

Redlands, CA 92373
February 16, 1991

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Brian Lamb, Moderator
Journalist Round Table
C-SPAN
400 N. Capitol Street #650
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Mr. Lamb,

First, my heartfelt appreciation to you--and to C-SPAN--for both the work you do and the information you provide your viewers. You, especially, have become such a common feature in my family's living room that, it seems, you are not so much a neighbor as a friend: we share your concerns; we discuss your insights; we argue about the information and the implied perspectives. And, equally important, many of the insights gained--or program themes announced--find their way into my university lectures, student assignments, faculty conversations.

Second, my concern has to do with the lack of in-depth information about--and attendant perspective on--April Glaspie and John Kelly, especially about the words and deeds and implications that surround the dates July 25 and July 28. Brian, from your own passing remarks, I realize that you recognize a growing interest in our country for more specific information--for a deeper and larger understanding and perspective. However, I have never seen or heard you attempt an "informed speculation," if you will accept an oxymoron.

Several weeks ago in the Los Angeles Times there was printed an article, "Is This Any Way to Wage Peace?," by J. Mack and J. Rubin. (Article enclosed.) But it was in this article that, once again, a profounder perspective on the United States and its decisions regarding "the Gulf" was presented, some particular issues explored. More specifically, in item number two (out of eleven) the authors wrote:

"We denied our own contribution to the problem. By placing the blame entirely on the shoulders of our adversary, failing to acknowledge our own contribution (bolstering Iraq's war machine and giving permissive signals before the conflict began, for example) we put him on the defensive and further limited his ability to respond constructively."
(Underlining mine.)

Implied, among other things, were the names and deeds of Glaspie and Kelly. The very next day, again in the Los

cc: S. Trahern ✓
T. Murphy ✓

Angeles Times, A. Dorfman's article, "Hymn for the Unsung," made reference to this event and issue when he wrote, "...when the U.S. ambassador would give Saddam Hussein the go-ahead for the invasion of Kuwait." The implicit became more explicit. But the full story--the larger perspective--has not yet been presented to us, to the world. (Yes, I have seen the C-SPAN interview between C. Hitchens and Kondracke; I have read Hitchens' article, "Why We Are Stuck in the Sand" [Harper's Magazine, January, 1991].)

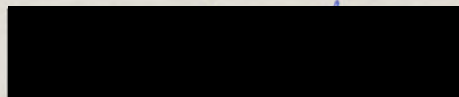
Therefore my request: Could you--would you--attempt either to have an interview with Glaspie or to gather together several "Washington insiders" who could provide in-depth reporting on Glaspie? Brian, you are in a unique position to do one or the other of these alternatives. It is too important to leave it to a Larry King or a Phil Donahue. Indeed, you are in a position of great respect and great privilege: you are, equally, in a position of great responsibility.

I am well aware of the fact that I am sharing with you a most difficult concern and, probably, an even more difficult--explosive(?)--request. But, quite literally, as this war goes on each day there are real people being killed or maimed. Each day, too, a certain perspective, even ideology, seems to rationalize the killings, on the one hand, or to neutralize (or reject) the tentative "peace initiatives" on the other hand. For the moment "patriotism" in the U.S. is being defined and delimited by those--a majority--who, among other things, seem either not to know about Glaspie (July 25, etc.) or not to care. As an educator--Philosophy, Ethics, Philosophy of History--I know that some day there will be a fuller recounting, a deeper accounting. As a student of the Nurnberg War Trials, however, I also believe that there was a time when we held up before the world the testimony that an informed conscience stood above the rationalizations of the State, could not seek succor in the patriotism of the moment.

Brian, we need your special help. Moreover, we need a "free press" that cares enough to ask the awkward questions, that dares to develop the more responsible perspective.

I appreciate your interest in my concern, my request.

Respectfully yours,



Cal Poly State University,
Pomona

Is This Any Way to Wage Peace?



The President won't fool history; his Administration violated or ignored the principles for successful negotiation.

By JOHN E. MACK and JEFFREY Z. RUBIN

The war in the gulf is not a war we wanted. We worked hard to avoid war. For more than five months we . . . tried every diplomatic avenue. . . . But time and again, Saddam Hussein flatly rejected the path of diplomacy and peace."

These were the words President Bush used in his State of the Union address Tuesday, in a bid to be remembered kindly by the generations of tomorrow as a leader who pursued every avenue toward peace but was reluctantly drawn into war.

On the contrary, the actions and

We relied exclusively on the threatened use of force. The value of personal, quiet diplomacy, even with a leader as brutal as the Iraqi president, was disregarded and surely added to his defiance. In an interview with ABC's Peter Jennings in November, Hussein asked that a dialogue be conducted between himself and President Bush ". . . in which the eyes can meet." What he got was not dialogue but preconditions for capitulation.

Having taken the position that only military power could "solve" the gulf crisis, we then shrouded our belligerent intent in the guise of collective will. Using the newly invigorated United Nations as a cover, we represented our determination to use force as being the result of a genuinely joint decision by the international community, rather than what it largely was: an American-engineered unilateral initiative.

We disregarded the other side's stated grievances and claims, while demanding unconditional surrender. Our original position was doomed to failure if what we sought was peace. By demanding that Iraq give up Kuwait unconditionally, while offering no negotiating incentives, we forced Hussein into a corner from which he could perceive no way out but martyrdom or fighting back.

We took no account of cultural differences. We listened to those who said that Hussein was non-religious, and interpreted his invocations of Allah and the Koran as cynical political manipulation.

course of action. By developing a U.N. deadline, to which we adhered with rigid insistence, we lost room to maneuver and to explore peaceful methods of resolving the conflict. Instead, we locked ourselves into a belligerent military position and swiftly came to believe that we had invested too much in it to quit. An offer to negotiate after the Jan. 15 deadline would have placed us in a position of unacceptable weakness, given the scope of our commitment by then.

We used public presentation of conditions in order to intimidate the other side. Our public assertions—"no negotiation, no face-saving, no linkage"—had the effect of hardening Hussein's response, not intimidating him. Withdrawal from Kuwait under the conditions we had publicly defined would have all but guaranteed his personal humiliation—something we may have wanted but that he would never have accepted.

We paid lip service to efforts at diplomatic solution. We indulged in a hypocritical pretense by announcing our "willingness to go the extra mile for peace," then refusing Hussein's demand that a meeting take place closer to Jan. 15 than we liked. We were willing to talk only on our terms, which we knew Hussein would have to reject.

We derogated the other side's conciliatory gestures. By warning that Hussein would attempt to use concessionary behavior to pull the wool over our eyes, we made it all but impossible to give the

other side the benefit of the doubt. For example, Hussein's initiative in releasing hostages was viewed not as a show of good faith, or a desire to move toward settlement, but as a cunning attempt to manipulate world opinion.

We insisted that the conflict be regarded as zero-sum. We entertained only two possibilities: Hussein could get out of Kuwait, or he could remain there and invite expulsion by force. Consistently overlooked or dismissed were all alternative approaches that could turn a win/lose exchange into one with opportunities for both sides to do well. For example,

we might have expressed a willingness to address the Palestinian-Israeli conflict while officially disclaiming linkage to the gulf crisis.

In conclusion, the Bush Administration's approach to dealing with the unjustifiable Iraqi invasion of Kuwait violated the principles of political psychology, negotiating theory and the appropriate conduct of international relationships. If our purpose was to destroy Iraq as a military and political power in the Middle East, which now seems apparent, the American people were never informed of such an intention.

John E. Mack is president-elect and Jeffrey Z. Rubin is vice president-elect of the International Society of Political Psychology. Mack is a professor of psychiatry at the Harvard Medical School and founding director of the Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age. Rubin is a professor of psychology at Tufts University and executive director of the Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School.



decisions taken by the United States after Aug. 2, while having the appearance of diplomacy for peace, were in fact the result of deliberate choices toward a very different end. It was these choices—the President's assertions notwithstanding—that moved us inexorably along the path to war.

We demonized and dehumanized our adversary. We indulged in personal name-calling, false analogies to past wars and demonic leaders of earlier times, then deliberately provoked Hussein through threats and insults. In this way we demeaned and humiliated our opponent, while lessening his incentive to respond to the pleas that were directed to him by so many individuals and nations.

We denied our own contribution to the problem. By placing the blame entirely on the shoulders of our adversary, failing to acknowledge our own contribution (bolstering Iraq's war machine and giving permissive signals before the conflict began, for example) we put him on the defensive and further limited his ability to respond constructively.

We failed to consider the people's dual heritage as Iraqis and Muslims, and thus Hussein's willingness to martyr himself and to sacrifice his people in standing up to the Western "infidel."

Our policy-makers relied exclusively on advisers who, following the conventional logic of power politics, predicted that Hussein would surrender Kuwait rather than permit his power to be destroyed.

We offered a response that was disproportionate to the problem. We assembled an overwhelming destructive force in the gulf without adequately anticipating the consequences of using it as threatened. We exaggerated the original problem by arguing that international boundaries are inviolate—"sanctified," declared Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-N.Y.), one of the principal proponents of the war policy. This overstatement of reality contributed a further element of ideological rigidity to justify the use of violence. In fact, Kuwait's boundaries were arbitrarily drawn in 1961 by the withdrawing British colonialists.

We overcommitted ourselves to a

PH and time sheets
**facility could receive
 00 in retraining
 sources report.**

PH FRAMMOLINO
 AFF WRITER

RAMENTO—A state agen-
 said Wednesday it will in-
 te allegations of fraud and
 esentation in a \$621,600
 nded training program at
 Diego Zoo and Wild Ani-
 k.
 ction by the state Employ-
 raining Panel—which in-
 suspending payments to the
 n—was taken in response to
 s this week by The Times
 lligations that zoo manag-
 re aware of—and in some
 ncouraged—animal keepers
 y homework assignments
 e sheets so the zoo could
 state money for its retrain-
 gram.
 ing panel officials also said
 ll look into allegations that
 ministrators, on the 1989
 ion for the funds, exagger-
 ims about the need for the
 n and that they billed the
 nproperly for a number of
 ers and electricians who
 e course, which was intend-
 rain animal keepers.
 nk the panel is interested in
 out whether there have

run training programs to help
 avoid layoffs. "I'm sure [the panel]
 wouldn't be happy with staff or
 themselves if they allowed these
 kinds of things to go unscrutinized.
 We are going to investigate this in
 full."

Rinaldi said Wednesday he has
 ordered his agency to stop
 payment of \$132,275 to the Zoologi-
 cal Society of San Diego that was
 due under the contract with the
 zoo. He also has asked for a team of
 monitors and special auditors to
 examine zoo records and interview
 keepers about the allegations. At
 least two of the auditors will begin
 meeting with zoo keepers on Fri-
 day, he said.

This is not a criminal probe.
 If it is determined that there was
 wrongdoing, the zoo would be
 required to repay the state.

Georgeanne Irvine, a zoo society
 spokeswoman, said Wednesday,
 "We feel we had a very good
 program and we're more than will-
 ing to cooperate with them on all
 issues and all areas."

Irvine also said the society's
 review of the matter showed that
 the zoo managers did nothing
 wrong.

In mid-1989, the training panel
 agreed to pay \$621,600 for the
 retraining program at the Zoologi-
 cal Society of San Diego, which
 runs the world-famous zoo in Bal-

move away from the old-fash-
 ioned, single-animal exhibits and
 remake the tourist attractions into
 "bioclimatic zones," in which sev-
 eral species co-exist. The society
 argued that its entire zookeeper
 force faced the threat of layoffs.

The contract called for the soci-
 ety and two subcontractors to
 receive \$3,700 for each of the 168
 animal keepers who completed a
 37-week course consisting of 142
 hours of classroom instruction and
 332 hours of on-the-job training.
 The classes were concluded last
 November, but the final pay-
 ment—the \$132,000—has yet to be
 made.

But 15 current and former keep-
 ers have told The Times that they
 routinely falsely indicated that
 they had completed training as-
 signments, at times, they said,
 under pressure from supervisors.
 The completed forms were re-
 quired for the zoo to be paid by the
 state.

Many also said the program was
 at best marginally helpful in their
 jobs.

"We were basically intimidated
 and threatened," said Rick Schil-
 ler, a primate keeper since 1981.
 "All we had to do was sign our
 name and date it," he said, adding
 that supervisors didn't care wheth-
 er anyone actually did the work.

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**GAMBLING
 A DAY**

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**HP Is Cleared as Jury OKs
 Award in Killing by Officer**

REZA
 AFF WRITER

DIEGO—The family of a
 student murdered during a
 stop by a then-CHP officer
 awarded \$7.5 million in dam-
 agedness, but the California
 ay Patrol was cleared of any
 sibility in the killing.

ough the award was signifi-
 he verdict returned by a
 or Court jury was a setback
 e family of Cara Knott, 20,
 as strangled by Craig Peyer
 . 27, 1986. Peyer is the first
 ficer convicted of murder
 on duty.

Knotts were hoping the
 ould be found negligent for
 Peyer, 40, and failing to
 tely supervise him.

ough the jury found Peyer
 responsible for the young
 's death, the chances of her
 recovering any money from
 re somewhere around zero,"
 rian Monaghan, the Knotts'
 ey.

tt's parents, Sam and Joyce
 said they were not pursuing
 wsuit to profit from their
 ter's death. Any money
 ed to them would be donated
 ime victims fund and used to
 sh a scholarship fund in Cara
 s memory.

re pursuing this lawsuit for
 e purpose of forcing the CHP
 ke appropriate changes, so
 can better supervise and
 r their patrol officers. If
 had done this with Peyer,
 ould have never become a
 " Sam Knott had said in an
 interview.

jury on Wednesday rejected
 mily's argument that CHP
 ls and Peyer's supervisors
 also culpable for Knott's
 through their inadequate su-
 on.

that Peyer's supervisors should
 have known that he presented a
 danger to the public because of
 several complaints they received
 about him from women motorists.

Deputy Atty. Gen. Randall
 Christison, who represented the
 CHP at the monthlong trial, said he
 was not surprised by the jury's
 findings.


"The CHP is an exceptional or-
 ganization of very honorable peo-
 ple doing a good job," said Christ-
 ison.

Peyer, a CHP officer for 13
 years, was convicted of first-de-
 gree murder on June 22, 1988, and
 is serving 25 years to life in state
 prison. He killed Knott during a
 nighttime stop at the isolated Mer-
 cy Road off-ramp and Interstate 15
 in north San Diego County.

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