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DATE: SUNDAY August 7, 1988  
PAGE: 1 EDITION: THIRD  
SECTION: NATIONAL/FOREIGN LENGTH: LONG  
ILLUST: PHOTO  
SOURCE: By Ben Bradlee Jr., Globe Staff

\*'DUKAKIS\*DOCTRINE' WOULD RECAST US ROLE IN WORLD

Would America's national security -- and potentially that of the free world -- be better entrusted to Vice President George Bush or to Gov. Michael \*Dukakis?\*

That issue -- along with the subliminal corollary of who best projects strength -- was joined in earnest for the first time in the presidential campaign last week, with Bush delivering two major speeches on foreign policy. The vice president sought to portray himself as the seasoned diplomat who would keep America strong and \*Dukakis\* as the international neophyte who would unilaterally disarm while trusting in Moscow's good intentions.

The Bush offensive, bolstered by President Reagan's veto Wednesday of a \$300 billion defense authorization bill on grounds that it would promote "weakness and accommodation," was intended to underscore what polls have indicated is one of the few advantages the vice president has over \*Dukakis\* at

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the moment: his broad foreign policy experience as former ambassador to China and the United Nations, director of central intelligence and nearly eight years as vice president. \*Dukakis\* has nothing comparable on his resume.

The depth of Bush's vice presidential footprints in foreign policy and elsewhere will be a matter of keen debate, and \*Dukakis\* fired back while campaigning in California Friday. Citing what he called Bush's inaction during the Iran-contra affair, his professed ignorance of the administration's dealings with Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, the Panamanian strongman, and his one-time praise of Ferdinand Marcos for being committed to democracy, \*Dukakis\* said Bush "doesn't have what it takes" to lead the country in foreign policy.

Bush is spending the weekend at his summer home in Kennebunkport, Maine, and is planning no public appearances. His speeches last week, however, served to focus attention on \*Dukakis\*' national security agenda, how he developed a world view, what his foreign policy instincts might be and precisely what role he would have the United States play in the world if he is elected president.

As enunciated in interviews and the several major foreign policy addresses that he has given to date, \*Dukakis\*' vision of America's role in the world is fundamentally different from Bush's. If the Reagan Doctrine has meant rolling back communist insurgencies around the world, the \*Dukakis\* Doctrine would mean:

- Acting in partnership -- not unilaterally -- with other democracies in defending US national interests.

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- Negotiating drastic bilateral cuts in strategic nuclear arms and channeling some of the savings to bolster conventional defenses and alleviate world hunger and poverty.

- Pursuing a pragmatic, not a doctrinaire, foreign policy that is "consistent with American values."

- Redefining and broadening the traditional concept of national security

away from US military might to include economic strength at home and abroad, the reduction of budget and trade deficits -- even coping with the greenhouse effect and acid rain.

- Ending the adversarial relationship with Congress that has marked the Reagan foreign policy and applying the governor's "consensus" brand of leadership to Capitol Hill.

\*Dukakis\* hopes that just as Reagan's personal popularity has not seemed transferable to Bush, the president's popularity on foreign policy will not benefit the vice president, either. So far, Bush has mostly chosen to criticize \*Dukakis\* rather than hitching his star to Reagan and claiming some of the credit for a relaxing of tensions in regional conflicts around the world -- in Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war and in southern Africa.

In the aftermath of the recent US-Soviet summit where the two superpowers signed a treaty banning all intermediate-range nuclear missiles and Reagan said his "Evil Empire" appellation was passe, there was the improbable spectacle of Bush declaring that despite the warming trend, as far as he was

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concerned the Cold War was still on, while \*Dukakis\*, in accepting the Democratic nomination in Atlanta last month, saluted Reagan for his achievements in arms control. Thus, at least on relations with the Soviet Union, \*Dukakis\* appears to be running with Reagan against Bush.

As the Soviet threat diminishes and the world appears more at peace, the Republicans may be the victims, since traditionally, voters have been more inclined to turn to the GOP when US-Russian tensions are high and the world situation is less stable. Now, analysts say, voters can feel free to grapple with what are usually the most salient issues anyway: the economy and their perceptions of the character of each candidate.

But Bush and his surrogates are intent on selling \*Dukakis\* as a "pacifist liberal" in the mold of George McGovern -- a man whose views are far outside the American foreign policy mainstream, a man who would come at the job cold.

\*Dukakis\* is not particularly well traveled. He served in Korea while in the Army, made private visits to Europe and Israel and as governor led trade delegations to the Far East. But it was the summer \*Dukakis\* spent in \*Peru\* while in college in 1954, when the CIA engineered a coup in Guatemala, that may have been his most formative foreign experience. It engendered a particular interest in Latin America and a fundamental reluctance to impose US will on an unreceptive region.

In a speech at Marquette University in March, \*Dukakis\* noted that in this century, the United States has mounted 19 major military expeditions in Latin

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America. "Every time we intervened," the governor said, "we did so in the name of democracy. And almost without exception, the legacy of our intervention has been tyranny, not freedom. The lesson in this is not that our announced goals were wrong, but that we chose the wrong means. We put ourselves above the law."

Respect for the rule of law, \*Dukakis\* believes, should govern US actions at home and abroad. He has called for an enhanced role for the United Nations in regulating world disputes and, in Latin America, stricter adherence to the Organization of American States and the Rio Treaty.

Many conservatives and adherents of Henry Kissinger's realpolitik find such views legalistic, romantic and dangerous. They argue that meaningful roles for the United Nations and the OAS exist only in the figments of an out-of-touch Cambridge intelligentsia's imagination, not in the real world. But \*Dukakis\* aides say the days of swashbuckling unilateralism are long gone.

"The reason he's interested in international law relates to having a foreign policy that reflects American values," said Madeleine Albright, the Georgetown University professor who coordinates the foreign policy advice \*Dukakis\* receives from a variety of academics and members of Congress. "You

just don't go around breaking the law to accomplish what you want. To me there is nothing more pragmatic than a principled foreign policy. . . . It doesn't do you any good to ram secret policies down the throats of the American people. That is why this is not naive goo-gooism."

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In\*Dukakis'\*value-based foreign policy, there are echoes of the human rights doctrine promulgated by President Jimmy Carter, for whom Albright worked on the National Security Council. She said such comparisons are not "useful."

\*Dukakis\*rejects the major new weapons systems that the Reagan administration and Bush have supported, including the MX missile, the Midgetman, the Strategic Defense Initiative and more nuclear warheads.

"Anyone . . . who is still saying today that world leadership requires us to squander billions more on strategic weapons systems that will add nothing to our ability to deter nuclear war is dead wong,"\*Dukakis\*told an audience in Iowa last December. "Nuclear weapons are not the emblems of national strength; they are the dead weights, the lead in the saddle in the race for economic strength and vitality."

Such statements prompt critics of\*Dukakis\*to charge that he is reflexively antinuclear, and they note that as governor, he has steadfastly refused to allow Massachusetts to participate in the Ground Wave Emergency Network, or GWEN, a communications system that could transmit warnings in the event of a nuclear attack. There are 56 GWEN sites in the country, and only Massachusetts and Rhode Island have refused to participate, according to a recent article written for Time magazine by former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger, who is advising the Bush campaign. Schlesinger accused\*Dukakis\*of risking national security by leaving a gap in the nation's early-warning system. The governor

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as said he opposes the system because it is part of a "nuclear war-fighting strategy" that wrongly assumes that such a war can be won and survived.

With the savings he believes he would reap from deep cuts in the US strategic arsenal,\*Dukakis\*says his top priority would be to achieve a balance of conventional forces in Europe, through a buildup of troops, if necessary. \*Dukakis\*reasons that if the United States is forced to use force, it will almost certainly be in a conventional war, not a nuclear war. It is therefore essential, he argues, that the number of modern tanks, fighting vehicles, rocket launchers and helicopters in the US arsenal be added to, not cut back. He also calls for such unglamorous but needed steps as better maintenance and training and an adequate supply of spare parts.

If a mutual 50 percent reduction in strategic arms can be negotiated,\*Dukakis\*has proposed the creation of a humanitarian relief fund to help alleviate world hunger and disease. The program would be funded with \$500 million the first year from the United States, matched dollar for dollar by the Soviet Union, Japan and Western Europe.

Perhaps the most novel element of\*Dukakis'\*foreign policy agenda is the manner in which he has sought to expand the concept of national security to include economic as well as military strength. Polls detect a growing view among many Americans that economic setbacks inflicted on this country by Japan and other nations are more serious than any threat from the Soviet Union. Albright says the governor's expanded concept of national security also

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includes the need to stem the influx of drugs from abroad and to cope with international environmental problems like acid rain and the greenhouse effect. \*Dukakis\*says that while Pentagon funding must be stabilized, he could get far more bang for the defense buck. In this regard, the Pentagon procurement scandal plays directly into one of the central themes of the\*Dukakis\*campaign: that he is the manager in the presidential field.

\*Dukakis\*has said he will use force only as a last resort but will not hesitate to do so to "defend our vital interests, protect American lives, honor our treaty commitments or apprehend those who have committed international crimes against our citizens."

\*Dukakis\*initially opposed America's unilateral participation in the Persian Gulf escort operation but supported it after other nations joined in. He opposed contra aid and opposed the invasion of Grenada on grounds that it was never clear that the lives of American students there were in danger. He favored the midair interception of the Achille Lauro hijackers and the 1986 bombing raid on Libya, but opposed targeting the residence of Col. Moammar Khadafy.

On the Middle East, \*Dukakis\*is a staunch defender of Israel and supports moving the US Embassy to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv, a step that would be a break from existing US policy and would antagonize some Arab states. Though \*Dukakis\* has called the right of self-determination a basic part of the American values on which his foreign policy would be based, he declines to extend that

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principle to the Palestinians, believing that self-determination in that context is a code word for a Palestinian state.

The governor's strong support for a broad range of sanctions against South Africa would reverse Reagan administration policy.

The few missteps that \*Dukakis\*has made in his 17-month quest for the presidency have come on the foreign policy front. Early in the campaign, he said that the Monroe Doctrine has been "superseded" by the Rio Treaty, which created the Organization of American States. He later amended "superseded" to "expanded on," but the remark was criticized as an example of foreign policy naivete. He has also left impressions that he would tolerate a Soviet beachhead in Latin America and would consider withdrawing US troops from South Korea, though in each instance \*Dukakis\*has clarified his positions.

Just last Thursday, Bush asked in one of his foreign policy speeches if \*Dukakis\*still supported a nuclear freeze, a concept the vice president linked to the "Soviets and the European left." \*Dukakis\*told reporters he still supported a freeze, but later in the day he suggested he did not, noting that nuclear arsenals have since been cut back. "I'm for reduction now," \*Dukakis\*said.

"There has never been a candidate in modern times who is as soft as \*Dukakis\*is on national defense," declared Bush's campaign manager, Lee Atwater. "He's trying to look like a centrist, but if we let him get away } iwith that, we deserve anything we get."

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Aides to \*Dukakis\*say his support for bilateral -- not unilateral -- nuclear arms reduction, his acceptance of some strategic systems like the B1 bomber (which he initially opposed) and development of the D-5 submarine missile and his support for a stable defense budget while beefing up conventional forces all put the governor well within the Democratic mainstream on foreign policy. They deflect babe-in-the-woods criticism by noting that the last two presidents -- Reagan and Carter -- were also governors who lacked foreign policy experience.

"I don't think it's a matter of traveling around or going to funerals that gives you foreign policy experience," said Albright, swiping at Bush. "What is important is to be a strong executive and to have judgment, not to call Marcos a friend of democracy, not to think you can trade arms for hostages or believe that Noriega can help us. . . . I think Bush has a resume. I don't think he has a record. I don't know what his resume proves. To coin a phrase, Where was George?" "

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