

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

00072

DATE RECEIVED: JANUARY 10, 1991

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. ROBERT FREEMAN

SUBJECT: ENCLOSURES A COPY OF "PERSPECTIVES: THE IRAQI
SOLUTION", BY ROBERT FREEDOM

		ACTION		DISPOSITION	
ROUTE TO:		ACT	DATE	TYPE	C COMPLETED
OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	CODE	YY/MM/DD	RESP	D YY/MM/DD
KATHY JEAVONS		ORG	91/01/10		091/01/11 W
REFERRAL NOTE:		A	91/01/17 W		A not dated
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COMMENTS: ENCLOSURES

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA: L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 4400 4660

PL MAIL USER CODES: (A) (B) (C)

*ACTION CODES:	*DISPOSITION	*OUTGOING	*
*	*	*CORRESPONDENCE:	*
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION	*A-ANSWERED	*TYPE RESP=INITIALS	*
*C-COMMENT/RECOM	*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL	*OF SIGNER	*
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE	*C-COMPLETED	*CODE = A	*
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET	*S-SUSPENDED	*COMPLETED = DATE OF	*
I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC		*OUTGOING	*
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *			*
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE *			*
*X-INTERIM REPLY *			*

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

TRANSMITTAL FORM

9101044

S/S

Date February 7, 1991

FOR: Mr. William F. Sittmann
Executive Secretary
National Security Council Staff
The White House

REFERENCE:

To: President Bush
From: Mr. Robert Freeman
Date: December 24, 1990
Subject: Encloses a Copy of "Persepectives: The Iraqi
Solution", by Robert Freedom
January 17, 1991
WH Referral Dated: _____
NSCS ID# (if any): 203712

☒ The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State.

ACTION TAKEN:

☐ A draft reply is attached.
☐ A draft reply will be forwarded.
☐ A translation is attached.
☒ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
☐ We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
☐ The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
☐ Other (see remarks).

REMARKS:

for G. Douglas
Director
Secretariat Staff

UNCLASSIFIED

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Freeman:

On behalf of President Bush, I would like to thank you for your recent letter and article concerning the Gulf conflict. During these times, as I am sure you will understand, the President is unable to personally respond to each letter he receives. He nonetheless appreciates public views on foreign policy issues.

I have read your "Perspectives" paper with interest. You have drawn some fascinating conclusions. Events in the Gulf conflict have altered the situation on the ground since you wrote your letter and article. In the course of liberating Kuwait, we have become engaged, along with 28 allied nations from 6 continents, in a war with Iraq. The military forces of our nations are pursuing air operations designed to diminish Iraq's military capabilities and to force Saddam Hussein to realize that he must withdraw from Kuwait or face disaster. However, our goal is not the destruction, occupation or dismemberment of Iraq. As President Bush stated in his address to the American people on January 16, "our objectives are clear. Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait, the legitimate government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free."

The President appreciates your support and the support of the American people for his efforts and for the brave efforts of the men and women pursuing the path of freedom and peace in the Gulf.

Sincerely,

Eugene Dorris
Deputy Director,
Office of Regional Affairs
Bureau of Near Eastern and
South Asian Affairs

Mr. Robert Freeman
Grand Master,
Brith Abraham,
136 East 39th Street,
New York, NY 10016

9101044

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

JANUARY 17, 1991

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:
APPROPRIATE ACTION

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 203712
MEDIA: LETTER, DATED DECEMBER 24, 1990
TO: PRESIDENT BUSH
FROM: MR. ROBERT FREEMAN
GRAND MASTER
BRITH ABRAHAM FRATERNAL ORDER
AMERICAN-ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP HOUSE
136 EAST 39TH STREET
NEW YORK NY 10016

SUBJECT: ENCLOSURES A COPY OF "PERSPECTIVES: THE IRAQI
SOLUTION", BY ROBERT FREEDOM

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

GR

K. Jeavons

203 712



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BRITH ABRAHAM *Fraternal Order*
IN ASSOCIATION WITH BNAI ZION

9101044

December 24, 1990

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Massachusetts

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC 20501

Dear Mr. President:

The enclosed article was written for our national publication.

Many of our leaders have suggested that I send a copy to you.

Mr. President, we don't presume to infer that you are not aware of any part of the information.

But, in our eagerness to help you, we felt that it can't hurt, either.

Mr. President, please accept our sincere good wishes for a Happy Holiday Season, with Good Health and Happiness for you, Mrs. Bush, and your entire family.

Our prayers are always with you.

Respectfully,

Robert Freeman
Grand Master
Brith Abraham

RF:fm encl. as noted



Department of
Veterans Affairs

001 5 1990

In Reply Refer To: 526/135

Mr. Robert Freeman
Grand Master, B'rith Abraham
61 Bronx River Road
Yonkers, New York 10704

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is to commend and thank you for your inspiring speech at the Prisoner of War/Missing In Action (POW/MIA) Recognition Day Program on Thursday, September 27, 1990 in the Restored Chapel.

Not only were you a POW briefly yourself, your talk about the gift of freedom and hope to those imprisoned by the Holocaust sent a message of inspiration and hope to those fortunate enough to attend the Program. The message rings true today. In spite of the crises around the globe now, the only true hostages are those who have lost hope, whether imprisoned or not.

You demonstrated that the will to survive has pulled us through more conflicts than the force of arms alone. We came away from the Program with the feeling that, in spite of the darkest hour, there is always the Future.

I want to thank you for that message, and urge you to please keep in touch with us, for you are truly appreciated by our patients, volunteers and staff who consider you to be a true Friend of the Bronx Veterans Affairs Medical Center.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "James S. Dooley".

JAMES S. DOOLEY
Director

cc: Eugene Boyle
Philip Tunis
Seymour Eisenstat

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
ORM OPTICAL DISK NETWORK

ID#

203712

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Comments:

PERSPECTIVES: THE IRAQI SOLUTION

by ROBERT FREEMAN, Grand Master Brith Abraham

There have been many theories offered regarding the conduct of a campaign against Saddam Hussein. There are daily changes, alternating between bravado and timidity. We worry over what Saddam thinks, or how he will react to the latest news broadcast, or the current absurd lack of judgment by a United States Congressman. Add to this the United Nations, an impotent body politic, and we have a roundelay of influence levels, unproductive debate, endless delay, built-in prejudices and mentally confused political expediency and propaganda.

Sanctions? A good move, but one that has outrun its shock value or its long-term enforcement. Full military action? The reluctance of Congress to take ANY stand and the present direction of President Bush and Secretary Baker places the U.S. in an area of uncertainty which may provide Saddam with a negotiated 'peace at any price' and reward his outrageous aggression. We cannot indefinitely maintain a huge military operation in Saudi Arabia. The Saudis enjoy our protection while reaping over 50 billion dollars in additional oil revenues since August 2nd. The dismal Saudi record of Mid-East obstructionism over the past 40 years is well-documented. Nor are we there to preserve the feckless monarchy of Kuwait. Nor are we there to protect the oil supply for Japan, Germany and the European Common Market. All of the nations are doing what they have always done for what they perceive to be their own current self-interest. The only country that seems NOT to know what they are doing is the United States. I would like to think that we are there to remove the threat of Iraq as an irresponsible military force, without destroying its cities and its civilian population, which we would then have to rebuild and support.

Though a ground attack on the southern border of Iraq has been suggested by many 'experts', it would prove to be an unthinkable waste of American lives. Our new Arab 'allies' would desert us at once, and it is doubtful that the small forces of other nations would be willing to enter Iraq under an American command, with the possible exception of the British. Where then is the solution?

We must use the 'national pride' and the personal ego-needs of two of our allies to help us to destroy Saddam's war potential, quickly and decisively at the lowest cost in manpower, military materiel and American economic distress. Since the Iraqi ground and armored forces are strongly dug-in in a defensive posture, they would have to expose themselves with huge losses if they were to assume a frontal attack. We are, generally, in the same position. Let us leave the ground forces as they are, as stalemate deterrant forces against each other.

But there are other players. Assad of Syria is the arch rival of Saddam and has always coveted the southwestern section of Iraq as part of his 'Greater Syria'. This would give Assad a great personal-ego boost and raise the national pride of the Syrians. Ozal of Turkey would relish taking the northwestern part of Iraq, the land of the Kurds, who would be so happy to repay Saddam's recent senseless atrocities against them. This would satisfy the Ottoman honor of the Turks, give them the international recognition that they crave, improve Ozal's political security in Turkey and receive the desperately needed economic blessings of the U.S. Ozal has already shut the pipelines moving Iraqi oil to the Mediterranean. He could also shut off the water supply to Iraq, over

which Turkey has absolute control, with his dams over the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. The effect will be measured in days in the cities, not in months in the Saudi desert. Jordan should not escape unscathed for its unfortunate logistical support of Saddam, and the Syrians could easily cut the supply roads to Iraq. Now drunk with power, Assad may even like a piece of northern Jordan. ARAB UNITY IS A MYTH, and the temptation, with world approval, would be too great to disregard, given Assad's record of treachery and opportunism. Israel should take no active part, other than to remain strong and maintain a combat-ready stance, ready for any Saddam or Assad unpredictable emergency. Nor will Assad's power or geographical position be increased appreciably to the detriment of Israel. Assad doesn't have the resources of Saddam. Nor can he easily replace his military hardware. We have already pardoned his world terrorism. His new flush of victory will not allow him to underestimate the Israelis. But Assad is more flaky than Saddam and he will have to be carefully monitored. What would be more justifiable than to take land for land, parts of Iraq for the rape and pillage of Kuwait, and at the same time satisfy the economic, political, nationalistic, personal needs of Assad and Ozal, and do it with the approval of the entire world? In the most illogical part of the world, Syria and Jordan could move together to unite the Arabs against Israel, to change the focus of Assad's adventure. Arabs, through history, have been able to transfer the identity of their enemy to justify their humiliation and revenge. So have the nations of the world. Israel will have to be ready.

What is the U.S. role, without which none of the above can happen? Before the Turks or the Syrians would each grab about 200 miles of Iraq's west, the Iraqi Air Forces would have to be eliminated. May I suggest this order of events to President Bush:

1. Take your case to the people, to do what must be done in the crisis. Ask for the mandate to act without tipping our hand to the enemy, or to the media, which greatly endangers U.S. Forces and communicates our intentions. With hundreds of commentators 'making policy' for the U.S. and encouraging the self-aggrandizement of Congressmen as 'instant experts', it becomes virtually impossible for the President to act as Commander-in-Chief. Let the American people prevent their Congressmen from giving aid and comfort to the enemy, to finally support the President. I have faith in America.
2. Don't send Baker to Baghdad, don't negotiate anything, don't act out of weakness as Saddam perceives it. Please stop talking off the cuff. Act quickly with firm resolve. When it is all over, in two weeks, you will be the undisputed hero of our time in the world media. If you follow your present course, you will destroy your Party, widen the recession and be regarded by history as an ineffectual non-leader who ultimately gave away the store or possibly accounted for 50,000 body bags.
3. Air-strike the radar installations, seal the entrances to the vast underground concrete hangars, all now known to U.S. intelligence. Saddam can't hit what he can't 'see'; he can't defend without aircraft; he has no replacement capability. Divide the targets between the Navy and the Air Force. Use Navy heavy armament to soften the Iraqi ground defenses. Hit hard, hit fast, fight your own war - not Saddam's.
4. In 48 hours U.S. air-control will be established, with immediate multi-strikes against missile bases, chemical plants, munitions dumps, air fields, supply lines and depots. This will isolate Iraqi forces in the west so that the Turks and Syrians can move, and in the east and south for his forces facing the U.S.

5. If Saddam is still alive at this time, and is insane enough to continue, air-strike his tank forces and infantry installations, then wipe out the final resistance by moving our ground forces forward. Saddam's military will have been destroyed but his cities and civilian population will have suffered only water and food deprivation for a very short period of time.
6. The 'worst-case' scenario may happen before the United States can move at all. Saddam may divert world attention, and destroy the new U.S.-Arab alliance, by attacking Israel with missiles. By 'identity transference' the Syrians and Jordanians may see this as an opportunity where they will never be in a more powerful bloc. Even Egypt, newly-armed by the U.S., may join, along with Libya. The Saudis and the oil sheikdoms will not fight but will fund this operation, as they have consistently funded terrorism of the PLO, and even furnish U.S. military hardware. Mr. President, I love my country, but I wonder whether the United States will move to assist Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East and the U.S. constant ally in the United Nations for over 40 years. Or, will the U.S. decide not to 'offend' the non-democratic purveyors of world terrorism, of noxious trade sanctions against Israel, of irreconcilable hatred even to keeping their Arab 'brothers' in abject poverty to shift the focus and the blame to Israel by transference and justification. I hope this 'worst-case' scenario will not happen, for it would lay waste the entire area, with massive casualties.

Mr. President, 2600 years ago the ancient Hebrew Prophets foretold that a great power would rise in the west to usher in "A New Order of Ages", and that this future, great nation will proclaim the Biblical values of justice and freedom in the world, and that it will be in this nation's destiny to re-establish Eretz Yisroel. It is not a coincidence that the Great Seal of the United States bears the inscription "Novus Ordo Seclorum", A New Order of Ages. Nor is it by chance that this great nation would emerge from a part of the world impossible for the ancient peoples to imagine.

Hopefully, America will not lose her way or forget her role in the destiny of the world. Hopefully, we will subordinate our appetite for expedient diplomacy to the extended view of loyalty and justice in a New Order of Ages. Hopefully, the world will have learned something about supplying war materiel to unstable countries, and that the lesson will have been established for potential aggressors. Hopefully, we will have succeeded in moderating the tyrannical dictatorships and despotic monarchies of the Middle East.

With our new position of strength and influence, we may even approach a New World Order.

Mr. Freeman is an aeronautical engineer, a member of the Academy of Science. He has authored many articles in scientific, engineering and aeronautical journals.

Bronx VA Hospital Plans Memorial to POWs/MIAs

On September 27, veterans and staff at the Bronx Veterans Affairs Medical Center will conduct a program to recognize former American Prisoners of War and service members still Missing in Action.

Morning activities include a POW memorabilia display featuring artifacts collected from prison camps in previous wars.

A candle-light service begins in the restored 19th century chapel at 12:30 p.m. with music by the hospital's Tabernacle Choir.

The guest speaker is Robert Freeman, a former B-24 heavy-bomber pilot who flew many missions in Europe during World War II. Freeman was shot down, cap-

tured and escaped twice during his long combat tour, receiving the Silver Star, the Distinguished Flying Cross, 4 Air Medals, 3 Purple Hearts and many other awards for valor.

Moved by his experiences as a POW and his friendship with a young escapee from a concentration camp, he had large American Flags painted on his fuselage and thousands of leaflets printed promising liberation which he dropped on concentration camps during his return from bombing runs.

Service organizations supporting the day's events include American Ex-POWs (NY Chapter), the American Legion, SUNY Maritime Academy and the Elks. The public is invited to attend.

THE WEST made Saddam Hussein. The Soviet arms mill gave Iraq its artillery and air defense. But, by handing him everything from chemical weapons to ballistic missiles and the makings of a nuclear bomb, America and Europe transformed a two-bit dictator into a world-class threat.

Some goods from Europe fell into Saddam's hands as customs officials slept at the switch. Other European goods were supplied

with a nod and a wink by nations hungry for Iraqi oil or greedy for trade.

The U.S. government is equally responsible. It deliberately traded with Saddam so that Iraq would not lose its war against Iran. America did not want the Ayatollah Khomeini's fundamentalist Islamic government to dominate the Middle East.

In addition, American trade officials, dazzled by the business Europeans were doing, assiduously

How We Appeased a Tyrant

By RACHEL FLICK

Saddam Hussein's military-industrial might was amassed—in large measure—through American and European greed and gullibility



PHOTOS: (CLOCKWISE FROM TOP) © PHILIPPE AMAR/SIPA PRESS; © J. PAYLOSKY/SYGMA; © KOL AL ARAB/SYGMA

sought Iraqi commerce. And State Department specialists—from the height of their “expertise” in Arab culture—mistakenly declared Saddam “a force for moderation” who could be “worked with.”

Here is a shocking account of a decade of appeasement:

1980. On September 17, war begins when Iraq bombs Iran with Soviet-built MiGs. Iran is soon smashing back with American-made Phantom F-4 fighter-bombers originally supplied to the deposed Shah.

France announces it will honor its agreement to sell Iraq \$1.6 billion in arms. More important, France and Italy maintain their commitment to help Saddam develop the “peaceful” Osiraq nuclear reactor’s capability. “The government,” opines the French daily *Le Monde*, “cannot take the risk of annoying this oil-producing country.”

1981. In late May, French scientists conclude that Saddam’s nearly completed Osiraq reactor could potentially manufacture nuclear weapons. One week later, French President François Mitterrand promises to supply the reactors with uranium fuel.

On June 7, Israeli aircraft strike the Osiraq plant, robbing Saddam of the bomb he wanted. Saudi Arabia offers to finance the rebuilding of the reactor. Vice President Bush is among the Western leaders “exploring” the strike.

1982. In return for Saddam’s diminishing support of terrorism,

such as the eviction of the dreaded terrorist Abul Abbas from Baghdad, the U.S. State Department removes Iraq from its list of terrorist nations. The removal frees Saddam to buy American computers, commercial aircraft and other goods. It also makes Iraq eligible to use some U.S.-taxpayer guaranteed loans, including guarantees by Washington’s Commodity Credit Corporation.

Saddam begins, at staggering cost, to build underground bases for his air force.

1983. Iraqi agents quietly consult with investment advisers in Switzerland and France. On their counsel, Iraq begins buying equipment from European firms that specialize in military technology. Eventually, this effort will be the responsibility of Saddam’s Ministry for Industry and Military Industrialization.

It is not Saddam’s first shopping trip. Since 1981 the German laboratory and medical supplier Karl Kolb GmbH has been constructing six “pesticide plants” for him in Samarra, Iraq. In the fall, Saddam announces that the facilities can now produce chemical weapons.

1984. Iraq is spending \$14 billion a year on foreign military purchases for its war against Iran. An underground network of European “technomercenaries” is eager to cash in. European companies—such as Germany’s Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB) and Italy’s Snia-BPD—escape detection by letting former employees set up sub-

sidiaries and businesses to handle certain transactions.

Warned by U.S. intelligence about the deadly new network, named "Consen," Washington sends diplomatic notes of protest to the German government. However, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Burt does not press the point, and Germany in turn does not act.

In February, America confirms Saddam's battlefield use of mustard gas against Iranian forces. In November, having waited until President Reagan is re-elected, the United States lets the world know that it is restoring full diplomatic relations with Iraq.

1985. In Europe, Iraqi agents move ahead with plans to acquire a nuclear missile—the Condor II—from Consen.

With Saddam's support, Marshall W. Wiley, former U.S. ambassador to Oman, founds the U.S.-Iraq Business Forum to promote American investment in Iraq. Nearly 70 major firms eventually join, including such giants as Westinghouse and Caterpillar.

In September, New Jersey-based Electronics Associates, Inc., seeks a license to export to Iraq a computer similar to the one used by America's own White Sands missile range in New Mexico. EAI says the machine will be used only for research. The Commerce and State departments give it a thumbs-up. Over Defense Department objections, the computer will be shipped to

Iraq in 1987—by way of MBB.

In October, on the cruise ship *Achille Lauro* in the Mediterranean, lieutenants of Abul Abbas murder wheelchair-bound American Leon Klinghoffer. Abbas, traveling on an Iraqi passport, finds refuge in Iraq. But the United States does not return Iraq to the list of states sponsoring terrorism.

1986. Britain sells Iraq its entire stock of desert-weight military uniforms. In the Persian Gulf four years later, Iraqi soldiers are appropriately dressed while British troops swelter in heavy camouflage gear until new uniforms are available.

1987. On May 17, a French-built Iraqi warplane accidentally attacks the frigate *USS Stark*, killing 37 Americans. The State Department emphasizes that Iraq has apologized and offered compensation for the dead and the ship. (Three years later, after Iraq invades Kuwait, a sheepish State Department official will acknowledge that "the transfer of the money has never taken place.")

West German authorities finally begin to investigate Iraq's ties with their businessmen. America, meanwhile, signs a trade agreement to increase its own commerce with Iraq. "There is a growing sense," says one U.S. official, "that we ought to be in on the bonanza."

In August, Iraq announces it has launched an intermediate-range ballistic missile.

1988. The Kurds—who seek independence from Iraqi rule—have

angered Saddam. On March 16 and 17, he strikes the town of Halabjah with poison gas. As many as 5000 people are killed. More than 70,000 refugees flee into Turkey, many suffering from festering wounds.

In America, Senators Claiborne Pell (D., R.I.) and Jesse Helms (R., N.C.) demand sanctions against Iraq. The Administration calls the move "premature," and the measure stalls in the House. Meanwhile, the U.S. Export-Import Bank insures Iraqi purchases of American pesticides. Export-Import Bank officials think it is unlikely they will be used to produce chemical weapons.

On July 17, the Iran-Iraq war ends with no clear victor.

1989. It is learned that between February 1988 and July 1989 the Atlanta branch of Italy's Banca Nazionale del Lavoro arranged \$3-billion worth of secret and unauthorized loans for Iraq. Some of the loans went to British, American and West German companies exporting militarily useful technology to Iraq, some to Iraq's central bank. Loans to Iraq totaling some \$750 million were guaranteed by U.S. taxpayers through the Commodity Credit Corporation. Iraq has become one of the CCC's biggest customers, requesting and securing over \$1 billion in guarantees in each of the past two years. In October, the agency decides to authorize another \$500 million in guaranteed loans.

Congress has not forgotten the poison gas and in December ends

Iraq's access to aid from the Export-Import Bank.

1990. In January, President Bush waives Congress's ban on Iraq's use of Export-Import Bank funds, citing America's "national interest." In February, a U.S. Voice of America radio broadcast includes Iraq in a list of police states. Secretary of State James Baker instructs U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie to apologize.

Also that month, Iraq obtains permission to buy state-of-the-art imaging and photographic equipment from International Imaging Systems of Milpitas, Calif. In their first bid in 1985, Saddam's agents said it would be used for "forestry, soil analysis and cartography." Defense Department official Stephen Bryen warned that the equipment was more suitable for aerial reconnaissance and missile targeting. But the Commerce Department grants the license and, until the invasion of Kuwait leads to a total trade embargo, the company is authorized to ship.

Saddam becomes ever more belligerent. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, he warns, must cancel his \$30 billion war debt and pay him another \$30 billion or suffer reprisals.

On March 28, British customs officials in London arrest five people accused of trying to smuggle electrical capacitors designed to help detonate nuclear weapons. The capacitors were made by a San Marcos, Calif., firm that had cooperated in an elaborate sting. Those arrested included Ali Ashour

Daghir of Euromac, an English firm suspected of being an Iraqi front.

One week after the smugglers are caught, Saddam boasts on Iraqi TV, "We do not need an atomic bomb. We have the dual chemical."

In April, Bush asks Saddam to stop making inflammatory statements. Privately, he asks five Senators led by Minority Leader Robert Dole (R., Kan.) to carry a milder message to Saddam. Dole apologizes to Saddam for the VOA criticism and conveys Bush's desire for better relations. Upon his return, Dole tells Bush that Saddam is "a leader to whom the United States can talk."

In May, CCC auditors discover apparent Iraqi kickbacks—which they call "minor irregularities"—and refuse to consider \$500 million in additional guarantees. "In no way could this be called a suspension," reassures Paul Dickerson, a CCC general sales manager, adding that guarantees may resume when "our investigation clears up this matter."

Alan Friedman of London's *Financial Times* reports that the kickbacks helped form an estimated \$100-million pool that funded operation of Saddam's European arms-procurement network. By 1993, U.S. taxpayers could be out nearly \$2 billion in bad Iraqi loans guaranteed by the CCC.

In June, Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R., Kan.) is horrified by a report that Iraq has tortured and executed Kurdish children to intimidate

their parents into submission. She seeks to end Iraq's participation in the CCC once and for all. "This would hurt wheat sales in Kansas," Kassebaum acknowledges, "but sometimes we have to stand up and be counted."

Assistant Secretary of State John Kelly, speaking for the Bush Administration, opposes her, saying economic sanctions will not help the United States meet its "goals."

By mid-July, Saddam is mobilizing his army. On July 23, American spy satellites reveal 30,000 of Saddam's troops massing at Iraq's border with Kuwait. On July 24, the United States expresses its concern by holding a naval exercise with the United Arab Emirates.

On July 25, Saddam summons U.S. Ambassador Glaspie to protest the exercise. He threatens to unleash terrorists on America. Glaspie responds by praising Saddam's "extraordinary efforts" to rebuild his country. Then she queries the massive buildup at the border. She says she is asking "in the spirit of friendship—not in the spirit of confrontation."

On July 27 and 28, U.S. intelligence warns the Administration that Iraq may invade. On July 29, Iraq activates its radar—a sign of impending battle. On July 30, Iraqi strength near the border is above 100,000. Ambassador Glaspie, reassured by her talk with Saddam, departs Baghdad for a long-scheduled visit to Washington.

At a hearing, Rep. Lee Hamilton

(D., Ind.) asks Assistant Secretary of State John Kelly what U.S. forces would do if Iraq invaded Kuwait. Kelly replies that the United States has no commitments to Kuwait. Analysts will later compare his reply to Secretary of State Dean Acheson's 1950 disavowal, just before North Korea's invasion, of U.S. responsibility for South Korea.

On August 1, the CIA again warns the Administration that Iraq will invade Kuwait. But by the end of the day, the State Department has not so much as warned tourists of this. Early on the morning of August 2, Iraq invades Kuwait.

THE NATIONS of the world have been slow to acknowledge their folly. While British troops gathered in Saudi Arabia, Iraqi-front companies continued to operate in London. Paris initially balked at a U.S. request for information about the French-made equipment Iraq was using to jam U.S. AWACS. And Germany did not stop sales of sensitive technology until an international embargo was imposed.

Even as America mobilized for the largest military engagement since Vietnam, the U.S. State and Commerce departments sought ap-

proval for IBM to sell a supercomputer to a Brazilian firm with connections to Iraq.

Many continued to believe Saddam was a "moderate," invasion or no invasion. American officials, especially at the State Department, had felt, says former U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, "an indulgence toward Arab strongmen." These "Arabist" policy makers were deaf to others who understood the chasm of hatred that separated the Iraqi dictator from the West.

A month after Saddam devastated Kuwait, Richard Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs during much of the Iran-Iraq war, declared: "I still think that Iraq would have turned into a state with whom one could have had very mutually profitable exchanges."

As troops massed to oppose Saddam Hussein last fall, Hans-Heino Kopietz, a London-based Middle East analyst, saw the situation differently: "We closed our eyes because some businesses wanted to make money and because Saddam was a useful tool against Iran. Saddam is a Frankenstein monster that the West created."

Dog Tale. When my neighbor got a new puppy, I went over to meet the little fellow. "What kind of dog is he?" I asked.

"A little of this, a little of that," my neighbor replied.

"What do you mean?"

"Well," she said, "the pup's sort of a cocker scandal."

—Quoted by Ed Baer on "The Ed Baer Affair," WHUD, Peekskill, N.Y.