

Bush announced the Helsinki summit at a brief news conference at his vacation home here, saying the meeting grew out of an agreement with Gorbachev in June to meet regularly in settings that were less formal than the full-blown summits of the past.

The close cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, once Iraq's largest arms supplier, is a product of the relationship that has developed between the two countries in recent months.

Soviet willingness to halt arms shipments to Iraq and join in condemning Saddam is seen by admin-

istration officials as a key element in their strategy to isolate Saddam from the world community.

White House officials said Bush plans to leave next Saturday for Helsinki, spend the night there and meet Gorbachev on Sunday, returning late that day.

First word of the summit came from Moscow late Friday, and

NEXT...

White House officials attempted to avoid commenting on it because the Soviets were not ready to make an official announcement.

That produced an embarrassing scene at a morning briefing here by Scowcroft, who announced that he had nothing to announce.

As Scowcroft was pelted with questions from reporters, Fitzwater, standing a few feet away, got a call from Baker, who was in Texas, saying the announcement would come at 1 p.m. Seconds later, Fitzwater got a second call, this one from Bush, who was out on his boat, with the same message.

"The president said, 'Where are you?'" Fitzwater said. "I said, 'On camera.'"

He quickly scribbled a note to Scowcroft, whose briefing was being televised live. After telling reporters he had said "all that I'm going to say about that," the retired Air Force general said that official word would come in less than two hours.

"You know, I knew I shouldn't have done this," he said.

The official announcement was made simultaneously in Moscow.

Fitzwater said Bush had proposed Helsinki because it is close to the Soviet Union, as an accommodation to Gorbachev.

Although White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu was in the Soviet Union much of this week and had met with Finnish President Mauno Koivisto en route to Moscow, Scowcroft said Sununu played no role in setting up the Bush-Gorbachev summit. Fitzwater said U.S. officials called Sununu from here to tell him. Sununu was scheduled to return to the United States today.

Bush said he and Gorbachev agreed "that we'd have no agenda and that it would be free-flowing discussions," similar to those the two men held at Camp David last June.

The president said he would not press Gorbachev to help share the cost of the gulf confrontation, as he is doing to many other countries, saying the Soviets have many other responsibilities around the world.

He also said he did not foresee a Soviet role in mediating the gulf crisis, despite Moscow's longstanding ties to Baghdad. "I don't think the Soviets see themselves in a mediating role, and I don't intend to

ask them to see themselves in a mediating role, nor do I expect him to ask the United States to be in a mediating role."

Although Soviet officials have raised questions about a long-term U.S. military presence in the gulf, administration officials said they have "no doubt" about Soviet cooperation on how to handle the crisis.

Gorbachev, in a news conference Friday, suggested that there should be an Arab solution. Scowcroft denied that represented any conflict with U.S. policy, adding that an Arab solution "is the same as the United Nations solution."

Despite Bush's many diplomatic telephone calls since Iraq invaded Kuwait, he has not talked directly to Gorbachev. Communication between the two countries has been carried out primarily by Baker and Shevardnadze, although the two leaders communicated with one another through a cable about the summit.

First Lady Barbara Bush and Raisa Gorbachev are expected to join their husbands in Helsinki.

Staff writer Patrick E. Tyler contributed to this report from Washington.

PATRICK BUCHANAN

Checkmate or stalemate?

In his great chess game with Saddam Hussein, President Bush continues to move his pieces with consummate skill. His latest gambit: the Helsinki summit. But even this will only temporarily distract the world from the emerging stalemate in the Gulf.

Why did Mr. Bush call this summit?

New York Timesman Andrew Rosenthal has it about right: "[T]he day of talks in Helsinki comes as the Bush administration is seizing every possible opportunity to escape political pressure at home and abroad to use the American forces in Saudi Arabia for offense rather than the stated mission of defense against Iraqi forces."

What Mr. Rosenthal is saying is that Mr. Bush does not want war; that the George Bush of September is hastily cooling the war fever stirred up, in large measure, by the George Bush of August. And as the TV cameras record the U.S. buildup, the administration has been carefully climbing down from the president's rhetoric.

Ten days ago, Defense Secretary Richard Cheney said it was not U.S. policy to bring down Mr. Hussein, a surprising statement in light of Mr. Bush's talk of a new Adolf Hitler; the

1930s, and our "freedom" and "way of life" being in mortal peril.

Last week, National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft went further: "We can't necessarily solve all of the problems relevant to Saddam Hussein, some of which go back a number of years, like his possession of chemical weapons and so forth. Not necessarily do they have to be solved at this time." So the dismantling of Iraq's military machines is not a non-negotiable demand, either.

Friday, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, U.S. commander, went still further: "There's not going to be any war unless the Iraqis attack."

Remarkable. These statements, uncontradicted by Mr. Bush, have walked U.S. policy back a long, long way from the virtual ultimatum Mr. Bush issued the second week of August. Together, they add up to a new U.S. policy: Defend Saudi Arabia; but, as for getting the Iraqi army out of Kuwait, that is the business of the embargo and blockade, the United Nations, not the U.S. Marine Corps.

Mr. Bush is now exactly where the American people are. There is no national outcry to have our Marines launch a frontal assault on 160,000 Iraqi troops dug in in Kuwait, to put back on his throne an emir whose own army did not fight 24 hours to keep him there.

But, if journalists have limned the new lines of U.S. policy, they have not been missed in Baghdad. Iraq, too, can fairly translate Gen. Schwarzkopf to mean that, so long as Iraq does not attack, the United States will sit in the desert. The corollary: If Iraq can hold out, she can keep Kuwait. But, if this is the U.S. position, in four to six weeks Mr. Bush will be facing the most difficult choice of his life.

He will have to decide either to use the vast military force he has assembled to expel Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, or accept his conquest as a fait accompli. He will have to decide to launch the war that will forever be known as "Bush's War," or accept what he has said is "unacceptable," what Secretary of State James Baker has said would bring on a "new dark age." Either way, Mr. Bush confronts an agonizing moral choice.

If there is not going to be a war unless Iraq attacks, what are the chances that the U.S. embargo-blockade can succeed in forcing the Iraqi dictator to cough up Kuwait?

Looking at the respective Arab coalitions lined up on each side, it is difficult to say that ours is getting stronger.

Last week, Syria had to use 50,000

troops to put down pro-Saddam Hussein riots. Egypt is putting out signals that if Mr. Hussein will only withdraw from Kuwait, the Americans will leave Saudi Arabia. The Saudis have begun signaling Baghdad that no U.S. offensive, and no rescue effort for the hostages, will be permitted without Riyadh's approval. "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is not a theater for any action that is not defensive for Saudi Arabia," Defense Minister Prince Sultan declared last week, chastising American media for hinting that U.S. troops might take the offensive in Kuwait.

As for King Hussein, one can only view with puzzlement the contemptuous attitude of U.S. officials. Flanked on the west by Israel, whose Likud Party sees Jordan as dumping ground for its unwanted Palestinians, on the north by Syria, which attacked him in 1970, on the east by Iraq, with which most of Jordan's vital trade is conducted, the king is desperately seeking a political solution. Can anyone think that, if this friend of eight presidents is destabilized and dethroned, his successor will be more to our liking? Anyone think his downfall would make our military position more secure?

Though pressured from all sides, Iraq's position does not seem quite so hopeless as some of our commentators daily proclaim. And, as Saddam Hussein probably cannot survive surrendering Kuwait, he appears more willing to fight to keep it than we do to take it back.

Nevertheless, in a month, many things can happen; and, if the U.N. embargo does succeed in forcing Iraq out of Kuwait, Mr. Bush will have achieved a diplomatic triumph unrivaled in years.

The worm in the apple? Even if Mr. Bush achieves an Iraqi withdrawal, he seems destined to disappoint those who saw in this crisis an opportunity to emasculate Iraq, destroy Saddam Hussein, pacify the Gulf, and establish a "MacArthur Regency" in Baghdad. They will not soon forgive him for letting his prey escape.

In any event, the battle of the op-ed pages is about over; and the struggle within the president's soul is about to begin.

Bush to urge Gorbachev to use his clout with Iraq

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine — President Bush will press Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev at next Sunday's superpower summit to use his influence with Iraq to urge Baghdad's withdrawal from Kuwait.

The Helsinki summit, announced here over the weekend, is also expected to see Mr. Bush seek assurances from Moscow that it will recall its military advisers now stationed in Iraq but reportedly only wrapping up work on old contracts.

But the president does not see either funding or mediation roles for the Kremlin in the crisis.

While Mr. Bush told reporters here that "there is no special agenda" on the Middle East for the one-day summit, it is understood that the meeting will focus only lightly on other subjects, such as chemical and strategic arms talks and the status of Baltic independence efforts.

Mr. Bush wants to use the meeting to expand world unity against Iraq and send a message to Iraq's two primary allies — Yemen and the Palestine Liberation Organization — that they jeopardize relations with Moscow and the West if they continue to back Baghdad.

Meanwhile, the White House has repeatedly urged Israel to stay out of the Gulf crisis, which began Aug. 2 when Iraq invaded Kuwait.

A senior Pentagon official said Israel's military is "itching" to attack Iraq and "take out" Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. "It's taken everything to quiet them," the official said.

But the administration doesn't feel that eliminating Mr. Hussein will make any difference, because his successors are viewed as more

ruthless and power-nungry.

"Israel has behaved very well," Mr. Bush told reporters last week.

The president has reportedly decided to make available more high-tech weapons for Israel and is considering forgiveness of Egypt's \$6.7 billion military debt to the United States.

The superpower summit called by Mr. Bush will be the second in a year and the third meeting of the leaders since Mr. Bush took office.

It is understood that the two leaders will meet for five hours during two meetings and lunch. The meeting strategy also might include a stop by Mr. Bush in Brussels, Belgium, to brief allies on the hastily arranged talks.

Trying to divert attention on their expected talks on Iraq, Mr. Bush said when Mr. Gorbachev visited Camp David in early summer, "he and I agreed that it would be useful to have periodic meetings without casting them in the vein of a summit, and that's exactly what this meeting is about."

Since the Iraqi invasion, Mr. Bush and his aides have gone out of their way to praise Moscow for its support, despite the Kremlin's early delay in approving a U.S. and British move to let U.S. warships enforce the trade embargo of Iraq with force.

In addition to its rare backing of U.S. positions in United Nations Security Council meetings, the Soviet Union also has dispatched two warships to the Gulf to help enforce the trade ban and Mr. Bush is to thank Mr. Gorbachev for his support when they meet. It will be the first time the two have talked since the Iraqi invasion.

"I've been very pleased with the cooperation we've been getting from the Soviet Union," Mr. Bush said Saturday.

The White House believes that if the Soviet Union had refused to back the United States in five U.N. votes punishing Iraq, Mr. Bush wouldn't have succeeded in bringing together Western and Arab nations in a strong coalition against Iraq.

But the summit is also expected to review the differences over Mr. Bush's Gulf policy, such as an apparent split between the superpowers over the effectiveness of the trade embargo and Moscow's refusal to recall its military advisers from Iraq.

National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft told reporters Saturday that the Soviets are concerned about a military confrontation between the joint Western-Arab force and Iraq.

Mr. Gorbachev has cautioned on several occasions that use of armed force against Iraq could have "unforeseeable consequences."

The Soviet leader is also under pressure from his generals to oppose any U.S. use of force to drive Iraq from Kuwait.

Despite the differences between the superpowers, both sides expect Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev to make a strong and united call for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait, restore the Kuwaiti government and release all hostages.

The meeting highlights what Mr. Bush pegged "the new world order" that both presidents hope will see Moscow and Washington act in unison on world issues.

"These are very interesting times ... these are challenging times," Mr. Bush said during church yesterday.

The summit announcement by Mr. Bush followed a week of intense diplomacy on the Gulf crisis ending with the president's plan to win \$25 billion in international financial aid for the military buildup in Saudi Arabia.

The administration also is considering forgiveness of Turkey's debts to the United States since it, like Egypt, has been hit hard by the trade embargo with Iraq.

GRAPEVINE

By PAUL GRAY/Reported by David E. Thigpen



The Tale of the Tape

In the aftermath of the Marion Barry verdict, federal investigators in Washington are scratching their heads over how badly their prime bit of evidence—the infamous hotel videotape—misfired with the jury. Officials concede that the tape made it seem as if Rasheeda Moore, the ex-girlfriend, initiated talk about cocaine and induced a reluctant Barry to play along. What went

wrong? Officials say Moore thought Barry mentioned drugs first, in code, by asking her if she had been “good.” What came through on the tape, though, was that Barry was principally interested in “jumping her bones,” as an investigator put it. But Moore, now a born-again Christian, was resisting his sexual advances and diverting his attention with talk of drugs. The FBI thought the scene it was taping would be irrefutable proof that Barry did not discourage such discussions. The effect was otherwise, and the furor over government tactics overshadowed the image of Barry smoking crack. “I was just thinking about right and wrong,” says a rueful agent. “I’ve learned a lot from this case.”

The Gift That Keeps on Giving

The Republican presidential task force, a fund-raising arm of the G.O.P., has been sending

out \$25 checks to nearly 700,000 Americans. All the recipients have to do is endorse them and deposit them in their banks. However, there is a tiny little catch, as an accompanying letter explains. The deposited check gives the task force the right to withdraw \$12.50 a month from the individual’s account for what it calls candidate escrow funding. Lucky recipients of the checks are allowed to exit the program after two payments have been extracted—there goes the \$25—but they are encouraged to remain participants and painlessly, perhaps endlessly, go on contributing \$12.50 a month to the G.O.P.

Sell? How Dare They Sell?

Remember all those worries about the Japanese buying up prime U.S. real estate, including such high-ticket properties as Rockefeller Center in New York City and the giant ARCO Plaza in Los Angeles? Well, the big worry now is that the Japanese may be selling some of those properties, taking more bounce out of an already soft market. Apparently, the worsening U.S. economy and the battering of Tokyo financial markets are forcing many giant Japanese companies to reconsider investment strategies. Among the first properties rumored to be on the block: three office towers in Midtown Manhattan and some major buildings in L.A.’s Century City.

It’s a Cow. No, It’s a Coyote.

Technology may soon revolutionize U.S. attempts to patrol the flow of people, drugs and guns across its 1,900-mile border with Mexico. The sensors employed by the Border Patrol tend to be tripped off by every passing cow and coyote. Sandia National Laboratories in Albuquerque is developing a sophisticated new array of sensors that can transmit photographs of a trespasser to a central monitoring station, indicate direction and speed of movement, and also measure the presence of metal, a signal that the target is armed.

My Summer Vacation WHO’S MINDING THE WAR?

One of the minor debates of the Persian Gulf crisis is whether President Bush should be spending the dog days of August taking his ease in Kennebunkport, Me. How have other key players in his Administration responded to the vacation or not-to-vacation dilemma?

As planned for several months, Vice President **DAN QUAYLE** was relaxing in Arizona last week. This week, barring a megacrisis, he will be visiting his home state of Indiana.



Secretary of State **JAMES BAKER** is on his Wyoming homestead but is spending most of his time on the phone with foreign leaders.

Secretary of Defense **DICK CHENEY** had booked part of August off in Wyoming, but thanks to Saddam Hussein, he has instead seen a lot of the Middle East.



Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff **COLIN POWELL** had planned to take a week off at his Washington home. He had scheduled the same thing before the invasion of Panama.

The President invited National Security Adviser **BRENT SCOWCROFT** to Maine before the crisis. The visit has become a marathon.



The director of the Central Intelligence Agency, **WILLIAM WEBSTER**, was spotted last week on a golf course in northern Michigan. On one round, Webster shot a 105.



WINNER OF THE WEEK



WILLIAM NEAL MOORE

A day before he was to die in Georgia’s electric chair, the born-again convict won a stay of execution and a commutation of his sentence to life imprisonment. Joining the model prisoner’s campaign for clemency were some of the relatives of the man he confessed to killing in 1974.

MARCO POLO OF THE WEEK



JESSE JACKSON

He claimed that he had received permission from Iraq to visit that country—as a journalist rather than a politician. But wait a minute, not so fast. Time Warner, which will distribute the televised *Jesse Jackson Show* this fall, declined to pay for the trip. And, so far, so have other potential sponsors.

ROTTEN KID OF THE WEEK



STEVE WALLACE

When he signed with the San Francisco 49ers in 1986, the tackle made a down payment on a \$179,000 home for his parents near Atlanta. Now earning \$465,000 a year, Wallace stopped mortgage payments because he objects to being “treated like some kind of gold mine.”

SUPPOSE HE HAS A HEADACHE ADVISORY



ILLONA STALLER

The Italian porn star and member of parliament, better known as Cicciolina, last week offered to have sex with Saddam Hussein if in return he agrees to allow all foreigners out of Iraq and Kuwait: “I am willing to let him have his way with me if in exchange he frees the hostages.”

Reporter's Notebook

How a Vacation Helps
Even a Crisis President

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

KENNEBUNKPORT, Me., Sept. 3 — In the end, George Bush actually may have been having fun on his vacation.

Maybe it was because things had gone his way at the United Nations and President Mikhail S. Gorbachev accepted his invitation to a summit meeting in Helsinki, Finland, next Sunday. Maybe he decided to just grin and bear news coverage of his sun-drenched Maine vacation.

Or maybe he figured that after inviting reporters to his sprawling estate and filling them with hamburgers and hot dogs and giving them rides on his speedboat, they would stop writing articles and television and radio reports about his 25-day vacation on his sprawling estate and the rides he took on his gas-guzzling speedboat during the Persian Gulf crisis and its threats to the nation's oil supply.

Whatever the reason, the President's demeanor was noticeably sunnier last week. Some traced the change to last Monday morning, when he went fishing at 5 A.M. He floated around the Kennebunk River for an hour or two, catching nothing but grinning broadly when he spied a group of bleary-eyed reporters on the bank swatting frantically at early-morning hordes of mosquitoes.

By Labor Day weekend, he even did not look so grimly determined to enjoy himself as he drove his ball around the Cape Arundel Golf Club course. He even began to make jokes.

On the 10th tee on Saturday, a reporter's electronic pager went off, disrupting the President's drive. A collective breath was held. But the Chief Executive merely did a playful double-take and smiled.

Today, as the Summer White House packed up to return to Washington, Mr. Bush could not resist squeezing in another round. Hurried as usual, he roared down the fairway in his golf car.

But he had forgotten to secure his clubs, and they fell to the ground with a great clatter.

"I don't need those!" the President exclaimed, jamming on his brakes.

"The press did it," said Ken Raynor, the club pro.

Mr. Bush laughed, fixed his clubs and roared off again. Well, not quite. He forgot to release the brakes.

Work and Prayer

There were serious moments here. Mr. Bush has been working hard, aides said, spending hour after hour with Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser, plotting strategy for the Gulf crisis and, most recently, working on the summit meeting.

On Sunday, Mr. Bush spoke to the congregations at St. Ann's Episcopal Church, his customary house of worship, and the First Congregational Church.

Accompanied by his friend the Rev. Billy Graham, Mr. Bush told those assembled at the Congregational Church: "These are very interesting times. A week from now, perhaps at this minute, I will be sitting in Helsinki, Finland, talking with President Gorbachev. These are challenging times."

Later, at St. Ann's, Mr. Bush said: "These are rather trying times, and right now I would suggest that we get our strength from being one nation under God. I know I feel that way; so does Barbara; so does the rest of the family."

Breaking the News

While the President seemed more relaxed, things were not going so smoothly for his press operation.

Late Friday night, as word of the impending Helsinki summit meeting began to leak out in Moscow, the White House hurriedly scheduled a news briefing for Saturday morning.

But Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, did not want to take the podium and get bombarded with questions he could not answer. So a solution was found: Mr. Scowcroft was recruited to give a briefing.

But Mr. Scowcroft decided he would not announce the summit meeting, and that left him in the uncomfortable position of refusing to comment on what by then was common knowledge.

Then things got even more embarrassing. Just as Mr. Scowcroft was making his most emphatic refusal to comment, reporters noted that Mr. Fitzwater was on the telephone, scribbling hurriedly on a piece of paper.

He approached the podium and handed the paper to Mr. Scowcroft, who laughed and said, "We'll have an announcement at 1 P.M."

Mr. Fitzwater grinned. "Shows you how fast diplomacy can work sometimes," he said.

Mr. Scowcroft sighed. "I knew I shouldn't have done this," he said with his usual deadpan delivery.

A Fondness for Initials

The telephone call turned out to have been from Mr. Bush, who phoned Mr. Fitzwater from the Fidelity, his speedboat, as it plied the Gulf of Maine, to let him know the summit meeting could be announced at 1 P.M.

Mr. Bush, who likes to do things personally, made the announcement himself, emerging from the door of his house on Walker's Point, the family estate, to speak to a small pool of reporters.

What was different from other Presidential appearances here was that as befitting the seriousness of the moment, Mr. Bush was in a jacket and tie instead of his customary polo

shirt. What was the same was his weakness for acronyms, abbreviations and insider jargon.

At one point, he sounded as though he was declaring that he had great confidence in his "sink." He was using the standard military acronym Cinc for Commander in Chief and referring to Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of the American forces in Saudi Arabia.

At another point, Mr. Bush was asked if he expected to talk about things other than the Persian Gulf with Mr. Gorbachev. The President replied: "I know that we'll have discussions of, as I mentioned, C.F.E., and a C.F.E. agreement would lead to the C.S.C.E. meeting."

Excuse me?

C.F.E. is the treaty on reducing Conventional Forces in Europe. It is to be signed at a meeting of the 35-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, or C.S.C.E.

Out of Sight, Not Mind

For White House watchers, the Persian Gulf crisis has offered some interesting twists.

First, there was the fact that Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d was noticeably absent from public view while some officials not always seen in the spotlight were more visible, including Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Mr. Scowcroft.

Clearly, this did not signal a diminishing of Mr. Baker's status. It turned out that he was on the phone from his Wyoming vacation spot arranging the summit meeting with Mr. Gorbachev.

This is a Presidential staff that maintains at least the appearance of collegiality. So White House aides routinely brush off questions about whether John H. Sununu, the White House chief of staff, whose expertise is domestic politics, is ever at odds with Mr. Scowcroft, an expert on diplomatic and arms control issues.

Still, there may have been a flicker of a smile on Mr. Scowcroft's face on Saturday, when he was asked if Mr. Sununu had negotiated the summit arrangements during his visit last week to Moscow, where he was teaching Kremlin officials how to run an American-style Presidency.

"No," Mr. Scowcroft replied.

Bush, new team of advisers head to one-day summit

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

When President Bush takes off in his new Boeing 747 tomorrow for a one-day summit with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in Helsinki, Finland, he will be traveling with an unusual team of advisers who have crafted the careful U.S. diplomatic and military policies in the Persian Gulf crisis.

Sitting in the reclining first-class

HEADED FOR HELSINKI

President Bush will meet with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in Helsinki, Finland, this weekend, accompanied by some of his top advisers.

James A. Baker III, secretary of state

Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser

Condoleezza Rice, special assistant to the president and senior director for European and Soviet affairs on the White House national security staff

Richard N. Haass, special assistant to the president and senior director for Near East and South Asian affairs on the White House national security staff

John Kelly, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs

April Glaspie, U.S. ambassador to Iraq

Dennis Ross, director of policy planning in the State Department

seats normally reserved for experts on Warsaw Pact and arms-control policies will be a different crop of advisers on Middle East and Soviet affairs whose stars have risen since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait Aug. 2.

Joining National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft — the president's top aide during the crisis — will be National Security Council aides Condoleezza Rice and Richard N. Haass.

Miss Rice, the chief Sovietologist in the White House and the senior director for European and Soviet affairs, recently replaced her former boss, William Blackwill. This will be her first trip as the president's chief Soviet adviser.

Mr. Bush relies on her insight and the close relationship she has generated with Mr. Gorbachev, officials said. For example, Mr. Bush dispatched Miss Rice to accompany the Soviet president when he toured Minnesota and California after the superpower summit here in June.

Mr. Haass, special assistant to the president for national security affairs and senior director for Near East and South Asian affairs, has become the president's senior Middle East adviser during the crisis. When Mr. Bush returned from Camp David on Aug. 5, it was Mr. Haass who briefed him before he spoke to reporters and blasted Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

Mr. Haass, a Rhodes Scholar, has worked as a top official in the Pentagon and State Department and is an expert on arms control.

Secretary of State James A. Baker's top Middle East advisers, John Kelly, assistant secretary for the

Near East, and Dennis Ross, director of policy planning, will join the group in Helsinki.

While Mr. Ross has been a close Bush and Baker adviser from the start of the Bush administration, Mr. Kelly is just now achieving that role, aides said.

Even though these "second-tier" aides have the president's ear on the key Gulf issues, White House officials said the principal players are Mr. Scowcroft and his top aide, Robert Gates. Mr. Gates has manned the internal "deputies committee meetings," the regular gathering of senior Bush advisers who form policy outlines for the National Security Council.

"No one can overplay the role he has had in this," said an administration official, who noted that only Mr. Scowcroft remained with Mr. Bush every day of his monthlong August vacation in Kennebunkport, Maine.

Some have even suggested that Mr. Scowcroft has assumed the role of co-chief of staff, taking all foreign policy decisions away from Chief of

Staff John Sununu, who just returned from a trip to Moscow, where he helped Mr. Gorbachev organize his presidential office.

In addition to those in the State Department and White House, Mr. Bush has also called on experts such

as former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq April Glaspie, aides said.

Mr. Bush has also relied on friendship with officials from the region, such as Saudi Arabian Ambassador Prince Bandar.

(c) Copyright 1990, National Broadcasting Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.

*PLEASE CREDIT ANY QUOTES OR EXCERPTS FROM THIS NBC
TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "NBC NEWS' MEET THE PRESS."*

NBC News

MEET THE PRESS

Sunday, September 9, 1990

GUEST:

BRENT SCOWCROFT
National Security Adviser

MODERATOR:

Tom Brokaw - NBC News

PANEL:

John Dancy - NBC News
John Cochran - NBC News
Fred Francis - NBC News
Ralph Abernethy - NBC News

- - -

*This is a rush transcript provided
for the information and convenience
of the press. Accuracy is not
guaranteed. In case of doubt,
please check with*

MEET THE PRESS - NBC NEWS
(202) 885-4598
(Sundays: (202) 885-4200)

MR. BROKAW: Good afternoon, everyone. This is "Meet the Press." I'm Tom Brokaw from Helsinki, Finland, where we are today gathered with General Brent Scowcroft, who is President Bush's national security affairs adviser. The president of the United States and the president of the Soviet Union have now spent about 9 hours together today, two hours of meeting in the morning, then a lunch, and then a long session this afternoon followed by a news conference. And there seem to be some differences of opinion about what they have agreed upon. Let's put the questions first of all to General Brent Scowcroft.

General Scowcroft, would the Soviet Union support the idea of having some kind of military action against Iraq if Saddam Hussein continues to resist the idea of pulling his troops out of Kuwait?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think what the joint statement said--and I consider as a very historic document--was that nothing short of complete acceptance, implementation of the Security Council resolutions, is acceptable, and if the steps taken so far do not do the job, then further steps will be considered.

MR. BROKAW: But in a direct question on that very point to Mikhail Gorbachev, he would not in fact repeat what the joint statement seemed to be saying. He in fact emphasized I did not say if Iraq doesn't withdraw, there will be military action.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, and he did not say that in the press conference, and that was what was asked of him. But he did agree that further actions would be considered. And I think, you know, one would have to say that what those options would be is at this point a hypothetical question because he has, I believe, expressed considerable confidence that with the solidarity of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the Security Council that the sanctions would do the job.

MR. BROKAW: General Scowcroft, let me give you a scenario from Saddam Hussein's point of view. He has listened to all of this now; he knows that there is going to be continued emphasis on military--pardon me, on political and economic sanctions against him. What's to keep him from just waiting you all out, sitting there for nine months or maybe even 10 months, putting his country on a subsistence diet, keeping his troops in Kuwait, knowing that there will be no military action.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: He doesn't know that there will be no military action against him. But I think the principal thing Saddam Hussein needs to see is the solidarity between the United States and the Soviet Union, which after all has been an ally of Iraq for years. As soon as this meeting was announced, he sent his foreign minister to Moscow to talk to them. He's obviously worried. And the expression of the Soviet Union that nothing short of the complete acceptance and implementation of the Security Council resolutions has got to be terrible news to Saddam Hussein.

MR. BROKAW: Our guest on "Meet the Press" is General Brent Scowcroft, who's the president's national security affairs adviser. I'm joined by White House correspondent, John Dancy, who is with us--pardon me, with John Cochran who is with us today, and State Department correspondent, John Dancy.

John Cochran, if we can ask you to pick up questions. You had three to the president inside, so you begin with one here.

MR. COCHRAN: It's bad form to ask more than two. So I'm probably in trouble with the White House.

General Scowcroft, let's talk about the additional pressure on Saddam Hussein. Jim Baker, the secretary of state, said as he was leaving the hall with the president where the two presidents had their press conference that really you were talking about economic measures here, stepping up of economic measures. What else can you step up? If you've already got what's supposed to be a total embargo, what can you do, cut off air traffic?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: First of all, I think it's premature to talk about additional steps. The whole strategy has only been in place for a week or so. One can't expect sanctions to take effect that soon. Let's wait and see what happens to the strategy that the Security Council has agreed upon before we start saying what do we do next.

MR. COCHRAN: Let me ask you about the fact that Mikhail Gorbachev is not volunteering to send Soviet troops down there. I get mixed signals within this administration. Apparently some people would like for Gorbachev to send at least a token force down there, but there are others within the administration, within the White House, who say the worst thing that could happen is to have Soviet troops on the ground in Saudi Arabia. What is the U.S. position?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: The U.S. position is that it is up to the Saudis to request them, if the Saudis feel they are useful, and we would welcome them if they were requested and provided.

MR. COCHRAN: You really would welcome them?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: But we're relaxed about it.

MR. COCHRAN: You think American troops and Soviet troops could work together on the ground, harmoniously share intelligence together--the Soviets become a major player in the Mideast because they would have troops on the ground?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, I think that's a major leap to see what kinds of cooperation would be necessary, where they would come in and how close they would be and so on. But I think the answer is yes.

MR. COCHRAN: It wouldn't bother you.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No.

MR. BROKAW: John Dancy.

MR. DANCY: General, that's a major departure from U.S. policy. For the past 40 years, we have tried to keep Soviets out of the Middle East, especially with troops of any kind. Why are you doing that?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, I think, you know, that President Gorbachev, when he revealed the secret that he talked about--and President Bush had said, you know, it was a hallmark of American policy for many years to say that the Soviet Union had no role in the Middle East and we worked to keep them out of the Middle East. I think the difference is both not only the change in the character of U.S.-Soviet relations, the change of Soviet policy, but the strong indications that they're

playing a very responsible role in this crisis, a responsible role really against their traditions and against their alliance with Iraq. That's very important.

MR. DANCY: You have moved very carefully throughout this crisis to move in lockstep with the Soviet Union. Would the United States take unilateral military action in the Middle East without the acquiescence of the Soviet Union?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: That's a very hypothetical question. I think there are some circumstances under which the answer would have to be yes. But it's a very hypothetical.

MR. DANCY: What are the circumstances?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Some major provocation to which the United States would only answer--but I don't want to get into details.

MR. DANCY: Like some move against the American civilians there?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I don't want to get into what would a particular cause be.

MR. BROKAW: General Scowcroft, Newsweek is reporting that the United States is about to unfreeze some \$400 million in Iranian assets. Iran could be a key player obviously in all of this. Tareq Aziz, the Iraq foreign minister, is there this week. Are you prepared to do that?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: There have been discussions going on for months about the Iranian assets. A very high percentage of them have already been resolved, the issues.

MR. BROKAW: But have we been sending strong signals to Iran to step back from this one, don't get yourself in a corner with Saddam Hussein of Iraq?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: We have been at least in indirect communication with Iran.

MR. BROKAW: General Scowcroft, what about the restoration of what we call the rightful government of Kuwait? We heard earlier today from Lee Hamilton and from Senator Biden that they would not endorse the idea of putting back in power what is effectively a feudal monarchy. Is that negotiable?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, no, that is not negotiable. We cannot let Saddam Hussein profit from his aggression. The leadership of Kuwait is a matter for the Kuwaiti people to decide, separate and distinct from this particular action. And we think that it is not negotiable, that one lets him profit by deciding that a particular neighboring government is or is not acceptable to him.

MR. BROKAW: But would we put them back in power with a kind of asterisk saying that there must be elections within a year's time?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, I think that is something for the Kuwaiti rulers to negotiate with the Kuwaiti people, and negotiations between Iraq and Kuwait I presume could resume on the issues between them.

MR. COCHRAN: Could you tell me, sir, why headline writers for the Monday newspapers should write: something new happened at Helsinki?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think they should not necessarily write something new--something historic happened, and that is a solidifying of U.S.-Soviet position, determined position, on the implementation of the U.N. resolutions.

MR. COCHRAN: It seemed to me that possible something new happened in the wording of this possible humanitarian relief for the Iraqis. You talk about if the U.N.--which committee is it?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: The sanctions committee.

MR. COCHRAN: The sanctions committee--if it should determine that in fact food and medicine were needed, apparently the United States would go along with it. That hadn't been clear before. Was that something that Gorbachev got President Bush to agree to?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, not at all. As a matter of fact, I think it was a very useful thing to do because there had been a lot of discussion that food was in fact exempt, and what the joint statement says, that the sanctions committee will decide under what conditions humanitarian food is important, and then provide organization to see that the people for whom it is designed get it.

MR. COCHRAN: All right, now, sir, you've known George Bush a long, long time. Those who know him well say George Bush never had any intention of letting the Iraqi people, children, go without food and medicine, creating an Ethiopian type starvation situation. Was that always true, and you just didn't want to say it before?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, yes, I think that's true; I don't think there's any question that President Bush did not want Iraqi children to starve. But now what the statement says, we have a procedure to make any food shipments, humanitarian in nature, that is, to deal with starving children and to be delivered and supervised by an international organization, not simply shipped in willy-nilly to the Iraqi government.

MR. DANCY: General, let me ask you about the joint statement that you issued at the end of the conference. It says, among other things, that the presidents direct their foreign ministers to work with countries in the region and outside it to develop regional security structures and measures to promote peace and stability. Let me get you straight: the Soviets have now signed on to the idea of a regional security structure which the United States has been promoting, is that correct?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Yes.

MR. DANCY: What form would that take? Do you have an idea yet? How do you get to that?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: We didn't discuss it in great detail, but I think by the nature of the discussions, President Gorbachev would like the emphasis to be put on inter-Arab security structure.

MR. DANCY: On Secretary Baker's trip just this past week to the Middle East, most of us who

were along on the trip got the impression that the Arabs were very cool to this idea, that they all wanted to study it a great deal further, but the United States was a lot further on this than the Arab countries were.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I don't believe we are out further on it. What we're saying is, let's suppose that the sanctions work, let's suppose that Saddam Hussein withdraws. You still have a security problem in the area, and that has to be dealt with, whether it's by a U.N. peacekeeping force, by an Arab peacekeeping force, or something to ensure stability in the region.

MR. DANCY: Does this mean the presence of U.S. troops on a more or less permanent basis in the Middle East?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Not necessarily.

MR. BROKAW: Well, that seems to me to be another one of the questions that was left unresolved here today. The president was saying that the American troops would come home as soon as Saddam Hussein meets all of the conditions. If he meets all the conditions and pulls back to Baghdad and we pull out of the Persian Gulf, what's to keep him six months later from doing the same thing all over again?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: That gets back to John's question. I think the answer to that--he didn't say we would pull out as soon as Saddam Hussein withdrew, but he wouldn't keep them there a day longer than necessary. I think what we have to see is the implementation of a security system in the Gulf which will guard against a simple renewal of that conflict.

MR. BROKAW: But do we all allow Saddam Hussein to continue to have chemical warfare capacity and, as most Western intelligence agencies believe, the development of some kind of nuclear capability and the maintenance of a million-man army?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think we certainly don't like any of those things, especially in view of his recent actions. But I'm not sure that we need to solve all the problems relating to Iraq when we solve the immediate one, which is the aggression against Kuwait.

MR. BROKAW: But the bottom line here is that the United States is willing to have Saddam Hussein survive politically, militarily, and physically?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: We will deal with the remaining problems about Iraq and Iraqi propensities and capabilities afterward. But the presence goal is, yes, to get Iraqi troops out of Kuwait, the legitimate government restored, hostages released and a secure situation in the Gulf.

MR. COCHRAN: Let's talk about what Mikhail Gorbachev got out of this Helsinki summit. Immediately after the two presidents held their press conference, a senior Soviet official was telling some of us reporters that very specific business deals were talked about--or I should say business projects were talked about that you got into, deals to boost the Soviet economy, apparently private investment. I'm not sure what he was talking about. Do you know?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, there was a discussion of the Soviet economy, of what might

be done to assist the Soviet economy, and there were a couple of sample projects that President Gorbachev raised as indication of the kind of things that would happen. It was a useful discussion; it was not specific in terms of the United States signing on to a project.

MR. COCHRAN: I got the impression that Gorbachev didn't want anyone to think that he was being mercenary, that he hadn't come here to Helsinki to ask George Bush for help. He's a very proud man, he leads a very proud nation. However, President Bush said he is now more disposed towards helping Gorbachev because of his cooperation in the U.N. So it seems to me that there in fact is linkage.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, no linkage--none at all. As a matter of fact, it was President Bush who raised the question about the economic situation in the Soviet Union and asked President Gorbachev to talk about it. I think that the disposition to help that President Bush said is an acknowledgement of further change, further sense of confidence that President Bush has in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. That's not quid pro quo.

MR. COCHRAN: And possibly less confidence in Gorbachev's handling of his own economy? It's getting worse.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, I don't think so.

MR. COCHRAN: No?

MR. DANCY: General, did you get into anything else besides the Middle East? Did you get a chance to talk about the conventional forces talks, for example?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: There was no discussion of arms control in detail other than both agreed that it was still possible to complete a CFE treaty and a START treaty before the end of the year, and that the foreign ministers would be given new charges to try to do that.

MR. DANCY: New instructions to try to complete the CFE agreement?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Yes.

MR. DANCY: Can you tell us--

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: But not specific--not specific instructions, just to redouble their efforts so that--

MR. DANCY: Just simply to get going.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: --it could be done by the end of the year.

MR. DANCY: I see.

MR. BROKAW: Do a kind of checklist for us, if you can. Is the president willing to accept the idea that the Soviet military advisers stay in Iraq? We've had lots of artful explanations, including

the latest one today from Mikhail Gorbachev. The president buys into that?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: The president would prefer that they not be there. I don't think it makes a tremendous amount of difference, and President Gorbachev did say he's reducing them, and, as he could, he would eliminate them. It is something we prefer to have out.

MR. BROKAW: And has Gorbachev gotten any indication, or do you have any indication, that Saddam Hussein, despite his public bluster, is having second thoughts about what he's done?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: It's my impression--and it's only an impression--that he is getting increasingly worried, and that he is casting about for a way out of the increasingly tight box that he's in. And I think that the joint statement today tightens that box considerably.

MR. BROKAW: And when is the next meeting between President Gorbachev and President Bush?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: It is not scheduled at the present time.

MR. BROKAW: October 3rd in West Germany?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: October 3rd--there's no agreement on that. But both presidents have scheduling problems there, and it's not clear whether that will take place or not.

MR. BROKAW: General Brent Scowcroft, thank you very much for being with us today, the president national security affairs adviser, here with NBC White House correspondent, John Cochran, and the other John from the State Department, John Dancy, who's our chief diplomatic correspondent. We thank you very much for being with us.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Thank you, Tom.

MR. BROKAW: We will be back with more on "Meet the Press" in a moment.

(Announcements)

MR. BROKAW: We're back here on "Meet the Press," now joined by NBC's Moscow correspondent, Bob Abernethy, who is here with John Cochran and John Dancy, and in Washington D.C. our Pentagon correspondent Fred Francis, as we're trying to sort out just exactly what has happened here today in this meeting between the two presidents.

We were just talking about the joint statement which does show a lot of unity and it leaves open the possibility of military action.

Then in the news conference, Gorbachev does everything that he can to absolutely discount the idea there will be any military activity.

MR. ABERNETHY: Again and again and again he stressed that what they had talked about was a political solution. And this is what he has always been emphasizing. It seemed to me that the tone of the statement was far more open, as you indicate, to the possibility of some kind of military action than Gorbachev was willing to be in the press conference itself.

There was also something I think that was more implied and interesting than it was spelled out, and that was about economic aid. You and General Scowcroft were just talking about this, John.

But after it was over, one of the Soviets told us that they had discussed what he called big joint projects. And he said it in an enthusiastic way that was far more promising, I think, than the way General Scowcroft just decided it.

It was also something that Gorbachev got that was very important, and that was President Bush's acknowledgement that the Soviets do have a role in the Middle East.

MR. BROKAW: Fred Francis at the Pentagon, what was your reading of the--it seems to us that, based on this news conference alone, the chances of some kind of military action against Saddam Hussein, short of Saddam Hussein going in and rounding up all the hostages and lining them up before a firing squad, that that possibility is very remote now.

MR. FRANCIS: I disagree, Tom. The two leaders are very far apart on that. George Bush wants the option.

But looking at it from Gorbachev's point of view, Saddam Hussein is a very big customer, not just for military hardware, but big customers in all kinds of economic plants and factories. The last thing that Gorbachev wants is a military solution to this. Not only does he lose all of that on the economic side with Iraq, but he also loses a lot of prestige with Iraq's flying Soviet jets and Soviet tanks.

So it's not a good--military is not a good outcome for Mikhail Gorbachev, and I think he expressed that today. But I saw a very hard George Bush saying that's my option. And what they're saying here at the Pentagon and across the river is that they don't want those boys staying there, you know, what would--probably 200,000 Tom, by the end of October--for a long, long time, without a real resolution of this.

MR. BROKAW: That's right, Fred. And the conditions are very tough for the people on the ground there. And there still is some question about how effective these political and economic sanctions have been against Iraq, especially now that they're going to let food in on a humanitarian basis.

I wonder what the Pentagon planners think about what they've gotten themselves into.

MR. FRANCIS: Well, this week, there were--maybe Brent Scowcroft has not been reading some of the intelligence reports. But I am told quite flatly that there is big leakage already. You and I discussed smuggling. And smuggling is going to start fresh across that Iranian border.

The Iranians are going to play this for all it's worth. They won't help Iraq out militarily, but if they can make a lot of money with Iraq selling them food, I think they'll do that. And how do they get paid? There's a great possibility that the Iraqis will ship Iran oil to pay for the food coming in.

That's a worry to the intelligence community, and they're watching that very closely.

MR. BROKAW: Bob Abernethy.

MR. ABERNETHY: Just wanted to add, Gorbachev did leave open some little hint of the possibility of supporting military action in what he said when he said if Iraq provoked military action it would be a tragedy for Iraq, for the region and for the whole world.

I don't know how you read that. But it sounds to me as if it was not a total repudiation of the

idea.

MR. ABERNETHY: As Brent Scowcroft said, though, the United States would not move militarily without the acquiescence of the Soviet Union and the conditions under which it would move would be that there be some provocation.

Gorbachev left the door open for that kind of action.

MR. BROKAW: All right, it seems clear that the scenario is, worked out between Gorbachev and the president of the United States in compliance with the Western allies and Japan, that we're going to just continue the squeeze, politically and economically. How long--let's go around the Horn here--do you think we can do that and keep Arab unity and keep the enthusiastic support of the American people? John Dancy.

MR. DANCY: Probably about until Christmas.

MR. ABERNETHY: I'd say longer, six to nine months.

MR. DANCY: I don't know what the answer to the question is, but I'm quite sure that what it will take to do it is a far longer time than either one of you have mentioned.

MR. BROKAW: That's what I think as well. There's no indication that Saddam Hussein is about ready to roll over and give up. Fred Francis, what's your judgement of the Pentagon?

MR. FRANCIS: They're going to get awful antsy around Thanksgiving when the sanctions start leaking. It's going to be a real problem.

MR. BROKAW: Problem for the United States.

MR. FRANCIS: Sure is. 200,000 troops in the desert, food going into Iraq, looking at Christmas 1991, that's the date they're talking around here. It's a long time to keep the boys in the desert.

MR. ABERNETHY: And possibly support from the American people and from the allies starting to dribble away.

MR. BROKAW: Well, it maybe a new world, but the old problems are still very hard to solve. And those old problems are settled this night in the middle of the Middle East.

That's "Meet the Press" for this Sunday from Helsinki, Finland, at the conclusion of the meeting between President George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev. For Bob Abernethy, John Cochran, John Dancy, and Fred Francis, I'm Tom Brokaw, good afternoon.

■ THE IRAQ CRISIS

'EVEN SADDAM HUSSEIN CAN LEARN LESSONS'**A talk with National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft**

During the long days of the Persian Gulf Crisis, no aide has been closer to President Bush than National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft. The 65-year-old retired Air Force general, who served President Ford in a similar capacity, has rarely been far from Bush, whether fishing or teeing off on the golf course. Taking a short break in his makeshift office at a Kennebunkport (Me.) inn on Aug. 26, Scowcroft spoke with BUSINESS WEEK White House Correspondent Douglas Harbrecht about the Administration's strategy for facing down Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein.

Q The American public seems to think that when the President talks about our way of life being threatened by Saddam Hussein, he's saying he'll put American troops into combat to keep oil prices down. Are our policy goals in this crisis sustainable?

A It's not simply to keep oil prices at a particular level. That is a gross distortion. We have two objectives. The first is to show that naked aggression, posing a threat not only to Kuwait but to all the other countries in the gulf, won't be tolerated. And we intend to prevent Iraq, either by physical control or by threats, from controlling the oil of the Middle East, with the

consequent influence on the world economy.

Q Can you foresee any scenario where there isn't going to be a major U.S. troop presence in the Middle East for years to come?

A Yes, if there is an [Iraqi] withdrawal. The fact that there has been this demonstration, not only by the U.S. but by the world community, of quick reaction to aggression means that expectations and attitudes throughout the region will change. It won't necessarily mean that peace and non-aggression have to be maintained by military force.

Q So Saddam must go?

A Not necessarily. Even Saddam Hussein can learn lessons. And if he becomes convinced that aggressive behavior will not be tolerated, then it may not be necessary to keep massive forces in the region. After all, we have had a naval squadron in the Persian Gulf for years and years. There is likely to be a presence, but it doesn't have to be massive.

Q The U.S. seems to be taking on a new role as global cop in the post-cold-war era. Can we afford it?

A There's no question the U.S. as a su-

LESSONS...CONTINUED

perpower has a certain leadership role to play. But I want to underscore the role of the world community. Hopefully, if there needs to be a world policeman, the U.N. Security Council can do the job. And if it can act decisively in cases of aggression, then the would-be aggressors may be deterred. There won't be the need to repeat the massive threat of force that we have in this circumstance.

Q Does the vote to give the embargo teeth foreshadow a new, stronger role for the U.N.? Or is this just a rare case where everyone's interest coincided?

A We may be seeing the emergence of a new world order. In 1945-46, the U.N. Security Council was given [broad] powers to enforce the rule of international law. It didn't work out because of the cold war. Now, we are seeing the kind of cooperation and action that was envisioned by the U.N. charter.

Q To make the blockade more effective, will we intercept airlifts to Iraq?

A Voluntary compliance with the sanctions has been very, very good. And an occasional aircraft flight in or out isn't going to make a big difference.

Q Even from Libya?

A Even from Libya. What we are doing is interdicting the basic commerce in and out of Iraq. We are talking about enormous quantities here, both of exports and imports. And if there is an occasional flight or overland delivery here, it's not going to make a big difference.

Q Have we asked the Soviets for active intervention in the gulf?

A We haven't asked. They have made some suggestions, and they have a naval presence. We welcome their participation.

Q How will this crisis redefine our relationships with our allies?

A I think it helps solidify the alliances. What we have here is close cooperation with all of [the Allies] in areas outside the perimeters of our major alliance systems—that is, NATO and the Japanese security system in the Far East. What we're seeing is everybody making the kind of contribution that they can best make. With the Germans and the Japanese, there are constitutional problems with using their military forces. Therefore, their contributions are of another kind. But there's plenty of need, and everybody can contribute.

FISHING IN TROUBLED WATER

The President thinks time is on his side

George Bush yelped when son Jeb accidentally embedded a fishhook in the President's right earlobe while casting off the coast of Kennebunkport last week. A White House doctor quickly removed the barb and advised an immediate tetanus shot. But the President soldiered on, trolling for another hour in his speedboat before agreeing to medical treatment. He was rewarded with three bluefish.

Bush's friends and advisers see a lesson in that story. Anyone who thinks that he lacks the perseverance for a prolonged struggle in the Persian Gulf, they say, does not know George Bush. In fact, his decision to try diplomacy and economic sanctions, rather than a quick military strike, to force Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait reflects a familiar pattern in Bush's life. He is a man of disciplined persistence rather than bold strokes, stubborn to a fault. He is also a man, his closest aides say, showing signs of strain from a much-needed August vacation that was disrupted by

the Gulf crisis. "He has been unable to recharge his batteries," says one aide, describing the President's mood as increasingly "grumpy."

Bush has been heartened by public support for his careful approach. He even sees signs that a new, post-Vietnam "maturity" is emerging in America, a growing recognition that the U.S. must take risks to stop aggression. But he is plainly worried about the cost. The President was relieved at Budget Director Richard Darman's private estimate last week that the military intervention will cost substantially less than expected. The budget director said the U.S. expeditionary force will run about

\$3 billion every six months — and less if the Saudis, Kuwaitis and others help foot the bill as expected.

Still, some senior officials are uncomfortable with the administration's stated willingness to settle for restoring the status quo before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait without crippling Hussein's nuclear and chemical-weapons capability. The hawks include Vice President Dan Quayle, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, Under Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz and Deputy National Security Adviser Robert Gates. But the President counsels patience, saying Hussein could well lose power in a coup as the economic vise tightens — without the loss of American lives.

Bush, so often derided for his lack of vision, also has bigger things in mind. During another trolling expedition, this one with National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, he ruminated about a "new world order" that might emerge from the crisis. In it, the U.S. would forge new alliances with Arab states and work with other "civilized nations" to contain the world's brigands through the United Nations. Bush concluded that an immediate attack on Iraq would dash that dream. By the end of the morning, he also had landed three 14-pound bluefish. Perseverance paid off, at least in the Gulf of Maine.

BY KENNETH T. WALSH

But Soviets bar force if U.N. sanctions fail

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HELSINKI, Finland — President Bush delivered on his promise of superpower unity against Iraq yesterday but failed in a one-day summit with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to get full Kremlin backing for U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf.

As part of their show of unity, the superpower leaders agreed to make exceptions to the United Nations' embargo on Iraq by allowing "humanitarian" shipments of food and medicine into Iraq and Kuwait.

The two leaders stated any such imports "must be strictly monitored" to ensure they are humanitarian, "with special priority being given to meeting the needs of children." Mr. Bush said he was satisfied it would not create a "big, big hole in the embargo."

In their third summit in less than a year, the leaders joined to condemn Iraq's Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait. They promised to work toward a peaceful and diplomatic resolution of the crisis that has drawn a massive U.S. military buildup to protect Saudi Arabia.

"Our preference is to resolve the [Persian Gulf] crisis peacefully, and we will be united against Iraq's aggression as long as the crisis exists," they declared in a joint statement.

The Soviet leader rejected the use of military force if U.N. sanctions fail, and said he had no plans to commit Soviet troops to the multinational force in the region.

Mr. Bush pledged to provide unspecified economic aid to the Soviet Union.

After meeting at Finland's presidential palace for more than six hours, the two world leaders used diplomatic language and superpower unity to illustrate Iraq's isolation.

"We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their smaller neighbors..." the joint statement said.

In the statement — which contrasted to the bickering during Cold War years — the superpower leaders agreed they would consider further U.N. actions against Iraq if the embargo — one of five U.N. sanctions — does not work.

At a briefing after the summit, Secretary of State James A. Baker III suggested the new sanctions include a naval and air blockade of Iraq — an expansion of the U.S. Navy "interdiction" of ships with goods bound for Iraq.

Despite that general unity, Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev remained divided on U.S. calls for withdrawal of the remaining 150 Soviet military advisers from Iraq, Moscow's wish to use the Persian Gulf crisis to engineer a Middle East peace settlement, and Washington's desire for carte blanche endorsement of U.S. military initiatives should the U.N. embargo fail.

Mr. Gorbachev said during a one-hour news conference at Finlandia Hall that 46 of 196 Soviet military advisers have been withdrawn and those still there plan to leave when contracts with Iraq are completed. The State Department says the Soviets have 5,000 advisers in Iraq, with 1,000 involved in military work.

Mr. Bush did not press the Soviets on the issue, but told reporters, "I'd like to see them all out of there."

On linking Iraq with greater Middle East peace talks, Mr. Bush said, "any effort to link them is an effort to dilute the [U.N.] resolutions" against Iraq. But Mr. Gorbachev said, "... there is a link here because the failure to find a solution in the Middle East at large also has a bearing on the acuteness of the particular conflict we've been talking about here."

On keeping the military option alive, Mr. Bush admitted, "We may have a difference on that." Mr. Gorbachev rejected military force, calling instead for a diplomatic settlement, noting that his government has had constant contact with Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein.

But Mr. Gorbachev, appearing cheerful and friendly with Mr. Bush, said the world would not accept any further military aggression by Iraq.

"We are attempting... to make it quite clear to Saddam Hussein that if Iraq were to provoke military action, then the result would be a tragedy first and foremost for the Iraqi people themselves, for the whole of the region and for the whole of the world," Mr. Gorbachev said.

Brent Scowcroft, Mr. Bush's national security adviser, said yesterday on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press" that there are some circumstances under which the United States would take unilateral military action against Iraq. He did not elaborate.

And the possibility of U.S. and Soviet forces fighting side by side and sharing intelligence in Saudi Arabia does not daunt U.S. policy-makers. Mr. Scowcroft said.

"The U.S. position is that it is up to Saudi Arabia to request [the Soviet ground forces] if the Saudis feel they're useful. And we would welcome them if they were requested and provided," he said, adding that he believes U.S. and Soviet forces could work well together.

Mr. Bush said yesterday, "I did not ask him [Mr. Gorbachev] to send troops in."

The two leaders returned home after the summit, and Mr. Baker continued on a weeklong effort to win allied funding for the U.S. military buildup in the Gulf. Mr. Bush did not seek any money or military support from the Soviets.

While both sides left the meetings essentially where they began on the Gulf situation, the summit dramatically showed that the former arch-enemies can work together peacefully to solve world issues — a situation that did not exist a year ago.

CONTINUED

The Washington Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Washington Times A1 _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The Christian Science Monitor _____
New York Daily News _____
USA Today _____
The Chicago Tribune _____

Date 10 Sept 1990

"We began our conversation today together by reviewing the situation and realizing that the whole of world society and our two great states are undergoing a trial," said Mr. Gorbachev. "This is a test of the durability of the new approach to resolving world problems."

"I feel we're moving on the right track," said Mr. Bush, who joined in Mr. Gorbachev's declaration that the two have generated a warm relationship based on the previous summits in Malta and Washington.

Despite the differences, the superpower leaders stressed unity. Mr. Baker said the harshly worded joint statement was not a weak message from the superpowers, and would not give "any joy" to Mr. Hussein.

On Saturday, Mr. Hussein's spokesman gave a televised speech aimed at dividing the superpowers on the Gulf crisis. But Mr. Bush said the Iraqi leader "is not going to divide us and divide other countries. ..."

Mr. Bush said yesterday, "Neither of us try to indicate that we look at exactly every problem exactly the same way."

Mr. Bush called the summit nine days ago to send a message of superpower unity to Mr. Hussein, a Soviet ally.

On that note, Mr. Bush was successful. "We must demonstrate beyond any doubt that aggression cannot and will not pay," said the two-page joint statement.

Mr. Bush also won assurances from Mr. Gorbachev that he would continue to use his influence to try to convince Mr. Hussein to leave Kuwait. "We are trying to make sure that our arguments are convincing," the Kremlin leader said.

The Soviets came away with victories too, namely Mr. Bush's pledge of U.S. aid to the struggling Soviet economy and the president's promise that all U.S. troops will be withdrawn once Iraqi troops return to Iraq and "we are satisfied that the security needs of the area have been met."

The Soviets entered the meeting worried that the United States would keep troops behind in the Gulf and Saudi Arabia after the conflict is resolved.

Mr. Bush, meanwhile, made his most direct pledge of economic aid to the Soviet Union to date: "I am very much interested in assisting to be sure that perestroika [internal Soviet reform] is successful. ... It

seems to me that we should be as forthcoming as we possibly can in terms of economics, and I plan to do that," Mr. Bush said.

Last week, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater indicated that the Bush administration was considering aid to the Soviets.

Mr. Bush indicated he was not considering a cash donation, but rather other economic aid and technical help. "We are not in the position, operating at enormous deficits, to write out large checks," he said before returning to Andrews Air Force Base, site of the ongoing budget negotiations.

Mr. Bush said there had been a "good, long discussion" on Soviet requests for economic assistance, and that he would address the topic when he makes a nationally televised speech to Congress tomorrow night.

Mr. Gorbachev, apparently concerned about the image of accepting U.S. aid, warned: "It would be very oversimplified and very superficial to judge that the Soviet Union could be bought for dollars."

The two also renewed a pledge to sign a strategic arms treaty this year and suggested that they would hold one or two more summits before the end of the year.

• Warren Strobel in Helsinki and Carleton R. Bryant in Washington contributed to this report.

GEORGE BUSH AS CRISIS MANAGER

Executives, take note. The President's initial response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait provides a textbook demonstration of what to do when the going gets tough.

■ *by Ann Reilly Dowd*
REPORTER ASSOCIATE *Jennifer Reese*

REACT SWIFTLY. Be decisive. Take charge, then don't be afraid to delegate. Set a clear strategy and stick to it. Communicate, communicate, communicate.

Those are the kinds of guidelines consultants lay down when they advise corporate executives on how to handle a crisis. And they define the way George Bush has responded to one of the toughest management challenges in recent times. As the confrontation with Iraq moves into what may be a prolonged second act, the President could yet make mistakes. But his performance to date has been, in the words of former Defense Secretary and CIA director James Schlesinger, "splendid."

Sure, Bush has been lucky. The end of the Cold War gave him maneuvering room to orchestrate an unprecedented international response to Iraqi aggression. Saddam Hussein made that task easier by first attacking another Arab state and then calling for popular uprisings in the region, actions likely to send some nervous Arab leaders running into the American tent. But like any skillful manager, Bush has made the most of his breaks.

Experience helps. After three decades as an oilman, U.N. Ambassador, CIA director, and Vice President, Bush has a more sophisticated grasp of the Middle East—and closer ties to its leaders—than any previous U.S. President. Says David Sadd, an Arab-American investment banker who met with Bush six days after the invasion: "He was even aware of a border dispute between Saudi Arabia and Yemen that was giving the Saudis pause about moving troops from the Yemen border to the Kuwaiti border. And he had already spoken to Yemen's President Saleh about it. He's very well versed."

In this crisis, as in so many others, the response during the first 24 hours was crucial. Says former U.S. diplomat Robert Hormats,

now vice chairman of Goldman Sachs International: "The fact that Bush moved so quickly to freeze Iraqi and Kuwaiti assets, block trade, and rally the West to immediately do the same was the key to foiling the great bank robbery of 1990."

Through the early days, Bush focused his prodigious energy—another useful quality in a crunch—on rallying support among foreign leaders for his decisions. At the height of the crisis, he was averaging a telephone call an hour, often rising very early in the morning to straddle time zones. "I'm going to have a very big phone bill," he joked to reporters.

During this initial round of high-level salesmanship, the President targeted his message to his audience. With Arab leaders he played on legitimate fears that Saddam could not be trusted, sharing U.S. satellite intelligence data showing a threatening buildup of Iraqi forces along the Saudi border. He also offered U.S. military support. In a gesture aimed at reassuring King Fahd, he used a national security loophole to waive the Metzenbaum amendment, legislation that normally limits U.S. deliveries of jets to the Saudis.

With European leaders and Japan's Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, Bush focused on the devastating economic costs of an Iraqi invasion of Saudi Arabia. To reassure Turkish President Ozal, whose country is in the front line, he sent Secretary of State James Baker to Ankara with promises of U.S. military backing. The common goal in all these contacts was to swiftly weave the tightest possible net around Iraq.

Confident of the ability and loyalty of his top lieutenants, Bush also delegated effectively. When the crisis broke, Jim Baker, who was already with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Siberia, helped persuade his counterpart to cut off arms

sales to the Soviets' longtime client and then flew to Moscow to issue a historic joint condemnation of Iraq's aggression. Later, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Solomon broke away for a less public visit to Beijing, where he helped get the Chinese, key members of the Security Council, to back a U.N. embargo. Other aides flew to Riyadh, Alexandria, Rabat, and Damascus to build support for sending U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia. Throughout, Bush kept in close touch by phone.

AT FIRST Bush focused on diplomatic and economic sanctions. But two days after the invasion, with reports that Saddam had rounded up American oil workers and was massing troops along the Saudi border, the former Navy pilot gathered his advisers and gave them 24 hours to come up with military options. The next day at Camp David, after further consultation, he made the crucial decision to commit American troops to the Middle East.

According to aides, Bush didn't agonize once the necessity for this tough call became apparent. Says one: "It's his style to ask lots of questions and work his way through complicated issues. On this one, he was very calm, measured. There was no hand-wringing."

Once he decided to send troops, however, Bush recognized the need to lay out his goals and rally the American public. On Tuesday, August 7, having received a formal invitation from the Saudis to send help, Bush told his aides to start working on a speech. That night, Middle East expert Richard Haass and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft discussed a draft with Bush in the White House residence. The President made some suggestions, and Haass and Scowcroft stayed in the West

Wing to refine the piece until around 2:30 A.M. The next morning Bush fiddled with the prose until minutes before his performance at 9 A.M. Afterward, aides applauded. Then the President went off to more meetings, phone calls, a press conference, and—well, why not?—some tennis.

Maintaining what reporters have dubbed the "aerobic presidency," despite the threat of war, is how this hyperactive 66-year-old copes with the stress of long, demanding days. Confident that no one can question who's running the show, Bush makes no apologies for his occasional breaks. "I am determined that life goes on," he told reporters. So when Saddam issued his call for a "holy war," Bush responded by doffing his tie and hitting the links—as well as the waves, tennis courts, and jogging paths—of Kenne-

bunkport, Maine.

Throughout the crisis the President has so far managed to maintain balance and perspective—no easy feat. The morning after Saddam's troops swept south into Kuwait City, Bush squeezed in a congratulatory call to the parents of Timothy Swanson, a just-released Peace Corps worker who had been held captive in the Philippines. Later he visited Republican National Committee Chairman Lee Atwater, who is still fighting a brain tumor, and wrote an apology to a reporter whom he felt he had mistreated at a press briefing.

While he concentrates on countering Saddam, Bush has also been moving to defuse a related crisis—the threat of recession. Says a top White

house adviser: "Even before we presented any formal analysis, Bush grasped the implications for the budget, monetary policy, and energy policy. He knew the Iraqi invasion would slow growth and complicate policymaking."

The Bush team's biggest worry is that rising inflation, brought on by higher oil prices, will give Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan an even stronger reason not to lower interest rates. Soon after the invasion, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and chief economist Michael Boskin visited the Fed chief to convey, in great detail and no uncertain terms, their desire for easier money. Meanwhile, to get a budget deal the President has recently launched a vocal attack on congressional Democrats in hopes of pushing them back to the negotiating table. Nothing would give Bush a freer hand in dealing with his longstanding problems back home than a swift and successful end to the dangerous showdown he faces in the Persian Gulf. **F**

WASHINGTON POST

August 28, 1990

Pg. 8

Concern Grows in Jordan About Backing Saddam

By Nora Boustany
Washington Post Foreign Service

AMMAN, Jordan, Aug. 27—King Hussein's new push for a diplomatic solution to the Persian Gulf crisis reflects growing misgivings here about Amman's association with Baghdad, according to several prominent Jordanians.

The king is touring Arab capitals this week seeking consensus on a formula for an Iraqi pull-out from Kuwait and a Jordanian politician said he "will try to persuade Saddam to give a signal for withdrawal" from Kuwait with Arab backing. Jordan also will host a meeting set for Thursday between U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz.

The masses in this largely Palestinian country still appear to support Saddam. But increased domestic pressure on Hussein to distance Jordan from Iraq is coming from a small but influential minority of this country's elite, which has begun to speak out openly against what they say are mistakes and pitfalls Hussein should have avoided.

"I would have condemned the invasion and Iraq from day one," a Jordanian senator said. He said the king tried to call Saddam at 6 a.m. on the day of the invasion, hoping to reason with him, upon being alerted by Saudi Arabia's King

Fahd of the Iraqi thrust into Kuwait.

"Saddam did not come to the phone. His majesty called again at 9. He still could not speak with the Iraqi president. They did not hear until 1 in the afternoon and by then it was all over," the senator said. "I don't see how such an infringement was going to be employed to cater to Arab needs."

One businessman here said, however, that he doubted that "any Arab army or leader would have blocked Saddam's advance."

"This was a one-way street and, as far as I am concerned, the occupation of a country is not subject to negotiation. I do sympathize with Iraq's need to reach out to gulf waters, but this should have been achieved differently," he added.

"Saddam should have consulted his Arab allies, particularly Hussein," agreed one disgruntled politician here.

Despite his melancholy defense of Saddam as an Arab patriot, Hussein has complained privately in recent days to one confidant of the difficulties he has encountered in dealing with the Iraqi leader and explaining him to the world when he chooses to act independently and without advance notice on vital and dangerous matters.

Irritation with Saddam's blitz tac-

BUSH...CONTINUED

Wing to refine the piece until around 2:30 A.M. The next morning Bush fiddled with the prose until minutes before his performance at 9 A.M. Afterward, aides applauded. Then the President went off to more meetings, phone calls, a press conference, and—well, why not?—some tennis.

Maintaining what reporters have dubbed the "aerobic presidency," despite the threat of war, is how this hyperactive 66-year-old copes with the stress of long, demanding days. Confident that no one can question who's running the show, Bush makes no

apologies for his occasional breaks. "I am determined that life goes on," he told reporters. So when Saddam issued his call for a "holy war," Bush responded by doffing his tie and hitting the links—as well as the waves, tennis courts, and jogging paths—of Kenne-

bunkport, Maine.

Throughout the crisis the President has so far managed to maintain balance and perspective—no easy feat. The morning after Saddam's troops swept south into Kuwait City, Bush squeezed in a congratulatory call to the parents of Timothy Swanson, a just-released Peace Corps worker who had been held captive in the Philippines. Later he visited Republican National Committee Chairman Lee Atwater, who is still fighting a brain tumor, and wrote an apology to a reporter whom he felt he had mistreated at a press briefing.

While he concentrates on countering Saddam, Bush has also been moving to defuse a related crisis—the threat of recession. Says a top White

House adviser: "Even before we presented any formal analysis, Bush grasped the implications for the budget, monetary policy, and energy policy. He knew the Iraqi invasion would slow growth and complicate policymaking."

The Bush team's biggest worry is that rising inflation, brought on by higher oil prices, will give Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan an even stronger reason not to lower interest rates. Soon after the invasion, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and chief economist Michael Boskin visited the Fed chief to convey, in great detail and no uncertain terms, their desire for easier money. Meanwhile, to get a budget deal the President has recently launched a vocal attack on congressional Democrats in hopes of pushing them back to the negotiating table. Nothing would give Bush a freer hand in dealing with his longstanding problems back home than a swift and successful end to the dangerous showdown he faces in the Persian Gulf. **F**

George Bush, diplomat

The President is hoping that a "new world order" will contain Hussein



After weeks of comparing Saddam Hussein with Adolf Hitler and suggesting that the Iraqi dictator is a threat to America's "way of life," George Bush finally came face-to-face with the

cost of eliminating America's new arch-enemy. *U.S. News* has learned that the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the National Security Council have concluded that a full-scale war against Iraq, with its almost certain use of chemical weapons, could cost 20,000 to 30,000 American combat casualties. Officials acknowledge that the estimates may be overly pessimistic; but when the word was conveyed to Bush, the President grimaced, shook his head and told his aides it was too high a price to pay. Haunted not only by the prospect of thousands of Americans dead and wounded but also by a nightmarish image of American bodies burned to death by Hussein's chemical weapons, Bush decided to try diplomacy—at least for now.

But if Bush has blinked, so has Hussein. In fact, senior administration officials say the Iraqi dictator's decision not to challenge the United Nations-sponsored naval blockade of his country, along with his bizarre television campaign to portray himself as a kindly uncle to his Western hostages, helped convince the President that Hussein may want to avoid war and that an attack on him now would be premature.

Possible deal? So for the time being, Bush is pursuing a strategy of diplomacy backed up by containment, while the Pentagon continues to gather the heavily armed forces it would need for an all-out war with Iraq. According to senior U.S. officials, the White House foresees one possible deal in which Iraqi troops would be removed from Kuwait and replaced by a U.N. force manned mainly by Americans and backed up by American air and naval forces deployed indefinitely in the Persian Gulf, a formula reminiscent of the 35-year standoff in Korea. Meanwhile, as Bush looks the other way, the Kuwaitis, who may be perfectly willing to buy back their throne, could forge a deal

that would include forgiving Iraq's massive debt, guaranteeing Baghdad access to the Persian Gulf and yielding control of a disputed oil field.

The President's current pose could be a smoke screen, giving him time to marshal his forces for a deadly strike.

Privately, one senior administration official predicts that if diplomacy has borne no fruit in a month, Bush will review his military options—which by then will be greatly strengthened by the arrival in Saudi Arabia of up to 1,000 top-of-the-line M1 tanks and other



Hurry up and wait. American soldiers try to relax at a Saudi Arabian air base last week before

heavy armor. It's also possible that Bush is publicly encouraging negotiations, so that if war does come he can claim that he tried peace first.

Even trying to make peace with Hussein, however, will be neither easy nor risk-free. First, the two sides remain far apart. Hussein has declared Kuwait an Iraqi province, but it will be difficult for Bush to accept anything short of the United Nations resolution that demands Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, restoration of the government, the release of all hostages and stability for Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Persian Gulf.

Second, it is far from clear that the Iraqi leader is ready to bargain and is not just playing for time in the hope that the coalition against him will disintegrate. "There's no sign of give on his part,"

argues a senior U.S. official. "The danger of conflict was greatest that first week, [but] this is a guy who is essentially unpredictable." In Baghdad, few people in the streets expect their leader to back down. One American official says that the Iraqi leader "wants to test for weaknesses," seeing what he can get away with and probing for diplomatic options. The American strategy is to leave Hussein with no options except withdrawal from Kuwait. "If he's faced with tough choices," the American official says of Hussein, "he makes the choice that will enable him to survive."

But the Iraqis are notorious for making deals when cornered, then breaking them. In 1970, Baghdad granted Iraq's Kurdish minority the right to an autonomous region. Since then, Hussein has

tried repeatedly to crush Kurdish nationalism. In 1975, Iraq signed an agreement with Iran to share the Shatt al-Arab waterway that divides the two countries; five years later, Hussein invaded Iran.

Hussein's track record of treachery means that getting him out of Kuwait will not guarantee "stability" in the Gulf. Senator Richard Lugar, a respected Indiana Republican, argues that since Hussein is working to acquire nuclear weapons and could have them within five years, peace and stability can be assured only by his demise. That view is strongly held in Israel, where military analysts say that if Hussein survives, Israeli warplanes might be compelled to wipe out his budding nuclear capability within 18 months—just as they bombed a nuclear facility at Osirak in 1981. But if Bush is not willing to use American power to destroy Iraq's military and economic infrastructure—and to risk the uncertain consequences of crushing Hussein—then he has only two options.

Internal ouster. First, he can hope Hussein's own people will overthrow him. Although Bush carefully avoids saying so publicly, senior administration officials say his ultimate goal remains the elimination of Hussein. "It wouldn't disappoint me," the President admits, "if the Iraqis got up and said, 'Look, this man is our problem.'" U.S. and other intelligence agencies have begun working with Iraqi exiles and other opponents of Hussein, but U.S. officials concede that the Iraqi dictator seems secure for now.

Second, Bush can hope that international pressure can contain Hussein's ambitions and weaken his military. In order to succeed, the coalition now arrayed against Iraq must remain cohesive enough to maintain a foolproof arms embargo on Baghdad, a ban on the technology needed to build nuclear weapons, restrictions on Iraqi defense spending and limits on Baghdad's access to international credit.

Bush's willingness to try containment, at least for a while, rests on a larger assumption: That events in the Middle East have accelerated the emergence of a "new world order." "There will be a fundamentally different situation in that area," maintains National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, "in that collective action will have been shown to work against a case of aggression." Adds former Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin: "How this crisis ends will decide the rules of the game in the Middle East and in the post-cold-war era."

But Bush's policy of restraint is a product of necessity more than idealism. While the President commands strong support for his deployment of troops, his military options are severely limited by underlying public doubts and



LUC DELAHAYE—SIPA FOR US&WR

before receiving their orders to move out toward the Kuwaiti border

■ COVER STORY

by the administration's difficulty explaining both its real goals and the strategic stakes in the conflict. In a recent *Washington Post*-ABC poll, only 27 percent supported an invasion of Iraq to force an Iraqi withdrawal.

Bush's maneuvering room is further restricted by his own allies, particularly Arab countries such as Egypt and Syria that have sent troops to Saudi Arabia. If Western Christians start shooting Arab Moslems, leaders of those countries could be driven back into Hussein's embrace—or overthrown entirely—by popular outrage. "Understand this," says Jordanian political scientist Kamel Abu Jaber, "Arab radicals want war in the Gulf."

Too expensive? Bush's ability to fight also is circumscribed by his ability to pay for a war. Historian Paul Kennedy of Yale University, author of *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, warns that the United States may be badly overextending its economic resources in the Gulf and that any lengthy stay "will certainly worsen its fiscal position and

make it increasingly dependent on foreign capital."

But if Bush has few easy choices, neither has Hussein. The noose is beginning to tighten around Baghdad. The Soviet Union, Iraq's old friend, has remained on the sidelines. The sight of Arab troops in the desert alongside American forces would have been unimaginable just a short time ago. The willingness of Japan and other wealthy countries to help finance containment is a critical, if limited, breakthrough.

Clearly, the Persian Gulf is unique: Few places are more vital to more countries. But Bush's dream of a "new world order" is not just a rhetorical flourish. The Soviet Union has made a basic decision to concentrate on its own economic development, and now that it is more interested in importing technology than exporting revolution, its role in the world has changed profoundly. The U.S. no longer has to worry that sending troops abroad would either trigger a clash with Moscow or leave the West vulnerable to Soviet troublemaking somewhere else. Indeed, the tightening web of international economic relationships has made

most countries—including China, which supported the U.N. resolution on Iraq—more vulnerable to such pressures. "If you want to participate in the world economy," says Robert Hormats, an international banker and former State Department official, "you can't support outlaws." The same holds true for members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, who voted to increase production in order to hold down prices.

Moscow's changing definition of its own self-interest also has liberated the United Nations from years of paralysis. The Soviets now see the U.N. as a place where they can exert international influence without the costs of unilateral action. "It's a cheaper way of maintaining one's interest on a world scale," says Charles William Maynes, editor of *Foreign Policy* magazine.

On the other hand, the Persian Gulf crisis has proved a problem for NATO, which is barred from operating outside its own boundaries. But Helmut Sonnenfeldt, a former State Department official now at the Brookings Institution, says that the Atlantic Alliance has still managed "to inch toward a broader role." A

FISHING IN TROUBLED WATER

The President thinks time is on his side

George Bush yelped when son Jeb accidentally embedded a fishhook in the President's right earlobe while casting off the coast of Kennebunkport last week. A White House doctor quickly removed the barb and advised an immediate tetanus shot. But the President soldiered on, trolling for another hour in his speedboat before agreeing to medical treatment. He was rewarded with three bluefish.

Bush's friends and advisers see a lesson in that story. Anyone who thinks that he lacks the perseverance for a prolonged struggle in the Persian Gulf, they say, does not know George Bush. In fact, his decision to try diplomacy and economic sanctions, rather than a quick military strike, to force Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait reflects a familiar pattern in Bush's life. He is a man of disciplined persistence rather than bold strokes, stubborn to a fault. He is also a man, his closest aides say, showing signs of strain from a much-needed August vacation that was disrupted by



Vision. Bush sees a "new world order"

the Gulf crisis. "He has been unable to recharge his batteries," says one aide, describing the President's mood as increasingly "grumpy."

Bush has been heartened by public support for his careful approach. He even sees signs that a new, post-Vietnam "maturity" is emerging in America, a growing recognition that the U.S. must take risks to stop aggression. But he is plainly worried about the cost. The President was relieved at Budget Director Richard Darman's private estimate last week that the military intervention will cost substantially less than expected. The budget director said the U.S. expeditionary force will run about

\$3 billion every six months—and less if the Saudis, Kuwaitis and others help foot the bill as expected.

Still, some senior officials are uncomfortable with the administration's stated willingness to settle for restoring the status quo before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait without crippling Hussein's nuclear and chemical-weapons capability. The hawks include Vice President Dan Quayle, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, Under Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz and Deputy National Security Adviser Robert Gates. But the President counsels patience, saying Hussein could well lose power in a coup as the economic vise tightens—without the loss of American lives.

Bush, so often derided for his lack of vision, also has bigger things in mind. During another trolling expedition, this one with National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, he ruminated about a "new world order" that might emerge from the crisis. In it, the U.S. would forge new alliances with Arab states and work with other "civilized nations" to contain the world's brigands through the United Nations. Bush concluded that an immediate attack on Iraq would dash that dream. By the end of the morning, he also had landed three 14-pound bluefish. Perseverance paid off, at least in the Gulf of Maine.

BY KENNETH T. WALSH

U.S. Would Let Hussein Keep Power

■ **Scenario:** If Iraqi leader pulls out of Kuwait, Bush won't insist on his ouster, Administration officials indicate.

By STANLEY MEISLER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The Bush Administration signaled Sunday that it would be willing to settle for an Iraqi pullout from Kuwait and not insist on the ouster of President Saddam Hussein or the destruction of his military power.

The position was outlined in separate television appearances by John H. Sununu, the White House chief of staff, and Brent Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser. Both appeared in Helsinki just after the summit.

Sununu's comments came in response to a question on whether it would be "a satisfactory outcome for the United States" for Hussein to retain his power, his army and his oil revenues after he withdrew from Kuwait.

"Well, it is," he replied on ABC's "This Week with David Brinkley" program, "in the sense that . . . we will at least have returned, in terms of the legitimacy in Kuwait, to the previous condition."

Separately, Scowcroft told NBC's "Meet the Press": "I'm not sure that we need to solve all of the problems relating to Iraq when we solve the immediate one, which is the aggression against Kuwait."

Their remarks appeared to be designed to discourage hopes by some in Congress, expressed before the Helsinki summit, that Washington would press relentlessly for the ouster of Hussein and the destruction of his military forces.

Indeed, Sununu denied flatly on Sunday that the need to oust the Hussein regime had ever been "explicitly stated as a goal."

But Sununu cautioned that Washington would be satisfied only if Saudi Arabia, Syria and Egypt remained committed to resisting Iraqi aggression, with American support—in other words, if Hussein emerged with far less power than he had before.

"It will certainly be a different [Persian] Gulf area," he said.

Asked if it would be "an attractive scenario" if Hussein continued to have access to a large supply of poison gas, soldiers and equipment, Sununu replied: "Well, it's not the best of scenarios, but if . . . the United States has been able to leave assets in place, equipment that can be used by our allies, and the capacity to send our folks back quickly to utilize that equipment, I think we might have at least the beginning of a way of dealing with all the points that you have raised over a reasonable period of time."

Sununu also appeared to hint that the United States might accept an alternative "legitimate" government in Kuwait to that of the Sabah royal family, which ruled the oil-rich country before Hussein's forces invaded on Aug. 2.

Some analysts believe Hussein might be persuaded to withdraw from Kuwait if it were made clear that the emir of Kuwait and his family would not be restored to power. In recent days, the Administration has avoided talking about restoring the emir.

But Scowcroft listed restoration of the monarchy as an Administration goal, as President Bush has done several times in the past.

"That is not negotiable," Scowcroft said. "We cannot let Saddam Hussein profit from his aggression. . . . We think that it is not negotiable."

Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on the Middle East, said he has been encouraged by the Bush Administration's recent rhetoric.

The Washington Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Washington Times _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The Christian Science Monitor _____
New York Daily News _____
USA Today _____
The Chicago Tribune _____

L.A. Times p. A6
Date 10 Sept. 1990

"By all odds," Hamilton told NBC News, "the most important thing that has happened here in the last few days is that we have turned back from the assumption that war is inevitable, and we're now beginning to think in terms of resolving this crisis without going to war. That's not a sure thing, by any means, but we're thinking that way."

BUSH'S CABINET OF OLD FRIENDS . . .

Karl Marx, if he hadn't died already, would have succumbed in Helsinki. Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, by President Bush's side as they concluded their buddy-buddy summit on Sept. 9, told reporters, "It is very important that at each meeting we move forward, we enrich our relationship and . . . trust." For that brings together the two superpowers, on which "history dictates that a lot is going to depend," the leader of the world's premier Communist nation explained as he put friendship in place of economics as the "substructure" in what Marx described as the forces that determine the course of history.

But Gorbachev may have merely been borrowing a leaf from George Bush's book. "I would hate to be President without friendships," Bush told *The New York Times* last spring, acknowledging the crucial, almost medieval, role that friendship has played in the life and presidency of a man whose computerized Christmas card list runs to nearly 10,000 names.

As President, he certainly has coped with the world that way, with a flood of handwritten notes and telephone calls to foreign leaders and, for instance, inviting Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his wife and children to the Bush home in Kennebunkport, Maine, for overnight stays. The payoff became evident in recent weeks, as Bush crafted an international confederation to resist Iraq's Persian Gulf ambitions.

This confrontation also has stress-tested—so far, with flying colors—the President's similar manner of managing his Administration. In the most perplexing predicament of his presidency, Bush has relied heavily on his Cabinet of friends. He dispatched Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady to wheedle funds from U.S. allies to finance the result of Defense Secretary Dick Cheney's delicate diplomatic mission to Saudi Arabia. And he quietly suspended the ban on oilman-turned-Commerce Secretary Robert A. Mosbacher's offering his counsel on oil policy.

These men go back a long way. Bush is considered best friends with Baker—they were doubles champions on Houston Country Club's tennis courts. Houston oilman Mosbacher, Bush's venerable fund raiser, is "a very strong second," said a longtime aide who is close to all three. Bush is also considered very close to

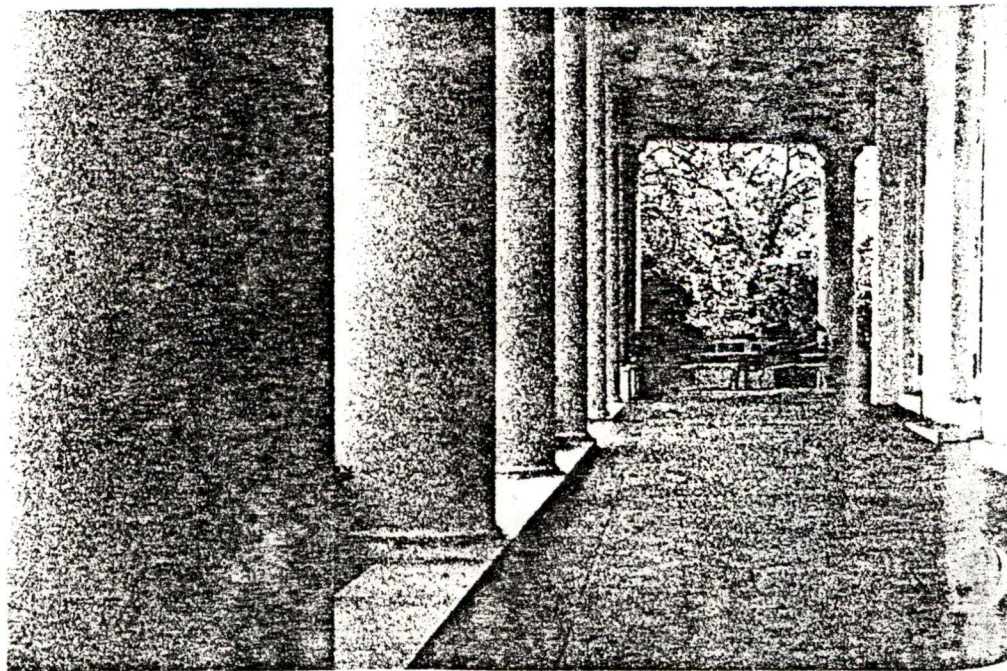
Brady, who attended Yale University with Bush's brother Jonathan and became friends with George when they served from 1976-78 as directors of Purolator Courier Corp., which Brady's family partly owns, and then advised in three Bush campaigns. The aide also counts Cheney among Bush's top 50 friends. Cheney came to Washington as an aide to Rep. William A. Steiger, R-Wis. (a Bush intimate until his death) and worked with Bush in the Ford Administration. Bush confers continually with his Cabinet cronies, typically daily with Baker, a few times weekly with Brady and Cheney and perhaps once a week—or twice, counting social contact—with Mosbacher, with his thinner policy portfolio.

Bush's Cabinet friends are also friends with each other. Baker and Mosbacher, Houstonians who drew close when their first wives died of cancer at about the same time, are thought able to communicate wordlessly across a room. Baker hit it off with Cheney in 1976, when Baker was President Ford's campaign manager and Cheney was Ford's White House chief of staff. They camped together in the wilds of Wyoming in 1987, and Baker was believed instrumental in Bush's choice of Cheney last year to run the Pentagon. Mosbacher, who was chairman of Ford's 1976 campaign, now lunches periodically in his office with Cheney. Baker and

Brady met in 1978 amid Bush's first presidential campaign and occasionally golf together now that they've given up tennis (because of shoulder and hip infirmities, respectively). Mutual interests extend to the financial: Bush, Baker and Mosbacher have invested in a Houston-based tank-and-barge business, *Common Cause Magazine* reported last spring.

In the Bush Administration, these personal relationships have altered bureaucratic dynamics in tangible ways. Bureaucratic turf fights often "don't escalate when you know the guys at the top get along," an official said. In fashioning foreign policy, the "habit and pattern of working together" evident among Baker, Cheney and national security adviser Brent Scowcroft (who filled the same post for Ford) has proved "invaluable" in fostering concord among protagonists whose institutional interests ordinarily decree that they won't get along, a former Pentagon official said. "It's kind of like . . . guys who've played together in sports," he said, "who know one another's views and minds and probably arrive at consensus quickly."

Certainly it helps that they're all pragmatists, not ideologues, and that they hew to what a White House official describes as "a certain standard of politeness" that flows partly from upper-class manners. But the harmony these fierce competitors



... LENDS A HAND AT HOME AND ABROAD

have shown in public and—White House aides say—in private arises also from friendship. "It enters into everything," a well-placed White House aide said—averting second-guessing and allowing problems to be resolved through "a lot of quick phone calls." Bush's advisers engage in about as many policy disputes as did those in previous Administrations but, with the trust that comes from long friendship, needn't examine each other's motives and "don't ever get . . . personal," said David Q. Bates Jr., former secretary to Bush's Cabinet.

Friendship also redistributes power in Administration councils. Mosbacher's friendship with Bush has given the Commerce Department more respect than it traditionally gets in interagency disputes. His relationship with Baker has brought Commerce benefits it had sought for years, such as having a commercial attaché in the U.S. mission to the European Community in Brussels and a State Department instruction to ambassadors to keep U.S. companies' interests in mind.

In Bush's style of governing, friendship also warrants unexpected assignments and—in case of blunders—a second chance. Mosbacher's stature within the Administration has tumbled since last year, when White House officials quashed his hopes to encourage federal research on high-definition television and an activist

"industrial policy" and Commerce officials "went into shells"—as a Bush adviser put it—rather than regroup and fight again; Mosbacher is coming to be considered a lightweight even by some inside the White House.

But his standing hasn't slipped with Bush, judging by the waiver Mosbacher received—at White House initiative—of his refusal from conferring on oil-related policy that he filed on becoming Secretary and renewed last June. The waiver, granted when the Gulf crisis erupted and to last until it ends, was a "direct effect" of Mosbacher's friendship with Bush, a Commerce official said, and of Bush's regard for Mosbacher's understanding of the oil business. As a result, Mosbacher has counseled Bush and Scowcroft on such things as raising oil output and substituting natural gas, and was able to lead 15 American executives, including 6 from the oil industry, to the Soviet Union from Sept. 10-14. A benefit of friendship, an Administration official said, is that "after you lose one, you get a chance to come back."

This has benefited Brady, too. His politically damaging plan early on to impose a fee on depositors at savings and loans didn't seem to diminish his clout with Bush. He has remained "No. 1 in all things economic," a White House aide said, and has been credited with helping

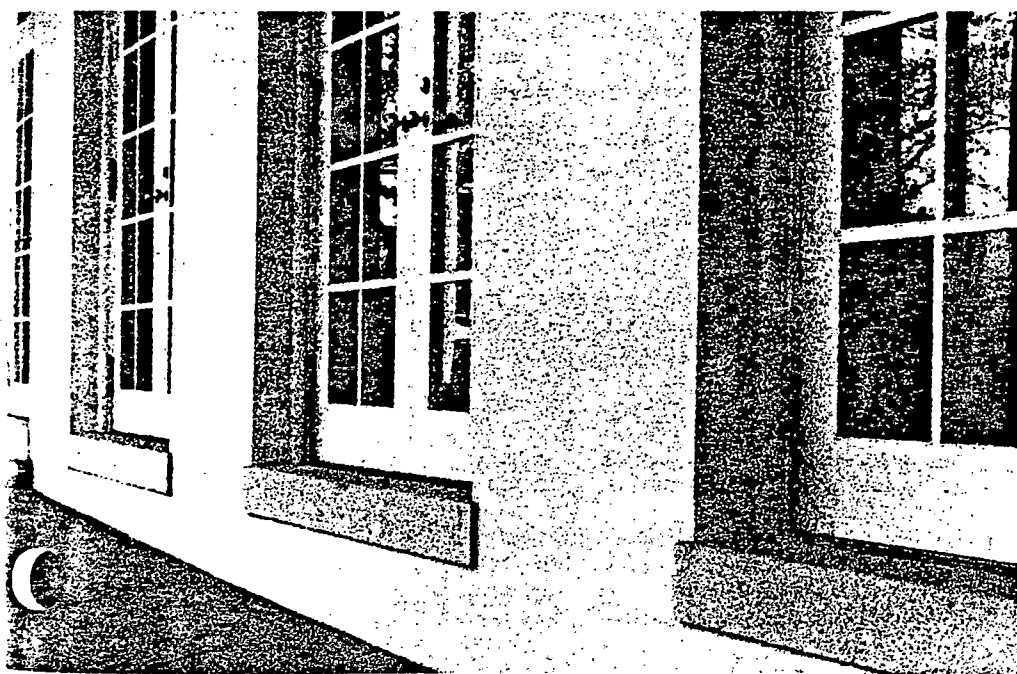
to persuade Bush to abandon his no-new-taxes pledge and then to shape Administration strategy—more over-all than day-to-day—in its budget bargaining with Congress.

Still, some White House officials were startled when Bush invited Brady to Kennebunkport to counsel on—among other things—energy policy and the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, then to circle the globe (to London, Paris, Seoul and Tokyo) in league with Baker to win financial support for Bush's military venture in the Gulf. It's not nonsensical to send a Treasury Secretary in search of financing, but a White House official suspects there was another reason. "A President who cherishes his friendships and tries to cultivate them," he said, would consider it "a mark of respect" to dispatch a friend as emissary to foreign leaders he has courted—"kind of a friend meeting a friend."

The Gulf crisis also has burnished Cheney's reputation. White House officials won't admit it for fear of suggesting his standing had suffered, but Cheney "comes out of this thing very much strengthened," a Bush friend said, by having coaxed the Saudis last month to invite American troops in.

Indeed, among Bush's Cabinet confidants, only Baker has seen his reputation wobble in the wake of events. His public invisibility while he vacationed in Wyoming last month prompted a defensive reaction from spokeswoman Margaret D. Tutwiler ("He's not in a contest over visibility," she told reporters) that bemused Washingtonians who know Baker and his attentiveness to image. On his return to Washington, Baker swiftly set matters right, garnering headlines in congressional appearances on Sept. 4-5 and then raising about \$12 billion in burden-sharing funds from Arab countries he toured with about 20 reporters—four times Brady's journalistic entourage.

But in Bush's world, these ups and downs don't seem to matter much. They "only count with people who don't count," an Administration official said. Because Bush is "a personal relationship kind of guy," members of his inner circle "don't play [that] game," he said. Aides who aren't old friends—budget chief Richard G. Darman, say—may see their favor fluctuate, he supposed, but Baker, Brady, Cheney and Mosbacher are "always in."



*PLEASE CREDIT ANY QUOTES OR EXCERPTS FROM THIS CBS NEWS RADIO
AND TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "CBS NEWS' FACE THE NATION."*

CBS News

FACE THE NATION WITH LESLEY STAHL

Sunday, September 16, 1990

CBS Television Network, 10:30 AM - 11:00 AM, ET
and the
CBS Radio Network - 12:30 PM - 1:00 PM, ET

MODERATOR: Lesley Stahl - CBS News Chief White House
Correspondent

GUESTS: BRENT SCOWCROFT
National Security Adviser

JACQUES ANDREANI
French Ambassador to the U.S.

SHAOL BAKHASH
George Mason University

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER: Marianna Spicer-Brooks

PRODUCER: Carin Pratt

DIRECTOR: Paul L. Taylor

ORINATION: Washington, D.C.

© MCMXC CBS Inc. All Rights Reserved.

Transcript by:

*NEWS TRANSCRIPTS, INC.
1333 H Street, N.W., Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 682-9050*

LESLIE STAHL: Welcome to "Face the Nation." I'm Leslie Stahl. The talk about war escalated overnight with reports that the U.S. is building up its offensive capabilities in the Saudi desert, and there's movement towards additional sanctions against Iraq.

Reacting to Baghdad's moves on the French and other Western embassy compounds in Kuwait, the U.N. Security Council met overnight and once again unanimously condemned Iraq.

FRENCH DELEGATE TO U.N.: We believe that this is a new act of aggression on the part of Iraq of intolerable character.

MS. STAHL: The Security Council will consider further measures--an air blockade of Iraq, as well as penalties for any country that violates the economic sanctions. As for the U.S., President Bush wants to make sure that Iraq's provocations are deliberate before he responds. He doesn't want to start a war over a misunderstanding or an action taken by a local commander.

PRESIDENT BUSH: No, I'm not rattling sabres. You're trying to get me to sound like I'm rattling sabres. When I rattle a sabre, the man will know it.

MS. STAHL: Saddam's latest moves have backfired. Now the French are sending 4,000 more soldiers to the Gulf, and expelling Iraqi military attaches and other citizens from Paris. A conclave of pro-Iraqi Arabs met in Jordan yesterday as concern grew that Iran, despite its long and bloody war with Iraq, may be planning to break the embargo, including sending in food.

Ayatollah Khamenei's call for a holy war against the U.S. deployment sent chills through the West. There's increasing worry about the more than 145,000 U.S. troops in the desert.

COLONEL JOHN PETTYJOHN: I believe the highest threat right now is from terrorism.

MS. STAHL: Meanwhile, Japan and Germany pledged more support for the U.S. military effort, but their limp response up to now has infuriated many in Congress.

REP. LARRY SMITH (D.-N.J.): To the Japanese, to the Germans and others--you can take your money and stick it. There are 100,000 American troops there. Where are you?

MS. STAHL: What will draw a U.S. military response? We'll ask national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, and we'll talk with the French ambassador to Washington, Jacques Andreani, and Professor Shaol Bakhash, an expert on Iran.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Saddam Hussein will fail.

MS. STAHL: The coalition against Saddam Hussein--will it hold? An issue facing the nation.

ANNOUNCER: From CBS News, Washington--"Face the Nation," with Leslie Stahl.

(Announcements)

MS. STAHL: With us, the ambassador of France, Jacques Andreani. Mr. Ambassador, you

have said that when the Iraqis broke into the ambassador's residence compound in Kuwait, it was an act of war. Your president, Mr. Mitterrand, has ordered a regiment of the French Foreign Legion to stand by. It is possible you're going to take military reprisals against Iraq?

AMBASSADOR ANDREANI: It was more than that. The president decided not to stand by, but to send--to send to the area, not a regiment, a brigade--a whole brigade of the French rapid deployment force, which is 4,000 people, several dozen aircraft, helicopters and war planes. So they are leaving right now--France for the Gulf area.

MS. STAHL: Well, is it possible you will attack--you will fight back in that fashion?

AMBASSADOR ANDREANI: No, this is not the idea. I mean, we are there to be ready for any contingency. The experience of yesterday shows that Iraqis won't stop at anything, and they have crossed several lines--I mean, in the process of violation. First it was the violation of Kuwait. There was a violation of taking the hostages. There was the violation of blocking the embassies in Kuwait, and now there's the violation of intruding into the premises of the embassies. So we have to be ready for further aggressions.

MS. STAHL: But what are you saying about your striking back? If this was an act of war, are you going to then attack back, or what is the position of military action at this point?

AMBASSADOR ANDREANI: At this point, the position is that we should rely on the line we have followed from the beginning--U.N. sanctions, U.N. embargo. They have to work. We have to make them work more efficiently. They are already quite efficient, but if--we can hope that these sanctions will push, will force Iraq to retreat, we have to make them more stringent. And we have also at the same time to enhance our military forces to give signals of firmness to Iraq, and to be ready for any contingency.

MS. STAHL: You know, when you stop to think about it, it doesn't make any sense that he would antagonize your country and the other Western European countries to this extent. You would think his strategy would be to keep you away from the United States and isolated and not in militarily. Why do you think he moved in this fashion? What's in his head?

AMBASSADOR ANDREANI: I don't know. I don't know. But you could say the same thing about blockading the embassy in Kuwait. He had no need to do that, I mean, and he did.

MS. STAHL: Was it a mistake?

AMBASSADOR ANDREANI: Well, of course it was a mistake.

MS. STAHL: No, I mean, was it a local commander, as has been suggested by a White House official?

AMBASSADOR ANDREANI: No, certainly not. I am sure not. But, for example, the decision to take the hostages was not a mistake by a local authority. The decision to blockade the whole of the

embassies in Kuwait was not a mistake by a local commander. And yesterday not only the French ambassador's residence, but three other ambassadorial residences, and maybe five--maybe four--according to my information, were invaded. So it is not a local mistake.

MS. STAHL: What do you think the other European countries are going to do. I see that there is a meeting of the European Community coming up in Belgium. Do you think that now other countries will send troops, or will it just remain, in terms of the West, mainly France and the United States?

AMBASSADOR ANDREANI: Well, I think we will discuss with the partners of the European Community--meet tomorrow in Brussels--and the partners of the Western European Union, which already coordinates the naval activity of the European nations in the Gulf. We will discuss all sides of the matter--diplomatic and political and possibly military. We will discuss everything that can be done to--

MS. STAHL: Let me ask you a final question. What is the signal you want Saddam Hussein to get today? Is it that you might attack him? Or is it that you're not going to attack him, you're just going to wait and see if the sanctions hold? What signal do you want him to hear most?

AMBASSADOR ANDREANI: The signal of firmness and resolution--and we see a man who does not understand, as our president said yesterday in his press conference--Saddam Hussein does not evaluate. There is a bellicose attitude, with no evaluation of the risks. So we have to make him think hard about the risks he is taking for his nation, against which we have nothing.

MS. STAHL: Okay. Mr. Ambassador, thank you very much for being our guest. We'll be right back with national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Iraq will not be permitted to annex Kuwait. And that's not a threat, it's not a boast--it's just the way it's going to be.

(Announcement)

MS. STAHL: Joining us now, Brent Scowcroft, President Bush's national security adviser.

General Scowcroft, there are big stories on the front pages of newspapers today that we are building up an offensive capability in Saudi Arabia. One report in The Washington Post, quoting the chief of staff of the Air Force, says we're actually targeting Saddam Hussein himself--possibly his family, and even his mistress. Now, is this right? Are we going on the offense? Are we planning an offensive attack on Iraq?

MR. SCOWCROFT: The build-up is still going on. It's going on for the purposes the president has described.

MS. STAHL: But he said defense.

MR. SCOWCROFT: I would just point out that General Dugan is not in the chain of command,

and he does not speak for the administration.

MS. STAHL: That's the Air Force chief of staff--

MR. SCOWCROFT: The Air Force chief of staff whose article you talked about.

MS. STAHL: --who talked about targeting.

MR. SCOWCROFT: Yes.

MS. STAHL: So are you saying we have not targeted his family and--

MR. SCOWCROFT: We have contingency planning going on for anything that might happen. That's only prudent. The president has described our strategy, which is to defend Saudi Arabia, to impose economic sanctions, and to force Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

MS. STAHL: But when you see more than one story appearing in several different publications, it seems that there is some kind of a concerted effort here to get out the point that we're moving into a position where we could attack. Is the story that we are building an offensive capability accurate?

MR. SCOWCROFT: We're building adequate capability to deal with the situation out there. After all, Iraq has an armed force of over 900,000 men. That is a big and a capable military force.

MS. STAHL: We want him to know we could attack, obviously.

MR. SCOWCROFT: We want him to know we are serious.

MS. STAHL: Okay. I would like to ask you the same question I asked the French ambassador. It doesn't make any sense that he broke into these embassies, because it was obvious that it would push the French, and possibly these other countries, to also send troops. What does our government think he was up to?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, you know, all we can do is speculate. Certainly, his logic train is not what yours is, which is not to provoke further reaction from the civilized world against him. That obviously is not his purpose. It doesn't seem to me to serve any useful purpose to do this, but once again he has demonstrated the solidarity of the world through the action of the U.N. against what he's doing.

MS. STAHL: Have we gotten any kind of diplomatic back channel messages from him saying, you know, we didn't mean it, or it was a mistake by a local commander? I had a White House official remind me that one of our local commanders in Panama went into the residence of the Nicaraguan diplomats there, and that it was a mistake. And by bringing that up to me, it suggests that maybe that's our analysis of what happened.

MR. SCOWCROFT: No, we've had no such communication, and this was not just one incident.

There were two or three others at the same general time period.

MS. STAHL: Well, here you have a situation where he's taken hostages. He's put our people in as human shields. He's broken into these embassy compounds. And in each case, we don't seem to respond in kind. How concerned are you that we're going to be in this kind of situation, where there are these provocations and we react relatively mildly and we get into this bogged down situation, as we did with our hostages in Lebanon? What's your response?

MR. SCOWCROFT: We have long memories. We will act according to our interests and the interests of the United Nations, which has set forth a program. And the last element of the resolution they passed is that they will consider further concrete measures to deal with the situation.

MS. STAHL: Iran--what is our analysis of whether they are breaking the embargo, whether they have made a secret deal to send in food--to buy Iraqi oil and send in food? Do we believe these rumors, which I guess they are, are true?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, there's no concrete evidence that they are not subscribing to the economic sanctions. They have said that they would, and we see no reason not to expect them to.

MS. STAHL: So there's no evidence that we have that Iran is sending food, is going to accept oil?

MR. SCOWCROFT: There are a lot of stories going around, a lot of indications one way or another. We don't have any significant evidence that they're doing that.

MS. STAHL: What's happening at the U.N. today, I gather, is that there will be consideration of a resolution that says we will punish any country that violates the embargo.

MR. SCOWCROFT: Yes.

MS. STAHL: We'll impose sanctions. I mean, do we really want to impose sanctions on Iran, if, for instance, they take their oil and somehow get some food across? Is that in our interests?

MR. SCOWCROFT: That could be--Iran could make a significant breach of the blockade, which could not only violate the mandate of the United Nations, but have this thing go on longer and longer and longer, which is not in our interests, not in anybody's interests, including Iran, which, I'm sure, doesn't want American forces to stay there. And we don't want them to stay there.

MS. STAHL: But is it in our interests, if they do take their oil, to impose sanctions against Iran? Isn't our policy to try and improve that relationship, our relationship?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, I don't want to speculate on how we respond if Iran did something that it hasn't done.

MS. STAHL: But we support that U.N. resolution, right?

MR. SCOWCROFT: We support the U.N. resolution, and it's obvious we're doing everything we can to make it effective and we'll continue to do so.

MS. STAHL: No, but I'm trying to ask--to see if you'll tell the American people what our attitude toward Iran is right now, and if we're willing to say, if you go in with Iraq, forget all the moves toward improving relations.

MR. SCOWCROFT: I think our attitude toward Iran is that they have indicated that they would support the United Nations action and we would expect that they would do so. If that expectation is not realized, then we'll consider what's next.

MS. STAHL: Okay, you don't want to send them any--

MR. SCOWCROFT: No, I don't know that a signal is necessary right now.

MS. STAHL: Okay. Let me ask you about the policy of burden-sharing, now that Japan is saying they'll send more than they said before the congressmen started to attack them, and the same has happened with West Germany.

Don't we run the risk of becoming mercenaries? Aren't we becoming guns for hire, and is this a concern?

MR. SCOWCROFT: No, I don't think it's that at all. What we have here is the international community rising up against an outrageous case of aggression, and members of that community from all around the world are contributing in the way that they can best contribute--some with troops, some with money, some with equipment, and so on.

And I think it's a very heart-warming example of united action against aggression.

MS. STAHL: But there is this element of them paying us to do what they're not doing themselves, which is sending their boys in, and women, to face someone else's guns, to defend this principle. And there is this sort of notion that they pay us--and that's mercenary work.

MR. SCOWCROFT: No, I really don't think that it ought to be looked at at all in that way. We are doing what we're doing in our own national interests, and in the interest of the world community, and I think they are, too. Both the Germans and the Japanese have particular political inhibitions about doing more.

MS. STAHL: Do you we give up some control when they help pay for it? Do we then have to get permission if they are--

MR. SCOWCROFT: We're acting in accordance with the United Nations in any case. No--no significant difference.

MS. STAHL: One of the things we're asking these countries to do is give aid to the so-called front-line states--Egypt, Turkey, and Jordan. Yesterday Jordan hosted a conclave of all the pro-Iraq

Arab states. There was a lot of anti-American rhetoric, and so forth. We know some of those trucks with food are going across the Jordanian border.

Why are we working so hard to get money for them if they are hosting these kinds of anti-American conclaves, and so forth?

MR. SCOWCROFT: I think, you know, that there's genuine hardship in Jordan brought about by the sanctions. Actually, the sanctions through Jordan aren't quite effective. They are doing better than they were doing for awhile. It is a significant problem. There's no question about it.

MS. STAHL: And what about that meeting yesterday?

MR. SCOWCROFT: I think one of the interesting things about that meeting and all of the publicity it got--ending about two days ago, there was a meeting in Mecca of over 300 Muslim scholars and clerics, which denounced Saddam Hussein and his action as being anti-Islam. It got almost no reports. We don't like that conference, of course.

MS. STAHL: The one in Jordan.

MR. SCOWCROFT: The one in Jordan.

MS. STAHL: But we're still going to ask people to give them money?

MR. SCOWCROFT: With the terrorists there.

MS. STAHL: Let me ask you one final question on China. China has been with us on this in the United Nations Security Council sanctions. Because of that, will we then move to lift the sanctions against China, even though they haven't repaired all of their human rights violations?

MR. SCOWCROFT: I think China is doing what it's doing, as we are, in its own national interests and in the interests of the world community. It is not in the Chinese interests to sanction larger countries swallowing up their neighbors, any more than it is any of the others?

MS. STAHL: Yes, but my question related to the sanctions against China for their move in Tiananmen Square. Does this mean that the United States will vote, if it comes to that, to lift the sanctions? Would we go along with that, or do we still think they haven't done enough to repair the violations of that period?

MR. SCOWCROFT: I don't think the two are directly connected, but certainly responsible Chinese behavior is what we've been asking for.

MS. STAHL: And this qualifies?

MR. SCOWCROFT: In part.

MS. STAHL: Okay, General Scowcroft, thank you very much.

MR. SCOWCROFT: Thank you, Leslie.

MS. STAHL: We'll talk more about Iran when we come back.

(Announcements)

MS. STAHL: There are indications that Iran, despite its long bloody war with Iraq, may be planning to break the embargo in a big way. We spoke earlier with Professor Shaol Bakhash, of George Mason University, an Iranian, and an expert on that country, and asked what's Iran up to?

PROFESSOR BAKHASH: I think the reports that Iran is about to cooperate with Iraq are grossly exaggerated. It is implausible that the Iranians would want to do anything to help Saddam Hussein consolidate his hold on Kuwait, or to assist the Iraqis--a dangerous rival, a potential enemy--to become a regional superpower.

MS. STAHL: And yet we hear reports from oil company executives that they've made a deal--Iran has made a deal with Iraq--to exchange oil, refined oil, for food. That helps, doesn't it?

PROFESSOR BAKHASH: Certainly if the deal went through, it would help Saddam Hussein a great deal. Two hundred thousand barrels a day are nothing to be sniffed at. But I think if the Iranians are dangling before Saddam Hussein the possibility that they would assist him with food and such things, it is probably because they want to finalize a peace agreement with Iraq on terms, especially on border front delineation, that Iran wants.

MS. STAHL: Well, who do the Iranians dislike more--is it the United States, the great Satan, or it is Saddam Hussein, their long time enemy?

PROFESSOR BAKHASH: There's very strong hostility against the United States in Iran. But to allow Saddam Hussein to successfully annex Kuwait would be a very dangerous and threatening thing to the Iranians.

MS. STAHL: Yes, but if they have the choice there, as they apparently see it, of our military presence--which they obviously loathe--or a strong Saddam, is that a Hobson's choice for them, or do they accept our presence?

PROFESSOR BAKHASH: Well, first of all, 200,000 barrels of oil a day is \$2 billion worth of oil a year. That is more than just assistance. That's throwing Saddam Hussein a life line and pulling him out. There are also reasons why the Iranians are very unhappy about the American presence in the Gulf. It is certainly part of revolutionary ideology that Iran is hostile to the U.S.

Secondly, I think they've been genuinely concerned that this military presence would become permanent, and talk by Secretary Baker about a NATO type arrangement for the Persian Gulf certainly have not helped diminish these fears.

MS. STAHL: Well, what about the Ayatollah Khamenei calling for a holy war against us? Are

our troops now in the desert vulnerable?

PROFESSOR BAKHASH: He didn't actually call for a holy war. But he used some very inflated rhetoric. I think the reasons are the ones I've described--a fear that the U.S. will stay in the Gulf permanently, that they will lead any future regional security arrangements, and that Iran will be excluded in a major way from these arrangements.

A call for a holy war has very specific conditions and ways in which it must be issued by a religious leader, and I don't think these conditions were fulfilled.

MS. STAHL: Well, do you think then that the Iranian people will not respond when an ayatollah calls for them to go fight the American troop presence there?

PROFESSOR BAKHASH: He did seem to be encouraging people to fight the Americans who are now in Saudi Arabia. And in this sense he was engaging, as I say, in inflationary rhetoric. But I think, at the same time, this anti-American stance does not mean that the Iranians are going to go ahead and assist Saddam Hussein to stay in Kuwait.

MS. STAHL: Professor Shaol Bakhash.

Our cartoon is by Walt Handelsman: Germany and Japan display the latest in Middle East camouflage gear.

I'm Leslie Stahl. Join us again next Sunday.

ANNOUNCER: This portion of "Face the Nation with Lesley Stahl" was sponsored by Merrill Lynch--we're on the threshold of a new decade of opportunity, we're bullish on the nineties. To purchase a videocassette of today's edition of "Face the Nation with Lesley Stahl," call 1-800-542-5621.

This broadcast was produced by CBS News, which is solely responsible for the selection of today's guests and topics. It originated in Washington, D.C.

OVER BAGHDAD TV

Speech Is Run Unedited
— U.N. Condemning
Embassy Invasion

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16 — President Bush warned the Iraqi people today that their leaders had now brought them to "the brink of war" with the West and the Arab world.

In a videotaped address broadcast on Iraq's national television, Mr. Bush added a new dimension to a conflict that already has been played out to a great extent on television. The President's eight-minute speech was uncut, and his words, as read in Arabic over his own voice by a Voice of America interpreter, apparently reflected the severity of his message in English.

Mr. Bush avoided making personal attacks on President Saddam Hussein in the message, which was taped last week in the Oval Office.

Warnings of U.S. Resolve

But his words, his first direct message to the Iraqi people, were full of warnings about American resolve. Nor did Mr. Bush appear to pull any punches as he told the Iraqis that Mr. Hussein had lied about the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

There was no way to know how many Iraqis watched Mr. Bush on television. Reuters reported from Baghdad that the speech was not announced in advance and was shown at the same time as a program of cartoons on another channel.

An Iraqi spokesman, appearing on Baghdad television immediately after Mr. Bush, disputed his statements and said he was a liar.

U.N. Condemns Intrusions

Early this morning, the United Nations Security Council voted unanimously to condemn Iraq's intrusion into several Western embassies in Kuwait on Friday. Members of the Council began working on a way to strengthen its embargo against trade with Iraq to include air traffic. [Article and text of resolution, page A11.]

Mr. Bush said Iraq stood "isolated and alone," without any Arab support, and added sternly: "Perhaps your leaders do not appreciate the strength of the forces united against them. Let me say clearly, there is no way Iraq can win. Ultimately, Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait." [Text, page A10.]

Mr. Bush said the United States still wanted a peaceful resolution to the Persian Gulf crisis. But he warned that there "is no nation on earth with greater resolve," cautioned that Americans were prepared to fight if forced to do so, and vowed that the presence of foreign hostages in Iraq and Kuwait would "not affect my ability to make tough decisions."

Mr. Bush also said Mr. Hussein was

trying to depict the crisis as a struggle between Iraq and the United States. "In fact," he said, "it is Iraq against the world."

The President said he did not want to "trade accusations" with Mr. Hussein, and he has tried for weeks not to get into a public debate with the Iraqi leader. But his speech had the effect of doing just that.

He also reminded his audience that the two countries were not always enemies, saying the United States had not opposed Iraq until the invasion of Kuwait.

"In the past," he said, "the United States has helped Iraq import billions of dollars worth of food and other commodities. And the war with Iran would not have ended two years ago without U.S. support and sponsorship in the United Nations."

Immediately after Mr. Bush's remarks, Iraqi television broadcast a rebuttal from an official spokesman, Mikdad Morad, who called the American President a liar, accused him of seeking to "defile the Moslem holy places" by sending American troops to Saudi Arabia and said Washington was working in concert with Israel against the Arab people.

Responding to his speech almost point by point, and using far harsher language than the President used, Mr. Morad said Mr. Bush "went crazy" when Iraqi forces entered Kuwait on Aug. 1. He accused Mr. Bush of trying to become "the dictator of the whole world."

"It is naive of Bush to think that he can, through his words, differentiate between the people of Iraq and its President, for Saddam Hussein is the son of this Iraqi people," the spokesman said.

Mr. Morad usually reads television statements from President Hussein, but this 25-minute statement, though an official commentary, was not read in Mr. Hussein's name, as some past messages have been.

Few Conversions Expected

Administration officials have said that Mr. Bush did not expect his words to convert the Iraqi masses to his cause, but that he saw the chance to appear on Iraq's national television as a way of delivering a personal message unfiltered by the Government.

Mr. Bush first raised the idea during a news conference in Kennebunkport, Me., when he noted that Mr. Hussein had often been on American television. The Iraqis at first offered to send a TV crew to the White House to interview the President, and he responded by sending the videotape.

The White House said the Iraqi Government broadcast the tape, which included the voice-over translation and subtitles provided by the American Government, in its entirety.

But the broadcast still seemed to threaten to embroil Mr. Bush in the kind of personal debate with Mr. Hussein that he had been avoiding. Two weeks ago, Mr. Bush angrily dismissed an Iraqi proposal for a debate between Mr. Bush, Mr. Hussein and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain.

Talk of Offensive Strike

Domestically, the Administration sought to play down reports about American preparations for an offensive strike. Generals in the field have said that United States forces in Saudi Arabia were now sufficient to defend against an Iraqi attack and that forces

that might be used offensively were being built up.

The Washington Post today quoted the Air Force Chief of Staff, Gen. Michel J. Dugan, as saying the Pentagon had concluded that a huge air attack would be the only practical option for the United States if war broke out.

But Brent Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser, said in an appearance on the CBS News program "Face the Nation" that "General Dugan is not in the chain of command, and he does not speak for the Administration."

White House and State Department officials declined to speculate about Mr. Hussein's motivations for permitting the broadcast today. Judith Kipper, a Middle East specialist with the Brookings Institution, said Mr. Hussein clearly stood to benefit.

"From the point of view of the President of the United States, I think this was an unfortunate bit of public diplomacy," Ms. Kipper said.

"For Saddam Hussein, the more he can draw George Bush into being engaged with him, the more prestige he would have from his point of view that he could sell to his people," she said.

"Bush's message is not going to change anybody's mind. It only serves the purposes, not of George Bush, but of Saddam Hussein."

Arab League Action Cited

In the tape, Mr. Bush sought to bring to bear the weight of the world's nations, especially Arab nations. "For the first time in history," he said, "13 states of the Arab League, representing 80 percent of the Arab nation, have condemned a brother Arab state."

Mr. Bush called the invasion of Kuwait "an unprovoked attack on a small nation that posed no threat to your own," adding, "Kuwait was the victim; Iraq, the aggressor."

He also sought to draw a distinction between the Iraqi people and their Government. "I do not believe that you, the people of Iraq, want war," he said. "You've borne untold suffering and hardship during eight long years of war with Iran."

"Now, once again, Iraq finds itself on the brink of war," he continued. "Once again, the same Iraqi leadership has miscalculated. Once again, the Iraqi people face tragedy."

Mr. Bush said Mr. Hussein had asserted that his troops were invited into Kuwait. "That's not true," he said. "In fact, in the face of far superior force, the people of Kuwait are bravely resisting this occupation."

Mr. Morad, the Iraqi spokesman, called this part of Mr. Bush's speech a lie. He asserted that popular Arab sentiment supported Mr. Hussein and that the United States was representing the interests of European "imperialists" and the "Zionist entity," Israel. "It is the dispute between the rich powers and the poor, persecuted powers," he said.

Toward the end of the tape, Mr. Bush reached into his pocket and removed a piece of paper. Reading what he said was a quote from a speech by Mr. Hussein on Nov. 22, 1988, he said: "An Arab country does not have the right to occupy another Arab country. God forbid, if Iraq should deviate from the right path, we would want Arabs to send their armies to put things right."

Mr. Hussein's spokesman did not mention this passage. Instead, he repeated Iraq's contention that Kuwait was properly an Iraqi province.

On Iraq TV, Bush Cites Risk of War

Saddam's Missteps Said to Pit Country 'Against the World'

By George Lardner Jr.
and Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Bush warned the Iraqi people yesterday in a taped television broadcast that they are "on the brink of war" because of miscalculations by President Saddam Hussein that have pitted their country "against the world."

In an eight-minute speech that many administration officials had believed would not be broadcast on Iraqi television, Bush said it was not too late for a peaceful resolution of the crisis triggered by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait last month, but he emphasized a growing determination to force Iraq from Kuwait.

"Perhaps your leaders do not appreciate the strength of the forces united against them," Bush said. "Let me say clearly, there is no way Iraq can win. Ultimately, Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait."

In a reply broadcast immediately afterwards, an Iraqi spokesman charged that Bush's statement was full of lies and insisted that the dispute was one between rich and poor, "between Zionism on the one hand and the deprived, persecuted people on the other."

Bush's speech, taped Wednesday in the Oval Office, was delivered to Baghdad by courier after the Iraqi ambassador here refused to accept it. It ran unedited on Iraqi television around 7 p.m. (11 a.m. EDT).

Eight hours earlier, the United Nations Security Council, "outraged" at Iraq's violations of several diplomatic premises in Kuwait, unanimously condemned the violations and said it intends to take "further concrete measures as soon as possible."

Diplomats at the United Nations told special correspondent Trevor Rowe that one possible step is expanding the trade embargo against Iraq to include air traffic.

Meanwhile, hundreds of Kuwaitis fled into Saudi Arabia during the weekend as Iraq opened the border for the first time in a month. Refugees arrived with chilling accounts of dwindling food supplies and the wholesale destruction of homes in neighborhoods where Iraqi soldiers have been killed by Kuwaiti resistance fighters.

The Iraqis made no announcement of the border opening; the news spread by word of mouth. Some refugees assumed that Iraqi forces wanted to get into their homes. Others believed it was part of a plan by Saddam to repopulate Kuwait with Iraqis. The Associated Press said a fleeing journalist told of a friend who got an anonymous phone call saying: "Why do you always talk badly about Saddam Hussein? The border's open, why don't you leave?"

In his remarks, Bush emphasized to the Iraqi audience that "Kuwait was the victim; Iraq, the aggressor" in the Aug. 2 invasion and pointed out that 27 nations have sent forces to the Persian Gulf region in response to requests from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait rulers in exile.

"For the first time in history, 13 states of the Arab League, representing 80 percent of the Arab nation, have condemned a brother Arab state," Bush said. "Today, opposed by world opinion, Iraq stands isolated and alone."

Reminding Iraqis of the suffering and hardship of their eight-year war with Iran, Bush said: "Now, once again, Iraq finds itself on the brink of war. Once again, the same Iraqi leadership has miscalculated."

Bush also accused Saddam of misleading Iraqis, by telling them Iraqi forces had been "invited into Kuwait" and depicting the crisis as a struggle between Iraq and the United States.

"In fact," Bush said, "it is Iraq against the world. When [Soviet] President [Mikhail] Gorbachev and I met in Helsinki, we agreed that no international order is possible if larger states can devour their neighbors. Never before has world opinion been so solidly united against aggression."

"The pain you now experience is a direct result of the path your leadership has chosen," the president said.

How much of an audience Bush had was unclear. The Iraqi media gave no advance notice of the broadcast and it appeared at 7 p.m. on Channel One, which usually broadcasts local news at that time. The competition on Channel Two was an Egyptian adventure cartoon.

At a working-class cafe in Baghdad's Bab al-Sharji district, Reuters reported, patrons sat in a semicircle around a TV set intently following an Egyptian love story that ended at 7 p.m. Some then watched the cartoon that followed. Others drifted away. In a nearby teahouse, men played dominoes and chatted while the Iraqi spokesman, Mikdad Morad, accused Bush of wanting to become "dictator of the whole world," in the broadcast that followed Bush's speech.

Morad, who usually reads statements in Saddam's name, spoke on his own this time. U.S. officials said Saddam had undoubtedly endorsed every word. The White House described the response as "a half-hour diatribe" and said in a statement that Bush's message "must have been effective in view of the extraordinary effort taken to discredit him."

Describing Saddam as the "son" of the Iraqi people and "not a leader created by the CIA," the Iraqi statement denounced Kuwait's rulers as "corrupt" individuals who were "stealing Iraqi oil" and "were always in favor of the imperialists." Morad also assailed Bush for suggesting that most of the Arab world is opposed to Iraq rather than the United States. He said Bush was ignoring "what's happening on the streets of the Islamic and Arab world."

In Baghdad, as if on cue, demonstrators marched through streets

NEXT...

shortly after the broadcast shouting "Death to Bush, death to America," and denouncing Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Saudi King Fahd as "traitors of the Arab world" for backing the multinational troop buildup in the gulf region.

According to Reuter, witnesses in one Baghdad suburb said demonstrators arrived in government buses, even before the Bush broadcast, complete with anti-Bush banners and posters.

At the United Nations, talk of a tighter embargo against Iraq was complemented by suggestions of secondary sanctions against countries or companies that violate the embargo. There are persistent rumors that goods have been shipped to Iraq either from or through Jordan, Yemen, Iran, Tunisia, Libya and Lebanon.

"The [Security] Council committed itself to take further action very firmly today and we will begin active consultations," U.S. Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering told reporters after the vote. It was the seventh resolution against Iraq since the invasion.

The Security Council resolution, adopted at 3 a.m. by 15 to 0, was a

direct response to raids by Iraqi troops against the diplomatic missions in Kuwait of France, Canada, Belgium and the Netherlands. Four French nationals were seized—including the military attache, who was later released.

Sabah Talat Kadrat, an Iraqi representative, told the Security Council that the news regarding the French diplomat was false and that France was responsible for the escalation in tensions.

Italy responded yesterday by expelling all officials at the Iraqi military attache's office in Rome and restricting the movement of other Iraqi diplomats. France already had expelled some Iraqi diplomats and increased its military forces in the Persian Gulf.

A senior official here said the White House hoped the Bush message would "encourage internal opposition" to Saddam and "public questioning" of his policies in the gulf. The White House had threatened that if the tape did not air, at least in edited form, it would be released worldwide on Wednesday.

The Iraqis had never offered to put a Bush speech on television. They had proposed to send a film

crew here to "interview" Bush. The White House immediately framed the issue in its own terms by describing the proposal as an offer to broadcast a Bush message in Iraq.

Meanwhile White House national security adviser Brent Scowcroft said yesterday the United States has "no concrete evidence" that Iran is violating the embargo against Iraq, despite a diplomatic rapprochement between the former warring nations. Iran has said it would observe the sanctions "and we see no reason not to expect them to," Scowcroft said on CBS's "Face the Nation."

A senior administration official said in an interview that the administration was "somewhat uneasy" about Iran's posture but said third-party discussions with Iran convinced the United States that Iran does not intend to break the embargo at this time because of its desire to start rebuilding its economy with the help of Western countries outside the United States, especially West Germany and Japan.

However, this official said, Iran "at this time" cannot side publicly with the United States on anything.

BUSH TELLS IRAQIS LEADERS PUT THEM ON 'BRINK OF WAR' OVER BAGHDAD TV

Speech Is Run Unedited — U.N. Condemning Embassy Invasion

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16 — President Bush warned the Iraqi people today that their leaders had now brought them to "the brink of war" with the West and the Arab world.

In a videotaped address broadcast on Iraq's national television, Mr. Bush added a new dimension to a conflict that already has been played out to a great extent on television. The President's eight-minute speech was uncut, and his words, as read in Arabic over his own voice by a Voice of America interpreter, apparently reflected the severity of his message in English.

Mr. Bush avoided making personal attacks on President Saddam Hussein in the message, which was taped last week in the Oval Office.

Warnings of U.S. Resolve

But his words, his first direct message to the Iraqi people, were full of warnings about American resolve. Not did Mr. Bush appear to pull any punches as he told the Iraqis that Mr. Hussein had lied about the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

There was no way to know how many Iraqis watched Mr. Bush on television. Reuters reported from Baghdad that the speech was not announced in advance and was shown at the same time as a program of cartoons on another channel.

An Iraqi spokesman, appearing on Baghdad television immediately after Mr. Bush, disputed his statements and said he was a liar.

U.N. Condemns Intrusions

Early this morning, the United Nations Security Council voted unanimously to condemn Iraq's intrusion into several Western embassies in Kuwait on Friday. Members of the Council began working on a way to strengthen its embargo against trade with Iraq to include air traffic. [Article and text of resolution, page A11.]

Mr. Bush said Iraq stood "isolated and alone," without any Arab support, and added sternly: "Perhaps your leaders do not appreciate the strength of the forces united against them. Let me say clearly, there is no way Iraq can win. Ultimately, Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait." [Text, page A10.]

Mr. Bush said the United States still wanted a peaceful resolution to the Persian Gulf crisis. But he warned that there "is no nation on earth with greater resolve," cautioned that Americans were prepared to fight if forced to so, and vowed that the presence of foreign hostages in Iraq and Kuwait would "not affect my ability to make tough decisions."

Mr. Bush also said Mr. Hussein was trying to depict the crisis as a struggle between Iraq and the United States. "In fact," he said, "it is Iraq against the world."

The President said he did not want to "trade accusations" with Mr. Hussein, and he has tried for weeks not to get into a public debate with the Iraqi leader. But his speech had the effect of doing just that.

He also reminded his audience that the two countries were not always enemies, saying the United States had not opposed Iraq until the invasion of Kuwait.

"In the past," he said, "the United States has helped Iraq import billions of dollars worth of food and other commodities. And the war with Iran would not have ended two years ago without U.S. support and sponsorship in the United Nations."

The Washington Post _____
The New York Times A1
The Washington Times _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The Christian Science Monitor _____
New York Daily News _____
USA Today _____
The Chicago Tribune _____

Date 17 SEPT 1990

Immediately after Mr. Bush's remarks, Iraqi television broadcast a rebuttal from an official spokesman, Mikdad Morad, who called the American President a liar, accused him of seeking to "defile the Moslem holy places" by sending American troops to Saudi Arabia and said Washington was working in concert with Israel against the Arab people.

Responding to his speech almost point by point, and using far harsher language than the President used, Mr. Morad said Mr. Bush "went crazy" when Iraqi forces entered Kuwait on Aug. 1. He accused Mr. Bush of trying to become "the dictator of the whole world."

"It is naïve of Bush to think that he can, through his words, differentiate between the people of Iraq and its President, for Saddam Hussein is the son of this Iraqi people," the spokesman said.

Mr. Morad usually reads television statements from President Hussein, but this 25-minute statement, though an official commentary, was not read in Mr. Hussein's name, as some past messages have been.

Few Conversions Expected

Administration officials have said that Mr. Bush did not expect his words to convert the Iraqi masses to his cause, but that he saw the chance to appear on Iraq's national television as a way of delivering a personal message unfiltered by the Government.

Mr. Bush first raised the idea during a news conference in Kennebunkport, Me., when he noted that Mr. Hussein had often been on American television. The Iraqis at first offered to send a TV crew to the White House to interview the President, and he responded by sending the videotape.

The White House said the Iraqi Government broadcast the tape, which included the voice-over translation and subtitles provided by the American Government, in its entirety.

But the broadcast still seemed to

CONTINUED

threaten to embroil Mr. Bush in the kind of personal debate with Mr. Hussein that he had been avoiding. Two weeks ago, Mr. Bush angrily dismissed an Iraqi proposal for a debate between Mr. Bush, Mr. Hussein and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain.

Talk of Offensive Strike

Domestically, the Administration sought to play down reports about American preparations for an offensive strike. Generals in the field have said that United States forces in Saudi Arabia were now sufficient to defend against an Iraqi attack and that forces that might be used offensively were being built up.

The Washington Post today quoted the Air Force Chief of Staff, Gen. Michel J. Dugan, as saying the Pentagon had concluded that a huge air attack would be the only practical option for the United States if war broke out.

But Brent Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser, said in an appearance on the CBS News program "Face the Nation" that "General Dugan is not in the chain of command, and he does not speak for the Administration."

White House and State Department officials declined to speculate about Mr. Hussein's motivations for permitting the broadcast today. Judith Kipper, a Middle East specialist with the Brookings Institution, said Mr. Hussein clearly stood to benefit.

"From the point of view of the President of the United States, I think this was an unfortunate bit of public diplomacy," Ms. Kipper said.

"For Saddam Hussein, the more he can draw George Bush into being engaged with him, the more prestige he would have from his point of view that he could sell to his people," she said. "Bush's message is not going to change anybody's mind. It only serves the purposes, not of George Bush, but of Saddam Hussein."

Arab League Action Cited

In the tape, Mr. Bush sought to bring to bear the weight of the world's nations, especially Arab nations. "For the first time in history," he said, "13 states of the Arab League, representing 80 percent of the Arab nation, have condemned a brother Arab state."

Mr. Bush called the invasion of Kuwait "an unprovoked attack on a small nation that posed no threat to your own," adding, "Kuwait was the victim; Iraq, the aggressor."

He also sought to draw a distinction between the Iraqi people and their Government. "I do not believe that you, the people of Iraq, want war," he said. "You've borne untold suffering and hardship during eight long years of war with Iran."

"Now, once again, Iraq finds itself on the brink of war," he continued. "Once again, the same Iraqi leadership has miscalculated. Once again, the Iraqi people face tragedy."

Mr. Bush said Mr. Hussein had asserted that his troops were invited into Kuwait. "That's not true," he said. "In fact, in the face of far superior force, the people of Kuwait are bravely resisting this occupation."

Mr. Morad, the Iraqi spokesman, called this part of Mr. Bush's speech a lie. He asserted that popular Arab sentiment supported Mr. Hussein and that the United States was representing the interests of European "imperialists" and the "Zionist entity," Israel. "It is the dispute between the rich powers and the poor, persecuted powers," he said.

Toward the end of the tape, Mr. Bush reached into his pocket and removed a piece of paper. Reading what he said was a quote from a speech by Mr. Hussein on Nov. 28, 1988, he said: "An Arab country does not have the right to occupy another Arab country. God forbid, if Iraq should deviate from the right path, we would want Arabs to send their armies to put things right."

Mr. Hussein's spokesman did not mention this passage. Instead, he repeated Iraq's contention that Kuwait was properly an Iraqi province.

MONDAY, September 17, 1990

SCOWCROFT DOWNPLAYS REPORT:
National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft Sunday downplayed a report that the United States was planning massive air strikes on Baghdad targeting President Saddam Hussein. The Washington Post Sunday quoted Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Michael Dugan as saying the Joint Chiefs of Staff and senior U.S. commanders in the Persian Gulf had agreed air power was the only effective option to force Iraq out of Kuwait if war erupted. The proposed raids would include Baghdad raids aimed at Saddam. Scowcroft said Dugan does not speak for the administration and that the United States has contingency planning going on for anything that might happen. (Reuter)

WIRE NEWS HIGHLIGHTS

Chief of Air Staff Fired by Cheney

Dugan Discussed Targeting Baghdad, Saddam

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney fired Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Michael J. Dugan yesterday for his public remarks on U.S. contingency plans for war with Iraq, including massive air raids against Baghdad that would target Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein and his family.

Cheney told reporters that Dugan, 53, "showed poor judgment at a sensitive time." "This was not a pleasant action for me to take, but under the circumstances, I felt it was a necessary one," he said. While the White House said President Bush "concurred" in the removal of Dugan, Cheney said both the idea for the dismissal and the final decision were his.

In a statement distributed by the Air Force, Dugan, a 32-year veteran and former fighter pilot who became Air Force chief only three months ago, said, "I sincerely regret any embarrassment that my comments may have caused the administration." He said he was presenting his "personal views."

Cheney said that Dugan's comments, made to reporters while on a tour of U.S. forces deployed in the Persian Gulf and reported Sunday in The Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times, had shown "lack of judgment" in disclosing "operational details" and in addressing "decisions that may or may not be made by the president in the future."

Among the comments that apparently angered Cheney and other officials was Dugan's assertion that the Bush administration had accepted the advice of Israeli sources that "the best way to hurt Saddam" is to target him and his family.

The administration is particularly sensitive about any mention of co-operation or consultation with Israel on the current gulf crisis, in which Washington has established close alliances with Arab governments in the region.

At the same time, Cheney noted in explaining his decision that the specific targeting of Saddam might violate a U.S. presidential order barring assassination of foreign leaders. Similar concerns were raised in Congress and elsewhere following the 1986 U.S. bombing attack against Libya, when the Reagan administration denied it had directly targeted Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi in a raid that damaged his personal compound and killed an adopted daughter.

Cheney also accused Dugan of revealing classified information "about the size and disposition of U.S. forces" and raised concerns about Dugan's assertion that the

Iraqi air force has only limited capability and that the U.S. Air Force would play the most important role in any attack on Iraq.

The highly unusual move made Dugan one of only a handful of senior U.S. military officers cashiered by civilian leaders since World War II. Dugan could not be reached yesterday for comment.

Cheney cited the "extreme delicacy" of the largest U.S. military deployment since the Vietnam War, telling Pentagon reporters Dugan's statements were not as "discreet and tactful" as they should have been. Neither he nor White House national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, who expressed displeasure separately after the remarks were published on Sunday, challenged the substance of Dugan's comments about military plans.

Scowcroft bluntly told CBS's "Face the Nation" Sunday after the newspaper articles appeared that "General Dugan is not in the chain of command and he does not speak for the administration."

Officials said Scowcroft was referring to the established procedure in which military orders are passed from Bush to Cheney, and then to the tactical commander in the field.

Scowcroft emphasized the defensive mission of U.S. forces. "We have contingency planning for anything that might happen. That's only prudent," Scowcroft said. "The president has described our strategy, which is to defend Saudi Arabia, to impose economic sanctions, and to force Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait."

Cheney said yesterday that Air Force Gen. John Michael Loh, the vice chief of staff, will act in Dugan's place until the president formally nominates Gen. Merrill A. McPeak, commander of the Pacific Air Forces, as a replacement.

Throughout the U.S. gulf deployment, military officials have been uncharacteristically open in discussing their plans and the situation on the ground, offering comments for publication as part of what White House and Pentagon sources have described as a deliberate war of nerves with the Iraqi leader. Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia, and others have described in some detail how U.S. forces would respond to Iraqi aggression and conflict. Military officials have said repeatedly that the United States would respond rapidly to any attack with a massive air strike at specific Iraqi targets, especially in the period before U.S. ground forces are fully deployed.

"Should there be a provocation," Cheney said last week, "it would be appropriate . . . to hold at risk targets—assets, if you will—that Saddam Hussein holds dear, and specifically, assets inside Iraq."

But administration officials said yesterday that these remarks were less detailed and much less politically sensitive than those made by Dugan, who was made Air Force chief of staff July 1 and has endeavored to provide more information and access to reporters than his recent predecessors.

The initial reaction on Capitol Hill was positive. Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and Sen. John W. Warner (Va.), the panel's senior Republican, issued a joint statement calling the firing "justified." They said Dugan's statements were "inappropriate." House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin (D-Wis.) echoed that sentiment in a statement.

NEXT

Asked why Bush would be angered by what appeared to be a deliberate message to Saddam Hussein about the use of American military might, a senior U.S. official said, "When a message . . . is being sent on behalf of the commander-in-chief, he ought to know about it."

Asked whether Dugan's revelations and their aftermath had damaged U.S. efforts in the gulf and attempts to win international support for sanctions against Iraq, Bush told regional reporters, "I don't think we can possibly assess that at this juncture to give you a real answer." He added that he was not concerned that the revelations caused any increased danger to U.S. troops.

The legality and morality of attacks against foreign leaders have been vexing issues in U.S. policy debates since 1981, when President Ronald Reagan signed an executive order barring any person employed by or acting on behalf of the government from engaging in, "or conspiring to engage in, assassination."

When an Air Force F-111 aircraft bombed Gadhafi's personal compound in 1986, U.S. officials initially denied trying to kill him. But officials acknowledged later that their uncertainty over Gadhafi's exact whereabouts at the time of the attack left open that possibility, and some said they had hoped it would occur.

Last year, the Bush administration announced that it had reinter-

preted the presidential order to allow Central Intelligence Agency assistance in foreign coup attempts that result in the death of a foreign leader as long as the death does not occur as the result of an explicit goal.

Cheney used two different formulations in his public comments yesterday about Dugan's statement that the United States planned to target Saddam and his top aides. Appearing before a group of regional journalists, Cheney said, "That's a violation of the executive order." He told Pentagon reporters later, however, that "I think it is potentially a violation."

A senior Pentagon official explained later that "the second statement is the definitive one."

Asked why Dugan had received such a swift and severe rebuke for his remarks, a senior U.S. official speaking on condition that he not be identified said "it was especially egregious" to cite Israeli advice in discussing targeting plans, as if "for some reason, we base our targets on what the Israelis want us to do."

Several officials also expressed concern over Dugan's disclosure that Israel had provided air-to-ground Have Nap missiles for U.S. B-52 bombers based in Diego Garcia, which might be used in an attack on Iraq.

Officials noted that Dugan, in an Aug. 1 speech, had encouraged senior Air Force officials to be more open with reporters, saying, "I think that the leaders . . . need to be upfront, they need to be the guys on point, and they need to take the gaff that goes with it and the flack that goes with it."

Staff writers Ann Devroy and Helen Dewar contributed to this report.

Cheney Has Staked Out Authority at Pentagon

By MICHAEL R. GORDON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 17 — From the day he walked into the Pentagon a year and half ago, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney has let everyone know just who is in charge.

His dismissal today of Gen. Michael J. Dugan, the top-ranking officer in the Air Force, was the most forceful but not the first move Mr. Cheney has made to assert his control of the military services and to restrict the public comments of senior officials.

Mr. Cheney's effort to rein in the military stems from a variety of factors, including his desire to have the Pentagon speak with one voice coordinated by the civilian leadership and his effort to decisively eliminate any notion that his authority can be challenged because of his limited experience in military matters.

And in this particular case, Mr. Cheney was also concerned that General Dugan's freewheeling discussion in interviews over the weekend about bombing President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, his family and his mistress, and also hitting downtown Baghdad, would undermine international support for the operation in Saudi Arabia by implying that the United States had unilaterally decided on a military strategy of decapitation of the Iraqi leadership.

General Dugan's blunt comments, as well as remarks by unidentified officials on the general's plane about Israeli assistance with such an operation in providing missile and targeting advice, also created a potential political problem for the Bush Administration's relationship with Arab Governments, and was the latest in a series of problems between Mr. Cheney and the Air Force.

Under the best of circumstances, the Pentagon is a sprawling, balkanized bureaucracy of vested interests, which is very difficult to manage. But at a time of budget tightening and crisis in the Persian Gulf, both of which have placed the Pentagon under greater strain than any time since the Vietnam War, Mr. Cheney has moved to assert central control.

The circle of power around the 49-year-old Defense Secretary, who has never served in the military, has been tightly drawn, with Mr. Cheney making decisions with the help of a handful of top officials, senior aides and his military ally, Gen. Colin L. Powell, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

When it comes to budget decisions, a

Defense Secretary cannot autocratically impose his will on the military and still hope to see his program carried out faithfully. And Mr. Cheney believes that he must get the Chiefs on board to carry out his plan to restructure the armed forces. Cheney aides say he knows that the military, which has seen Defense Secretaries come and go, has too many chances to sabotage the plan by appealing to Congress or by bureaucratic inaction.

To this end, the Defense Secretary has given the military a forum to express their views. But the final decisions have been Mr. Cheney's.

He has told the uniformed services, in effect: If you don't like the cuts I have ordered, consider what they are going to do to you in Congress, where the appetite for reductions in military spending has been intense.

When Mr. Cheney feels that his authority has been challenged, however, he has responded with the full weight of his office. One of his first acts was to publicly chastise then-Air Force Chief of Staff, Gen. Larry Welch, for exploring a budget compromise with Congressional leaders over the land-based missile force.

"Everyone's entitled to one mistake," Mr. Cheney warned ominously in what was interpreted as a blunt signal to the military that he was establishing control over the Pentagon.

Since then he has had a couple of run-ins with the Air Force, which he has largely tried to settle out of public view.

Gen. John T. Chain, the commander of the Strategic Air Command, aroused Mr. Cheney's ire in May when he expressed doubt about the feasibility of President Bush's plan to ban land-based missiles with multiple warheads.

Specifically, General Chain said at a breakfast meeting with reporters that he did not think Moscow would go along with the proposal because such weapons are the centerpiece of the Soviets' land-based missile force. And General Chain also questioned whether such such missiles were "destabilizing" as President Bush, Mr. Cheney and Brent Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser, have argued.

Mr. Cheney's spokesman said at the time that the Pentagon leadership was not disturbed by General Chain's comments. But Mr. Cheney quietly ordered General Chain to fly to Washington for a private dressing down, officials

said later. The incident was never publicly disclosed.

And when the Air Force earlier failed to inform the Defense Secretary about the flawed performance of its Stealth F-117 aircraft in Panama, Mr. Cheney expressed displeasure without a public rebuke.

Mr. Cheney privately expressed his concern to Air Force Secretary Donald Rice and General Welch and then let it be known that he had ordered the Air Force Inspector General to investigate why the Stealth planes had failed to drop their bombs with the accuracy that the service had initially claimed.

But no resignations were ordered and Mr. Cheney's spokesman said later that the Secretary accepted the Air Force assertion that it did not mean to mislead Mr. Cheney about the performance of the F-117 in Panama. A Pentagon official said that Mr. Cheney felt that he had made his point and more severe steps were not needed in that case.

Other top American commanders have talked on the record in recent weeks about mounting an all-out air assault against Iraq if war breaks out. But Mr. Cheney said that he was disturbed by the explicit references by General Dugan to making targets of the Iraqi leadership, the specific numbers provided by the general about American aircraft in the region and the general's service parochialism in asserting that the Air Force would play the central role with supporting roles to be played by the Army and the Marines.

Comments by military officials on General Dugan's aircraft about Israeli cooperation with the American military operation in Saudi Arabia, including furnishing air-to-ground missiles for United States B-52 bombers and advising the targeting of the Iraqi leadership, also brought to the surface a delicate issue for the Bush Administration, which is trying to build up the Arab role in the multinational force.

Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, the top American force commander in the Persian Gulf, has asserted that Israel was not involved in the operation.

Given the high political stakes, Mr. Cheney decided that General Dugan, who had been in office only since July, would not get a second chance, sending a signal to all of the generals and admirals to withhold much of their counsel from the public and putting political distance between the bush administration and the general's comments.

"He thought General Dugan's comments set a bad example for the military. It was not anything he wanted to let go by," a Pentagon official said.

Personalities

Asian Americans picketed an actors' union yesterday to protest what they call a "secret agreement" with the producer of "Miss Saigon" that will allow the hit London musical to open on Broadway.

Chanting "The Great White Only Way" and "Equity Sold Out," some 50 demonstrators marched peacefully in a circle outside the offices of Actors Equity in the heart of the theater district.

Equity yesterday issued a statement saying it was "aware of the frustration, anger and outrage that has been engendered by the events surrounding 'Miss Saigon' and that union officials would meet with minority members next week.

"Actors' Equity does not regard this faction of its membership in the same way as it regards its white membership," said actor **B.D. Wong**, who took part in the New York demonstration. "We're fighting to play our own stereotypes."

Wong said Asian Americans find the agreement between "Miss Saigon" producer **Cameron Mackintosh** and Equity, which earlier rescinded its decision barring Caucasian actor **Jonathan Pryce** from reprising his role as a Eurasian pimp, "destructive, offensive and insulting."

Atwater at White House

Lee Atwater had breakfast at the White House yesterday in an outing a Republican National Committee spokeswoman said reflected his recent "bursts of energy."

Atwater spent nearly three hours at the White House, including a leisurely breakfast with **President Bush** and a spirited discussion with Bush and White House officials on political races in California, Florida, Texas and Massachusetts, said RNC spokeswoman **Leslie Goodman**. Atwater also met with Vice President **Dan Quayle**, White House Chief of Staff **John Sununu** and national security adviser **Brent Scowcroft**.

It was Atwater's first trip to the White House

since shortly after he collapsed during a speech last March and was diagnosed as having an inoperable brain tumor.

"Lee's doing a lot better," said White House spokesman **Roman Popadiuk**, although the RNC chairman's condition is still very serious.

Atwater waved at photographers from the rear seat of his limousine as he was driven onto the White House grounds for the breakfast.

PATIENCE OF BUSH ON IRAQ BLOCKADE SAID TO SHORTEN

PLUNDERING IN KUWAIT

Scowcroft Avoids Disclosing How Long Bush Will Wait for Sanctions to Work

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 28 — A top White House official said today that the "systematic destruction" of Kuwait under Iraqi occupation is shortening the time the United States can wait for economic sanctions to drive President Saddam Hussein's army out of the Persian Gulf sheikdom.

But the official, Brent Scowcroft, President Bush's national security adviser, followed the pattern of White House statements in recent weeks, and he stopped short of an explicit warning of American military action.

After a long White House meeting and lunch in which Sheik Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah, the ousted Kuwaiti Emir, warned Mr. Bush of the threatened destruction of his country, Mr. Scowcroft refused to say how long Mr. Bush would wait before concluding that sanctions against Iraq have failed.

An 'Ambitious Dictator'

But he said "there is no question that what is happening inside Kuwait affects the timetable" for that decision. He asserted that Iraqi plundering of Kuwait made it conceivable that the United States would seek another United Nations Security Council resolution, possibly including an explicit mention of the use of military force.

As Mr. Scowcroft spoke, American intelligence reports said Iraq has developed biological weapons that will be able to deliver significant quantities of the deadly agents on the battlefield by early next year. [Page 4.]

Mr. Scowcroft also said the United States would consider it an act of aggression if Iraq carried out a threat to cut off food to foreigners in Kuwait and Iraq on Monday. But he would not say how the United States might respond.

The President offered a harsh condemnation of Iraq after his meeting with the Emir, calling President Saddam Hussein a "ruthless and ambitious dictator."

A New Note of Urgency

In a statement that he read on the White House South Lawn with the robed Emir at his side, Mr. Bush said: "Iraqi aggression has ransacked and pillaged a once peaceful and secure country, its population assaulted, incarcerated, intimidated and even murdered. Iraqi leaders are trying to wipe an internationally recognized sovereign state, a member of the Arab League and the United Nations, off the face of the map."

Mr. Bush's remarks and Mr. Scowcroft's subsequent comments were intended to send another strong signal to President Hussein after a week of international condemnation of Iraq at the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d today concluded a week of meetings in New York with other foreign ministers that left the impression of increasing concern that only a military solution would force President Hussein from Kuwait.

After meeting today with the foreign ministers of the Gulf Cooperation Council, which includes Kuwait and its Persian Gulf neighbors, Mr. Baker said: "I do think there are a number of countries that make it quite clear we should not foreclose options. I think there are more countries that are willing now to express that view."

Stalling by Iraqi Chief

Administration officials said the Tunisian Foreign Minister, Ismail Khalil, who saw President Hussein in Baghdad on Sunday, told Mr. Baker that the Iraqi leader apparently still believes that the international coalition boycotting Iraq will eventually erode and that he can hold on to Kuwait by stalling for time.

"Saddam still doesn't seem to have gotten the message," an Administration official said.

Kuwaiti officials said before the Emir's meeting with Mr. Bush that the exiled monarch would impress on the President that the Kuwaitis do not believe they can wait for sanctions to take hold on Iraq's economy and would argue that, as one official put it, "military action is the only way."

Mr. Scowcroft said the Emir did not specifically urge Mr. Bush to attack Iraq. But he said, "You could subliminally read between the lines if you wish."

Stance on the 'War Option'

Representative Les Aspin, Democrat of Wisconsin and chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, said he believed that the Administration was "looking more and more favorably on the war option" to force Iraqi troops out of occupied Kuwait.

But Mr. Scowcroft said, "I think we need to at least come to a sincere judgment as to whether or not there is a peaceful way to resolve this."

On Capitol Hill today, the Senate began debate on a resolution that offered strong support for Mr. Bush's actions in the gulf, but stopped short of giving a blanket endorsement for unprovoked military strikes against Iraq. A vote on the resolution is expected on Monday, when the House is expected to take action on a similar measure.

The Senate resolution said, "The Congress supports continued action by the President in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations Security Council and in accordance with United States constitutional and statutory processes, including authorization and appropriations of funds by the Congress, to deter Iraqi aggression and to protect American lives and vital interests in the region."

The Resolution's Limits

The resolution reflected the difficulty for lawmakers, who endorse Presidential action so far and believe it is in their political interest to show support but want to be careful to withhold advance approval of actions.

Senator Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, underscored the limits of the resolution.

"This does not constitute authority for the President to initiate unprovoked attacks against Iraq," he said.

The White House gave prominence to the Emir's visit, which came during his first trip to the United States, in an effort to signal to the world that Kuwait was still a viable, sovereign nation. Mr. Scowcroft's appearance at an on-the-record press briefing was unusual, since such briefings are normally handled by a lower-level official from the State Department.

Kuwaiti Emir Praises Bush

After the meeting, the Emir offered effusive praise of Mr. Bush in his formal statement on the South Lawn.

Speaking through an interpreter, he said, "Your principled, courageous and decisive position in the face of the Iraqi aggression on Kuwait is a true expression of the unabated faith and commitment of the American people to the humanitarian morals on which and for which the United States of America was founded."

Mr. Scowcroft said the Emir "described in some detail some of the atrocities being committed by Arabs against Arabs as well as the pillaging and systematic destruction" in Kuwait.

He quoted the ousted leader as saying that Iraqi forces are moving Kuwaitis out of their country and there is "widespread looting, both private, government, of everything movable."

Details of Iraqi Looting

The Emir spoke of "a case of the Iraqis going into hospitals, taking babies out of incubators, to send the incubators back to Iraq, taking other people off life-support systems and sending the machinery back to Iraq," Mr. Scowcroft said.

Given the urgency that the Emir assigned to the situation, Mr. Scowcroft was asked whether the United States could afford to wait for the United Nations sanctions to strangle Iraq's economy. He replied: "There is no question that what's happening inside Kuwait affects the timetable. There's no question about that."

But he also said: "The sanctions have not been in place very long. I believe it is in everyone's interest to see whether or not there is a peaceful resolution of this."

Mr. Scowcroft said Mr. Bush and the Emir did not discuss specific military options, but talked about "military forces, their characteristics, strength, morale and so on."

Mr. Scowcroft was asked whether the United States wanted more action by the Security Council, which has already passed several resolutions on the gulf crisis. He said there was no specific plan for a new resolution, but added that "this whole element of what the Iraqis are doing inside Kuwait to a whole people could conceivably be the subject of another U.N. action."

Strains of Gulf Crisis

Sharp Questioning by Congress Comes Amid Jockeying Among Bush Officials

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23 — After seven smooth weeks of handling the Persian Gulf crisis, the White House is fumbling several critical gulf issues on Capitol Hill and finds itself grappling with internal tensions that strain its vaunted air of collegiality.

News Analysis

Administration officials admit privately that they were taken aback by the sharpness of the Congressional questioning on why the Reagan and Bush Administrations supplied the military and economic aid that helped Saddam Hussein establish himself as a regional strongman.

They are nervous about continued Congressional investigation into whether the Administration misread signals in late July that Mr. Hussein was set to invade Kuwait. And both White House officials and Congressional Republicans say that while overall support for the Persian Gulf policy is strong, lawmakers' questioning of individual aspects is likely to grow.

By their own admission, Administration officials were unprepared for the extent to which Congress would rake through their Iraq policy.

'Politics as Usual'

"We got lulled by the fact that the crisis management by Bush and the whole team was so good and Congress was away for most of the time," a senior official said. "We didn't realize that once the novelty and the early tendency to rally behind the President wore off, it would become politics as usual."

Taken together, the events of the last week have forcefully reminded Mr. Bush that political support for military operations can drain away quickly, threatening both the political vitality of a President and the comity among his main advisers.

White House officials have started to privately accuse the State Department of trying to steal credit for the response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, while grumbling about the Pentagon's handling of a proposed \$21 billion arms sale to Saudi Arabia. Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, called the proposed sale "a gross miscalculation of Congress."

The Congressional criticism of previous policy toward Iraq has also focused an unaccustomed and uncomfortable glare on the State Department and, by implication, the Secretary of State, James A. Baker 3d. Lawmakers have so far not directly blamed him, but the crisis is testing Mr. Baker's widely envied political skills.

Hunkering Down in Foggy Bottom

Last week, it produced the unusual spectacle of the Secretary and his staff hunkering down in Foggy Bottom while a new lineup of "golden boys" — notably Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Brent Scowcroft, the National Security Adviser — stepped forward. Mr. Baker broke his public silence with a television appearance today in which he evaded the central questions: Was American policy before the invasion misguided and was he responsible?

And, while Mr. Bush works to maintain Congressional support for his Gulf policy, Administration officials have started complaining — very quietly — about lawmakers who backed American overtures to Mr. Hussein and made their own missions to Baghdad, including a group led by Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the minority leader.

"You don't see any of those guys coming out to remind people about it now," a senior official said with evident pique.

Harbinger or Temporary Bump?

While these tensions have come into sharp focus in the last week, lawmakers and Administration officials said they were probably just a temporary bump. But some worried that they might be a harbinger of deeper trouble.

"These do not represent an insurmountable problem if events work out with regard to the possible conflict with Iraq," said Representative Jim Leach, Republican of Iowa, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. "If events do not work out, it's the tip of the iceberg."

Perhaps the most dramatic setback for the Administration came in the Congressional examination of its overtures toward Iraq before the invasion of Kuwait, particularly the now-famous conversation on July 25 in which the American Ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie, told Mr. Hussein that the United States did not want to be involved in Iraq's border dispute with Kuwait.

Mr. Baker and his staff were clearly unprepared for the uproar, and the Secretary, who has taken an unusually low profile at other times in the crisis, became less visible again last week until his television appearances today.

There is no doubt that Mr. Baker is still a commanding presence. In a revealing private moment, he strode out of a National Security Council meeting on Thursday at the head of the pack of Mr. Bush's top advisers and led them across the West Wing lobby for a follow-up meeting.

The Washington Post

The New York Times

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

The Christian Science Monitor

New York Daily News

USA Today

The Chicago Tribune

Date 24 SEPT 1990

'You Bet' Baker's Involved

But appearances are critical in Washington. Nobody missed the fact that Mr. Baker, who is widely believed to have Presidential ambitions, was simply not seen so much last week.

Before he reappeared today on the NBC News program "Meet the Press," his spokeswoman and loyal aide, Margaret D. Tutwiler, found herself in an extremely odd position — assuring reporters that her powerful boss, the President's best friend, was still engaged in the most critical foreign policy issue on the agenda.

"Is he involved in — continuously involved in — the gulf crisis?" she said testily. "You bet he is."

There are signs of real, if subtle, shifts within the Administration. By virtue of their natural roles in this crisis, Mr. Scowcroft, Mr. Cheney and Gen. Colin L. Powell, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, have formed a new axis of power in the White House.

Different Operating Styles

The last week has displayed a marked difference in the operating styles of Mr. Cheney and Mr. Baker.

After the Air Force Chief of Staff, Gen. Michael J. Dugan, talked to reporters about contingency war plans, Mr. Cheney had him cleaning out his desk within 24 hours.

At the State Department, Ms. Glaspie and John Kelly, the Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs, have been left to take the brunt of the criticism of United States policy toward Iraq from members of Congress without their boss offering much of a public defense or putting them out of their misery by moving them to other jobs.

Today, during "Meet the Press," Mr. Baker cited not his own view, but a newspaper article about the issue. He spoke of "some 20-20 hindsighting" that he said has "been highly critical of some career public servants." But he refused to say whether the criticism was justified or whether it should be directed at him and not Mr. Kelly and Ms. Glaspie.

Mr. Baker also sidestepped a question about how he now viewed the pre-invasion policy. "The President has said in hindsight, maybe there were some things we should have done differently," he said. Mr. Baker paused and added, "I agree with that. of course."

CONTINUED

α

An Administration official said: "Kelly and Glaspie are twisting in the wind. But what can Baker do, since they were clearly just following Department policy?"

It remains to be seen whether this will hurt Mr. Baker. "He's a Teflon guy," Senator McCain said.

While Mr. Cheney's image has been polished by his overall handling of the gulf crisis, he has come in for some internal criticism, officials said.

The firing of General Dugan was widely supported, but there was concern that it left the impression of "not so tight a ship," an official said.

Lawmakers and Administration officials said Mr. Cheney also mishandled the arms sale to Saudi Arabia, the size of which circulated among reporters before Congress or Israel were consulted. The White House was later forced to back down and seek Congressional approval of the sale in two separate phases. And the Pentagon stirred trouble with a suggestion that the Administration spend billions of dollars in foreign contributions to the gulf operation without Congressional supervision.

"Cheney is not exactly getting a gold star for this," an official said. "Did he really think he could float \$21 billion in arms sales through Congress and then get permission to spend say \$7 billion in foreign contributions?"

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 28, 1990

BRIEFING BY
NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT

The Briefing Room

2:16 P.M. EDT

MR. POPADIUK: Good afternoon. Could I have your attention, please? We are about to begin our briefing. Let me just lay the context in which the General will be speaking. The General will be addressing two issues. First, a readout of the Amir of Kuwait's visit with the President; And secondly, the General will be giving a scene-setter for the President's visit to the United Nations starting tomorrow.

This is an ON THE RECORD briefing. Regular briefing rules are in effect and it's on the record, but not for sound or camera. The General will have a few opening remarks before he takes your questions.

Q Why not?

MR. POPADIUK: Thank you.

General.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I'm not photogenic.

Q Yes, you are, if it's on the record.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Good afternoon. Let me make just a few opening remarks to set the stage before I take your questions.

As you know, the President has just completed an official working visit with His Highness the Amir of Kuwait. And I think one of the best summaries of the tenor of the discussions comes from the departure remarks themselves. As the President stated, he reaffirmed our commitment to reverse the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and to restore the legitimate government and the Kuwaiti people to their rightful places in Kuwait.

The Amir spent some time discussing what he described as a terrifying situation inside Kuwait and the treatment by the Iraqis of the people of Kuwait. He described in some detail some of the atrocities being committed by Arabs against Arabs, as well as the pillaging and systematic destruction of the country, himself.

The President and the Amir discussed the unprecedented solidarity of the world community, as manifested by the eight U.N. Security Council resolutions in sending a clear and unambiguous signal to Iraq. The President complimented the Amir on his stirring address to the General Assembly yesterday, which got an almost unprecedented standing ovation -- again, hopefully sending a signal to the Iraqi leaders.

The two leaders agreed that it was important to give the sanctions a chance to work as a means of pressuring Iraq to withdraw peacefully from Kuwait. Compliance with those sanctions has been almost universal. And the Amir felt that the boycott was being felt in Iraq. But the President did state that if the sanctions fail we

MORE

must keep our options open to ensure that our objectives are met. And then finally, the President thanked the Amir for his generous contribution to Desert Shield operations and to those countries who are hurt by the sanctions.

Let me just say a couple of words about the U.N. trip, and then we'll go to questions.

There are really three purposes for the U.N. trip. One, to meet on the occasion of the Children's Summit which takes place on Sunday; then to address the United Nations General Assembly on Monday; and it's a welcome opportunity to consult with his colleagues from around the world at, really, sort of an unprecedented, or at least a dramatic period in world affairs.

The Children's Summit, I think, speaks for itself. It's really designed to dramatize the importance of trying to deal with problems of the children in the world, the inheritors of the next generation; to try to ensure that disease, malnutrition, brutality, drugs, poor education -- you can go on and on -- are dealt with so that that generation can, when they inherit the world, be in a position to improve it.

The President's speech to the General Assembly comes at a time of great change and great hope for the world. Much has happened since he addressed the General Assembly last year. Both the dramatic events unfolding in Europe with the -- in Eastern Europe, inside the Soviet Union, and the unification of Germany. And, in addition, this is a welcome opportunity to discuss the unprecedented actions of the U.N. Security Council -- unprecedented in the sense of the determination with which the civilized world, as represented by the Security Council, has dealt with this case of unprovoked aggression, and to express the hope that this might be a means to usher in a new stage in the international community in which the United Nations maybe can assume more the place envisioned by its founders as a very important vehicle in maintaining world peace and tranquility.

I'll be happy to take your questions now.

Q General, you said that the Amir told the President in some detail about the atrocities that were being committed in Kuwait. Does this add to the sense of urgency in resolving the situation, reversing the Iraqi occupation?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, I have to say, yes. And certainly on the part of the Amir who sees his country being destroyed right in front of him, both in terms of population being urged out the south with all their identification papers taken and then given to Iraqis and Palestinians coming down from the north -- sort of a repopulation, if you will -- wide-spread looting, both private, government, of everything movable or what even is not movable. He described, for example, a case of the Iraqis going into hospitals, taking babies out of incubators to send the incubators back to Iraq; taking other people off life support systems and sending the machinery back to Iraq.

It was a pretty devastating account, especially in the face of Saddam Hussein saying he is the defender of the Arabs against the outside.

Q Is there any timetable put on dealing with the situation?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No particular timetable, no.

Q Was the possibility of a war discussed? And if so, did the Amir express any fear that his country might be destroyed?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think what the Amir says is his country is being destroyed right now. And that the longer the

MORE

situation goes on the way it is, the less there will be of what is recognizable as Kuwait.

Q Did the Amir, himself, urge any kind of time frame whatsoever, or express specific concern as to how long his country could quite literally survive this sort of Iraqi occupation?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, not in specific terms, he did not.

Q Did he address that in a general way?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, in a general sense, he talked about the urgency of dealing with the issue and in connection with his description of what was going on in Kuwait.

Q When you speak of other options you're referring, obviously, to the military, right?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I'm referring to other options.

Q Like what?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Like other options.

Q Besides military?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I'm not going to discuss other options because --

Q Why not? If they're peaceful --

Q Well, General, can you give us a sense --

Q When our leaders have spoken -- when Secretary Baker went to the Middle East and when other officials have talked to Arab leaders on our side in this conflict, they have been urged to go in and attack. Didn't he do that? You seem to be suggesting that the whole thrust of his argument was, we can't wait any longer. Did he ask the President, the way these other leaders have asked Baker and so forth, to please go on the offensive and attack Iraq?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, he did not. Not in so many words.

Q But was that the thrust of it?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, you could subliminally read between the lines, if you wish, but the answer to your question is, no, he did not. Although the two had a lengthy discussion of attitudes, public opinion in the Arab world, and what was happening to it.

Q Obviously, you're not going to go beyond the now familiar formulation about keeping options open --

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Obviously.

Q -- but can you tell us at what length they discussed the prospect of other options and -- or with this simply something that was stated, agreed to, and passed over -- or what?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No. There was a discussion not of the detail of other options, but military forces, their characteristics, strength, morale and so on, if that helps you.

Q Beyond that, was there --

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No.

MORE

Q -- about how long did they dwell on this question of the failure of the -- or possible failure of the sanctions and the prospect of the use of other options?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Would 15 minutes make you feel good? Ten minutes? I honestly don't know, but they did discuss it.

Q General, it seemed that, for the moment at least, the President has gotten all he wants or needs out of the U.N. Is there anything he's going up to the U.N. to try to marshal support for? Are we simply in the waiting phase which you talk about as we see if the sanctions work?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: There isn't, so far as I know, anything actively being pursued, but I think this whole element of what the Iraqis are doing inside Kuwait to a whole people could conceivably be the subject of another U.N. action. But that -- we're not doing that right now.

Q But, I'm sorry, what kind of actions, sir?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, you know, wait and see.

Q The other options, you mean?

Q Are we speaking about something other than military now when you talk about other actions?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No -- you talk about more U.N. action. Well, I'm talking about the possibility of another U.N. resolution. But that's just perspective.

Q But something that would simply condemn what's going on?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I don't know because it hasn't been done yet, and we're just contemplating -- what I'm saying is, the atrocities, the devastation inside Kuwait really are worthy of world attention. And a U.N. resolution is one way to bring that kind of attention on it. I mean, this is just not a peaceable occupation; this is the destruction of a people.

Q And this could help tighten the embargo, for example?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Conceivably, although it's pretty hard to tighten it any further.

Q General, would you talk about your own analysis of the terrorism situation right now? There have been a couple of strange incidents in Brussels and one in Djibouti. Do you see any more evidence that there might be a terrorism problem developing, or are there other explanations for these things?

Q Question?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: About terrorism, and do we see any evidence of a more serious terrorism problem developing? There have been a couple of strange incidents in Brussels, for example, and there was a recent one -- there was a soldier shot, I think, and wounded in Saudi Arabia.

What we do have are some indications that Saddam Hussein is actively discussing things with leaders of certain terrorist organizations, and it was for that reason that we gave him an explicit warning that we would consider terrorist activities as coming from him and hold him personally responsible.

Q General Scowcroft, was the state of mental and physical condition of Hussein discussed by the Amir with the

MORE

President? Did they discuss his personal maladies or --

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Of Saddam Hussein?

Q Yes, yes.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Briefly.

Q What was the ---

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, you know, the Amir just gave his sort of judgments about --

Q What did he say about it?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think you better ask the Amir. I wouldn't want to characterize what he said.

Q General, the Iraqis have said that as of Monday they will cut off food supplies to foreign nationals in Kuwait and Iraq. Given the President's pledge to protect American lives would we consider that an act of aggression against Americans?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, I think it certainly is an act of aggression. I don't think there's any question about it. Those people are being held against their will, and therefore, in a sense, they are the direct responsibility of the government of Iraq.

Q General, you've talked about the Iraqis coming in from the north to settle in Kuwait, and we're also hearing about stripping it bare.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Yes.

Q Those two things seem to be kind of inconsistent if they're trying to take over and repopulate it.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, not necessarily. You can be stripping it bare just in case, and you can be putting people in, in the event that somebody says something about elections. So they may be preparing against any eventuality. I'm just speculating now. I don't really know.

Q Is it possible that they might withdraw at some point, keeping those islands in the Persian Gulf and the disputed northern oil field --

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think anything is possible for him. But I think it is -- the President has made it clear that in our view, and I think that of the United Nations Security Council, that withdrawal means withdrawal and restoration of the situation prior to his unprovoked aggression. And any talk about negotiations, discussions and so on have to start from that premise, not any other one.

Q Did the President tell the Amir of Kuwait that in case of an Iraqi withdrawal it would be useful for Kuwait to have free elections and to make some territorial concessions?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: There was some discussion of elections. But the President said, look, we are dealing with a specific situation right now and the focus ought to be on that situation, on resolving it, and on restoring conditions before that aggression, not on what happens afterwards.

Q General, to follow on Pat's question, does the Amir agree with the President of the United States that no negotiations should be undertaken before Iraq has withdrawn? Or would he be willing to possibly discuss some concessions?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: The President spoke fairly forcefully on this issue and the Amir did not say, oh, please don't.

Q He did not express an opinion one way --

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: The way I recall the conversation, it wasn't necessary to express an opinion. I think his assent was clear.

Q To follow on that, there were published reports this morning that there's some concern within the United States government that the Amir may strike a deal with the Iraqis -- withdrawal and restoration of power, and we'll just go back to -- did that concern come up at the meeting today?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No.

Q Does that concern exist?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Not as far as I know.

Q General, how can you afford to wait for the U.N. sanctions to work if there's a possibility that that country is being dismantled right now?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, the sanctions have not been in place very long. I believe it is in everyone's interest to see whether or not there is a peaceful resolution of this. There is no question that what's happening inside Kuwait affects the timetable. There is no question about that. But I think we need to at least come to a sincere judgment as to whether or not there's a peaceful way to resolve this.

Q But it sounds as if the timetable -- what's happening inside Kuwait is happening very rapidly. Doesn't that shorten your timetable extraordinarily?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: It certainly affects it, yes.

Q Can you give us any indication of what kind of new timetable we're dealing with?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No.

Q Are we dealing with weeks instead of months?

Q Does this change the administration's view of that from last week when the President himself first expressed concern about the pillaging of Kuwait?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, I don't know that there's been a change since last week.

Q Is there anything in particular that caused the meeting to run long -- something the Amir wanted to discuss that wasn't anticipated, or any particular reason?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, I don't think so.

Q General, you had said that if they cut off food to foreign nationals, that would be considered an act of aggression against Americans.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: It would be added to a long, long list.

Q Would we do anything -- are you making a threat that we --

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, I'm not making a threat, any more

MORE

than surrounding our embassy the way they have, and cutting off water, electricity and so on is an act of aggression.

Q General, Congressman Aspin today at a breakfast with a number of reporters was suggesting that, in fact, he anticipated a war by the first of the year. He gave a number of reasons, including the pillaging of Kuwait and the fact that biological weapons stockpiles would be militarily significant by the first of the year -- Iraqis. Does he know what he's talking about?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I'm not going to touch that one. Thank you. (Laughter.)

Q Does the pillaging of Kuwait and the cutting off of food -- does that increase the pressure on the United States to go to the U.N. and ask for some sort of resolution that specifically mentions the military option?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: That's one of those things which is conceivable, yes.

Q And it does heighten the need for that kind of thing?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: There are additional U.N. articles which could be called into operation, yes.

Q General, was there specific discussion of the possibility of formation of the U.N. force or a force under a U.N. flag?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, not that specific. There was a discussion of the importance, after this was resolved, of some kind of multilateral, Arab, U.N., whatever, kind of a force to help maintain security.

Q But not as one of those other options?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No.

Q Are you saying --

MR. POPADUIK: We have time for two last questions -- Helen and this one.

Q Are you saying that the President could go to the U.N. and ask for a resolution that would include the military option?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I'm saying that there is provision in the U.N. Charter for that. That's all I'm saying.

Q Where is that?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think it's Article 32.

Q We're not talking about this trip to New York now that's coming up?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, he's not going to ask them this trip to New York.

MR. POPADUIK: Wendall has the last question.

Q General, can you tell us if any of the bilaterals that the President will conduct over the next few days bear specifically on this problem? Can you give us an idea of how?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Oh, I think a lot of them will bare specifically on this problem. One, I can assure you that comes to mind directly is that with Prime Minister Thatcher.

MORE

Q That's an obvious one. Give us some others.

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: That will clearly be the focus there. But for a number of them -- he's meeting with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze; it will be important on that. Well, it will come up -- as I look down, it will come up on all most all of the bilaterals.

Q Are there any that he has specific goals for? Any requests for money, for troops, that you're able to talk to us about at any bilateral?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No, he won't focus on that. That was the focus of trips by Secretaries Baker and Brady, and the response there has been good. And he will thank people where it's appropriate and tell people that help is coming where it's appropriate and encourage continued solidarity in this venture.

MR. POPADUIK: Thank you.

Q On biological weapons -- it was a question that came up earlier, General -- you were going to get back to her on that?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: No. She asked me about Congressman Aspin, and he's quite able to speak for himself.

Q No, about developing biological weapons to a military-significant level that could be used by the first of the year?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I wouldn't want to talk about biological weapons.

Q What's the status of the embassy in Kuwait? Is the U.S. still committed to keeping it open or --

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: It's still open.

Q -- how are they doing on food and supplies?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Pretty good so far.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

2:39 P.M. EDT

Affairs Secretary accused ABC News of a lack of objectivity and balance.

VA ADMINISTRATOR DERWINSKI: I am upset at the fact that the public would think that we in the VA are mistreating and not performing to proper standards in treating our veterans.

JAMIESON: Despite his criticism of the broadcast, Derwinski is dispatching a team of inspectors to investigate the care at the VA's Wade Park Hospital.

Bob Jamieson, ABC News, New York.

NBC NIGHTLY NEWS
7:00 PM

NBC TV
SEPTEMBER 28

Emir of Kuwait Meets with Bush

TOM BROKAW: President Bush's patience with Iraq appears to be wearing thin, and his National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft said today that if Iraq makes good on a threat to cut food rations to foreigners, that will be taken as an act of aggression; this as the President met with the exiled Emir of Kuwait.

NBC's John Cochran is at the White House again tonight.

John?

JOHN COCHRAN: Tom, the Kuwaiti Monarch had a grim report today for President Bush, even grimmer than expected.

The Emir told President Bush that reports of new atrocities are true, that Iraqi soldiers have gone into Kuwaiti hospitals taking babies out of incubators and taking adults off life-support systems. White House aides said the escalation of atrocities in Kuwait could speed up any

decision by President Bush to resort to force.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Iraq will fail; Kuwait, a free Kuwait, will endure.

COCHRAN: President Bush was pleased that the U. N. General Assembly gave the Kuwaiti Monarch a standing ovation yesterday. When Bush addresses the U. N. on Monday, he is likely to ask for another resolution condemning Iraqi atrocities. Such a condemnation would help President Bush with world opinion if war breaks out.

Senior U. S. officials tell NBC News there are signs that Saddam Hussein may lash out militarily. Saddam's belligerent remarks this week may be aimed at preparing Iraqis for war. And the recent build-up of troops and missiles in Kuwait seems ominous.

As Bush met with Kuwait's leader, the U. S. Senate prepared a resolution backing Bush's Gulf policy. But some urged the President to admit the U. S. is not defending democracy, because Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are not democracies.

SENATOR MARK HATFIELD: Why are we in the Middle East today? O-I-L. Oil.

COCHRAN: President Bush did not urge the Kuwaiti Monarch today to promise democratic reforms once he is restored to power. But White House aides would certainly be relieved if he made that promise any way without being urged.

PATIENCE OF BUSH ON IRAQ BLOCKADE SAID TO SHORTEN

PLUNDERING IN KUWAIT

Scowcroft Avoids Disclosing How Long Bush Will Wait for Sanctions to Work

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 28 — A top White House official said today that the "systematic destruction" of Kuwait under Iraqi occupation is shortening the time the United States can wait for economic sanctions to drive President Saddam Hussein's army out of the Persian Gulf sheikdom.

But the official, Brent Scowcroft, President Bush's national security adviser, followed the pattern of White House statements in recent weeks, and he stopped short of an explicit warning of American military action.

After a long White House meeting and lunch in which Sheik Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah, the ousted Kuwaiti Emir, warned Mr. Bush of the threatened destruction of his country, Mr. Scowcroft refused to say how long Mr. Bush would wait before concluding that sanctions against Iraq have failed.

An 'Ambitious Dictator'

But he said "there is no question that what is happening inside Kuwait affects the timetable" for that decision. He asserted that Iraqi plundering of Kuwait made it conceivable that the United States would seek another United Nations Security Council resolution, possibly including an explicit mention of the use of military force.

As Mr. Scowcroft spoke, American intelligence reports said Iraq has developed biological weapons that will be able to deliver significant quantities of the deadly agents on the battlefield by early next year. [Page 4.]

Mr. Scowcroft also said the United States would consider it an act of aggression if Iraq carried out a threat to cut off food to foreigners in Kuwait and Iraq on Monday. But he would not say how the United States might respond.

The President offered a harsh condemnation of Iraq after his meeting with the Emir, calling President Saddam Hussein a "ruthless and ambitious dictator."

A New Note of Urgency

In a statement that he read on the White House South Lawn with the robed Emir at his side, Mr. Bush said: "Iraqi aggression has ransacked and pillaged a once peaceful and secure country, its population assaulted, incarcerated, intimidated and even murdered. Iraq's leaders are trying to wipe an internationally recognized sovereign state, a member of the Arab League and the United Nations, off the face of the map."

Mr. Bush's remarks and Mr. Scowcroft's subsequent comments were intended to send another strong signal to President Hussein after a week of international condemnation of Iraq at the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d today concluded a week of meetings in New York with other foreign ministers that left the impression of increasing concern that only a military solution would force President Hussein from Kuwait.

After meeting today with the foreign ministers of the Gulf Cooperation Council, which includes Kuwait and its Persian Gulf neighbors, Mr. Baker said: "I do think there are a number of countries that make it quite clear we should not foreclose options. I think there are more countries that are willing now to express that view."

The Washington Post _____
The New York Times AI
The Washington Times _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The Christian Science Monitor _____
New York Daily News _____
USA Today _____
The Chicago Tribune _____

Date 29 SEPT 1990

Stalling by Iraqi Chief

Administration officials said the Tunisian Foreign Minister, Ismail Khalil, who saw President Hussein in Baghdad on Sunday, told Mr. Baker that the Iraqi leader apparently still believes that the international coalition boycotting Iraq will eventually erode and that he can hold on to Kuwait by stalling for time.

"Saddam still doesn't seem to have gotten the message," an Administration official said.

Kuwaiti officials said before the Emir's meeting with Mr. Bush that the exiled monarch would impress on the President that the Kuwaitis do not believe they can wait for sanctions to take hold on Iraq's economy and would argue that, as one official put it, "military action is the only way."

Mr. Scowcroft said the Emir did not specifically urge Mr. Bush to attack Iraq. But he said, "You could subliminally read between the lines if you wish."

Stance on the 'War Option'

Representative Les Aspin, Democrat of Wisconsin and chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, said he believed that the Administration was "looking more and more favorably on the war option" to force Iraqi troops out of occupied Kuwait.

But Mr. Scowcroft said, "I think we need to at least come to sincere judgment as to whether or not there is a peaceful way to resolve this."

On Capitol Hill today, the Senate began debate on a resolution that offered strong support for Mr. Bush's actions in the gulf, but stopped short of giving a blanket endorsement for unprovoked military strikes against Iraq. A vote on the resolution is expected on Monday, when the House is expected to take action on a similar measure.

CONTINUED

a

The Senate resolution said, "The Congress supports continued action by the President in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations Security Council and in accordance with United States constitutional and statutory processes, including authorization and appropriations of funds by the Congress, to deter Iraqi aggression and to protect American lives and vital interests in the region."

The Resolution's Limits

The resolution reflected the difficulty for lawmakers, who endorse Presidential action so far and believe it is in their political interest to show support but want to be careful to withhold advance approval of actions.

Senator Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, underscored the limits of the resolution.

"This does not constitute authority for the President to initiate unprovoked attacks against Iraq," he said.

The White House gave prominence to the Emir's visit, which came during his first trip to the United States, in an effort to signal to the world that Kuwait was still a viable, sovereign nation. Mr. Scowcroft's appearance at an on-the-record press briefing was unusual, since such briefings are normally handled by a lower-level official from the State Department.

Kuwaiti Emir Praises Bush

After the meeting, the Emir offered effusive praise of Mr. Bush in his formal statement on the South Lawn.

Speaking through an interpreter, he said, "Your principled, courageous and decisive position in the face of the Iraqi aggression on Kuwait is a true expression of the unabated faith and commitment of the American people to the humanitarian morals on which and for which the United States of America was founded."

Mr. Scowcroft said the Emir "described in some detail some of the atrocities being committed by Arabs against Arabs as well as the pillaging and systematic destruction" in Kuwait.

He quoted the ousted leader as saying that Iraqi forces are moving Kuwaitis out of their country and there is "widespread looting, both private, government, of everything movable."

Details of Iraqi Looting

The Emir spoke of "a case of the Iraqis going into hospitals, taking babies out of incubators, to send the incubators back to Iraq, taking other people off life-support systems and sending the machinery back to Iraq," Mr. Scowcroft said.

Given the urgency that the Emir assigned to the situation, Mr. Scowcroft was asked whether the United States could afford to wait for the United Nations sanctions to strangle Iraq's economy. He replied: "There is no question that what's happening inside Kuwait affects the timetable. There's no question about that."

But he also said: "The sanctions have not been in place very long. I believe it is in everyone's interest to see whether or not there is a peaceful resolution of this."

Mr. Scowcroft said Mr. Bush and the Emir did not discuss specific military options, but talked about "military forces, their characteristics, strength, morale and so on."

Mr. Scowcroft was asked whether the United States wanted more action by the Security Council, which has already passed several resolutions on the gulf crisis. He said there was no specific plan for a new resolution, but added that "this whole element of what the Iraqis are doing inside Kuwait to a whole people could conceivably be the subject of another U.N. action."