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APRIL

April 9, 1992

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL THURSDAY, APRIL

U.S. Aide Talks of Iraqi Arms Movement in North

WASHINGTON, April 8 (Reuters) — A White House official expressed concern today over reports that Iraq had moved missile batteries and troops to the country's northern region, raising the possibility that it intends to attack Kurdish rebels.

"It's a matter of considerable concern," said the official. Brent Scowcroft, President Bush's national security adviser, "We take it very, very seriously."

Other officials said the State Department planned to issue a warning to Iraq that it not aim surface-to-air missiles at United States, British and French planes operating in the region.

They said the warning was expected in light of the reports that President Saddam Hussein's forces had moved SAM-2 and SAM-3 anti-aircraft batteries into the north, where the United Nations is providing aid to the Kurds.

Mr. Scowcroft, interviewed on CNN, said, "There have been movements of ground forces approaching the Kurdish areas. There hasn't been any activity yet, but one cannot rule out the possibility of military action from the Iraqis against the Kurds."

Baghdad's forces attacked the Kurds a year ago, after they were driven out of Kuwait by American-led armies. Their ability to carry out such an at-

tack after their defeat on the battlefield tarnished the Gulf war victory, and left Mr. Bush with a further score to settle with Mr. Hussein.

Today, Mr. Scowcroft said the United States was consulting with allies on Iraqi military movements, but refused to answer directly when asked if military action might be imminent against the Iraqis. "I don't know, but we're also reviewing that and we take that very seriously as well," he said.

In London, British officials said Prime Minister John Major discussed the situation today with Gen. Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The officials said Iraqi missiles

had been moved north of the 36th parallel, in defiance of the United Nations.

In another matter stemming from the Gulf war, a United Nations team began destroying an Iraqi nuclear complex today. Dimitri Perricos, the team leader, confirmed the action on his return from the Atheer installation, south of Baghdad.

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TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "NBC NEWS' MEET THE PRESS."*

NBC News

MEET THE PRESS

Sunday, April 12, 1992

GUEST:

BRENT SCOWCROFT
Special Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

MODERATOR:

Tim Russert - NBC News

PANEL:

Elizabeth Drew - The New Yorker
Robert Novak - The Chicago Sun-Times

- - -

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MR. RUSSERT: Hello again, I'm Tim Russert, and this is "Meet the Press." Our issue this Sunday--the world's trouble spots. Our guest--the president's national security adviser, General Brent Scowcroft.

(Announcement)

MR. RUSSERT: The Berlin Wall is down, the Soviet Union is no more, yet the world still seems to be quite a dangerous place--different, but still dangerous. Russia, Iraq, China, just a few of the areas to be discussed today with our guest, the assistant to the president for national security affairs, General Brent Scowcroft. Welcome to "Meet the Press."

MR. SCOWCROFT: Thank you, Tim.

MR. RUSSERT: And joining me at our table this morning, Elizabeth Drew of The New Yorker and Robert Novak of The Chicago Sun-Times.

General Scowcroft, let's turn to Russia. Yesterday there was a vote in the Russian parliament--this is the way the first deputy prime Minister, Mr. Gaidar, described it: "To put it bluntly, today's decision completely revises the course of economic reform. This is the death of any hope of serious cooperation with the outside world in healing our economy."

What does this mean for the United States in terms of providing aid to Russia?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, first I'd say it's not over. There has been jockeying back and forth ever since the congress convened. This is a conservative body, elected, appointed, before the revolution of last August, and I think Yeltsin has done reasonably well. Remember, the congress started out with a vote of no confidence, which he fairly narrowly beat, and I think he'll come back again.

Really what's happened now is he asked for six more months of essentially emergency powers when the cabinet would work for him, not be accountable to the congress; they've said no, you can have three.

So I don't think it's quite that cataclysmic.

MR. RUSSERT: But the vote in the parliament is to rescind some of Mr. Yeltsin's power. And, in fact, after July he would no longer be prime minister--

MR. SCOWCROFT: That's right.

MR. RUSSERT: --in charge of the economic program. If the parliament does not change its course, rescind this vote, can we still go forward and provide economic aid?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, I think we have to look and see what really happens. If in fact congress gets control over economic policy, you can assume it will be less reformist, less dramatic, than Yeltsin has planned.

MR. RUSSERT: And that would affect our--

MR. SCOWCROFT: That would affect it, because one of the reasons that we were able to

announce the program is that just the day before we announced there was a shadow IMF agreement with Russia on the scope of their reforms, making aid that we're proposing a reasonable proposition.

MR. RUSSERT: So unless control of the economic reforms remains in the hands of Mr. Yeltsin, revert back to Mr. Yeltsin after this vote, aid to Russia would be in jeopardy.

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, I wouldn't go that far. What I'm saying is that the arrangement, however it comes out, has to be such that economic reform can go forward.

MR. RUSSERT: How much money are we talking about from the United States?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, from the United States you have, first of all, money that's already in the IMF, which in a sense belongs to the United States. We're talking about a little over a billion dollars in grain credits; we're talking about a little over 600 million in technical assistance. And that's the bulk of it.

It could be, depending on how this all works out, as much as three billion dollars.

MR. RUSSERT: How much credit does former President Richard Nixon for helping move this country towards giving aid to what we now call Russia?

MR. SCOWCROFT: I think he deserves some credit, and in this sense, that we've been working for months on this particular program, but the one thing that President Nixon did is to get it out of the scope, if you will, of just another economic aid giveaway program, and said how important it was, what a momentous time this was in history, and that we needed to move ahead--because this is more than just aid.

MS. DREW: General Scowcroft, now that there is no Soviet Union, what would you say are the top two or three possible threats to the United States security or interest?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, I would say, just because there's no Soviet Union does not mean that that is not one of the world's potential trouble spots. And one of the reason for the program announced is to try to help them along the way to democracy and to fundamental change in the orientation of that system?

MS. DREW: Where else?

MR. SCOWCROFT: The Middle East is a perennial trouble spot. Korea--we're worried about Korea and the possibilities of North Korea misbehavior. Over the past 50 years, there's been time and time again when they've done things sort of bizarre in the logic sense.

MS. DREW: And what would be do about it if they did that kind of activity again?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, I think that the acquisition of nuclear weapons by North Korea would be something we would take very, very seriously. The North and the South are now working, trying to work out inspection regimes, and so on, to prevent that from happening. We're watching it

very closely.

MS. DREW: What do you mean "take it very, very seriously"?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Very, very--very, very, very seriously.

MS. DREW: Apparently, the administration is not conducting any overall post Soviet Union review of our foreign policy. Why not?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, you know, I saw those pieces. Of course, while we don't have something with a label, U.S. world foreign policy, we have been doing it in the area of NATO, in the area of military forces and the scope of the world. Of course we're doing it.

MS. DREW: Now, you and the president used to talk a lot about something called the new world order. What happened to that?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Nothing.

MS. DREW: Well, you don't talk about it anymore.

MR. SCOWCROFT: Of course we talk about it. You just don't write it anymore.

MS. DREW: I don't read it anymore.

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, look, I think if you look at the broad scope of what we're trying to do, politically we're trying to advance democracy. It's doing quite well right now. We're trying to support democracy all around the world. Economically, we are pushing hard for an open world economic system, which we think is good not only for America, but for the promotion of trade and world growth, and in a security sense, the sort of new world order idea, where the United States--not the world policeman; we have no appetite nor probably the ability to do that, but as the leader of, is you will, the industrial democracies in a coalition sense through the U.N. to deal with the political issues of security around the world.

MR. NOVAK: General Scowcroft, just briefly returning to your answers to Tim's questions, do I infer correctly from what you say that if Russia does not follow the guidelines of the IMF, the International Monetary Fund, which have been so spectacularly unsuccessful in the third world, we don't give them any money?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, we have to be very careful, Bob, that we don't pour large amounts of money into a system where there's no expectation that it will be used profitably. That's a very large economy. Unreformed, it can absorb unbelievable amounts of money with no change, which it's done in part already.

MR. NOVAK: I'm asking you, notwithstanding its terrible track record, do you think IMF has the right formula for Russia?

MR. SCOWCROFT: I think IMF--yes. Yes, I do.

MR. NOVAK: General, one year after our great victory in the Persian Gulf, Saddam Hussein we find has anti-aircraft missiles in the violation of the U.N. in the north, he is pounding the dickens out of the Kurds. Are we going to do anything about it, or are we just going to wag our finger at him?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, I'm not going to tell you what we're going to do about it. First of all, he's not pounding the dickens out of the Kurds yet, but he's making very ominous preparations up there. He has installed some surface-to-air missiles in the zone, in the prohibited zone for his--

MR. NOVAK: What are you going to do about that?

MR. SCOWCROFT: We are talking with our allies.

MR. NOVAK: Is it possible we'll take military action on that?

MR. SCOWCROFT: I wouldn't rule anything out.

MR. NOVAK: So you wouldn't rule that out?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Would not rule it out, no.

MR. NOVAK: Now, the development one year after the war is over is that a lot of people believe that Iran has become--in fact, the director of central intelligence, Mr. Gates, is indicating that Iran is becoming the regional superpower. Is that alarming to U.S. interests?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, there are some troublesome indications about Iran and the direction that it may be going. First of all, they do have a very massive military buildup program going on. There have been disquieting signs of a turn away from what one--what we conveniently call the Rafsanjani program of moderation. But the election which started yesterday, I think what you could call moderates seem to have done quite well. I think we need to reserve judgment on Iran for a moment.

MR. NOVAK: In that connection, sir, we used to use Iraq as a kind of counterweight against Iran. Whose our counterweight now?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Against Iran?

MR. NOVAK: Yes, sir.

MR. SCOWCROFT: We don't have a particular counterweight, not in the sense that Iraq was, but we're building stability in the region. We still have significant force there. And I think one of the things that we have demonstrated is our ability to come to the aid of any gross instabilities which develop in the region.

MR. RUSSERT: General, I want to make sure I have this clear. If the Iraqi anti-aircraft guns shot at American reconnaissance flights, we would respond in kind?

MR. SCOWCROFT: I don't want you to have it too clear. We--as I told Elizabeth, we will take it very seriously and they will not get away with anything.

MR. RUSSERT: Let me ask one other question about the war, coming from another perspective. What would you say to the women and children of Iraq, who through no fault of their own live under this despot, who are having a hard time with getting food and medicine and trying to survive?

MR. SCOWCROFT: I think they ought to tell their mothers and daddies to get rid of him. We are not keeping--

MR. RUSSERT: But what do they do in the meantime?

MR. SCOWCROFT: We are not keeping any food, medicine, any of those things from the Iraqi people. Saddam Hussein is. He's stockpiling it in different places. He's distributing it only to his friends. That's the problem. It's not that the United States is starving out the people of Iraq, against whom we have no problem.

MR. RUSSERT: We're going to have to take a break for just a minute. We'll be back with General Scowcroft in a few moments.

(Announcements)

MR. RUSSERT: We're back, talking to the man who advises George Bush on national security affairs, General Brent Scowcroft.

General, let me turn to China. Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator David Boren, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee--both senators charged with foreign policy oversight of this country--were denied visas to travel to China. How would you describe that action by the Chinese government?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Not very smart.

MR. RUSSERT: And what will be the consequences?

MR. SCOWCROFT: I think the consequences will be--this is just a guess--that the two senators will be allowed to go to China.

MR. RUSSERT: If they are not allowed to travel, will we hold up most-favored-nation status from the Chinese in July when it's up for renewal?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, it certainly won't help its course through the Congress, whatever the president does.

MR. RUSSERT: What would you recommend?

MR. SCOWCROFT: But I think what really happened there is that the Chinese viewed this as just a political gambit against Tibet, whether it was or was not. And of course they're very sensitive about that.

But I think it was made at the bureaucratic level, and we're working on it.

MR. RUSSERT: So the most-favored-nation status would be in jeopardy unless the visas were granted?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Oh, yes. Well, it's in jeopardy anyway.

MR. RUSSERT: Let me ask you another question on the same subject. William Broomfield, the ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, had this to say--a Republican, now: "We can't go along doing business as usual with this outlaw regime."

Do you think the regime in China is outlaw at this point?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, it certainly is by the standards which we apply to ourselves and to our friends. I think one of the things--they are not doing the kinds of things, especially in human rights, that we would like. We have had problems with them on missile technology transfers, we've had trade problems.

MR. RUSSERT: They promised Secretary Baker, Secretary of State Baker, that they would stop shipping missiles to the Middle East. Is there any evidence that they've done that?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Yes.

MR. RUSSERT: There is?

MR. SCOWCROFT: There is--yes, there is. Since they formally agreed to join the Missile Technology Control Regime, yes, there is evidence. We're going to be watching it very closely.

MR. RUSSERT: In light of the visa denial, and in light of Congressman Broomfield's comments, how would you rate administration policy towards China right now?

MR. SCOWCROFT: I would say that, if we have some time, it is being successful. Now, what is really happening is down in the south of China, entrepreneurial economic systems are thriving. That is a booming area. It is a demonstration even to the hard-liners in China what free enterprise can do, eventually that will be I think triumphant in the political as well as the economic regime. That's what preserving MFN has done for us.

When we started MFN under President Carter, started granting it on a provisional basis, about 85 to 90 percent of all the entities that we did business with were government-owned; now it's well under 50 percent. I mean, that's dramatic progress--and in a country the size of China, sure, it's taken a long time; sure, it's going slowly. I think we're on the right track.

MS. DREW: General Scowcroft, there was a report out of the Pentagon last week that some of the weapons used in the gulf war did not perform as advertised at the time. I wonder what you think about this. Doesn't this set up another credibility problem next time we're told that weapons work? Was it worth it?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, I'll be honest, I have not yet seen the report, Elizabeth. Nothing works as advertised. I have to look at it very carefully, but I think in the exuberance of the first days, you know, where people were sitting in Baghdad and say they saw cruise missiles coming down the street, turning right at the intersection and destroying buildings--you know, that's a little hyperbole. I think we have every reason to be pleased with the performance of especially our high-tech weapons systems in this war. I haven't seen anything which would indicate the way it has sometimes in the past that our really great systems don't work.

MS. DREW: Manuel Noriega was convicted last week, as you are well aware. Yet there are reports that there is as much drug running and money laundering in Panama as ever before, perhaps as much drug running and money laundering in Panama as ever before, perhaps as much, and we had to lighten sentences on about 16 drug kingpins in order to get his conviction. So what have we achieved?

MR. SCOWCROFT: I think we have achieved a great deal. First of all, he's out of there. It was a detestable regime. We have democracy in Panama. They have a growth rate over the last year of 9 percent. Unemployment is down 20 points. Drug dealing is down dramatically. It has not been wiped out; it is down dramatically.

MS. DREW: Bill Clinton gave a foreign policy speech this last week, as I'm sure you're aware. And among the things he said were that Japan and Germany should be given permanent seats in the Security Council. What do you think of that idea?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Well, I think sooner or later, we're going to have to look very hard at the makeup of the Security Council. But I mean, you're talking about a thorny problem.

MS. DREW: So you oppose this--

MR. SCOWCROFT: No, but it's not that simple. Then what do you do with India? You know, how do you get the right kind of representation? Should--for example, maybe Europe just ought to have an EC seat rather than individual countries. But these things ought to be looked at very carefully and at length so that we don't do something which destroys what, at least over the last year and a half, has been an extremely useful instrument.

MR. NOVAK: General Scowcroft, the inspector general of the State Department found evidence of technology transfer of U.S. technology by Israel to other countries, including China. This was overridden by the political leadership of the State Department. Wasn't this an election year act by the State Department, particularly when Governor Clinton is accusing Secretary of State Baker of overt--of encouraging overt antisemitism?

MR. SCOWCROFT: You mean--

MR. NOVAK: Overriding the inspector general.

MR. SCOWCROFT: Overriding? Well, the inspector general really wasn't overridden. The report is out, so--

MR. NOVAK: But the secretary of state--the State Department announced there was no technology transfer, there was no evidence of it, when there was evidence--

MR. SCOWCROFT: No, I think--I don't know what you're talking about. The Patriots is a special case. There was a case dealing with South Africa. But many of the other reports are still out and in the public domain.

MR. NOVAK: Well, let me ask you a flat question. In your opinion, was there technology transfer of the Patriot technology by Israel to China?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Let me put it this way. There were allegations of it, and we investigated--sent a team over, investigated those allegations, and the team came back and said they found absolutely no evidence to support those allegations.

MR. NOVAK: But Chinese officials are saying there was a transfer, and the Pentagon has made statements that they suggest that there was.

MR. SCOWCROFT: What we have right now are allegations and an inspection. And I think I just have to leave it right there.

MR. NOVAK: All right, maybe you can explain one other thing to me, sir. In regard to China, that we are tolerating continuing relations with this brutal dictatorship, and when the elected president of Peru, President Fujimori, with wide popular consent, is trying to crack down, we immediately cut off aid. That isn't very consistent as U.S. policy, is it?

MR. SCOWCROFT: Yes, I think it's consistent policy. That's a very difficult situation. Fujimori is trying to do the kinds of things that we want done--he's trying to crack down on drugs, economic reform, all those kinds of things. But the problem is that it is extremely dangerous to try to save democracy by destroying democracy.

MR. NOVAK: We know better than he does?

MR. SCOWCROFT: No, we don't, but we have a hemisphere now, the whole of Latin America, that is democratic; it is fragile--there are assaults on it in various places. Haiti, it was overthrown. There was an attack on democracy in Venezuela. We have to be very careful that we don't give encouragement to forces, even for good reasons, who want to do the kinds of things that destroy democracy.

The heart of democracy is that the rules are more important than winning.

MR. RUSSERT: General Scowcroft, we'll have to leave it there. Thanks for joining us this morning on "Meet the Press."

MR. SCOWCROFT: It's my pleasure.

MR. RUSSERT: And, in a moment, Elizabeth Drew, Bob Novak and I will be back to talk some presidential politics.

(Announcements)

MR. RUSSERT: Elizabeth, Bob, from foreign policy to politics. Bill Clinton's going to be the nominee of the Democratic Party?

MS. DREW: So it seems.

MR. RUSSERT: Does he have a chance against George Bush?

MS. DREW: Well, I don't think it would be right to say he has no chance. He has a big struggle ahead of him, and it could be a close and very tough election--Clinton has showed us that he doesn't give up easily, and that he's very tough.

But if it's a close election in those big electoral vote states, if he has so much as a three percent or more drag on his because people are bothered by some of the personal stories or what has to be called his character, then he's going to lose.

MR. RUSSERT: He has to get the character issue behind him and move into the issue of change in order to have any real chance of--

MS. DREW: He does, and that's very difficult. It's one thing to persuade the public that somebody isn't a wimp, to take a wild example, but to persuade people that he's honest when there are these sort of stories where he's shaded the truth a little bit is much harder.

MR. RUSSERT: Two toughest things in politics to overcome--the notion of integrity or intelligence. Lack of each and you're in real trouble.

Bob, Ross Perot was in town on Friday. You had a chance to talk with him. Is he going to run? And should he be taken seriously?

MR. NOVAK: Yes and yes. I believe he will run. I believe he's going to get his name on all 50 ballots. That is not an Olympic feat to do that.

Secondly, he should be taken seriously. He should be taken a great deal more seriously than I think he's being taken by the conventional wisdom inside Washington because of the fact that there is a lot of negative feeling about both President Bush and Governor Clinton.

MR. RUSSERT: Who does he hurt more, President Bush or Governor Clinton?

MR. NOVAK: I don't think you can tell right now. The exit polls out of New York last Tuesday, or out of Wisconsin Tuesday, indicate that 30 percent out of all Democratic voters would vote for Ross Perot.

The problem with Ross Perot, Tim, is that he has not yet decided what he thinks on a lot of issues. In a lot of way, that's charming, considering the way the politicians have pat answers. But he has a dynamism and a feeling that here is a leader that makes him a serious contender.

MR. RUSSERT: Lars Eric Nelson in The Daily News had a comment the other day, saying that the only time our political--current politicoes sound intelligent or logical or believable is when they're leaving office. We have seen a rash of people leaving Washington--Senator Wirth, Congressman Weber, Senator Rudman. Are more about to come, Elizabeth?

MS. DREW: Probably, but I think the stories may be a little bit more mixed than what these people are telling us, that there could be other reasons that they're leaving. And I think it also suggests some admiration is in order for the people who want to stay in and keep trying to change this country.

MR. RUSSERT: Keep slogging on the tough fight.

MS. DREW: Right, exactly.

MR. RUSSERT: Elizabeth, Bob, thanks for coming by.

That's it for today. We'll be back next week. If it's Sunday, it's "Meet the Press." See you then.

Scowcroft Is Accusing Iraqis Of Preparing to Attack Kurds

WASHINGTON, April 12 (AP) — President Bush's national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, said today that Iraq was "making very ominous preparations" for action against its Kurdish rebels and that he would not rule out the use of United States military force to stop it.

Mr. Scowcroft said that Iraqi forces had illegally installed surface-to-air missiles in the north and that the United States had been consulting allies about a response.

"He's not pounding the dickens out of the Kurds yet, but he's making very ominous preparations up there," Mr. Scowcroft said on the NBC program "Meet the Press."

Asked how the United States would respond if the missiles were used against American reconnaissance flights, he said, "They will not get away with anything."

On Friday, the United Nations Security Council warned Iraq that it would face "serious consequences" if it interfered with U-2 spy plane flights by United Nations weapons inspectors. Iraq had urged a halt to such flights and said they were in danger from possible "unfortunate incidents."

U.S. Action Against Iraq Not Ruled Out

Scowcroft Calls Baghdad's Preparations in North 'Very Ominous'

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

White House national security adviser Brent Scowcroft said yesterday he would not rule out military action against Iraq if it tries to prevent U-2 reconnaissance flights now being carried out under U.N. auspices.

Scowcroft said recent military preparations by Baghdad in northern Iraq, including new antiaircraft missile emplacements, were "very ominous." Speaking on NBC's "Meet the Press," he warned that the Iraqis "will not get away with anything."

The U-2 surveillance aircraft being sent to the United States and are manned by Americans, but they display U.N. markings and fly over Iraqi territory to monitor Iraq's chemical, biological, nuclear and ballistic weapons capabilities.

Iraq warned against the overflights in a letter to the United Nations last week, calling them "unjustified" and saying they could lead to "unfortunate incidents."

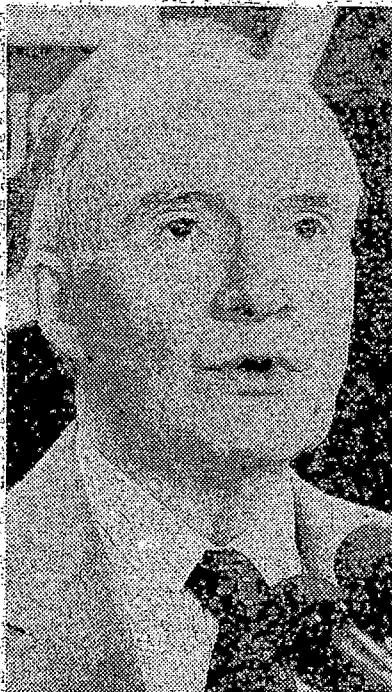
Iraq recently activated the anti-aircraft batteries in the country's northern Kurdish zone, reserved by the allies for their own air operations, and sent Iraqi combat planes to the skies, from airfields near Baghdad, for the first time since the Persian Gulf War. Iraq also has been building up ground forces between the Kurdish strongholds of Mosul and Irbil.

The Bush administration is "talking with our allies" about an appropriate response, Scowcroft said, but he did not say whether that might be military action. He said he "would not rule it out."

The U.N. Security Council condemned Baghdad Friday for failing to guarantee the safety of the reconnaissance flights, which would have serious consequences.

According to a Reuters report, a Baath Party official was quoted in an Iraqi newspaper yesterday as saying that Iraq's army would not enter rebel-held Kurdistan because the leadership has decided that not a drop of Iraqi blood should be shed in the area.

Kurdish rebels said last week that they believed Iraqi President



BRENT SCOWCROFT
criticizes China's refusal of visas

rather than risk a new confrontation with Britain and the United States, Reuters reported.

In other remarks about Iraq, CIA Director Robert M. Gates said in an interview with Time magazine that Saddam probably has "a couple of hundred Scud missiles" still hidden away and that he could reconstitute his biological weapons program "in weeks."

On "Meet the Press," Scowcroft also was critical of China for refusing visas for a mid-April visit by two Democratic Senate committee chairmen and said the move could jeopardize the administration's plans to extend trade privileges to China for another year.

Senate intelligence committee Chairman David L. Boren (D-Okla.) and Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) wanted to go to Tibet during the Easter recess, but Chinese officials withheld visas, calling the timing "inconvenient."

Scowcroft called the action "not very smart" and said administration officials were "working on it." He said the Chinese probably viewed the proposed trip as "a political gambit" to draw attention to human rights violations in Tibet.

The Senate last month upheld by a six-vote margin President Bush's veto of legislation to impose tough

favorable trading status for China. The administration is hoping to get China's MFN status through Congress for another year. It expires in July.

Asked if MFN status for China would be in jeopardy unless the visas were granted, Scowcroft said, "Oh, yes. Well, it's in jeopardy anyway." But he argued that the trading privileges have been highly successful in the south of China, "where entrepreneurial economic systems are thriving," and have shown "even to the hard-liners in China what free enterprise can do."

Critics of Bush's China policies also have complained of Beijing's missile shipments to the Middle East, but Scowcroft said "there is evidence" that these have stopped since China recently agreed to join the Missile Technology Control Regime, a set of guidelines drafted by the major industrialized powers to restrict arms proliferation.

On other issues, Scowcroft said the United States would take acquisition of nuclear weapons by North Korea "very, very, very seriously." But he took a wait-and-see attitude toward the Russian Congress's decision Saturday to force Russian President Boris Yeltsin to step down as acting prime minister in July, thereby ending Yeltsin's direct control of the government.

Yeltsin's economic strategists warned that the action could throttle Yeltsin's radical "shock therapy" and threatened to quit the government unless the vote is reversed.

Scowcroft predicted that Yeltsin would "come back again."

"Really, what's happened now is he asked for six more months of essentially emergency powers when the cabinet would work for him, not be accountable to the Congress; they've said, 'No, you can have three,'" Scowcroft said. "I don't think it's quite that cataclysmic."

The administration is backing a Western aid package for Russia that Scowcroft said could include "as much as \$3 billion" in U.S. credits and assistance. Describing economic reform as essential no matter who is in charge in Moscow, Scowcroft said, "We have to be very careful that we don't pour large amounts of money into a system where there's no management that it

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Tuesday, April 14, 1992

FOR MORE INFORMATION,
CONTACT: JANE KRATOVIL
202/223-6710
BILL WALKER, 717/337-6800

**SCOWCROFT
TO RECEIVE FIRST
EISENHOWER LEADERSHIP PRIZE
AT
D-DAY EVE TRIBUTE**

Washington, DC -- General **Brent Scowcroft**, National Security Advisor to President **George Bush**, has been awarded the first *Eisenhower Leadership Prize*. Scowcroft will receive the award at a dinner held in his honor on Friday, June 5, 1992, in Washington, DC.

General **Andrew J. Goodpaster**, USA (Ret.), former Supreme Allied Commander of NATO and staff secretary to President Eisenhower, is chairman of the D-Day eve *Eisenhower Leadership Dinner*. Honorary Co-Chairs are Senator **Ted Stevens** of Alaska, former Senator and White House Chief of Staff **Howard H. Baker, Jr.**, and former Ambassador **Anne L. Armstrong**.

"I am deeply moved to receive the Eisenhower Leadership Prize," said Scowcroft, who, like **Dwight D. Eisenhower**, is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. "He was always a strong model for me. I learned much from the integrity, discretion and sense of balance that were the hallmarks of his leadership."

- more -

SCOWCROFT TO RECEIVE AWARD/2
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The Eisenhower Leadership Prize, founded in 1990 as a tribute to Dwight Eisenhower on the occasion of the centennial of his birth, is jointly awarded by **Gettysburg College** and the **Eisenhower World Affairs Institute**. The prize was established to highlight the need to teach and learn leadership skills. It will call attention "not just to leaders," said Gettysburg President **Gordon A. Haaland**, "but to leaders who embody the kind of skills that were second nature to Eisenhower. Traits like integrity and honesty, and being fair, open, and direct -- that's where real leadership begins." He added, "Only when an individual possesses such core qualities can he or she provide the kind of dedicated service exemplified by Dwight Eisenhower during his career, and by General Scowcroft in his."

General Scowcroft started working for his fifth U.S. president when he became Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs on January 20, 1989. His White House service began two decades earlier as President Nixon's military assistant. He later became Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs in 1973, and continued in that capacity for President Ford.

Scowcroft was promoted in 1975 to his first tour as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (national security advisor). President Carter tapped him for the Advisory Committee on Arms Control, and President Reagan called on him to serve on three commissions relating to military and security affairs, including the Tower Board that investigated Iran-Contra.

The Eisenhower Leadership Prize, which normally carries a \$25,000 cash award that Scowcroft declined, will be presented at a black-tie dinner dance at the Washington Hilton Hotel. The prize winner is selected for having a clear vision that affirms basic human values, an ability to articulate

- more -

SCOWCROFT TO RECEIVE AWARD/3
April 14, 1992

that vision persuasively, and an ability to motivate others to implement that vision. "Brent Scowcroft's dedication to serving the nation is unmatched," said Gen. Goodpaster. "His distinguished leadership and support of the president are truly exemplary." Goodpaster chairs the Institute's Advisory Board and has been a top military advisor for four decades.

The prize also aims to encourage young men and women to emulate Eisenhower's commitment to leadership. Scowcroft said, "I am heartened by the fact that recent history and public opinion have begun to show long overdue recognition for Eisenhower's leadership skills. Being the recipient of this prestigious award, especially the first recipient, is indeed a high honor for me."

Scowcroft's military career included service on the staffs of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the U.S. Air Force headquarters, and the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. He also taught at the military and air force academies. In addition to graduating from West Point in 1947, he received his Doctorate in international relations from Columbia University in 1967.

Rocco C. Siciliano, President of the Eisenhower Institute, said "the selection of Brent Scowcroft is ideal. Were Dwight Eisenhower alive today he'd probably be embarrassed that such an award was named after him, but he'd surely applaud the choice."

Members of the Eisenhower Leadership Prize selection board include, in addition to Goodpaster, Haaland, and Siciliano: **Charles Anderson**, Chairman of Gettysburg College's Board of Trustees; **Gwendolyn Baker**,

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Executive Director, YWCA; **Charles Corddry**, The Baltimore Sun; **C. Douglas Dillon**, former Treasury Secretary and Eisenhower's Ambassador to France; **David Eisenhower**, grandson and biographer of the former U.S. president; **Elsie Hillman**, Republican National Committeewoman; **Drew Lewis**, Chairman, President & CEO, Union Pacific; **David McLaughlin**, President, The Aspen Institute; **H. Ross Perot**, industrialist; and **William Scranton**, former Governor of Pennsylvania.

ABOUT THE EISENHOWER WORLD AFFAIRS INSTITUTE

The Eisenhower World Affairs Institute, an Affiliate of Gettysburg College, conducts educational and leadership development programs to strengthen democratic institutions in the United States and around the world. The nonpartisan Institute builds on Dwight D. Eisenhower's legacy in carrying out this mission. Founded on June 6, 1983, the Institute conducts various scholarship, leadership studies, public affairs dialogue and college support programs. It played a lead role in the 1990 commemorations of the 100th anniversary of President Eisenhower's birth and served as the organizing body for the U.S. government's Dwight D. Eisenhower Centennial Commission. Upon the conclusion of the Eisenhower Centennial -- an unprecedented series of substantive and ceremonial observances in 14 countries and dozens of cities across the nation -- the Institute and Gettysburg College affiliated in the spring of 1991.

ABOUT GETTYSBURG COLLEGE

Gettysburg College, founded in 1832, enrolls 2,000 students and offers 29 bachelor's degrees. Its reputation has risen dramatically over the past few years; numerous studies rank it among the nation's best liberal arts colleges. The 200-acre campus, just 90 minutes from the nation's capital, is situated in southern Pennsylvania countryside near historic Civil War battlefields and the Eisenhower Farm, the only home ever owned by Ike and Mamie. Upon retiring from the U.S. presidency, Dwight Eisenhower wrote his memoirs at an office on the campus and served as a trustee of the College for eight years.

THE
EISENHOWER
WORLD AFFAIRS INSTITUTE
AN AFFILIATE OF GETTYSBURG COLLEGE

**1992 Eisenhower Leadership Prize
Recipient & Speaker**

The Honorable Brent Scowcroft

Honorary Chairmen

The Honorable Anne L. Armstrong
The Honorable Howard H. Baker, Jr. The Honorable Ted Stevens

Leadership Dinner Chairman

General Andrew J. Goodpaster, USA (Ret.)

Leadership Dinner Committee

Joshua B. Bolten
Harold Burson
Chris P. Dialynas
John D. Evans
James R. Galbraith
Arthur Gray, Jr.
Gordon A. Haaland
The Hon. John W. Hanes, Jr.
The Hon. Edwin L. Harper
The Hon. Karl G. Harr, Jr.
The Hon. Rita E. Hauser
The Hon. Henry A. Kissinger
The Hon. Tom C. Korologos
Jane L. Kratovil
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John W. Rollins, Sr.
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The Hon. Rocco C. Siciliano
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The Hon. Maurice H. Stans
The Hon. Charles E. Walker
The Hon. John K. Van de Kamp
The Hon. Abbott M. Washburn
The Hon. C. Langhorne Washburn

Leadership Prize Selection Committee

Charles E. Anderson
Dr. Gwendolyn C. Baker
Charles W. Corddry
The Hon. C. Douglas Dillon
The Hon. D. David Eisenhower, II
Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster
Gordon A. Haaland

Elsie H. Hillman
The Hon. Drew Lewis
David T. McLaughlin
H. Ross Perot
The Hon. William W. Scranton
The Hon. Rocco C. Siciliano

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Bandarbush

WASHINGTON — Ambassador Bandar bin Sultan may only be a prince in Saudi Arabia, but he has become the King of Washington, D.C.

In the 80's, he told Bill Casey of the Reagan-Bush Administration that the kingdom wanted U.S. arms and credit to flow to Saddam Hussein in his war with non-Arab Iran. The U.S. delivered.

As the '90's began, the articulate former jet pilot passed the word that the kingdom was threatened by Saddam's invasion of Kuwait and would allow us to defend Saudi Arabia. Within days, President Bush made a commitment to send a huge expeditionary force abroad.

After Saddam's defeat, Prince Bandar cautioned his Oval Office con-

— have been systematically breaking this agreement.

In an eye-opening, documented article in The Los Angeles Times, reporters Murray Waas and Douglas Frantz detail how the Saudis in 1986 had transferred what a secret State cable identified as "U.S. origin MK-84 bombs to Iraq."

Apparently Prince Bandar admitted the illegal transfer, but was able to persuade the Reagan White House to break our laws by concealing it from Congress. The honest cable writer noted that State was "required by the Arms Export Control Act to report promptly — repeat promptly — to Congress." But no report on the 2,000-pound blockbusters was made.

Mr. Bush, as President, continued the illegal Saudi conduit. Asked about this, he replies, "No, No." But after the gulf war ended, the Saudis secretly transferred U.S.-made armored vehicles and trucks to Syria and Bangladesh. Great teeth-gnashing occurred at CIA in January, when a naive Bangladesh official sought spare parts for U.S. armored personnel carriers directly from the U.S., instead of dealing secretly through a Saudi cut-out.

Imagine Prince Bandar's dilemma as this year began. In the past 20 months, the U.S. had sold his kingdom \$15 billion of its most powerful weaponry. Finally, the qualitative edge in the region could be gained by the purchase of the first squadron of attack F-15's. But all was in jeopardy because news of the illegal transfers was about to become public.

Now we know why, last month, a sudden brouhaha was raised accusing Israel of being the great culprit in arms transfers. Psychologists call it "transference," and the pre-emptive publicity strike almost worked.

A CIA-Defense source told The Washington Times a phony about-Israeli re-selling Patriot missiles. The Wall Street Journal's Washington bureau swallowed the anti-Israeli spin on a State Department report that covered up the Bandarbush conspiracy. The Washington Post was embarrassed by running a syndicated concoction that the authors — under withering Op-Ed attack from an accurate journalist — were forced to recant.

The campaign to muddy the arms transfer waters was generated by defense contractors eager to sell arms to the Saudis, CIA and Defense sources taking a Saudi tilt, and a State Department slavishly following the Bandarbush line. Thus were Americans nearly bamboozled by a country whose King has just told his subjects that "democracy would be inappropriate."

Behind the pre-emptive publicity strike.

dur, Brent Scowcroft, not to finish off the Iraqi regime, lest Iran gain sway in the gulf. Our geopolitical babe in the woods dutifully advised Mr. Bush to let the Kurdish-Shiite uprising be crushed.

When Saddam was able to retain power and rebuild his potential for mass destruction, the Saudi Ambassador shifted his position and told President Bush his kingdom wanted a world crackdown on Baghdad. His friend in the White House promptly threatened an air attack, and the Iraqis temporarily backed down.

When Prince Bandar says "jump," George Bush asks "how high?" In this fourth year of the Bandarbush Administration, "high" equals 72 of America's most sought-after attack aircraft, the F-15E. Mr. Bush wants to spring aloft, but over half the House of Representatives has denounced this "significant escalation of the regional arms race."

That resistance presents a small problem. Back in the 80's, when Reagan-Bush geopoliticians were eager to sell AWAC's to Saudi Arabia, Congress approved the sale only on condition that the Saudis agree not to sell or otherwise transfer our technology to other nations.

But unbeknownst to Congress, for the past decade the Saudis — often with the guilty knowledge of the White House and State Department

NYT April 21, 1992

Baker Weighing a Break With Belgrade

By DAVID BINDER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 20 — Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d is considering a break in American relations with the Serbian-dominated Government of Yugoslavia and the closing of the United States Embassy in Belgrade, Administration officials said today.

The Secretary of State was impressed seven days ago by the visit here of Haris Silajdzic, the Foreign Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who told him that Serbian militiamen and units of the Serbian-led Yugoslav Army had invaded his republic and massacred civilians.

The United States recognized the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina on April 7. Mr. Baker, who had tried to avoid involvement in the Yugoslav crisis after civil warfare broke out 20 months ago, has now become deeply engaged.

"He is very angry," one official said of Mr. Baker, "and he has become very active and aggressive on the issue."

At the time of the Silajdzic visit, the Secretary solicited opinions from State Department specialists on how to respond to the attacks by Serbian forces.

Proposals he acted on in the next 24 hours included giving Serbia a deadline of 14 days to withdraw forces from Bosnia and Herzegovina or face suspension from a major international organization, sending a stiff warning to the Belgrade authorities and mobilizing European allies to take concerted diplomatic action against Serbia. Others included flying relief supplies to Bosnia and Herzegovina and sending Ralph R. Johnson, a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, to Sarajevo to show the flag.

One of the remaining options offered to Mr. Baker was breaking relations with the authorities in Belgrade, who say they represent the remains of the old Yugoslav federation of six republics that has been smashed in the civil war. "He finds that option somewhat attractive," said an Administration official, who said it would be pursued only under certain conditions.

"If certain kinds of behavior continue," this official said, "the option for breaking relations would become more attractive."

He said a break could be approved if there were continuing assaults by Yugoslav Army or Serbian forces on towns and villages in Bosnia and Herzegovina or continuing rejection of United States initiatives by Belgrade.

The agreement of senior Administration officials concerned with events in Yugoslavia would also be required. These include Brent Scowcroft, the White House national security adviser, Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger, and Warren Zimmermann, the United States Ambassador in Belgrade.

A sizable number of the Administration's specialists on Yugoslavia oppose severing ties at this time, one official noted.

na, April 20 (AP) — Thousands of refugees trekked through forests or crammed into vehicles today to flee advancing Serbian forces seeking control over a swath of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Serbian forces have overrun Bratunac and Srebrenica, Muslim-dominated towns along the Serbian border, since Sunday after capturing about half a dozen others in previous weeks, news reports said.

Bush Aides' Ethics Questioned Over Loans to Iraq

Rep. Gonzalez Says Scowcroft's and Eagleburger's Prior Business Dealings Posed a Problem

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The chairman of the House Banking Committee accused two high-ranking Bush administration officials yesterday of "deplorable" ethics in pressing for U.S.-guaranteed loans to Iraq in 1989 despite their prior association in private business with the bank that handled much of the money.

Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) sharply criticized White House national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger for advocating \$1 billion in new agricultural credits for Iraq over stiff opposition from other government agencies.

The dispute within the administration stemmed from a scandal involving Italy's biggest bank, the Banco Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL), whose Atlanta branch was Iraq's chief source of credit in the United States between 1984 and 1989. Evidence seized in an FBI raid on the bank in August 1989 showed that Iraq had been involved in a massive fraud effort to borrow billions of dollars from BNL-Atlanta, far in excess of the amounts the bank reported to the Federal Reserve.

About \$900 million of such loans had been guaranteed by the Agriculture Department's Commodity Credit Corp. for the purchase of U.S. goods. "The CCC program for Iraq was the cornerstone of U.S.-Iraq relations," Gonzalez said in a speech on the House floor. "In turn, BNL was the largest participant in the CCC program for Iraq."

Scowcroft and Eagleburger were officials of Kissinger Associates, the international consulting firm run by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, when BNL was one of its clients. Scowcroft left the firm to become President Bush's national security adviser in January 1989. Eagleburger departed two months later for the State Department.

Scowcroft and Eagleburger declined to comment on Gonzalez's contentions that they should have disqualified themselves from the intense administration debate over

er Associates were too tenuous to cause concern.

Gonzalez disagreed. "While at Kissinger Associates, Mr. Scowcroft worked on the BNL account and met on numerous occasions with the BNL management," he said. "On three occasions between 1986 and 1989, Mr. Scowcroft briefed the BNL board on international political and economic developments. In addition, when the president of BNL traveled to the United States to attend the annual IMF [International Monetary Fund] conference, he met with Scowcroft and Scowcroft in 1987."

An administration spokesman asked not to be identified said none of Scowcroft's BNL consultations involved Iraq.

State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said that Eagleburger, who was president of Kissinger Associates while Scowcroft was vice chairman, "has never done any work for BNL and therefore, there has never been any basis for Eagleburger to recuse himself from any matter related to BNL."

Gonzalez contended that Eagleburger still should have disqualified himself, and noted that Renato Guadagnini, former head of BNL's operations in the United States, told committee investigators that Eagleburger was at a meeting between BNL managers and Kissinger Associates in New York in 1987.

Iraq was granted \$1 billion in new CCC credits in the fall of 1989, although the money was to be disbursed in two installments because of concern about the breaking BNL scandal. At the time, government documents show, there was mounting evidence that the Iraqi program was riddled with corruption, including kickbacks and bribes demanded by Iraqi government agencies and questionable consulting fees for Iraqi front companies in the United States.

"If smoke indicates fire, we may be facing a four-alarm blaze in the near future," said an Oct. 13, 1989, State Department memo about apprehensions at the Agriculture Department. "[T]here were 19 separate investigations of CCC this year (1989) and the integrity of the program is now in question." The

month issued a national security directive ordering closer economic and political ties with Iraq. Secretary of State James A. Baker III appealed to the Agriculture Department to go forward with the full \$1 billion program, and Eagleburger urged the Treasury Department and the Office of Management and Budget to drop their opposition. In a Nov. 8, 1990, letter to Treasury, he called it "important to our efforts to improve and expand our relations with Iraq as ordered by the president."

Gonzalez said the NSC staff under Scowcroft also was "heavily in-

involved" in winning approval for an Iraqi program and later release of an Agriculture Department review that Gonzalez said was a "complete white

According to a March 5, 1990, State memo, the NSC staff "interest in securing a second \$500 million loan from Iraq" after the Iraqis complained to General Bush about U.S. foot-dragging. The Agriculture Department had the program at the time of President Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990.

SPRING 1992

Dateline

THE EISENHOWER WORLD AFFAIRS INSTITUTE

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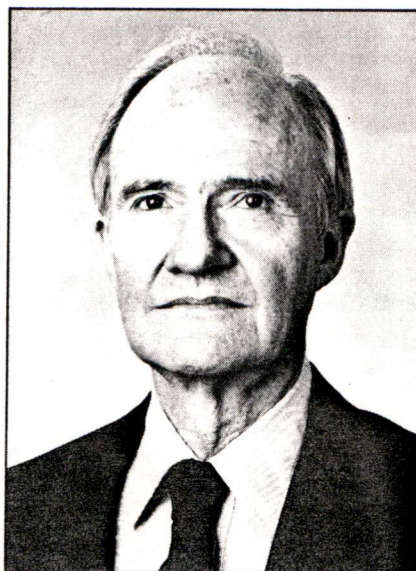
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Major bequest launches new program 2
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Brent Scowcroft Receives First Eisenhower Leadership Prize

General Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser to President George Bush, has won the first *Eisenhower Leadership Prize*. Scowcroft will receive the award Eisenhower Institute's inaugural annual Leadership Dinner on June 5, 1992, in Washington, DC.

"I am deeply moved to receive the Eisenhower Prize," said Scowcroft, who, like the award's namesake, is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. "He was always a strong model for me. I learned much from the integrity, discretion and sense of balance that were the hallmarks of his leadership."

The Eisenhower Leadership Prize, established in 1990 as a tribute to Dwight Eisenhower on the occasion of the centennial of his birth, is jointly awarded by Gettysburg College and the Eisenhower World Affairs Institute, the College's new affiliate. The prize highlights the need to



Brent Scowcroft

teach and learn leadership skills. It will call attention "not just to leaders," said Gettysburg President Gordon A. Haaland, "but to lead-

ers who embody the kind of skills that were second nature to Eisenhower. Traits like integrity and honesty, and being fair, open, and direct - that's where real leadership begins." He added, "Only when an individual possesses such core qualities can he or she provide the kind of dedicated service exemplified by Dwight Eisenhower during his career, and by General Scowcroft in his."

"Brent Scowcroft's dedication to serving the nation is unmatched," said General Andrew J. Goodpaster, USA (Ret.), Chairman of the Institute's Advisory Board. "His distinguished leadership and support of the president are truly exemplary."

Rocco C. Siciliano, President of the Eisenhower Institute and former Special Assistant to President Eisenhower, said "the selection of Brent Scowcroft is ideal. Were Dwight Eisenhower alive today he'd

Turn to Scowcroft, page 7

Eisenhower Leadership Dinner Marks D-Day and Institute Anniversary

"Okay, we'll go." With those simple words on June 5, 1944, General Dwight D. Eisenhower set in motion the next morning's invasion to liberate Europe.

Thirty-nine years later, on D-Day, 1983, the Eisenhower World Affairs Institute was born. "June 6th was a most fitting day to create the permanent living memorial to Dwight D. Eisenhower," said Maurice H. Stans, Chairman of the Institute.

"We are extremely pleased now to celebrate the organization's ninth anniversary with our inaugural

Eisenhower Leadership Dinner" on June 5, 1992, in Washington, DC. "It is especially appropriate," he added, "to celebrate this achievement with Gettysburg College by presenting the first Eisenhower Leadership Prize to General Brent Scowcroft." (See story above.)

General Andrew J. Goodpaster, USA (Ret.), former Supreme Allied Commander of NATO, is chairman of the D-Day eve *Eisenhower Leadership Dinner*. Honorary Co-Chairs are Senator Ted Stevens of Alaska, former Senator and White

House Chief of Staff Howard H. Baker, Jr., and former Ambassador Anne L. Armstrong.

After receiving the Eisenhower Leadership Prize, General Scowcroft will deliver the keynote address. "All of us involved with the Leadership Dinner are looking forward to June 5th," said Institute Executive Director Jane Kratovil. "Many of the Institute's supporters will be attending and, in addition to being a compelling speaker, General Scowcroft is a most deserving recipient of this first Leadership Prize. The evening promises to be a memorable one."

For additional information about the dinner, please call the Institute at 202/223-6710.

Scowcroft from page 1

probably be embarrassed that such an award was named after him, but he'd surely applaud the choice."

Scowcroft started working for his fifth U.S. president when he became Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs on January 20, 1989. His White House service began two decades earlier as President Nixon's military assistant. He later became Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs in 1973, and continued in that capacity for President Ford.

Scowcroft was promoted in 1975 to his first tour as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. President Carter tapped him for the Advisory Committee on Arms Control, and President Reagan called on him to serve on three commissions relating to military and security affairs.

The Eisenhower Leadership Prize normally carries a \$25,000 cash award that Scowcroft declined because of his government position. The prize itself, a bronze replica of a 1957 bust of Dwight Eisenhower by **Nison Tregor**, will be presented, appropriately, on the anniversary of D-Day eve. The June 5th black-tie dinner dance at the Washington Hilton Hotel will also mark the anniversary of the Institute's founding in 1983. (See "Eisenhower Leadership Dinner," p. 1)

The prize winner is selected for having a clear vision that affirms basic human values, an ability to articulate that vision persuasively, and an ability to motivate others to implement that vision. The prize aims to encourage young men and women to emulate Eisenhower's commitment to leadership. Scowcroft said, "I am heartened by the fact that recent history and public opinion have begun to show long overdue recognition for Eisenhower's leadership skills. Being the recipient of this prestigious award, especially the first recipient, is indeed a high honor for me." The winner also contributes to the leadership development of Gettysburg students by visiting the campus, taking students to visit world leaders, examining international conditions that challenge tomorrow's leaders, or undertaking other efforts to advance the program.

Scowcroft's military career included service on the staffs of the Joint

Chiefs of Staff and the U.S. Air Force headquarters. He also taught at the military and air force academies. A native of Utah, he graduated from West Point in 1947 and received his Doctorate in international relations from Columbia University in 1967. Scowcroft retired from military service in 1975 with the rank of Lieutenant General.

General Scowcroft, who received the Medal of Freedom from President Bush last year, was selected for the Eisenhower Leadership Prize by a distinguished panel. Fifty nominations were received from leaders throughout the world in business, politics, education, the social sciences, and international affairs.

• • •

Members of the Eisenhower Leadership Prize selection board include, in addition to Goodpaster, Haaland, and Siciliano: **Charles Anderson**, Chairman of Gettysburg College's Board of Trustees; **Gwendolyn Baker**, Executive Director, YWCA; **Charles Corddry**, *The Baltimore Sun*; **C. Douglas Dillon**, former Treasury Secretary and Eisenhower's Ambassador to France; **David Eisenhower**, grandson and biographer of the former U.S. president; **Elsie Hillman**, Republican National Committeewoman; **Drew Lewis**, Chairman, President & CEO, Union Pacific; **David McLaughlin**, President, The Aspen Institute; **H. Ross Perot**, industrialist; and **William Scranton**, former Governor of Pennsylvania.

In Memoriam

In recent months, we have been saddened by the loss of several Institute friends and supporters. **Ann Whitman** passed away last fall (see story, p. 2), and **Hugh Meade Alcorn** and **Bernard M. Shanley** died this winter. Meade Alcorn was a veteran of Connecticut politics who chaired his state's Eisenhower for President drive in 1952 and became Chairman of the Republican Party in 1957. President Eisenhower said Alcorn was one of the party leaders responsible for the development of "modern Republicanism."

Bern Shanley, a key White House

Books from page 6

son why we could cut taxes in '62 and '64 was because Eisenhower had stopped inflation. . . . Dr. Saulnier's allusion to that is right on the mark." *Constructive Years* is a solid and informative work. (University Press of America: Lanham, MD, 1991.)

The second book on economics comes from an Eisenhower Institute Abilene Travel Grant recipient, **John W. Sloan**. *Eisenhower and the Management of Prosperity* applies the "bureaucratic politics" analytical framework to an overview of Eisenhower's macroeconomic policy-making. Sloan represents a new set of post-revisionist scholars who are building on the body of revisionist scholarship of the '70s and '80s. (University Press of Kansas: Lawrence, KS, 1991.)

One of the most talked about contemporary public policy books is *Reinventing Government*, by **Ted Gaebler** and **David Osborne**. If you are frustrated by the seeming inability of government at any level to solve problems, you will welcome reading this book. The durability of the ideas contained in *Reinventing Government* and the extent to which they can be generalized should, and no doubt will, be closely examined in the years ahead. But the greatest value of the book is not in offering particular prescriptions, but in encouraging public officials to think innovatively and orient themselves to the output of their work, not just the input. (Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.: Reading, MA, 1992.)

official, served President Eisenhower for five years as special counsel, appointment secretary, and deputy chief of staff. He handled his duties as gatekeeper to the president with great knowledge and aplomb, and with a bit of humor and a carnation in his lapel at all times. His versatility — helping draft State of the Union messages, assisting in the revisions to the Taft-Hartley Act, and serving as liaison to Congress, the State Department, and the military — was respected by all. Shanley remained active in law and politics, resigning as New Jersey Republican national committeeman only two weeks before his death at age 88.

To Brent Scowcroft, President Bush's national security advisor—for forgetting

how magnificently a lot of US weapon and C3I systems performed during Operation Desert Storm. Asked by Elizabeth Drew on NBC TV's "Meet the Press" April 12th to comment on the Pentagon's recent admissions that many high-tech systems had not performed as well as previously claimed, Scowcroft said: "Elizabeth, nothing works as advertised."



To the team of 28 Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps officers and

one Air Force Academy cadet, headed by Army Col. George T. Raach, who researched and wrote the Pentagon's "Conduct of the Persian Gulf War"—for thoroughness. While the eight-lb, 1,300-page unclassified version of DoD's final report to Congress—released April 10th—gives few new details about weapons performance, it does reveal fascinating insights on every step of the war from the perspective of the US commander, General H. Norman Schwarzkopf. The document should prove to be a valuable reference for historians and students of the military art, as well as journalists like ourselves.



To DoD and the Services—for watering down controversial sections of

the report. There is no discussion of the cease-fire decision, for example. The section on Special Operations Forces also glosses over major problem areas, such as the diversion of SOF assets to search and rescue and other missions. The Army ducks the issue of Patriot effectiveness in the report, citing lack of data, whereas Army officials coughed up specific numbers at a Congressional hearing on 7 April that were significantly lower than success rates previously claimed. The Navy likewise waffles on Tomahawk effectiveness, while classified data reportedly show that slightly more than half of the cruise missiles hit their targets instead of the 85% previously claimed.



To Rep. John Conyers, Jr. (D-MI)—for remembering glasnost. Conyers,

who chairs the House Government Operations Committee, thinks the US could use some of the post-Cold War openness. He held hearings in March to explore ways to reform the information-classification system and declassify some of the estimated one-trillion classified documents in the US government. While recognizing the need for classification in some areas related to national security, Conyers maintains that nearly 50 years of "cloak and dagger mentality" have led to habitual excessive secrecy. ■ ☆ ■

Star Status

April 1992

ARMY

CAMPBELL, William H.

Brigadier General

From: Prgrm Exec Ofcr, Intel and Elect Warfare, Vint Hill Farms, VA
To: Dep for Prgrm Assessment and Int'l Coop, Ofc of Asst Sec of the Army (R,D,&A), Washington, DC

FOLEY, Robert F.

Brigadier General

From: Asst Div Cmdr, 2nd ID, 8th Army, Korea
To: Cmdnt of Cadets, USMA, West Point, NY

LANDIS, George A.

Brigadier General

From: Spec Asst to DCoS for Log, Washington, DC
To: Cmdr, Prsnl Info Sys Cmd, Alexandria, VA

MADDOX, David M.

Lieutenant General

From: CG, V Corps, Germany
To: Dir of Info Sys for C4, Ofc of the Sec of the Army, Washington, DC

SCHUMACHER, William J.

Brigadier General

From: DCoS for Ammo, Army Materiel Cmd, Alexandria, VA
To: DCG, Strat Def Cmd, Huntsville, AL

SCHWARTZ, Thomas A.

Brigadier General

From: CoS, Combined Field Army (Republic of Korea/US), Uijonbu, Korea
To: Asst Div Cmdr, 2nd ID, 8th Army, Korea

NAVY

GRANUZZO, Andrew A.

Rear Admiral (Lower Half)

From: Cmdr, Amphib Grp 2

To: Cmdr, Nav Safety Ctr

JOHNSON, Jay L.

Rear Admiral (Lower Half)

From: Dir for Distribution, BUPERS

To: Cmdr, Carrier Grp 8

JOHNSON, Jerome L.

Admiral

From: Vice CNO

To: Retired

MCCONNELL, John M.

Rear Admiral (Lower Half)

From: Dir for Current Intel, Jnt Stf and Cmd Support, J-2/DIA

To: Dir, NSA/Chf, Central Security Service, and promoted to Vice Admiral

RETZ, William A.

Rear Admiral (Lower Half)

From: Dir, Total Frc Prgming/Manpower Div, Ofc of CNO

To: Cmdr, Nav Surface Grp, MID-PAC/ Cmdr, Nav Base, Pearl Harbor

RIDENOUR, Richard I.

Rear Admiral (Lower Half)

From: Med Ofcr to USMC

To: CO, Nav Hosp San Diego

TERRY, William E.

Rear Admiral (Lower Half)

From: Asst CoS for Log, CINCSOUTH

To: Cmdr, Combat Log Grp 2

AIR FORCE

MCCAUSLAND, Charles

Lieutenant General

From: Dir, DLA

To: Retired

TEAL, David J.

Lieutenant General

From: VCmndr, Sys Cmd

To: Retired

■ ☆ ■

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