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21 February 1991

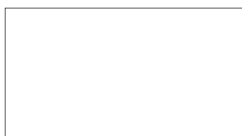
JUDGE:

RE: Statements by Nunn and Warner During Mideast Visit

As requested, here are news reports citing statements by Senator Nunn and Senator Warner on the Gulf situation during their recent visit to Saudi Arabia and Israel. Appropriate passages are highlighted. While there was fairly extensive wire service and television reportage on the trip, major newspapers such as THE NEW YORK TIMES and WASHINGTON POST really did not cover it.

Attached opposite is THE NEW REPUBLIC article on Senator Nunn by Sidney Blumenthal.

STAT





Joe DeTrani

Attachments:
As stated

STAT

DCI/PAC 

Distribution:

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NYTui

0271

-GULF-PEACE-2ndld-575&add-COX

Wed Feb 20 10:34:31 1991

updates throughout

SOVIETS SAY IRAQ WILL EVENTUALLY REPLY TO PEACE OFFER

By ANDREW MOLLISON

c. 1991 Cox News Service

Soviet officials insisted today that President Mikhail Gorbachev's secret peace plan for the Persian Gulf was still alive, despite the lack of an immediate response from Iraq.

'We're expecting a prompt response from the Iraqis to the peace plan put forward by the president,' Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaly Churkin said.

Gorbachev on Monday gave Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz a Soviet plan for avoiding a land war that could to tens of thousands of deaths in the Persian Gulf. Aziz arrived Tuesday in Baghdad, where he could confer with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

Some Soviet officials predicted that Aziz would return to Moscow today with Saddam's reply.

Late today, Churkin suggested that Aziz might be delayed by his awkward itinerary. Because the U.S.-led military coalition has promised to shoot down any plane spotted over Iraq, Aziz couldn't board a plane until he had driven overland to an airport in neutral Iran.

'Another visit of an Iraqi representative need not necessarily take place for Iraq to inform the Soviet Union about its response,' Churkin said. So far, he indicated, such methods as telephone, Telex, fax or communications through Iraq's diplomatic corps had not been used.

The Reuter news agency reported from Bonn that German politicians were told today by Ali Akbar Velayati, foreign minister of Iran, that he didn't expect his Iraqi counterpart to reach Moscow until tomorrow.

'Aziz will probably not go until tomorrow,' said Hans-Jochen Vogel, opposition Social Democratic leader, after talking to Velayati.

The Soviet Union has shown an outline of its plan only to Iraq and to leaders of key allied nations, asking them to keep the details to themselves.

The Soviet plan reportedly calls for Iraq's immediate withdrawal from Kuwait, promises Soviet protection of Iraq's territorial and government integrity, guarantees Saddam won't be punished, and pledges that a debate will follow on all the other issues mentioned in the peace offer floated last Friday by the council that rules Iraq.

President Bush stopped just sort of rejecting it outright. He said Tuesday that it 'falls well short of what would be required' to stop the war with Iraq.

Nino Cristofori, an aide to Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, said the plan calls for Iraq to begin its withdrawal the day after a cease-fire takes effect.

| But Senate Armed Services Chairman Sam Nunn said in Israel that

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he opposes any cease-fire until Iraq complies fully with all U.N. resolutions. The Georgia Democrat added, "and that means unconditional withdrawal."

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney told a congressional committee yesterday, "A cease-fire, a pause of some kind, would in fact be very dangerous from the standpoint of U.S. and allied forces."

Cristofori said the Soviet plan also says that the allies won't attack Iraqi troops wouldn't be attacked as they withdrew from Kuwait.

That was in accordance with U.S. policy, as spelled out yesterday by White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater, who said that the United States was willing to consider offering a right of safe passage to withdrawing Iraqi troops. A withdrawal could take 30 to 45 days, according to Marine Brig. Gen. Richard Neal of the U.S. Central Command.

STORY CAN END HERE. OPTIONAL ADD FOLLOWS

A newspaper clash between Kuwait and the Soviet Union raised another complication today for Bush in his attempt to hold together a diverse coalition of forces from 29 nations.

Bush has been advocating _ but stopping short of a demand for _ the ouster of Saddam.

Kuwait's exiled government, anticipating a quick return to its occupied country, took a stand today against any protection for Saddam.

"This region cannot live peacefully with this man in power," said Bader Jassim al-Yacoub, information minister of Kuwait's government in exile, in an interview published today in the Gulf Daily News.

"There is no guarantee he will not try again to attack his neighbors," Yacoub said.

The opposite stand was taken in today's editions of Pravda, the Moscow-based Communist Party newspaper.

"One gets the impression someone has been blinded by the idea of revenge against Saddam Hussein, that the war machine is in full swing and the military isn't inclined to stop it, whatever the success achieved by politicians and diplomats," the part newspaper said in an editorial headlined, "Give peace a chance."

China's top official today repeated his support for Bush's demand that, rather than a cease-fire for negotiations, the first step toward ending the Persian Gulf war should be the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

"Chinese Premier Li Peng today urged Iraq to seize the opportunity and take immediate and concrete measures and actions to withdraw its troops from Kuwait," reported China's official Xinhua news agency, as Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Saadoun Hammadi flew home from a meeting with Li.

Xinhua reported that Li also told Hammadi that China wants to keep a bloody air and border war from being transformed into an even bloodier ground war.

Iraq has already reported the deaths of 20,000 and the injuries of 60,000 in the first four weeks following the beginning of allied air raids on Jan. 16. The allies have reported 74 combat

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accidental deaths so far.

In Yacoub's newspaper interview, he said 5,000 Kuwaitis had been killed and 20,000, including women and children, interned in Iraqi camps since Iraq invaded its rich, but tiny neighbor on Aug. 2.

Still, he told the Gulf Daily News, he expects Saddam to quickly capitulate.

"I hope to see the Kuwaiti flag flying in Safat Square (in Kuwait City) on (next Monday) February 25," Yacoub said.

For use by clients of the New York Times News Service.
NYT-02-20-91 1037EST

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Wed Feb 20 17:26:36 1991

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NYTui

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-COX-NUNN

Wed Feb 20 09:56:23 1991

ASKS ISRAEL TO COOL IT, SAYS HE'LL UNDERSTAND IF THEY DON'T

By LOUIS J. SALOME

c. 1991 Cox News Service

JERUSALEM Four U.S. senators led by Senate Armed Services Chairman Sam Nunn urged Israel Wednesday to continue with its policy of "restraint" in the gulf war.

"We hope that restraint and patience will continue," the Georgia Democrat told state-supported Israel Radio, "because we do believe that the end of this conflict is in sight."

Nunn, who told reporters, "I think we will prevail" in the attempt to evict Iraqi troops from Kuwait, was accompanied by Sen. John Warner of Virginia, the ranking Republican on his panel, and by Sen. Daniel Inouye, D-Hawaii and Sen. Ted Stevens, R-Alaska.

The 36th Iraqi Scud missile was fired at Israel as they met Tuesday evening with Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens.

Nunn said that during the attack, "we flipped on the television for a moment just to see what the reports were publicly, but the Scud attack did not interrupt the meeting."

Later that night, gunmen using automatic weapons attacked troops of the Israeli-controlled South Lebanon Army at the northern edge of the security zone, reported Israel Radio. No injuries were reported.

And on Wednesday morning, when the senators' whirlwind 15-hour visit was almost over, two Israeli jets roared over Lebanon, attacking a Palestinian base in the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley. Police there said three guerrillas were wounded in the air raid.

Nunn praised Israel's decision to hold its fire against Iraq despite being on the receiving end in a one-way missile war.

But, he said Israel, as a sovereign country, must decide for itself whether to retaliate or continue to sit tight.

"If, speaking only for myself, if there is a response from Israel, I'll understand it," Nunn said.

The senators visited Israel on their way back from consulting with top U.S. commanders in Saudi Arabia. Nunn said commanders said they are giving top priority to knocking out Scud missile launchers in western Iraq that are aimed at Israel.

He opposed a cease-fire until Iraq complies fully with all U.N. resolutions, "and that means unconditional withdrawal."

Nunn also said "the best case" coming out of the war is that "some Arab countries will be willing to negotiate directly with Israel. I'm hoping that will be the case. If so we'll begin to make progress toward peace."

He predicted "severe" post-war "economic, population and resource" problems in the Middle East.

"We're going to have continuing problems that were here before the war. So we're all going to have to work together once it's over."

Early Wednesday morning, before leaving Israel, the senators visited a Tel Aviv suburb that has been struck several times by missiles, and then visited troops who operate a U.S.-built Patriot antimissile missile battery.

A Patriot missile knocked the incoming Scud out of the air about 8 p.m. Tuesday, as the senators were meeting with Israeli officials.

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casualties.

Israel's attack on a Palestinian base in eastern Lebanon was its third air strike into its neighboring country this year.

Military officials said the attack lasted 10 minutes and was aimed at a Bekaa Valley base used in the past to launch attacks against Israel's self-declared security zone in South Lebanon. But no recent attacks have been reported from the Bekaa area.

Guerrillas fired at the planes, without hitting them, and Syrian artillery remained silent, eyewitnesses reported in Lebanon.

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Wed Feb 20 17:26:34 1991

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-GULF-ISRAEL-USA (PICTURE)

Wed Feb 20 05:53:34 1991

U.S. SENATE LEADER SAYS HE WOULD UNDERSTAND ISRAELI REPRISAL

By Howard Goller

TEL AVIV, Feb 20, Reuter - U.S. Senator Sam Nunn, who heads the powerful armed services committee, said on Wednesday he would understand if Israel retaliated for Iraqi missile attacks but he hoped for continued restraint.

Nunn headed a team of four leading U.S. Senators who met American and Israeli soldiers manning Patriot batteries at the end of a Middle East tour that included visits to U.S. forces in Bahrain and Saudi Arabia.

"Speaking only for myself, if there is a response from Israel, I'll understand it. We hope that restraint will continue however, because we do believe that the end of this conflict is in sight," Nunn, a Georgia Democrat, told reporters.

"But if there is a response, then I'll understand it as the response of a sovereign country and a people that have been very patient," he told an airport news conference after visiting the Patriot base in central Israel.

Nunn said it was important for Israel to stay out of the war to preserve a U.S.-led alliance against Iraq which includes Arab states hostile to Israel.

Defence Minister Moshe Arens was briefing the senators on Israel's problems at his Tel Aviv office on Tuesday night when air-raid sirens wailed nationwide to warn Israelis to seek shelter from a Iraqi Scud missile attack.

Arens's adviser Danny Naveh told reporters: "They said it was better than any explanation and they personally felt what every Israeli citizen experiences."

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Senators witness Israeli Scud raid

It didn't take long for four U.S. senators to get a sample of wartime life in Israel Tuesday. Sens. Sam Nunn, D-Ga., John Warner, R-Va., Daniel Inouye, D-Hawaii and Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, had just arrived at Defense Minister Moshe Arens' office in Tel Aviv when alarms sounded to alert residents to a missile attack. An Iraqi Scud missile struck Israel, but reportedly caused no casualties. The four, who are to tour a Patriot missile battery before leaving today, later arrived at the Tel Aviv Hilton carrying gas masks.

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 7 STORIES

The Associated Press

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February 19, 1991, Tuesday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 549 words

HEADLINE: Another Iraqi Scud Hits Israel

BYLINE: By ARTHUR MAX, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: TEL AVIV, Israel

KEYWORD: Gulf -Israel

BODY:

A single Iraqi Scud missile struck Israel on Tuesday night, but caused no casualties, the army said. It was the 36th Iraqi missile fired at the Jewish state during the Persian Gulf War.

Reporters in Tel Aviv heard sounds indicating at least two U.S.-supplied Patriot air-defense missiles were fired. They heard a third explosion they could not identify.

Israel television showed pictures of what appeared to be a Patriot hitting a Scud, which exploded in the air.

Chief army spokesman Brig. Gen. Nachman Shai gave no details on where the missile hit. "So far we have no reports of injuries or damage," he said.

The army command said the missile carried a conventional warhead, as did all the other Scuds fired at Israel since the Gulf War began Jan. 17.

Four U.S. senators - Sam Nunn, D-Ga., Daniel K. Inouye, D-Hawaii; Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, and John W. Warner, R-Va. - were meeting with Defense Minister Moshe Arens when alarms alerted residents to the missile attack.

"The senators could personally feel what the Israeli citizens are experiencing every night. I assume they will take back this unpleasant experience. They said this was better than any explanation," said Dan Naveh, a spokesman for Arens.

The United States has supplied at least six Patriot batteries to help protect Israel from Iraqi missiles.

In a town in central Israel, Israeli-Arab residents pointed to a small hole in a courtyard and said debris from the missile fell there and damaged the concrete. They said they heard a loud boom and that police took the debris away.

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Wed Feb 20 17:37:58 1991

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-Gulf-Ready Either Way, Bjt,0790

Tue Feb 19 15:35:32 1991

Ground Plans Have Air Component; Logistics Chief Says US Ready
LaserPhoto DHR2

By JOHN KING

Associated Press Writer

DHAHRAN, Saudi Arabia (AP) - If a ground war starts, the allies plan to fill the skies over Iraq with fighters to keep the remnants of Saddam Hussein's air force from joining the battle, military sources said Tuesday.

The plans also include an unusual joint Marine-Army assault in which U.S. ground forces plan to punch north into Iraq and Kuwait, said the sources, speaking on the condition of anonymity.

As speculation ran rampant over the start of an allied invasion, the logistics chief for Operation Desert Storm declared U.S. forces ready despite a few spot supply shortages. Ground maneuvering, artillery barrages and other action offered even more signs an allied offensive could come within days.

With a Soviet peace proposal declared unacceptable by President Bush, some senior officers believe an assault inevitable - unless there is a diplomatic breakthrough in the next day or so.

"We don't need any more time, we'll cut right through them on the ground," one senior officer said privately. "If the Gorbachev plan doesn't work, you'll see something soon on the ground."

Still, this officer said he did not expect the "G-day" orders before the weekend. Several others suggested the assault could come as early as Thursday.

But with the allies saying they are destroying more than 100 Iraqi tanks and dozens of lethal Soviet and South African-made artillery pieces each day, others believe the air assault will go on at least into next week before Bush sends ground forces into combat.

A ground battle isn't the only contingency for which allied forces are planning. They're also getting ready for an Iraqi withdrawal.

Most allied officers are skeptical any peace agreement will be struck but they are preparing nonetheless to respond if Saddam suddenly pulls his troops from the oil-rich emirate he conquered Aug. 2.

Those plans, according to sources, are in preliminary stages but include securing vital Kuwaiti installations such as oil fields, airports and ports. The allies hope Arab forces will do much of the work, but U.S. rapid-deployment forces and ordnance experts are also expected to play major roles.

"They've got the whole place mined and booby trapped, so that's not likely to be pleasant work," a Marine officer said. "We have the experts, so we're going to have to be involved in a big way."

But the focus remained on preparing for a ground offensive.

The U.S.-led coalition established air supremacy over Iraq and Kuwait in the opening days of the month.

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the United States to rest and repair its F-15 air-to-air fighters during the past week.

A senior Air Force officer in Riyadh said those fighters would be called on early in a ground offensive, charged with patrolling Iraqi and Kuwait airspace to keep Saddam from using his warplanes to provide close-air support for his army. Although some 140 Iraqi planes have fled to Iran, the bulk of those left in Iraq are equipped for air-to-ground combat, including delivery of chemical bombs on ground troops.

"We'll get the fighters up there in numbers to keep him from getting any planes up," the officer said, speaking privately.

The Marine-Army operation, according to another military source, involves Marines punching a hole across the northern Saudi border and clearing a path for Army tanks. The source discussed the plan on condition the location not be disclosed.

For the past week, the allied command has said the U.S. and allied forces are ready for a ground offensive, but there have been periodic reports from the field of shortages ranging from ammunition to chemical protective gear.

But Lt. Gen. Gus Pagonis, the logistics chief for Desert Storm, said Tuesday the shortages did not involve those or any other vital supplies.

"We're ready to go," Pagonis said. "We're totally prepared to do whatever is necessary." Pagonis said his supply system was not a factor in deciding when to order a ground offensive.

"Logistically, it's irrelevant to me whether we go today, tomorrow or next month," he said.

The chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, visiting Saudi Arabia, said he found U.S. troops well prepared but hinted he would prefer giving the unrelenting air war more time.

Sen. Sam Nunn said a ground offensive should be ordered only if the air war lost its effectiveness in destroying Iraqi armor and artillery, the main targets as pilots prepare the desert battlefield.

When asked if the air assault was still working, the Georgia Democrat replied: "My impression is that it is."

AP-NY-02-19-91 1536EST+

4TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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February 19, 1991, Tuesday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 302 words

HEADLINE: SENATOR NUNN SAYS BUSH HAS FREE HAND OVER WAR

DATELINE: DHAHRAN, Saudi Arabia

KEYWORD:

GULF-SAUDI -SENATORS

BODY:

A senior U.S. senator who tried to stop the United States from going to war in the Persian Gulf said Tuesday that President Bush now had a free hand to launch a ground war.

Referring to reports of a deadline contained in peace proposals made by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, Sam Nunn, D-Ga., said:

"Thirty-six hours is not a deadline on the United States in terms of doing anything after that 36 hours. The question of whether and when to start a ground war is a decision the president will have to make."

Nunn, head of the Senate Armed Services Committee, has been touring Saudi Arabia with three other senators.

He resisted sending troops to the Persian Gulf after Iraq invaded Kuwait Aug. 2, arguing that economic sanctions should be given more time to bite.

Nunn said that before making his mind up on the ground assault to drive Iraq out of Kuwait, Bush would have to talk to his commanders and his allies, assess the readiness of allied troops, review the political situation in the region and check the weather.

Sen. John Warner of Virginia, the leading Republican on the Armed Services Committee, told the same news conference: "Saddam Hussein is hurt, he is injured, he is down but he is not out.

"And now the Soviets come in maybe to pick at his bones for their own self-interest. But let's give them the benefit of the doubt."

Warner, who Tuesday celebrated his 66th birthday aboard the battleship Wisconsin, said the senators would visit Israel after their Saudi tour.

He said he agreed with Bush in refusing to link a settlement of the Gulf War with the Palestinian issue.

"But subsequent to the resolution of this conflict, one way or another, the world has to address the issues of the region and that includes the Palestinian issue," he said.

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

will be a "[Gov. William Donald] Schaefer for President" rally at the Maryland State House in Annapolis at noon tomorrow. It's an effort on the part of those who take Mr. Schaefer's words, "I'm serious about this," seriously. Some concern must be expressed, however, regarding the sentiments of the group. Why, one might ask, would they have recently acquired a clown suit?



On his 64th birthday, aboard ship, John Warner recalled his youth.

brated his 64th birthday aboard the battleship Wisconsin, wearing the same bomber jacket he had on 40 years ago while flying over the Wisconsin as it conducted a firing mission during the Korean War.

During his visit to the battleship, Mr. Warner stood inside the turret on one of the ship's big guns while it fired a shell weighing nearly 2,000 pounds during practice. He later came outside and watched as the ship fired all of its big guns. Before he left the ship, a group of seamen sang Happy Birthday to the senator.

Over the ship's public address system, Mr. Warner told the crew that the firing of the big guns was "a hell of a candlelight" to celebrate his birthday. He said the visit "brought back memories of 40 years ago when I was airborne as a communications officer in an aircraft during the Korean War and had the opportunity to observe this ship in a live firing mission on Nov. 10, 1951. She hit the target that day and you're hitting the target on this day. A well done to you gentlemen ... and thank you on behalf of the United States."

Have a happy

Virginia Sen. John Warner, the ranking Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee, cele-

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Wed Feb 20 18:04:57 1991

Page 1

1: APIri
2: 0506
3: -Gulf-Readiness,0499
4:
5: Tue Feb 19 08:09:01 1991
6:
7: Desert Storm Supply Chief He's Ready For Ground War
8: By JOHN KING
9: Associated Press Writer
10: DHAHRAN, Saudi Arabia (AP) - American forces are experiencing
11: spot shortages of some non-essential supplies but are ready to
12: launch a ground offensive, the supply chief for Operation Desert
13: Storm said today.
14: "We're totally prepared to do whatever is necessary," Lt. Gen.
15: Gus Pagonis said of the ground offensive some officials hint may be
16: days or hours away. "We're ready to go."
17: Sen. Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee,
18: agreed with Pagonis. But while ending a visit to U.S. forces, the
19: Georgia Democrat hinted that he favored continuing the air war for
20: a while.
21: Nunn, a leading Senate voice on defense matters, said the air
22: war should continue as long as it remains effective in debilitating
23: Saddam Hussein's army.
24: "My impression is that it is," Nunn said. Asked if he would
25: advise Bush to hold off a ground attack, Nunn refused to comment.
26: Speaking to reporters before he flew back to the United States,
27: Nunn said the readiness of U.S. forces was just one of several
28: factors Bush would have to consider when pondering ordering a
29: ground attack.
30: He specifically mentioned anti-American sentiment in the region,
31: other political concerns, weather and approaching Muslim religious
32: holidays.
33: Nunn said he was not familiar with the Soviet peace proposal but
34: would support it if it fell in line with United Nations
35: resolutions, including the Resolution 660 that demands an
36: unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.
37: But he said that in briefings with allied commanders, "I've
38: seen nothing here that indicates they are pulling back."
39: Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev offered a new peace plan
40: on Monday.
41: Details have not been released, but a German newspaper reported
42: today that in exchange for an unconditional withdrawal, Iraq would
43: be promised that Saddam will not be punished, that his government
44: and borders will not be tampered with, and that talks on the
45: Palestinian problem will be held.
46: The senior Republican on Nunn's committee, Sen. John Warner of
47: Virginia, said he also found U.S. forces ready for a ground attack,
48: but said he would not join speculation about when such an order
49: might come.
50: "We've got too many armchair strategists right now," Warner
51: said.
52: In response to a reporter's question, Pagonis said supply
53: shortages did not include essential items such as ammunition, food,
54: or chemical protective gear.

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Wed Feb 20 18:05:07 1991

Page 1

1: DJUML
2: 0251
3: BUSH TO SEEK 50 BLN DLRS TO FUND GULF WAR, SEN. NUNN SAYS
4:
5: Mon Feb 18 03:39:55 1991
6:
7: [
8: RIYADH -(DJ)--SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE
9: CHAIRMAN SAM NUNN, (DEMOCRAT-GEORGIA), SAID THE BUSH
10: ADMINISTRATION WILL REQUEST A SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION OF
11: 50 BILLION DLRS TO FUND THE PERSIAN GULF WAR.
12: 'HOPEFULLY WE'LL BE REIMBURSED BY OUR ALLIES,' THE
13: SENATOR TOLD PRESS POOL REPORTERS DURING A WEEKEND VISIT TO
14: SAUDI ARABIA. 'THE UNKNOWN IS HOW QUICKLY THAT WILL COME IN
15: AND HOW MUCH WILL BE IN-KIND.'
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18: -(DJ-02-18-91 0841GMT)
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9TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1991

February 17, 1991, Sunday, BC cycle

SECTION: International

LENGTH: 523 words

HEADLINE: Members of Congress visit gulf

DATELINE: IN CENTRAL SAUDI ARABIA

KEYWORD: GULF -SENATORS

BODY:

Four U.S. senators emerged from a meeting Sunday with Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of U.S. forces in the gulf, satisfied with the war's progress but uncertain about its future.

The senators insisted that no decision has been made on when to launch a ground offensive, and said President Bush would decide after consulting further with advisers and allies.

"There are many of us who still hope the air war can wind this up," said Sen. Sam Nunn, D-Ga., chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. "But we have no assurances of that, and we have to be prepared for every contingency."

Nunn said he and the other senators -- John Warner, R-Va., Daniel Inouye, D-Hawaii and Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, didn't specifically ask Schwarzkopf if U.S. forces were ready for a ground offensive.

"But my impression is that we are moving toward readiness," the senator said. "I think they (the Iraqis) need to anticipate that our military forces are ready."

Also Sunday, Rep. John Murtha, D-Pa., chairman of a House appropriations defense subcommittee, made a whirlwind tour of the gulf that included a visit to the aircraft carrier USS Midway.

Murtha predicted that U.S. technical superiority will be even more evident in a ground offensive than it has been in the air campaign, but said the war could last up to six months.

"We have to flush them out," Murtha said of Iraqi troops dug into Kuwait. "At the same time, they have to come out of their hole or they are of no value."

The congressional visits coincided with tens of thousands of U.S. troops positioning themselves in Saudi Arabia, near the Kuwaiti border, and amid mounting speculation that a ground war could begin as early as this week.

It also followed Baghdad's conditional offer to withdraw from Kuwait and on the eve of Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz's trip to the Soviet Union to discuss the war with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Proprietary to the United Press International, February 17, 1991

Nunn said, "All of us want stability (in the gulf region) when this is over and I think the way to do it is to continue to prosecute the war as we are doing now until he (Saddam Hussein) decides to comply with the U.N. mandate" to unconditionally withdraw from Kuwait.

Inouye, asked about the civilian casualties in Baghdad last week, said, "We are concerned about every life ... but I am satisfied that our military has taken every precautionary step to avoid casualties."

"But this is war," he said. "Even under the best of circumstances we do have accidents, even in training missions."

Stevens said the delegation came to the gulf to better understand the U.S. military's needs and "to tell them we think that they have the support of the people at home."

"They certainly have the support of the Congress," Stevens said.

Besides speaking with Schwarzkopf, the four also visited an American Patriot firing battery, where they spoke with some of the service personnel who have successfully used the rocket to shoot down Iraqi Scuds.

Warner told the troops, "The homecoming you guys are going to get will be hard to survive."

LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 7 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Reuters

February 17, 1991, Sunday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 542 words

HEADLINE: SENATORS IN SAUDI ARABIA KICK SCUDS AND PRAISE PATRIOTS

BYLINE: By Arthur Spiegelman

DATELINE: AT A PATRIOT BATTERY, Saudi Arabia

KEYWORD:

GULF-SAUDI -SENATORS

BODY:

Kicking a downed Scud missile and praising the Patriots that destroy them, four influential U.S. senators said Sunday there should be no cease-fire in the Gulf War.

Visiting the Foxtrot Patriot anti-missile missile station, which boasts the world record- 10- for downing Scuds, the senators rejected any cease-fire based on Saddam Hussein's strings-attached peace proposal announced Friday.

Georgia Democrat Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate's armed service committee, told reporters: "I think we will be able to tell when Saddam Hussein decides to get out. I don't think there will be any mistake about it ... and until then I feel real strongly there should be no cease-fire.

"A cease-fire, in the long run, unless it is under the conditions of certainty about his intentions could end up costing lives rather than saving lives."

Speaking for the group, he added: "All of us want stability when this is over. I think the way to do it is to continue as we are doing now."

While Iraqi Foreign Minister Tareq Aziz flew to Moscow for talks on Iraq's conditional offer to withdraw from Kuwait, tens of thousands of U.S. and allied troops are at the front in preparation for a ground war that could come at any time.

Nunn, Hawaii Democrat Daniel Inouye and Republicans John Warner and Ted Stevens, of Virginia and Alaska respectively, spent almost three hours being briefed on the war by allied commander Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf after they arrived Sunday morning.

They declined to say what Schwarzkopf told them on the possible start of a ground war, but noted that the decision was one for President Bush to make.

Schwarzkopf told another group of congressional visitors on Saturday that allied forces were now ready for a ground war. He has always said that he would not give the go-ahead until he believed the troops were ready.

Although top level French officials are claiming that a date has been made for the ground invasion, Sen. Warner insisted it had not.

(c) 1991 Reuters, February 17, 1991

"It is clear that the decision to go or not go has not been made. It is to be made by our president in consultation with the other forces in this military operation."

Nunn, who voted against the congressional authorization for the Gulf War, suggested that the air war could continue because it was "degrading the Iraqi military forces on the ground."

He added: "There are many of us who still hope that the air war can wind this up. But we have no assurances of that."

The senators made their comments after touring the Foxtrot battery where the belly of a downed Scud lay in the sand for their inspection, not far from a battery of rectangular Patriot launchers.

Warner, clad in the leather jacket he wore as a Marine airman in the Korean war 40 years ago, took one look at the Scud and gave it a swift kick in the side.

He then inspected its seams and declared the construction to be low-grade.

Scuds have been fired more than 60 times by Iraq at Saudi and Israeli cities, but at Foxtrot Battery, the Scud gets no respect.

Warner told one of his constituents, Sgt. Richard Williams of Fort Royal, Va.: "You really ought to be proud of yourselves. You are going to get one nice homecoming."

Williams replied: "Yes sir, I am really looking forward to the homecoming."

LEVEL 1 - 4 OF 7 STORIES

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The Toronto Star

February 16, 1991, Saturday, SATURDAY EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A1/ FRONT

LENGTH: 1239 words

HEADLINE: Allied bombing continues as Bush calls peace bid a 'hoax' But some in U.S. see optimism in Iraqi proposal

BYLINE: By Linda Diebel Toronto Star

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: GULF WAR HOAX

BODY:

While U.S. President George Bush flatly condemned Iraqi President Saddam Hussein for his conditional offer to withdraw from Kuwait, others saw it yesterday as Iraq's opening bid for peace.

10TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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February 16, 1991, Saturday, PM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 574 words

HEADLINE: Offer May Signal Start of Bargaining to Ensure Saddam's Survival

BYLINE: By DAVID CRARY, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: NICOSIA, Cyprus

KEYWORD: Gulf -Survivor Saddam

BODY:

Saddam Hussein has proved willing to do almost anything to retain power, from ordering poison gas used on his own people to granting huge concessions to former enemy Iran.

His offer to withdraw from Kuwait, linked though it is to conditions the allies will not accept, may be the first phase of his latest survival strategy, analysts said Friday.

"He now knows that continuing the war is meaningless," said Tasheen Beshir, an Egyptian political expert and former ambassador. "He needs to stop the war, but he will try to cover up any sense of defeat - he's a good poker player."

Not long ago, Saddam was vowing that Kuwait would remain part of Iraq for eternity. As of Friday, that vow was no longer operable.

Andrew Duncan, an analyst with the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London, said he had no doubt that Saddam could complete this about-face and withdraw from Kuwait without jeopardizing his hold on power in Iraq.

"He's quite capable of making major concessions, and there's no reason this shouldn't be the start of one," Duncan said in a telephone interview.

"He will have enhanced his position with over half the Arab world, and he's not going to lose support because he saves the lives of thousands of his soldiers," Duncan added.

A Jordanian political science professor, Kamel Abu Jaber, said Saddam "showed he cares about the Iraqi people, by trying to alleviate their suffering.

"The lives of his people are worth more to him than to those bombing Iraq," he said.

The Associated Press, February 16, 1991

In Washington, President Bush bluntly voiced his preference for an outcome that ousted Saddam. He urged Iraq's military and its people "to take matters into their own hands, to force Saddam Hussein, the dictator, to step aside."

But Sen. Sam Nunn, an influential Georgia Democrat, suggested Saddam was hinting at further concessions.

"This could be the opening bid in Saddam's move toward diplomacy," Nunn said. "In the Arab world you always have to be prepared for bargaining and this may be the opening gambit."

Saddam has been Iraq's effective ruler since 1968 and its president since 1979. In that period, he has survived at least a half-dozen assassination attempts, and kept his hold over the public with a mix of harsh repression and social reforms.

When Kurdish rebels posed a severe challenge to his regime in 1988, he ordered a counteroffensive in which an estimated 4,000 villagers were killed by the army's chemical weapons.

He launched a war with Iran that lasted from 1980 to 1988, yet last year - following the invasion of Kuwait - granted to Iran many of the demands it had made for a final peace.

"Saddam is a lousy strategist," said Beshir, speaking by telephone from Cairo. "He miscalculated with Iran and he miscalculated with Kuwait. But I would leave it up to the Iraqi people to decide how to deal with a defeated Saddam Hussein."

If Iraq did withdraw soon, it would still possess one of the world's largest military forces, even after the severe pounding inflicted by the allies' month-long air offensive. Thousands of tanks and hundreds of thousands of troops would remain.

Saddam's attempts to link the Gulf War to the Palestinian cause might keep his new-found popularity alive among the Arab masses and make him a regional political power even with an economy in disarray,

"Unless we deal with the frustrations of the Arab people, we will be winning the war without saving the peace," Beshir said.

(c) 1991 The New York Times, February 7, 1991

poorly prepared the public for war and was ill prepared for its aftermath.

"It is a mistake to pretend you can have a new world order without having first a new American order," Mr. Cuomo said. Mr. Bush was "being too cute by half" by acknowledging certain domestic needs and then by largely ignoring them, he said, adding, "You made a choice -- bankers before babies."

Why had the President intervened in the Persian Gulf? the Governor asked, fielding the rhetorical question himself: was it to curb aggression? Then why not intervene in Afghanistan or in Tibet? You mean aggression where our vital interests are concerned? That's oil. No, jobs. Then, what about Iraq's nuclear arsenal?

"And now the reason for the war," Mr. Cuomo said, "is, there is a war."

Would sanctions have succeeded? "How would you ever know?" he said. "How would you ever prove it? Now the question is how do you end this thing? It's like my budget -- you have to come with alternatives. I don't think at this point the President can throw down our arms and say, 'I surrender to Saddam Hussein.' It would destroy the coalition. It would destroy Israel.

"We must win because Saddam Hussein must lose. The President must be constantly mindful of disengagement with honor. But the armed forces have the full support of all of us -- every Democrat and good American. There is no choice for decent people. And we have to avoid the mistake we made in Vietnam, of blaming the armed forces for a wretched political judgment."

Where had the Governor stood on the Vietnam war? "I don't even remember," he replied. "Nobody ever asked me. I was not relevant. Now, after all these years, I'm barely relevant." The outcome of this war may determine whether the Governor grows more relevant as a national political figure or less.

SUBJECT: ELECTIONS; GOVERNORS (US); ELECTION ISSUES; MILITARY ACTION; UNITED STATES ARMAMENT AND DEFENSE

NAME: CUOMO, MARIO M (GOV); ROBERTS, SAM

GEOGRAPHIC: NEW YORK STATE; PERSIAN GULF; MIDDLE EAST; IRAQ; SAUDI ARABIA

LEVEL 1 - 6 OF 7 STORIES

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[February 4, 1991 , UNITED STATES EDITION

| SECTION: PERISCOPE; Exclusive; Pg. 10

LENGTH: 255 words

| HEADLINE: Shutting Out Sam Nunn

BODY:

NEWSWEEK has learned that Sam Nunn, the Senate's "Mr. Defense," is being frozen out by the Pentagon because he led the fight to delay the use of force in the Persian gulf. Senate Democrats say there's been a "major battle"

(c) 1991 Newsweek, February 4, 1991

between Nunn and top Defense Department officials over access to gulf war plans. "He feels boxed out," says a Senate defense specialist. Aides say Nunn is having difficulty getting information on the war and some of his requests have been denied outright. Such cavalier treatment of the Armed Services Committee chairman is unprecedented, and Hill sources say Nunn is "furious" at the freeze-out.

Senate Democrats speculate that the White House sees Nunn as a likely presidential candidate in '92 who's not to be trusted because of his vote on the gulf. But it's not the first time the administration has snubbed the Georgia senator. Last November Nunn wasn't told about the U.S. troop build-up in the gulf until an hour before it was made public.

* In other gulf developments, NEWSWEEK has learned that Saddam Hussein's terrorist training camps were not targets of the Air Force's first bombing raids against Iraq. The reason: U.S. intelligence monitoring showed that the camps, where Saddam had been training more than 100 guerrillas, were mostly deserted. "They graduated a lot of students before the war," says a U.S. intelligence source. U.S. counterterrorism officials have alerted U.S. and allied interests around the world to prepare for terrorist attacks by Saddam's camp graduates.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Paying the price for his vote to delay the war: The senator, TIMOTHY A. MURPHY

LEVEL 1 - 7 OF 7 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Levitt Communications, Inc.
Roll Call

February 4, 1991

SECTION: Political Briefing

LENGTH: 946 words

HEADLINE: Two Republicans Ready to Challenge Moderate Specter

BYLINE: By Tim Curran

BODY:

Although Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa) looks strong sitting atop his \$1.5 million war chest right now, at least one Democrat and two Republicans appear ready to challenge him.

Stephen P. Freind, a conservative GOP state Representative, recently told the Philadelphia Inquirer, "A lot of people have contacted me over the last few months asking me to consider it, and at this point, that's what I'm doing."

The Inquirer called Freind "one of the few conservatives with high name recognition, the ability to instantly mobilize a mass grassroots effort and to draw on a national base of contributors."

Conservatives have long quarreled with Specter for his moderate position on abortion rights and his vote against Robert Bork's confirmation to the Supreme Court.

(c) 1991 Roll Call, February 4, 1991

Another Republican, Joseph Breslin, said he too will seek the GOP nod. Breslin ran unsuccessfully for Congress as a Democrat in 1968 and 1970.

The only high-profile Democrat who'll say publicly that he's looking at the race is newly re-elected Lt. Gov. Mark Singel. After his re-election on a ticket with Gov. Bob Casey (D), Singel told the Philadelphia Daily News that Specter's was "a seat a moderate Democrat could win, whether it's Singel or someone else." He estimated that a bid to unseat well-funded, hard-charging campaigner Specter would require \$6 million.

Singel is also considering a race to succeed Casey in 1994, but the fact that the last three Pennsylvania lieutenant governors to run for governor have lost may give him pause. Before becoming a state Senator, Singel served as the chief of staff to Reps. Peter Peyser (D-NY) and Helen Meyner (D-NJ).

Specter is running for a third term. In 1980, he won with just 50 percent of the vote, but he raised his margin to 56 to 43 in defeating former Rep. Bob Edgar (D) in 1986.

Nunn, Fowler Feeling The Heat in Georgia

Democratic Sens. Sam Nunn and Wyche Fowler are feeling the heat at home in Georgia, a state with a strong military tradition, for failing to vote with the President on the use of force in the Persian Gulf.

According to the Atlanta Constitution, even before war broke out, a sign had been erected along US 41 in Cobb County reading, "Senator Sam Nunn - You're becoming SADDAM'S Best Friend!" The sign was put up by Bubby Crowder, owner of Crowder Outdoor Advertising, Inc., who claimed that Nunn was using the Gulf issue to position himself for a presidential run.

"I've heard a lot of negative grumbling," the paper quoted one state Democrat as saying. "You know, calling him Baghdad Sam, and all that."

Another Constitution article quoted Sam Griffin, a newspaper publisher and the son of former Democratic Gov. Marvin Griffin as saying that he was "very, very disappointed in Sen. Nunn, and, of course, in Sen. Fowler, too."

Nunn won re-election in November without opposition, and political fallout from his Gulf vote will be measured in terms of his much-discussed presidential ambitions.

Fowler, however, is up for re-election in 1992 after wresting the seat from incumbent Sen. Mack Mattingly (R) by just 22,000 votes in 1986.

Pilot Bryan Will Take On Rep. Studds Again

Conservative airline pilot and educator Jon Bryan, who has run in the last two elections against Rep. Gerry Studds (D-Mass) and held him to 52 percent of the vote in November, is challenging the ten-term Congressman again in 1992, and he's already got at least one theme.

A report in the conservative newspaper Human Events quotes a Bryan press release that calls Studds's support of the Congressional pay raise "an arrogant and incredible rip-off of the taxpayers!"

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In 1988, Studds defeated Bryan by a booming 67 to 33 percent margin, but the challenger managed to shave 15 points off of the incumbent's margin in two years.

It looks like he'll spend the next 20 months trying to shave off the next two points. Studds, an acknowledged homosexual who was censured by the House in 1983 for having sex with a male page, should be high on the NRCC target list for the next cycle.

Democrats offered Studds a measure of protection last month by naming him to the powerful Energy and Commerce Committee. Studds ranks second on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, a panel that is important to his district, which includes Cape Cod and New Bedford.

The chairman of that committee, Rep. Walter Jones (D-NC), 77, is a potential retiree in 1992.

THE DEAD-END ARAB STREET, BY THE EDITORS

MARCH 4, 1991 • \$2.95

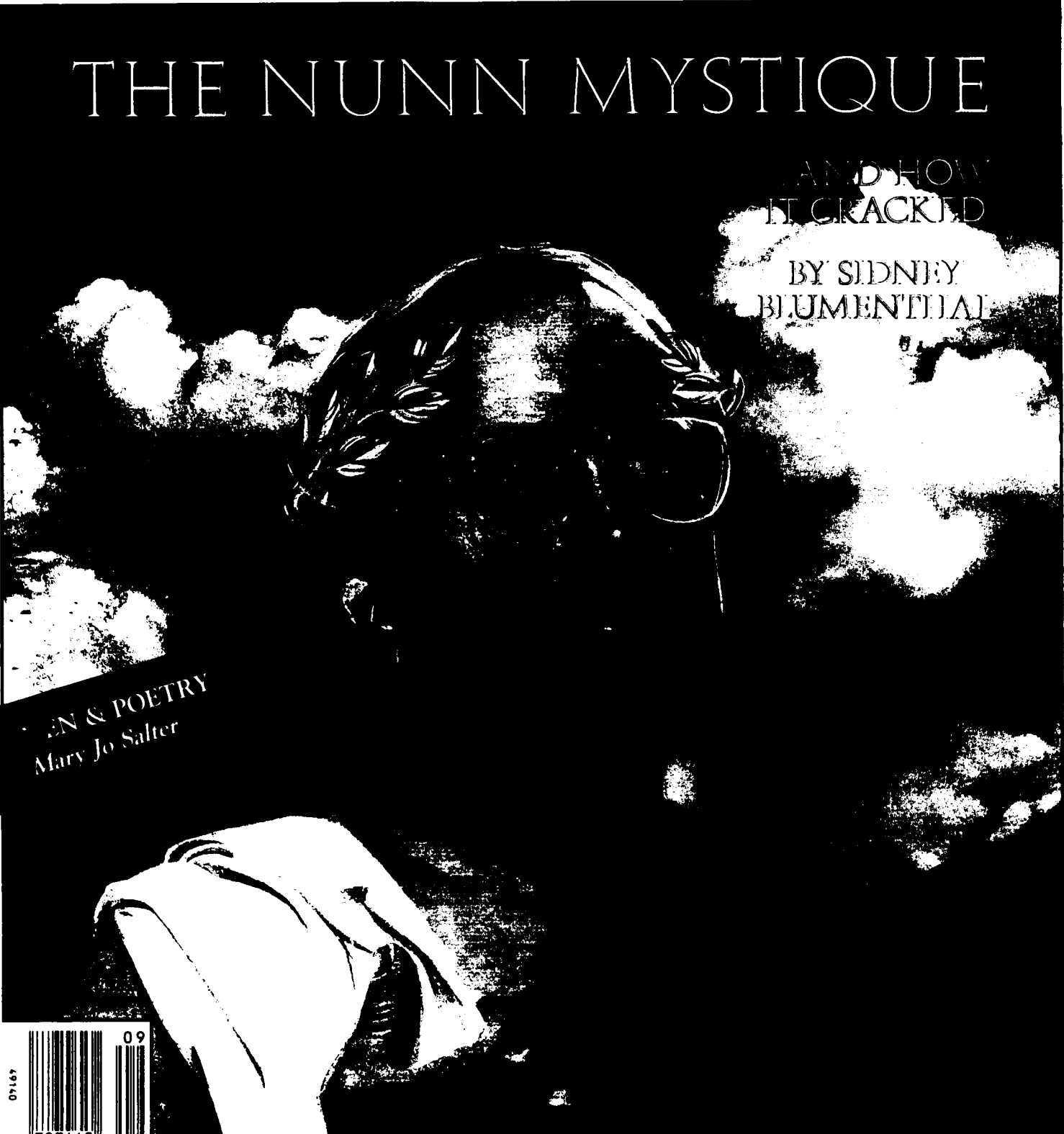
THE NEW REPUBLIC

The Kremlin's man on horseback, by Kurt M. Campbell • Alex Heard on nuke weenies

THE NUNN MYSTIQUE

AND HOW IT CRACKED

BY SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL



ARTS & POETRY
Mary Jo Salter



The 'defense Democrat' on the defense.

THE MYSTIQUE OF SAM NUNN

By Sidney Blumenthal

For two days of suspended time in January, as Congress debated the ultimate question of war, Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia became the center of national gravity. Without his ever seeking the presidential nomination, the leadership of the Democratic Party had suddenly fallen to him. Before this moment, his immense reputation had been protected by his distance from the national party and its quadrennial defeats. A host of admirers in the capital, from his Southern colleagues to *The Washington Post's* editorial board to the Democratic Leadership Council, had long clamored for the party to make this archetypal "defense Democrat"—the chairman of the Armed Services Committee—its standard-bearer. Yet most of the Democrats in Congress had steadfastly refused to follow him down the line on the defense issues most important to him. Moreover, he had compiled a record on social issues that was highly conservative, far less liberal than his state would have been willing to tolerate. This had further lengthened the odds against his emergence as a national Democratic figure.

But now, with Nunn as the author of the resolution calling for the extension of sanctions and against the resolution that would approve war, the Democratic leadership, in closed strategy meetings, treated him with an abject deference they had never shown him before. But then, he was giving them political cover he had never given before. He was willing to extend himself at last—as camouflage netting.

His mystique has made him seem invincible. But the Nunn cult of personality is curious because Nunn himself has tried not to be a personality. In small groups he can exhibit a wry sense of humor, and on the stump in rural Georgia he has revealed a folksy side, including barnyard jokes about cow manure never aired in the drawing rooms of Washington. But mainly he appears dry and shy, withdrawn behind the armor of inexpressiveness, an Olympian pose that is quite conscious.

"I can't think of any major problem that can be solved with partisanship," Nunn has said. He prefers the role of disinterested expert. He waits for a situation to develop, for the lines of debate to form, before he enters. When he believes he holds the balance, the others are forced to demand: What does Sam Nunn think? His owlish, opaque gaze projects calm rumination, inner security, unruffled authority. He has his own sense of how the

process ought to operate; when it doesn't meet his specifications, he thinks it's improper. He has mastered every corner of his arcane subject and chastises those who impute to him any political motive. He has the mental habits of a grindingly methodical lawyer, which he is. Inevitably his argument is organized around the technical, the tactical, the procedural. Usually his solution is a carefully hedged middle ground, covered with the patina of analysis. Nunn's ideal of politics is cool and passionless: politics as policy. But he has been building more than a case; he has built power.

Nunn's history and temperament would seem to have placed him anywhere but across a line in the sand drawn by the president. "He did not," says one of his friends in the Senate, "set out to do it." But Nunn's position on the war—the most important position in his career—was not quite the dramatic reversal it appeared. The traditions of Georgia and the Senate, which Nunn wears like a mantle to lend him his aura of mastery, were not enough to ward off defeat in the Senate vote. But those traditions and what he has made of them may suggest what pointed him to the Senate floor to take command of a lost cause—and what it might mean for the Democrats that he has done so.

Sam Nunn Sr., known as "Mr. Sam," was a well-to-do landowner and lawyer in the central Georgia town of Perry. He was Southern gentry rather than Southern populist, and a player of consequence in local politics. He was sent to the state legislature, became mayor of Perry, and ran the campaigns in Houston County of Governor Eugene Talmadge and his senator son Herman. Mr. Sam's wife, Elizabeth, a former schoolteacher, maintained in their home the largest library in town. Mr. Sam was an avid reader of books on the War between the States, reading and rereading Douglas Southall Freeman's three-volume *Lee's Lieutenants*.

Every Thanksgiving Elizabeth Nunn's Uncle Carl came down from Washington for the holiday dinner. Carl Vinson had been elected to the House of Representatives in 1914, and in 1932 seniority made him chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee. On the eve of World War II he oversaw the instant explosion of the military budget, funneling billions into the construction of bases and factories in Georgia, especially middle

Georgia. Military Keynesianism pulled the region out of the Depression and laid the basis for a modern economy.

Since before the Civil War Southerners in control of key congressional committees had wielded influence out of proportion to their weight in the country. Vinson, who ruled over his committee with an imperious hand, had two sobriquets: "the Swamp Fox," for his shrewdness at legislative guerrilla maneuver, and "the Admiral," for his command of what he called "my Navy." After 1947, when the service committees were merged and he became the first chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, he could also refer to "my Army."

Sam Nunn Jr. saw Vinson as a model, and when he graduated from Emory Law School in 1962, he joined his uncle's committee staff for a year. "He was at the zenith of his power," Nunn told me in an interview. "That had a big effect on me."

At the end of his stint with Uncle Carl, unsure whether to set up his legal practice in Perry or Atlanta, Nunn sought the advice of Senator Herman Talmadge, the old family friend. Talmadge counseled him to return to his roots, where he had a better chance of winning a seat in the state legislature. Back in Perry, Nunn joined a group of responsible moderates devoted to racial comity during the civil rights revolution. Soon he was elected to the legislature. After four years there he lobbied the members hard to create a new congressional district in middle Georgia that might be his. But his ambition to follow in the footsteps of his great uncle was rebuffed, not least because of the opposition of the new governor, Jimmy Carter. Inside the Statehouse, a detractor hung a sign: "Bye, bye, Nunn." Then, with the 1972 election approaching, Richard Russell died. Given the lifetime tenures of Southern senators, the rarest of opportunities had presented itself.

For Georgians, filling the vacancy meant filling a myth. As the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Russell had formed with Vinson a powerful legislative alliance. Russell was a monastic man, a lonely drinker and voracious reader, married to the institution as only a Southerner could be. In 1952 he had deluded himself into believing that the deference paid him within the Senate represented a national will. His presidential candidacy served only to demonstrate his very limited regional support and to expose his vanity. His defeat showed him as decidedly mortal, and he would never rise beyond the Senate.

Still, his institutional power remained intact. He supported a large Pentagon budget, but warned against the United States becoming the "world policeman." At the start he opposed American involvement in Vietnam. Once massive forces were committed, he seemed to have become a hawk, though when the crunch came in March 1968 he strongly opposed the Pentagon's urgent request for a call-up of the reserves. For him, the constitutional tension between Congress and the executive over foreign policy was a central dilemma. But he was willing to give in to the president in the period of the cold war

because of its extreme danger. Lyndon Johnson, like Harry Truman, respected Russell more than any other member of the Senate; both relied on him in every crisis. "His struggle," writes the historian Caroline F. Ziemke, "often led to apparent inconsistencies between what he believed was right and the public position he actually took, inconsistencies which, in turn, compromised his ability to exploit his influence and leave an indelible mark on U.S. policy in Southeast Asia."

"I met him two or three times," says Nunn of Russell. "I came over to the Senate side with Uncle Carl when they had a conference. I was a junior lawyer. It was shaking hands, that's about it." Russell was remote, but his image loomed. Nunn asked Uncle Carl whether he should seek Russell's seat. "He told me not to run," says Nunn, "that I was crazy to run, that I didn't have a chance—mission impossible." But Nunn felt that if he did not take the risk he would be finished in politics. Vinson seemed to be testing his nephew's mettle. "After the first two weeks to see if I'd stay in, he pitched in and helped," says Nunn. The Swamp Fox notified his many supporters that he was backing Young Sam, and that financial contributions would not be inappropriate.

Nunn faced an Atlanta lawyer named David Gambrell, who had been appointed by Governor Carter to serve the remainder of Russell's term and was Carter's campaign finance chairman. "When you have an appointed senator," says Nunn, "there are at least four or five factions who didn't get the job." Eventually, all those who felt rejected mobilized on behalf of Nunn. It was, he remarks, "a strange coalition"—an anti-Carter coalition, in fact—ranging from segregationist Lester Maddox to civil rights activist Julian Bond. Nunn accused Gambrell of being a "false conservative," supporting the Democratic nominee, George McGovern, for president, and buying his seat with contributions to Carter. The candidate also made a pilgrimage to the man who was then the Confederate flag. "George Wallace," said Nunn, "represents the real views of Georgians."

But perhaps the crucial stroke in his campaign—and career—was made by Uncle Carl. Before the runoff, Vinson took Young Sam up to Washington to see Senator John Stennis of Mississippi, Russell's successor as chairman of the Armed Services Committee. Nunn left Stennis's office with a pledge that, if elected, he would be named to the committee. This rite made Nunn the presumptive heir of both Vinson and Russell. Flourishing this promise, he won a narrow victory.

The new senator took his direction partly from the courtly Stennis, who conducted the committee's business with an air of civility and the tap of a pencil on a water glass. But simply becoming a Southern grandee in the old style was no longer possible in the defense field. A new class had intruded to set the terms of the discussion: the defense intellectuals. Nunn soon began to take his lead partly from Rand, the Air Force-sponsored think tank, using their studies to enhance his reputation as one who knew what he was talking about. He appeared more intellectual, more expert than his older colleagues. But he also partly followed the lead of another

committee member, Senator Henry Jackson, a scathing critic of détente with the Soviet Union and the chief proponent of the more-is-better school of defense spending. Jackson was a strident cold warrior whose ideas on defense were adduced from ideological points. Nunn always presented his case based on clinical evidence, careful to position himself as an expert beyond ideology and followership.

In 1976 Nunn endorsed Jackson for president, but Jackson was handily dispatched in the primaries by the former governor of Georgia, Nunn's earlier nemesis. His quiet criticisms of Carter as impulsive, weak, and lacking in judgment were accepted as special insights coming from a Georgian and enhanced Nunn's own reputation as the opposite. In 1978 the senator and the president attempted to make peace by uniting around the neutron bomb. Carter commissioned him to drum up support for the weapon in Congress, but then withdrew his own support, embarrassing Nunn, who felt this was a final betrayal.

Nunn had tried to steer a middle course in favor of both arms control and an arms buildup—a course between Carter and Jackson. But at the crucial moments he swerved toward the latter. In 1979, as the ratification hearings on SALT II were beginning, Nunn urged a 5 percent increase in the defense budget. In 1980 Jackson demanded that the committee issue a negative report on the treaty, even though it did not fall within its jurisdiction. Stennis, whose energy and grip on the committee were waning, cited the tradition of the Senate—the proper respect for other committees—which to him was paramount. But Nunn, backing Jackson, broke down Stennis's resistance. Though Nunn claims he would have voted for the treaty, he had helped undermine its passage. After the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, Carter never even submitted it to the Senate for approval; now he too was advocating a buildup.

Ronald Reagan swept into the capital with long coat-tails and a Republican Senate. John Tower of Texas became the chairman of Armed Services. He was extremely partisan, knowledgeable, and disagreeable.

In the early 1980s Nunn positioned himself as the pivotal man in a number of compromises involving the funding of weapons systems, invariably crafting a middle ground. He spent a good deal of his time in the imbroglio over how many MX missiles—in hardened silos or on racetracks—would close the metaphoric window of vulnerability. In 1983, when Reagan sent Marines to Lebanon, as if their mere presence would straighten out its convoluted civil strife, and the Democratic leadership endorsed a War Powers resolution in support, Nunn went into the opposition. "It is an absolutely absurd military mission," he said. Russell's cautions about Vietnam were not far in the back of his mind. When a truck bomber blew up the Marines, Nunn's prophecy was fully borne out. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's credibility with Congress was virtually nil, his frequent testimony dismissed as worthless. He was presiding over a "Department of Procure-

ment, not a Department of Defense," Nunn cracked.

Back in Georgia he had become an institution, an untouchable political figure. During his effortless reelection campaign in 1984, he was endorsed by dozens of craven Republican leaders. Nunn's victorious return to Washington was especially sweet because Tower had resigned and the new chairman of Armed Services was the conservative icon Barry Goldwater, the weakest chairman in the committee's history. Nunn often adroitly operated as the de facto chairman without Goldwater ever aware of his figurehead status. "We better come up with somebody," said Goldwater, "or I'm going to support this guy for president."

In 1986 the Democrats regained the Senate. At last Sam Nunn was in the chairman's seat of Richard Russell. Meanwhile, conservatives within the redoubt of Weinberger's Pentagon were making a heroic, devious effort to create an enormous obstacle to prevent Reagan from ever signing an arms control agreement with the Soviets. They argued that the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty could be reinterpreted to permit that which it clearly prohibited—the full development of Star Wars, the president's "dream." Informed that he could make the treaty mean what he wanted it to mean, Reagan was happy. But by doing so, he would demean the Senate's treaty-making power to the vanishing point. In March 1987 Nunn held forth on the Senate floor for days in defense of the treaty and the Senate's constitutional prerogatives. His speeches were a thunderbolt. For all intents and purposes, they settled the debate and helped clear the way for the Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty.

Republicans who had come to view Nunn as an ally were becoming wary, and soon their apprehension turned to rage. Upon taking office, George Bush nominated Tower to be his defense secretary. It was assumed that he would be routinely confirmed by the committee he had chaired. Nunn, who had never liked Tower, now came to see him as a debauched, untrustworthy character. "Tower didn't have many close friends around here," Nunn says laconically. "But I didn't have any major problems. I had fully intended to support him. It was an accumulation of facts. What people don't realize is that most of that stuff [stories of Tower's drinking and womanizing] came out before we got the FBI file. The press was chasing it all over the place. The other thing people don't realize—the most unpleasant, disagreeable task in my life—is that so many people would come up and tell me firsthand experiences who wouldn't testify. What do you do with that? As chairman of the committee, I didn't use the arguments on the floor. In my own mind—people giving me accounts, at least fifteen accounts—I can't ignore that. It's not a court of law, but it went into my personal thinking."

Single-handedly, Nunn brought down the Tower nomination. The Republicans were in a fury. Senator Robert Dole, their sulfurous minority leader, mocked his stance of nonpartisanship as "Nunn-partisanship." But on issue after issue of defense and foreign policy, Bush relied upon Nunn. In 1989 his voting record showed that he backed Bush 72 percent of the time, the

fourth-highest rating among Democratic senators.

Nunn was pleased to be working closely with a president, though by 1990 he had begun to criticize him for failing to respond to the end of the cold war. Bush's military strategy, he charged, was a series of "blanks"—not the necessary "fundamental rethinking," though Nunn had only begun that task himself.

By now he was commonly spoken of as a presidential contender. In 1987 he had said he would give the possibility "serious thinking," but then veered away. In 1990, however, he seemed to be trying to make himself more acceptable to the party. He quit the Burning Tree Country Club in Bethesda, which discriminates against women. Overnight, he tossed overboard his position against abortion, making his new case in terms of practicality, not morality, revealing how perfunctory his belief in his previous position had been.

He treated the self-consciously "centrist" Democratic Leadership Council, which featured his portrait on the cover of the first issue of its publication, *The Mainstream Democrat*, as a congressional staff to provide him with what he was missing in domestic policy. "He relies a lot on us," says Al From, the DLC's director. "The first big initiative he did was on national service. Will [Marshall, a DLC official] wrote the book on that." But there was still no domestic Nunn canon as there was on defense.

Then Saddam Hussein struck. Even after the initial U.S. mobilization in the Persian Gulf, Nunn did not anticipate that he would become the leader of the opposition. But when the president doubled the troops in Saudi Arabia on November 8, Nunn was notified after the fact. "I thought the die was cast then," he says. This huge army could not be sustained on the ground, except with rotation of the troops or war—and Bush had ruled out rotation. "I never objected to having an offensive force. By October 1 I felt we had a very viable offensive force there with air. . . . But after the November decision they had given up on economic sanctions. . . . The fact that they didn't consult me didn't bother me. The fact they did it bothered me."

Nunn's instincts about the proper way things ought to be done and the respect the executive should pay the Senate impelled him to hold hearings. He saw himself as representing the general sentiment of the military establishment, which had qualms about Bush's haste. His witnesses—including two former chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, David Jones and William Crowe, former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger, and former national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski—were among his closest advisers. Their very presence was an appeal to authority.

There was another authoritative figure in the hearing room, though he was a ghost. "I see the Middle East in some of the same ways that Russell probably saw Vietnam," says Nunn, "a place we would get into and not be able to get out of. . . . In Vietnam there was no clear military mission. Here there was a clear military mission. Here I did not think liberating Kuwait in the next four weeks was vital. I saw it as over the next six to twelve

months. It had become vital to get the Iraqis out of there because of the huge commitment of the president's prestige."

By the time Nunn delivered his floor speech, it was clear that his cause was lost. He had been unable to carry with him any of the Southern Democrats who regularly followed his lead, with the exception of David Boren of Oklahoma. Nunn's speech, a desperate effort to establish a balance between means and ends, ultimately reflected his ambivalence. He challenged the notion that Kuwait was a vital interest: "We throw around the word 'vital' very carelessly." He acknowledged that sanctions guaranteed nothing. He demanded that Saddam leave Kuwait, and admitted that "military power" might be necessary. Nunn's intellectual position, and therefore the Democrats', lacked clarity and depth. Having conceded the principle of using military force to protect an interest he doubted was vital, he found himself ensnared in Russell's quandary. He had proposed not an idea but a hope.

What the Democrats were left with was a tactical hypothesis—an instrumental point—that cannot be revived. With Saddam unbending after being subjected to the greatest air bombardment in history, it now seems absurd to believe that sanctions alone would have made him relent. Nunn himself recognizes that the position he had laid out is no longer there. "That debate is over," he says. "Nobody will ever be able to demonstrate with finality whether it would have ever worked."

When the bombs started falling, Nunn scrambled to restore his luster by proposing a resolution supporting the troops. In closed sessions with the Democratic leadership, he was described as confused about and obsessed with the sources of Bush's actions. Nunn was thinking out loud; the silent command was absent. His political friends were suddenly unsure about his prospects. "Where he's going politically, the best thing I could tell you is you better talk to him," says From of the DLC. "I don't know, and I know him pretty well."

The idea of a presidential campaign has no appeal for Nunn now. "I don't plan to be a candidate in 1992 and I'm not inclined that way," he says. "In all sincerity, I believe I'll finish my political career in the Senate." His Republican critics suggest that a political miscalculation on the war has blasted his ambition. But it was never obvious that Nunn would have (or will) ever run for president—just that he let others say he should. He has not had a real campaign since he was first elected to the Senate. He recalls that when he used a negative commercial, his mother, offended, chided him—and he pulled it off the air. The political process, he says, is not what it ought to be: "It's very bad."

But he is paying the price of having staged a candidacy in another form. He has reached a place in his career for which neither Uncle Carl nor Admiral Crowe, neither the experts at Rand nor at the DLC, prepared him. In spite of himself, he has become what he had damned: a national Democrat. Exposed in the crisis as decidedly mortal, Sam Nunn can no longer lay claim to mystic political wisdom. ●