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The Faces of Persuasion [sic]

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THE FACES OF PERSUASION

A Thesis for the Honors Program at Western Kentucky University

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Spring 2004

Approved by

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DM

ABSTRACT

Following the terrorist activities of September 11, 2001, the United States began weapons inspections in Iraq on November 18, 2002. This decision sparked interest throughout the world, including in France and the United States. By looking at Le Monde and The New York Times and focusing on the first war-related editorial each week from six weeks before and six weeks after the beginning of weapons inspections, one can easily identify the opinions of the editorialists. These two papers are sister publications in France and the United States, respectively, with similarly wide ranges of audiences. Both papers were examined in their original languages. This thesis inspects the aforementioned editorials under a broad outline of Aristotle's theories of rhetoric including pathos, logos, and ethos. Pathos is looked at through the lens of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs and Rokeach's Values; logos through various forms of amplification; and ethos through an adjusted Aristotelian theory.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	1
Acknowledgements.....	2
Objective.....	3
Method.....	4
Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs.....	4
Rokeach's Values.....	8
Amplification.....	14
Ethos	16
Results	19
T-Tests	19
Correlations	25
Discussion & Conclusion	38
Bibliography	43
Glossary	45
Appendices.....	47

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OBJECTIVE

From George Washington to George W. Bush, from Charles de Gaulle to Jacques Chirac, political figures have plainly and openly shared their opinions. But how often are the people's opinions actually heard? And how does the public defend ITS opinions? The easiest way to inspect the possible differences between the depictions of American views is by examining what the people themselves have said.

The incidents following September 11, 2001, evoked strong opinions by political representatives and laymen alike. Around the world, editorials flourished supporting or admonishing the activities of the United States and the United Nations. A close look at French and American editorials reveals much about the values cherished by these two nations.

METHOD

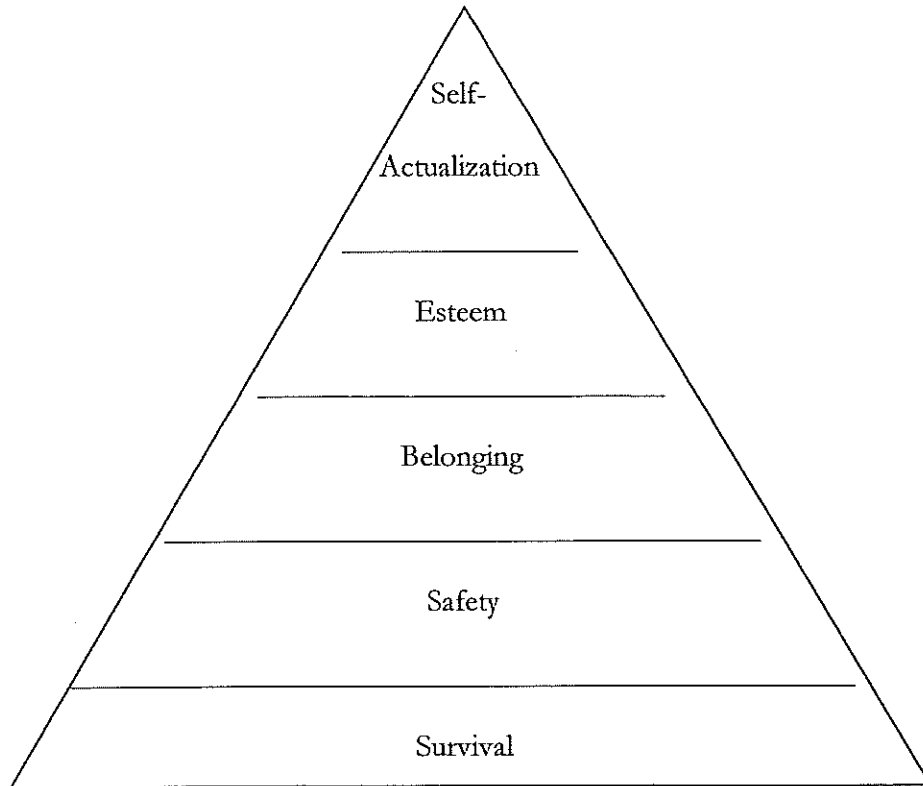
Following the terrorist activities of September 11, 2001, the United States began weapons inspections in Iraq on November 18, 2002. This decision sparked interest throughout the world, including in France and the United States. By looking at Le Monde and The New York Times and focusing on the first war-related editorial each week from six weeks before and six weeks after the beginning of weapons inspections, one can easily identify the opinions of the editorialists. These two papers are sister publications in France and the United States, respectively, with similarly wide ranges of audiences. Both papers were examined in their original languages.

In order to inspect properly the selected twenty-four editorials, several methods were applied. These methods included Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, Rokeach's Values, forms of amplification, and Aristotle's theory of ethos.

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Usually portrayed as a five-tier pyramid, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs examines five basic types of motivation on an ascending scale. These five needs are Survival, Safety, Belonging, Esteem, and Self-Actualization. Because one must be accomplished in order to achieve the next, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs is often shown in pyramid form.

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs



In an attempt to explain how these five needs were used in analysis, it is necessary to look at each one individually. The first need, *Survival*, refers to the most basic physical or physiological needs. These needs include food, water, air, and the necessary economic means to acquire these necessities. For the purpose of analyzing the editorials, *survival needs* refers to motivation used when a writer claims that war would benefit or infringe upon these needs. One such appeal was found in the October 21, 2002, New York Times. The writer asked, “Are we ready and willing to deal with the life-threatening food and water shortages, the wounded and frightened civilians (including children), the shattered infrastructure

and the desperate refugees?” (Herbert, A19). This single sentence appeals to the reader’s emotions as well as his or her knowledge that food and water shortages would threaten the life of those affected by war.

The second need, *Safety*, refers to the necessity of a safe and secure environment, both physically and emotionally. Specifically, this need concerns the public’s right to be free from violence and emotional distress. Examples of this need are plentiful throughout the twenty-four editorials. The November 4, 2002, New York Times provides a clear example of an appeal to safety: “Military action risks a response that would endanger millions of Japanese and South Koreans and ten of thousands of American troops” (*Recalcitrant*, A22).

After safety comes the third need, *Belonging*. This need reflects the desire to have friendships, relationships, to be loved and accepted. Throughout the editorials, belonging appears mainly when a writer indicates that intelligent leaders have made a decision. By indicating that this situation has occurred, the writer intends to motivate the reader to agree with his or her opinion because many others have done so. One such example appears in the November 13, 2002, New York Times:

When all 15 members of the U.N. Security Council, including Syria, raised their hands in favor of a U.N. demand that Iraq submit to unrestricted inspections of its weapons arsenal or else face ‘serious consequences,’ it was the first hopeful moment I’ve felt since 9/11. (Friedman, A29)

The fourth level of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs refers to *Esteem* needs. Contrary to popular misconceptions, esteem needs do not only refer to the way one feels about oneself. Instead, esteem needs reflect the aspiration for a positive self-image, as well as attention and appreciation for others. William Safire provides an example of an esteem need in the December 19, 2002, New York Times: "Because the news of our turnover broke before we had alerted Madrid, we humiliated a real ally..." (A39). This appeal to esteem exhibits Safire's negative opinion of the actions taken by the United States. The aforementioned example shows that esteem does not necessary mean how one feels toward the United States, but how the actions of the United States affected another country, in this case, Spain.

The final level of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs is Self-Actualization. This level is very rarely reached by anyone, and it does not appear in any of the twenty-four editorials analyzed. Self-actualization represents becoming a better person.

These five levels constitute Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. According to Maslow, all needs could be classified into one of these five categories. Through further and more detailed analysis of the twenty-four editorials, it will become apparent that Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs was useful both as a means for acquiring data and as a means for studying cross-cultural communication methods.

Rokeach's Values

Developed in the 1970's by Milton Rokeach, the Rokeach Value Survey allows insight into various co-cultures and cultures. Rokeach based his theory on the premise that all groups have a set of universal values. Rokeach further developed his research by dividing this list into two categories: instrumental and terminal values. For the purpose of this study, only the terminal values have been used for analysis, as the authors of the analyzed editorials are using the values as a means to an end. These values include the following:

Comfort

Exciting Life

Accomplishment

Peace

World Beauty

Equality

Family Security

Freedom

Happiness

Inner Harmony

Mature Love

National Security

Pleasure

Salvation

Self-Respect

Social Recognition

True Friendship

Wisdom

Looking at each of these values more closely reveals how they were used for analysis. The first of these terminal values is *comfort*. Comfort, within the context used for analysis, refers to one's sense of physical and/or emotional ease. This value is often comparable to Maslow's survival need. Comfort can involve appeals that refer to money, shelter, food, water, and other basic necessities. This value can be used both to condone and oppose weapons inspections and war. Although a common argument is that the comfort level in the United States remains high and war would only disrupt that comfort, others argue that a war may result in a higher comfort level for underprivileged countries.

The second value, an *exciting life*, appears when someone argues that we should go to war with Iraq or North Korea in an attempt to bring change to our daily lives. Often, an appeal for an exciting life exists to counteract boredom.

The value of *accomplishment* attempts to motivate the audience to do something, anything. A common use of this value occurs when an author argues the age-old saying "If you're not part of the solution, you're part of the problem." This argument motivates listeners to do anything to change the situation in the author's country of choice.

Peace often occurs in an attempt to convince everyone to “just get along.” Sometimes peace is used to condone weapons inspections. Some people may argue that weapons inspections can prevent weapons of mass destruction from coming into existence and prevent their possible use. Peace is also used to argue that weapons inspections will only aggravate those people in Iraq and result in an unnecessary war.

World Beauty, much like most of the values, is presented by both views of war and weapons inspections. Many feel that weapons inspections would increase the chance of war and therefore cause a decrease in world beauty. Others contend that war would remove harmful elements in society and thereby augment the Earth’s beauty.

Yet another of Rokeach’s values appears often in the editorials analyzed. *Equality* has become a goal for people not only in the United States but also around the world. The major argument for weapons inspections with respect to equality subsists in that weapons inspections require all countries to adhere to the same laws. Strangely, this argument seems not to apply to the United States. The contrary argument claims that these countries, like all countries, should be able to do as they please.

After *equality*, the value of *Family Security* appears in Rokeach’s Values. This value refers to taking care of loved ones as well as making sure that one’s own family is protected. This value is very similar to national security in its mindset, but considers only the immediate and extended family, whereas national security

considers the welfare of the entire nation, whether it be France or the United States. An argument could be made either for or against weapons inspections, depending on how one views the effect of these inspections on his or her family. In addition, one may consider the extent to which weapons inspections would affect the families in Iraq.

The next value that Rokeach lists comes in the form of *Freedom*. In the value system that Rokeach developed, freedom not only refers to living in a free nation, such as France or the United States. Instead, freedom incorporates the rights and values of independence and free choice. The most frequently used argument with respect to the value of freedom occurs when a writer argues that weapons inspections, as well as the disbandment of the Taliban, allow for freedom to those people in Iraq.

Further down the list of Rokeach's values lies *Happiness*. This value, unlike some of the others, remains fairly self-explanatory. The value of happiness refers to someone's contentedness with a situation. With respect to this value, arguments can be made that weapons inspections and/or war would improve the life of those people in Iraq, North Korea, or the other war-bound countries mentioned, and therefore make them happier.

The value of *Inner Harmony* refers to one's ability to be free from inner conflict. With respect to war efforts abroad, this value may be reflective in concern for the actions perpetrated against innocents, as well as in the possible inner peace provided by the realization of the obliteration of weapons of mass destruction.

The appeal to *Mature Love* refers to one's need for sexual or spiritual intimacy. As such, this appeal does not appear in the twenty-four editorials analyzed.

National Security, or the value of protection from attack, holds many similarities to the aforementioned value of family security. The greatest difference in these two, however, is that national security refers to protection not only of one's family, but society as a whole. Although this appeal contains the word "national," an appeal to national security can exist both as a defense of one's country or the world. One example can be seen in the October 15, 2004, Le Monde:

L'attentat de Bali est alors à mettre en relation avec les événements des dernières semaines: un pétrolier français attaqué au large du Yémen le 6 Octobre; un militaire américain assassiné quelques jours plus tôt au Koweït... ces attentats manifestent une réalité: la permanence du danger de l'islamisme radical; la permanence de la bataille que ce dernier est décidé à livrer aux Occidentaux...?

English Translation:

The Bali attack is to be linked to the events of the past few weeks; on October 6th, a French oil-tanker was attacked off the coast of Yemen; an American service man was assassinated a few days earlier in Kuwait. These attacks express a reality: the permanence of the danger of a radical Islam; the permanence of the battle Islam is determined to wage against Westerners.

In other words, the attacks represent the continuing danger of the radical Islamic movement, almost forcing Westerners to take some form of action. This passage represents the need to go to war because the terrorists, through attacks that have threatened national security, have eliminated all other options.

The appeal for *Pleasure* denotes the value of an enjoyable life. This value may be utilized when defending the weapons inspections or war efforts as attempts at providing this lifestyle for oppressed people. Additionally, this appeal may be used to rebut arguments for weapons inspections by claiming that pleasure is currently had and should not be tampered with.

Salvation is yet another value that was not used for the basis of appeal. Salvation represents an eternal life. Although many of the war efforts currently going on around the world are religion-based conflicts, the appeals found in the editorials did not suggest that one would achieve or not achieve salvation based on a stance on weapons inspections or war operations.

The next value that Rokeach mentions is *Self-Respect*. This value represents self-esteem or the way in which one feels about him or herself. Many times writers will argue that France and the United States should consider their actions and whether or not they are worthy of respect. Writers will appeal to an individual's personal stance on the war and whether or not the reader takes action to express his or her opinion.

A value that is very similar to self-respect is that of *Social Recognition*. Instead of concerning how one feels about him or herself, social recognition indicates the way in which others feel about an individual or a point-of-view. This argument appears often within the editorials because of the tremendous controversy that surrounded the United States' actions immediately following the statement of a war against terrorism.

True Friendship, or close companionship, appears rarely within the editorials. However, an appeal using true friendship could exist when one talks about the alliances held between governments. Also, true friendship could actually refer to individuals and the ways in which they interact.

The final value Rokeach examines is *Wisdom*. For its purpose as a value, wisdom represents a mature understanding of life. Authors of the editorials use the appeal of wisdom when asking that governments and leaders consider all alternatives before choosing violence. Some of the authors feel that by exploring all alternatives, one will have all the foundation information needed to make an informed decision, whether that decision is for or against weapons inspections and/or war efforts.

Rokeach's values, although containing many similarities to the needs established by Maslow, provide a more detailed analysis of the necessities in one's life. Authors, including editorial writers, have learned to use these appeals to motivate and sway audiences.

Amplification

Although the authors of these editorials may state an opinion, it is often necessary to expound upon these opinions. In doing so, writers can transform their words from mere statements into powerful tools of persuasion. There are six major forms of amplification used for the analysis of these editorials: examples, narratives, statistics, analogies, definitions, and quotations.

Examples provide an excellent form of amplification that brings an argument to life. Examples are short illustrations wherein one's point is portrayed through the use of real-life or hypothetical instances. Examples usually come in the form of short references to historical events or possible outcomes. For instance, when speaking of various groups, one might mention a specific conflict between the Arab Sunnis and Kurds.

A form of amplification very similar to an example takes the form of *Narrative*. Narrative amplifications exist as an extended or detailed example and are often used to appeal to emotions. An extended account of a particular situation of violence may be used to convince the audience that violence is not the answer to the current problems in the Middle East and around the world.

Statistics constitute the third form of amplification. Statistics come in the form of data that relate to the argument at hand. For instance, when arguing against war efforts because of the effect they would have on the economy, an author might give a percentage of inflation caused by a past war. Numbers are usually very persuasive to those people who are influenced more by intellectual rationality than an appeal to emotions.

The fourth form of amplification present is that of an *Analogy*. Claims using an analogy relate an abstract or difficult concept to a simpler example. This method allows writers to explain their arguments in an alternative manner.

The use of *Definitions* also helps to amplify an argument. First and foremost, a definition clarifies the perspective of the writer. For example, the word *terrorism* may have different meanings to different people. One man's terrorist is another man's hero. As well, definition provides a basic orientation to the topic for a reader who may not already be acquainted with it.

The final form of amplification examined exists in the form of *Quotations*. Perhaps one of the best ways to argue one's point is to use the words of a respected historical, political, or revolutionary leader. Likewise, one may use a quotation when the writer knows what he or she wants to say but not how to say it. By using the eloquent words of another, the point can be portrayed in a better manner.

The importance of amplification can be best summarized by using an analogy. Amplification in writing is air to one's lungs. Without it, there is no life – in a person, or in an argument.

Ethos

Revered as one of the greatest thinkers of his time, Aristotle developed theories on pathos, logos, and ethos. His observations have provided the foundation for modern rhetorical criticism. For the purpose of this analysis, however, only his study on ethos has been examined. Although Aristotle's work provides a foundation for ethos, more analysis includes an examination of the

writer's ability to employ peer influence, expertise, trustworthiness, dynamic elements, and simple likeability.

The use of *Peer influence* exists when a writer appeals to the reader in an attempt to become his or her "friend." By establishing a bond of familiarity with the reader, the writer is able to develop more influential power. Another way peer influence is used is within quotations. If a writer can use a quotation from a layperson, the reader may feel that the opinion is acceptable because the majority agrees with it. Similarly, the reader might feel a connection with the author or the person being quoted because of the peer relationship that has been established.

Another way in which writers can influence readers would be by using ethos that depends upon *Expertise*. Either by establishing the writer's own expertise in an area or by using a quotation or example from someone who is famous in the area of study, the argument becomes more convincing. For the purpose of the editorials analyzed, many of the authors used historical figures such as past presidents who were in similar situations. Current figures were also used, such as in the November 11, 2002, Le Monde. The author quotes Paul Wolfowitz and establishes Wolfowitz's expertise by referring to him as "le numéro deux du Pentagone" (number two at the Pentagon). This reference to a figure in the heart of the American efforts establishes the credibility of Wolfowitz. It also establishes the credibility of the author by showing that the editorialist is up to date on the current events regarding the situation.

The *Trustworthiness* of the author or sources used can be a highly determining factor in the believability of an argument. If a source is seen as not credible, or if the author tends to attack a person rather than the concept at hand, readers will often not take the author's arguments into account. A highly trustworthy source, on the other hand, can be a powerful leverage tool for a writer.

A fourth dimension of ethos lies in the *Dynamic* ability of the writer or argument. The level of dynamism of a writer pertains to the writer's ability to persuade the audience. The word *dynamic* comes from its scientific meaning of "pertaining to motion." The ability to move or influence one's opinions indicates the entire purpose of an editorial.

The final dimension of ethos examined in the editorials is that of *Likeability*. A negative tone in the writer's voice, a quotation by a criminal, or mention of a disliked figure can all numb the reader to the writer's message. It is not only important but imperative that writers consider this limitation on their editorials. A respected figure that is generally liked by the public can be a tremendous asset if that person supports the same position as the writer.

These five forms of ethos development provide a great deal of insight into the manner in which the editorials were written. Specifically, the choice of quotations provides an interesting insight into the motivations these writers have used.

RESULTS

The number of times that the aforementioned attributes appear in each of the editorials provides an interesting perspective for analysis. Particularly, it is intriguing to question which values are used most by each country and whether or not those values are the same. It is also necessary to consider the different types of amplification and those used by each country in the sample of editorials studied. T-Tests, provided by analyzing the data with the SPSS software program, demonstrate these similarities and differences.

T-Tests

T-tests were used to reveal the differences in means between the French and the American editorials in use of needs, values, amplification, and ethos. T-tests also calculate the likelihood of erroneous mathematical results. For instance, a t-test resulting in a difference of means significant on the 0.01 level means that there exists less than one change in 100 that these results were coincidental. Significant differences in the number of times that each value, each type of amplification, or each dimension of ethos was used appeared for some but not all variables.

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Only one significant difference could be found between the two countries with respect to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. The sole significance was found

with respect to the need for safety. While the American editorials appealed to the need for safety an average of only 3.25 times per editorial, the French used the same appeal almost five times per editorial. T was significant at the 0.05 level. This large difference shows that in the sample studied, the French writers valued safety as an influence to go to war or not to go to war more prominently than did the Americans.

Interestingly, the frequency of each of the values used provides support to Maslow's hypothesis that the values must be achieved in a hierarchy. The appearance of the values within the editorial continues to decrease as one ascends the hierarchy pyramid.

Maslow's argument hypothesized that the acquisition of one of the levels could only be achieved once each of the levels below it had been achieved. The collected data from the twenty-four editorials justify this hypothesis in that as one ascends the hierarchy/pyramid beyond the most activated need, the number of times each need is represented actually declines.

Rokeach's Values

Several note-worthy differences can be seen in the statistics with respect to Rokeach's Values. The first area in which a major difference can be seen in analyzing Rokeach's values is in the use of the value of comfort. While the use of comfort in American editorials barely surpassed once per editorial, the French used this same appeal an average of 2.75 times per editorial. The difference in

means here is highly significant. In fact, there are less than two chances in 100 that a difference as large as this one would appear by happenstance. In other words, the French editorials studied felt that comfort was a largely determining factor in whether or not to go to war, while this value was relatively unimportant in the American editorials.

The greatest significance found within the editorials was with respect to the value of World Beauty. A difference of 1.58 average chances appears between the two countries' uses of this value. It was significant at the 0.001 level. Although this number may not seem significant, it appears more so when considering that the American editorials used an appeal for World Beauty only once in every four editorials, whereas the French used the same appeal almost twice per editorial. As a result of the statistics from this study, it appears that the French value a world of beauty almost eight times as much as Americans.

The appeal for equality, although not extremely significant in the difference between American and French uses of this appeal, reveals a trend toward significance. There are only eight chances in one hundred that the difference in means would be statistically significant. In fact, an average difference of 1.33 uses of the appeal for equality exists between the American and French editorials. According to the sample, the French appealed to the value of equality almost twice as often as the Americans. The ways in which this value was used, however, rarely differed from editorial to editorial or from country to country. The primary use of the appeal to equality was in a pro-war fashion. The authors

who used this appeal felt that those people being treated poorly throughout the world should receive the same rights and benefits of the leaders under whom they were forced to live. The difference, rather, lay in the French authors' more adamant use of this argument.

Similar to equality, the appeal to social recognition, although not significant, showed a trend toward significance. The eight-in-one-hundred chances that this same data would appear merely by happenstance show this trend. Whereas Americans appealed to social recognition only slightly more than twice per editorial, the French used the same appeal 2.75 times per editorial. As a result, one could infer that Americans were not as reliant on what everyone else thought they should do. This statistic can be verified by the inattentiveness of the American government to the opposition both by its own people as well as members of the European Union. Were Americans more interested in being supported by the rest of the world, they might have conferred with the European Union before declaring a war and expecting the European Union to support the decision.

The appeal to wisdom showed not only a trend but also significance in the differences between American and French usage. The four-in-one-hundred chances that these same statistics could be accidental show that the difference of 1.42 uses per editorial is, in fact, substantial. The usage of 1.33 appeals to wisdom in the American editorials, as compared to the 2.75 uses in the French editorials, suggests that the French value thinking out all parts of a decision and

ensuring that it is wise. In contrast, although Americans valued wisdom as a consideration for the decision to go to war, it was not perceived as a necessity for such a decision.

Forms of Amplification

The use of the majority of the forms of amplification was fairly consistent between the French and American editorials. None of the six forms of amplification examined shows a significant difference between the two countries or even from author to author. The use of examples, however, does show a trend toward significance. Americans used examples an average of 5.83 times per editorial, whereas the French used examples an average of 10.42 times per editorial. Less than nine times in one hundred could these same statistics have appeared, and the difference in means of approximately 4.5 uses per editorial is rather large.

Realistically, these figures show that the French used examples almost twice as often as Americans. Although these numbers could have several meanings, the most obvious is that the French felt the need to defend themselves through examples more. This conclusion holds even more weight since the French utilized an average of 14.68 amplifiers per editorial; the American authors only used 7.9 amplifiers per editorial.

Ethos

Much like the forms of amplification, there is no strong statistical difference between the uses of ethos by the American and French authors. Although not statistically significant, visual inspections revealed a notable difference in the use of dynamism and likeability.

The establishment of ethos can come in many forms. One of these forms is the use of quotations. American authors valued quotations that were from dynamic sources. Often, this usage of sources with a certain ethos is reflective of the writer's desire to have that perception about him or herself.

American authors also favored dynamism. In contrast, French authors appealed to likeability more than six times as often as did American authors. This statistic reveals that Americans value more what is being said than who says it. At the same time, though, Americans would like the readers' feelings toward sources to influence the perception of the editorial.

Correlations

One of the most interesting aspects of this project has involved looking at how different appeals, values, and forms of amplification have a tendency to be related. With SPSS technology, the correlations become clear in a matter of seconds. Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation was used to examine the linear relationship between all pairs of variables within the categories of pathos, logos, and ethos. The relationship can range from -1 (a perfect inverse correlation) to 0 (no correlation) to 1 (a perfect correlation).

These correlations reveal how both the French and American authors saw the need to incorporate one aspect of editorial writing while utilizing another. By looking at each area specifically, one can identify the statistical significance behind each pairing.

Pathos

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, as previously discussed, provides a very broad basis for comparison. As such, the correlations therein provided no noteworthy conclusions. For this reason, only the correlations from Rokeach's Values will be discussed pertaining to pathos.

Rokeach's Values provide several correlations to consider. In an attempt not to repeat any of the information, each correlation will be examined only under the first value listed. For example, the correlation between Comfort and Equality will be analyzed under the category Comfort, as this category appears first. It will

not be reexamined under the category of Equality. Categories for which no correlations were present will not be listed.

Comfort

A correlation between comfort and exciting life can be found at the 0.05 level, indicating that there exists less than a five percent chance of this correlation being coincidental. Within this study, a positive correlation of 0.417 can be found between these two values, suggesting that almost 42% of the time, one was used and accompanied by the other. Merely considering these two values, one would not necessarily presume a correlation would exist between the two. The conclusion drawn from these statistics is that the authors were attempting to appeal both to those people who value an exciting life as well as those who value comfort. By appealing to both within the same article, the author is able to defend his or her argument to both types of people.

A correlation between comfort and world beauty exists within the research. The actual data appear to be extremely significant, as there is less than one chance in 1,000 of this correlation being coincidental. Within this study, a positive correlation of 0.659 can be found between these two values, suggesting that almost 66% of the time, one was used and accompanied by the other. This correlation does not seem as far-fetched as the previous one. Both French and American authors alike consider world beauty to be a pre-requisite for establishing comfort.

The correlation between comfort and happiness is perhaps one of the correlations that could be expected. A positive correlation of 0.611 suggests a relatively strong need to use a reference to one of these two values when the other is used. This correlation was actually found to be significant at the 0.001 level, revealing that the difference of means would only be so significant in one out of 1,000 studies. The undermining assumption, then, is that one's sense of happiness creates a level of comfort, and vice versa.

The third correlation with respect to comfort uses the relationship between comfort and freedom. The significance of these statistics is relatively great, in that the likelihood of the difference of means having significance is only one chance in 100. A positive correlation of 0.515 suggests that over half of the time one value was appealed to, the other was as well. This correlation could be attributed to the argument that freedom is a comfortable state, and therefore one often needs comfort in order to argue its benefits fully.

Similarly, comfort has a correlation with social recognition. The likelihood that this difference of means would actually be significant would only occur in twenty-five out of 1,000 occurrences, suggesting a solid argument for the 0.457 positive correlation between the two values. Yet again, this correlation was not one to be expected. However, the comfort provided by a positive ethos – which, in effect, social recognition is a form of – appears to be extremely natural.

The final value that has a correlation with comfort is that of equality, with a positive correlation of 0.441, significant at the 0.03 level. Although one would

not expect such a correlation, the authors argue for comfort, but also consider the need for equality. In other words, the authors feel that comfort is a value worth considering as long as it does not infringe upon the rights of others.

Exciting Life

Much like comfort, several correlations exist with respect to the value of exciting life. The first relationship can be found regarding exciting life and freedom. A positive correlation of 0.525 on the 0.008 level reveals an extremely significant relationship that would only happen in eight of 1,000 chances. This correlation seems fairly incongruent with the natural train of thought of most Americans. However, the data show a strong correlation, suggesting that the public is comfortable with an exciting life, perhaps facilitated by the freedom to lead such a life.

Inner harmony also shows a correlation with exciting life and with a slightly stronger significance and link. This correlation exists on the 0.003 level, with a positive correlation of 0.583, revealing a link that suggests the majority of American and French authors felt these two components were interrelated.

Perhaps one of the most surprising correlations exists between exciting life and national security. The statistics reveal a relatively high significance on the 0.22 level, with a positive correlation of 0.464. In essence, nearly 47% of the time one of these values was appealed to, the other accompanied it.

The final correlation with respect to exciting life exists between this value and pleasure. Possibly one of the more lucid connections, these two values share a positive correlation of 0.583 on the 0.003 level. Interestingly, these are the exact same resultant statistics with respect to exciting life and inner harmony. The conclusion is that the various authors from both countries considered an exciting life to be pleasurable for the majority of audiences.

Accomplishment

The value of accomplishment holds only two correlations, the first of which is with the value of world beauty. A positive correlation of 0.442 on the 0.03 level suggests a fairly strong correlation. The mental process for determining such a correlation, however, is difficult to determine. Did the authors have such faith in the people of France and the United States that they assume the people would strive to achieve world beauty? Or did they simply realize that an achievement of world beauty would deliver a sense of accomplishment?

Accomplishment also holds a strong correlation with pleasure, though this correlation is far from surprising. The positive correlation of 0.494 on the 0.14 level shows that these two values were used together almost 50% of the time. It is natural for one to receive pleasure from an accomplishment, making this correlation easily believable.

Peace

Peace also holds a strong correlation with pleasure, though this fact comes as no surprise either. In fact, the three values that peace correlates with – pleasure, inner harmony, and freedom – each come as no surprise. The correlation between peace and freedom exists on the 0.01 level, suggestive of the significance of this 0.516 positive correlation. Inner harmony and pleasure both have a positive correlation with Peace on the 0.19 level. These three values, as they pertain to peace, appear to be relatively self-explanatory. The main argument used considered freedom to be a pre-requisite for peace, both of which result in inner harmony and pleasure.

World Beauty

The value of world beauty holds a 0.483 correlation with equality on the 0.017 level, suggesting that equality promotes world beauty and vice versa. Although this correlation does not appear as clearly as many others, the relationship between the two values is evident.

One correlation that definitely comes as a surprise exists between world beauty and social recognition. The 0.571 correlation significant at the 0.004 level reveals a strong tie between these two values. Perhaps the authors felt social recognition could promote world beauty. The notion that one is being watched by peers would serve as a strong motivation for protecting world beauty, as indicated by the statistics.

World beauty and wisdom share a significant correlation of 0.586 on the 0.004 level. The likelihood of this correlation being so significant would only occur in four out of 1,000 chances. However, the tie between the two is relatively easy to see. An appeal to world beauty could easily be augmented by authors who claim that world beauty is a wise choice.

Equality

Perhaps one of the most obvious correlations can be seen between the values of equality and freedom. This strong correlation of 0.745 becomes even more significant when one takes into account that the likelihood that the difference of means would be so great occurs less than once in 1,000 similar observations. Freedom from persecution can often only come upon designation of a group of people to be created equal.

Similarly, the feeling that one is equal to others can often result in a feeling of inner harmony. Conversely, a sense of inner harmony may result in a feeling of equality. Perhaps this reasoning explains the correlation of 0.461 with respect to these two values on the 0.023 level. Equality also holds a correlation with pleasure, a fact which is far from surprising. In fact, the correlation of 0.461 on the 0.023 is extremely significant, as shown by the likelihood of these same results in only twenty-three in 1,000 chances, yet the correlation between equality and pleasure or equality and inner harmony reveals the same statistics.

The final correlation with respect to equality appears between this value and the value of wisdom. A positive correlation of 0.560 existing on the 0.004 level shows a highly significant connection between the two. The authors used many ways to show this correlation, but the most popular existed when referring to equality as a wise decision, and therefore grounds for freeing the persecuted persons of the world.

Family Security

To even mention the correlation between family security and national security seems almost redundant. A positive correlation of 0.415 existing on the 0.44 level suggests that although these two values are oftentimes interrelated, the others may have felt that one far outweighed the other, and therefore did not use them both. Or, as is more likely the case, the mention of one of these two values was felt to encompass the other. Both refer to a concept that is extremely influential with regard to one's stance on war. The only difference between the two is determined by the plea for the security of what or whom. Surprisingly, however, the correlation is not as strong as one might expect.

Freedom

A correlation of 0.577 on the 0.003 level can be found between both freedom and inner harmony, as well as between freedom and pleasure. Perhaps this similarity can be attributed to the aforementioned connection between pleasure

and inner harmony. No matter what its cause, this correlation displays a great significant, as the chances of the same difference of means is only three per every 1,000.

The correlation between freedom and national security is also quite revealing, as the 0.445 correlation on the 0.03 level displays. Strangely, these two values are not ones that would normally be considered related. Instead, one would consider freedom to be a threat to national security, whereas institutional lock-downs such as martial law would be more likely considered a state of national security.

However, many of the authors in this sample felt that the security provided by freedom of the people motivated everyone to work together for the good of his or her respective country. Often an editorial would argue in favor of going to war in Iraq and freeing prisoners, meanwhile securing the safety of both the people of Iraq as well as the people of the United States. By attacking the Taliban, the authors felt this step would ultimately make the world a safer and more secure place for all.

Happiness

Happiness and inner harmony provide an almost predictable correlation, as one is somewhat dependant on the other. Perhaps the strong relationship between these three values would explain the parallel correlations of 0.416 on the 0.043 level between both happiness and inner harmony, as well as between

happiness and pleasure. These variables are not surprisingly interrelated, though it is important to note that a correlation does not indicate a causal relationship.

Inner Harmony

A relatively strong correlation of 0.547 on the 0.006 level between inner harmony and national security indicates that these two values are intertwined. The correlation between these two values appears to be almost predictable. However, the use of these two values by authors appeared to be with respect to national security's effect on one's inner harmony. Apparently, many authors argued that the result of a wise decision protecting national security would result in one's inner harmony.

Inner harmony and self-respect, predictably, have an extremely strong correlation of 0.613 on the 0.001 level. Of the only one chance in 1,000 that the difference of means would indicate such a strong correlation, this group of authors has achieved just this feat.

A correlation of 0.459 on the 0.024 level exists between inner harmony and social recognition. Within the text, the authors had a tendency to utilize both interdependently. For example, several authors argued that social recognition from an action against war would result in inner harmony. Conversely, social recognition could heighten inner harmony with respect to some individuals.

The most intriguing of all the statistics appears between the values of pleasure and inner harmony. A perfectly positive correlation appears between these two

values, an occurrence that is almost unheard of. Justifiably, these two values are closely related. One's inner harmony surely provides a sense of pleasure, and many times the converse is also true.

National Security

A correlation between national security and pleasure was to be expected, as shown by the strong correlation of 0.547 on the 0.006 level. The heightened relief received by achieving security of one's nation can only be described as a sense of pleasure. However, the contrary use of these two values was not found within the editorials.

Though not as significant or strong as the aforementioned correlation, national security also holds a correlation with the value of wisdom. This correlation of 0.423 on the 0.04 level demonstrates the authors' opinions on the importance of wisdom in properly protecting one's country. The main argument used within the twenty-four editorials contended that not only was wisdom beneficial in making the appropriate decision when in a position of leadership, but also, wisdom exists as a necessary component to the decision-making process.

Pleasure

Another strong yet foreseeable correlation of 0.613 on the 0.001 level appears between pleasure and self-respect. These two values understandably go hand in hand. Most often, a sense of true pleasure is attained from a moral and positive

action, often resulting in self-respect. At the same time, self-respect often results in a feeling of pleasure.

The only other correlation with pleasure not yet mentioned appears with the value of social recognition. As an extension of the section on ethos, social recognition refers to the way in which others feel about one's actions, decisions, or opinions. An extremely significant correlation of 0.597 on the 0.002 level indicates the extensive use of these conjunctly utilized values. For example, a positive social recognition can result in pleasure for the person or group recognized, whereas a negative social recognition may have the opposite effect on the person to whom the recognition refers.

Social Recognition

The final correlation with respect to Rokeach's values appears between the two values of social recognition and wisdom. Although these two values are not necessarily ones that would normally be categorized together, their correlation of 0.597 at the 0.002 level shows a significant bond between the two. This connection can be attributed to the hypothesis used by many of the authors that one's decisions regarding important issues, such as going to war, are reflected in the perception of that person or government. Many of the arguments found within the editorials attribute a positive social recognition to wise decisions made by a government, or negative social recognition to unwise decisions, such as the many feelings about the Taliban and other issues in the Middle East.

Amplification

The forms of amplification only produced a single correlation, one which exists between the uses of example and analogy. The exact correlation is that of 0.670. This number means that for every three times an example was used, an analogy was used twice. This correlation, however, is extremely significant. There exists less than one chance in 1,000 that this same correlation could exist accidentally. This correlation demonstrates that the authors felt it was necessary, more than $2/3^{\text{rds}}$ of the time, to utilize an example when using an analogy.

Ethos

Similar to the lone correlation within the forms of amplification, only one strong correlation exists in the relationships between the various forms and/or uses of ethos. There are less than twenty-three chances in 1,000 that this same correlation would exist accidentally. The aforementioned correlation exists between the uses of ethos with respect to expertise and likeability. The correlation reveals that 46% of the time expertise was used, likeability was also used. Relatively significant, this correlation demonstrates the need felt by this group of authors to justify one's sources (primarily quotations) by revealing either his or her expertise, as well as by establishing a sense of likeability. In effect, the authors felt it was necessary for readers to like a person in order to accept his or her expertise in an area.

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

This study has shown the various correlations, frequencies, and significances of the uses of Rokeach's values, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, Amplification, and ethos -- particularly as used by French and American writers concerning the issues of war currently in society. This information shows the ways in which two countries -- two cultures -- utilize different rhetorical devices when defending an editorial position. But this general statement does not fully comprise all that this study has shown. Instead, it is important to consider the differences in rhetorical devices used by French and American writers with respect to this "war on terrorism."

First, which values did each of the countries represented feel were the most persuasive for their causes? The array of authors helps to eliminate personal preference and establish a common theme for the culture itself, and not merely the individual. Upon visual inspection, it appears that with respect to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, the French referenced safety the most often (at an average of 4.92 times per editorial), followed by survival and esteem (3.671 each). The American authors referenced esteem most often (3.33), followed by safety (3.25) and survival (2.33). This similarity shows that the needs felt by both countries were actually quite similar, despite their differing opinions on the war. It is interesting to see that the same values can be appealed to and yet defend opposing positions. As an overall representation of the types of values used, however, Maslow's Hierarchy shows that these two countries used very similar

appeals. This consistency may be attributed to the fact that Maslow's Hierarchy offers an extremely broad basis of analysis, and many specific values may fall under the broad categories. Rokeach's values may present not necessarily a better look at the differences in qualities used by these two countries, but a closer look.

With respect to Rokeach's values, the French editorials utilized the value of social recognition most frequently (at an average of 3.75 times per editorial), followed by national security (3.58) and peace (3.25). In contrast, the primary appeal used by the Americans was to the value of a sense of accomplishment (2.42) followed by national security (2.17). Two values which ranked third in popularity for the Americans were social recognition and peace; both were used an average of 2.08 times per editorial.

These findings hold many implications for the values shown in American and French editorials with respect to the war effort during the six weeks before and after weapons inspections began in Iraq. One might initially think that the Americans would be the ones to value social recognition highly. However, the research showed that social recognition was actually the top priority for French editorial writers. Whether they wanted to be viewed as positive figures or they simply disliked the idea of negative publicity, the French value for social recognition was strong within this sample.

Both countries utilized national security as their number-two choices, another finding that comes as no surprise. This issue is about security on the national as well as global levels. Both countries used their editorials to defend the safety of

their countries and the people therein. For the French editorials, this stance defended the position that weapons inspections, proactive recourse, and other offensive strategies were not necessary and therefore a threat to the national safety of France and to the safety of the rest of the world. The American editorials endorsed a policy of proactive versus retroactive strategy. The American editorialists defended the position that the only way to truly stop a war is to prevent it. In an effort to do so, these editorialists supported an aggressive stance with the war against terrorism.

Also extremely eye-catching is the fact that the French used more of everything! From emotional appeals and historical evidence, to literary devices and credibility references, the French defended their positions in as many ways as possible. Several implications are brought forth from this finding. A primary conclusion is that the French felt the need to defend themselves more than their American counterparts. The American view point, for the most part, has been supported on the public front, with the exception of a few rebelling countries such as France. When the position stated exists as the primary position, it does not seem necessary to back it up. Instead, the American writers served as figurative, if not literal, cheerleaders for the American cause.

In an opposing tactic, the French felt the need to defend almost every move they made. From an external spectator's point of view, however, this strategy makes their arguments much more substantial. The French found it most persuasive to defend their opinions by using historical accounts, quotations from

revered leaders (many American, ironically), and recognized facts. The French editorialists were able to defend their positions without encroaching upon the opinions and positions of others. In comparison, the American authors chose the “Me right. You wrong.” mentality.

The arguments presented within these 24 editorials have provided an extremely insightful look into the attitudes and appeals of both French and American editorialists within the sample period. A most intriguing question is whether or not these same results would hold true for a larger sample size. How would these results differ had another person done the analysis? Would similar findings result had Le Figaro and USA Today been employed? A problem with the editorials in USA Today is that they are extremely mediocre in quality. The majority of the writers chose to “straddle the fence” in an effort to please all readers. Le Monde and The New York Times really are sister papers. In other words, both were known for the same ideals – straightforward, unbiased news. These papers turned out to be exactly what was needed for this project.

The heuristic capabilities of this research project are endless. However, for the course of this thesis, the project must come to an end. The aforementioned leaders of George Washington, George W. Bush, Charles de Gaulle, and Jacques Chirac all have one attribute in common. They either were or are the leaders of countries where the people are not afraid to voice their opinions. As can be seen through this research project, the people in both the United States and France have been able to express their positions regarding the war against terrorism and

the on-going attempt at establishing a safer place for all of humanity. And a researcher must be thankful for this fact, for without it, no such project as this would have been possible.

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*Please note: All editorials are documented in MLA format. As is standard procedure for MLA format, editorials (a, an, the) are not used in alphabetization. This rule applies to the French editorials (le, la, les) as well.

GLOSSARY

ABDULLAH, KING. Ruler of Jordan.

AL QAEDA. *Translation: "The Base."* Terrorist organization established in the 1980's by Osama Bin Laden.

AL-ZAWAHIRI, AYMAN. Osama bin Laden's top deputy.

BAATH PARTY. Arabic political party in the Middle East

BALI. Indonesian island.

BIN LADEN, OSAMA. Leader of terrorist group *Al Qaeda*; instigator of September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States.

BLAIR, TONY. British Prime Minister whose term began in 1997.

BUSH, GEORGE W. President of the United States whose term began in 2000.

CHIRAC, JACQUES. President of France whose term began in 1995.

COHEN, STEPHEN P. Mideast expert.

DAE JUNG, KIM. Former President of South Korea.

DEMOCRACY. Form of government by and for the people, exercised directly by those people or through elected representatives.

HUMANITARIAN. Of or relating to the promotion of human welfare; a person with the aforementioned concerns.

IMPERIALISM. Form of government that attempts to seize territorial control of other nations.

INDONESIA. The world's most populous Muslim country.

JAKARTA. The capitol of Indonesia.

MUSHARRAF, PERVEZ. President of Pakistan and American ally.

OPEC. *Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries.* Organization established in 1960 to maintain prices for the exportation and trade of petroleum products.

OPERATION DESERT STORM. Attack by the United States on Iraq during the Persian Gulf War of 1991.

POWELL, COLIN. United States Secretary of State whose term began in 2001.

PUTIN, VLADIMIR. President of Russia whose term began in 2000.

ROVE, KARL. Advisor to George W. Bush.

TENET, GEORGE. U.S. director of central intelligence.

SCHWARZKOPF, H. NORMAN. U.S. General who led troops in Operation Desert Storm.

SUKARNOPUTRI, MEGAWATI. First female president of Indonesia; her term began in 2001.

UN SECURITY COUNCIL. Established in 1992 for the maintenance of international peace and security.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: American Articles and Evaluations

Appendix B: French Articles and Evaluations

Appendix C: SPSS Results

APPENDIX A

American Articles

10/07/02	A19	"A Hidden Cost of War With Iraq"
10/15/02	A26	"Terror's Calling Card in Ball"
10/21/02	A19	"Dancing in the Dark"
10/28/02	A25	"In Material Breach"
11/04/02	A22	"Recalcitrant North Korea"
11/13/02	A29	"Light in the Tunnel"
11/20/02	A23	"Crazy in the 'Hood"
11/26/02	A27	"An Iraq War Won't Destabilize the Mideast"
12/04/02	A30	"Subsidizing Terrorism"
12/10/02	A34	"Iraq in the Dock"
12/19/02	A39	"Bush's Stumble: The So San Affair"
12/26/02	A38	"The Korean Crisis"



Democracy Egypt home

A19

A Hidden Cost of War With Iraq

By Shibley Telhami

Op-Ed, New York Times, October 7, 2002

① One of the most appealing thoughts about a possible war with Iraq is that it could help spread democracy, transforming a rotten political order in the Middle East. But more likely, such a war would render the Middle East more repressive and unstable than it is today. Democracy cannot be imposed through military force, even if force is used successfully to oust antidemocratic dictators. And our vital aims in fighting terrorism, securing oil supplies and protecting the lives of American soldiers will, in the context of the Middle East, almost certainly ensure that the spread of democracy will again take a back seat to our national priorities.

② Aside from the significant challenges in Iraq itself, the picture in the rest of the region will be troubling. Regardless of our real objectives, most Arabs and Muslims will see in the war American imperialism. Governments in the region may support the war for fear of being on the losing side, or may simply stay neutral. Because support goes against the overwhelming sentiment of their citizenry, they will likely endorse our course through political repression. If King Abdullah of Jordan, like other rulers in the Middle East, has to face a choice between supporting the war while repressing his people and yielding to Jordanian public opinion by opposing our effort, it's clear what our preference will be. For that we need not dig deep into history: our commitment to fighting Al Qaeda has understandably defined our current relationship with Pakistan in a way that has caused us to put aside democratic values in order to achieve a more vital goal. These values will likely be sacrificed in our relationship with other nations in the Middle East, even with the best of intentions.

③ At the same time, we would not be comfortable if democratic change in the region results in the victory of radical Islamist groups, as happened in Algeria a decade ago. Nor is it likely that we would be willing to accept democratically elected militant Islamist groups to run the Saudi government and control the world's largest oil reserves as well as the pulpit of Mecca.

④ The political order in the Middle East is bankrupt today, and if stability means the continuation of the status quo, that would not be appealing. Change is necessary for the good of the people of the Middle East and for the good of the world. But not any change, and not through any means. The use of military force may be necessary for other reasons, but it is more likely to stifle than to nurture democracy movements in authoritarian Arab states.

⑤ America's political success has undoubtedly been bolstered by its superior military power. But our military power itself is a product of a successful economic and political system. Those around the world who sought change of their political and economic systems did so in large part on their own — and in many cases with America's political and economic success as a model. Those who want to achieve that success will have to emulate the model. And those who don't will likely fail.

⑥ Powerful ideas are willingly accepted because they inspire, not threaten. Even those who are reluctant to embrace democracy, like the leaders in Beijing, have understood the need to emulate much of America's economic approach lest they be left further behind. And in embracing a new economic approach, they have also unleashed a political process they will not be able fully to control.

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Ultimately, America's role is to assist in the spread of democracy and, above all, to inspire. Wars may simultaneously open up new opportunities for change, as in Afghanistan, and close others, as in Pakistan. But democracy cannot be dictated through war, especially when war is opposed by people of the region. The thought that, because America has unequaled power, we know what is best for others — even better than they do themselves — would not be comforting to most Americans. Certainly, such a notion is not compatible with the very ideal of democracy we seek to spread.

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[The Democracy Egypt home](#)

[The Al Horreya home](#)

P#1

Article Title: A Hidden Cost of War with Iraq

Paragraph	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
Comfort																										
Exciting Life																										
Accomplish																										
Peace																										
World Beauty																										
Equality																										
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Trustworthy																										
Dynamic																										
Likeability																										

Rekeach

Maslow

Logos

Ethos

ADOLPH S. OCHS, *Publisher 1896-1935*
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, *Publisher 1935-1961*,
ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, *Publisher 1961-1963*
ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, *Publisher 1963-1992*

GAIL COLLINS, *Editorial Page Editor*
PHILIP TAUBMAN, *Deputy Editorial Page Editor*

JANET L. ROBINSON, *President, General Manager*
SCOTT H. HECKIN-CANEY, *Senior V.P., Circulation*
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THOMAS K. CARLEY, *President, News Services*

Terror's Calling Card in Bali

① The weekend massacre at an Indonesian nightclub on the idyllic island of Bali, apparently the work of Al Qaeda and local allies, is a horrifying reminder that Islamic extremists who take aim at America and the West may be on the run but are not defeated. Even as the Bush administration readies for confrontation with Iraq, it must take new steps to combat a resurgent international terrorist threat with no single address or state sponsor.

② Most of the nearly 200 people killed and hundreds others injured on Saturday were foreign tourists, but Indonesia has been badly hurt as well. Its sense of security has been jolted, its stock market is reeling and Bali's economically important tourist industry faces ruinous free fall.

③ This was the latest and deadliest of several recent assaults. Together they offer evidence that Al Qaeda and its allies have survived the war in Afghanistan and are regrouping to organize new strikes. Two weeks ago Kuwaiti terrorists opened fire on American marines who were in the country for joint exercises with the Kuwaiti military, killing one of them. One of the assailants left behind a tape pledging allegiance to Osama bin Laden. Yesterday more gunfire was directed at American troops in Kuwait. Late last month a French oil tanker was set ablaze off Yemen in what Paris believes was a terrorist attack. Meanwhile a new tape by Osama bin Laden's top deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri, has begun circulating. American authorities believe it was recorded recently.

④ A reactivated Qaeda is a threat America cannot afford to ignore, as President Bush acknowledged yesterday. An array of different strategies will be needed, including heightened cooperation with foreign governments, police and military forces and financial monitoring agencies. Fighting loosely linked and mobile terror cells is an entirely

different operation from invading Iraq. Mr. Bush said that the two could be done simultaneously, and perhaps they can. But fighting terror is partly a battle for Muslim hearts and minds. A war against Iraq is likely to make it harder.

⑤ Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim country, presents one of the toughest challenges. Law and order are extremely fragile in the sprawling archipelago, while its brutal and corrupt armed forces are politically and professionally unreliable.

⑥ Thus far, President Megawati Sukarnoputri has failed to acknowledge the seriousness of the Islamic terror threat. She has also been unwilling to take the steps needed to force the army to become more accountable, and the Bush administration has been reluctant to pressure her to do so. This must now change. Until Jakarta shapes up its policies and security forces, it will be difficult for Washington or anyone else to halt Al Qaeda's inroads there.

⑦ The United States continues to run up against conflicts between its desire to bolster its allies in the Islamic world and the need to take a stand against corruption and anti-democratic governments. In Pakistan, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, a crucial American ally, has isolated himself through high-handedness and thwarting of constitutional procedures. As a result he emerged from last week's legislative elections in a weakened position, not only in relation to the secular parties he unwisely tried to stop, but also to a strengthened Islamic fundamentalist political movement.

⑧ The war against terror requires Washington to build and lead a broad coalition, using diplomatic as well as military tools, and hold it together for many years to come. It is unclear how war with Iraq will affect this endeavor, but the events of the last few weeks are a reminder that it is likely to make things harder rather than easier.

Before Congress Leaves

With the country focused on Iraq, the Democrats keep complaining that they can't get any traction on economic issues despite widespread public concern about jobs, pensions and the sluggish economy in general. Here's a suggestion: In the few days remaining before Congress goes home to campaign, Democratic leaders should push as hard as they can for two measures that will bring economic benefits to the country and credit to those who secure their passage. Each will require some legislative gymnastics. Both could be successful.

bring to the House floor a measure extending the jobless benefits program into next year. But unlike the Senate bill, it provides no help to those whose benefits have expired or will shortly run out. It also comes attached to a larger bill that would provide an estimated \$60 billion in various tax breaks for investors over the next 10 years — people least in need of an immediate transfusion. The Senate should insist on its version if the two bills reach a conference committee.

One other measure also deserves prompt approval. It would provide some \$5 billion in fiscal

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Article Title: Terror's Calling Card in Bali

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BOB HERBERT

Dancing In the Dark

"Never, never, never believe any war will be smooth and easy, or that anyone who embarks on the strange voyage can measure the tides and hurricanes he will encounter. The statesman who yields to war fever must realize that once the signal is given, he is no longer the master of policy but the slave of unforeseeable and uncontrollable events."

— Winston Churchill

There may yet be a way to avoid the war with Iraq that President Bush appears to so desperately want. But if the U.S. does go barreling into Baghdad, with or without the sanction of the United Nations, the American people should at least have some clear sense of the potentially very heavy consequences that may ensue. The Bush administration, with its muscular rhetoric and its trumpeting of a new generation of weapons

All the things we don't know about an Iraqi invasion.

even smarter than those used in the gulf war, would be happy to have the public think of the war as little more than a walk in the park.

I recently asked a storekeeper in Coral Gables, Fla., how he felt about the possibility of war with Iraq. He was reluctant to answer at first, but eventually said, "I support the president on this." He said that Saddam Hussein was a bad fellow and we'd have to go after him sooner or later, so we might as well go in now and get the job over with.

Ray Bradley, a retired electrician in Jackson, Miss., was even more gung-ho. "Let's have at it," he said in an interview. "We worry about them throwing chemicals and biologicals and nuclear bombs. Let's wipe it out before it starts."

It can sound so easy. But the truth is that the people of the United States (from the most ardent doves at Berkeley to the fiercest hawks in the Bush administration) are dancing in the dark on this issue. No one really knows where a U.S.-led military invasion of Iraq will lead. Saddam's regime can be destroyed, no doubt,

The Loss of a Safe

By Thomas Keneally

SYDNEY, Australia "I've been to Bali too!" goes a rollicking Australian song dedicated to the pleasures of that volcanically contoured triangle of paradise in the Indonesian archipelago. It is, of course, our nearest exotic point of arrival, but also it's cheaper for someone living in Western Australia to go to Bali than it is to come across the continent to Sydney. Every Australian who owns a surfboard has been there.

The rice paddies of the mountain terraces, each with a little shrine to a deity of fertility, grace the vistas for those driving into the interior, and Hindu temples, their family shrines wrapped in checkered cloth — black and white, the emblems of cosmic tension between darkness and light — recur in every village. Indeed, the fact that the Balinese, unlike the majority of their Indonesian brethren, are Hindu seemed to exempt the blessed isle from the Islamic-Western tensions that have characterized the past decade. At least in the Australian imagination, Bali has always represented safety abroad. Until now its chief peril seemed to be getting a tire caught in the deep-cut monsoon drains that border the island's narrow roads.

A cunningly constructed series of C-4 devices detonated in Kuta Beach bore away the security and succulence Australians had always associated with Bali. We had all had such grand times there that we felt we exercised over the island a kind of sovereignty of delight. But that delusion was destroyed in a few seconds — there were no Australian police, firefighters or doctors to call on for those who walked out deafened, their skin sloughing off them like napalmed flesh. The Australian consulate was meagerly staffed for a calamity of this scale. Suddenly Bali had become an alien and bitter place to die in.

Out of perhaps 180 dead, nearly 70 percent were Australian. Thus the first reaction of many was to see the outrage as primarily a punishment for Prime Minister John Howard's support of President Bush's Iraq agenda. Sept. 11 had served Mr. Howard well, justifying his harsh treatment of asylum-seekers. Now he must have thought the nation would scream for vengeance, even on Iraqis.

More sober analysis then suggested that the chief target of the killers was President Megawati Sukarnoputri of Indonesia, whose government they hoped to destabilize. The perpetrators appear to have been members of Jemaah Islamiyah, an organization that seeks to turn the country into an Islamic theocracy. The Indonesian Army, a state within a state, has been



suspected of supporting the group. If the militants succeed, the relationship between Australia and our neighbor could become parlous indeed.

But whatever the primary aim, those who set the bombs must have known that the vicious harvest would include an Australian majority. They must have been aware too that they were about to destroy tourism, rightly or wrongly the chief source of wealth for the Balinese.

People have said in the last few days, "Now we really know how the Americans felt." But the political results are different. Mr. Howard has

Australian innocence was obliterated in Bali.

not yet emerged with increased political credit from this bloody affair. The United States State Department had issued an advisory to its citizens about the possibility of terrorist attacks in Asia, including on Bali. No such advisory was issued by the Australians. Even though the Australian Air Force began airlifting patients from Balinese hospitals within hours of the blasts, there was a sense that the government was slow off the mark.

The populace had been divided over involvement in America's proposed Iraqi adventure. It must be said that the American ambassador, Tom Scheffer, has been arguing his gov-

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and nuclear bombs. Let's wipe it out before it starts."

6 It can sound so easy. But the truth is that the people of the United States (from the most ardent doves at Berkeley to the fiercest hawks in the Bush administration) are dancing in the dark on this issue. No one really knows where a U.S.-led military invasion of Iraq will lead. Saddam's regime can be destroyed, no doubt. But what then?

7 Do we really want to occupy Iraq? For how long, and at what cost, and to what end? Will we simply be eradicating a murderous threat, or also establishing a beachhead in an oil-rich frontier?

8 And what about the humanitarian crisis that is almost sure to develop once the smarter bombs and other forms of firepower have done the job they were created for? Are we ready and willing to deal with the life-threatening food and water shortages, the wounded and frightened civilians (including children), the shattered infrastructure and the desperate refugees? Are we ready?

9 And what's the plan for locating and securing Saddam's weapons of mass destruction? One can easily imagine, in the chaos of war, the dispersal of such weapons into terror networks both inside and outside Iraq.

10 For that matter, what's the plan for locating and securing Saddam? Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, who commanded the troops in Operation Desert Storm, told NBC News: "I think target No. 1 if we have to go to war will be Saddam Hussein. Now that's an easy-say, hard-do thing. Because we never could find him in the gulf war."

11 The violence of that war seemed remote to most Americans. It had the qualities of a television special, or a video game. But the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, brought the cruel violence of terrorism right into the gut of ordinary Americans — and terrorism, not Iraq, remains the great fear of the moment.

12 That fear was in no way diminished last week when the director of central intelligence, George Tenet, told a Congressional panel that the risk of a terror attack inside the United States was as grave now as it was "the summer before Sept. 11."

13 How is it possible that a war in Iraq and its aftermath will not divert attention and precious resources from the crucial fight against more immediate terrorist threats? A series of Qaeda-linked attacks, including the bombing in Indonesia that killed nearly 200 people, were carried out in the very week that Congress was giving the president the authorization he sought to attack Iraq unilaterally.

14 In a world as dangerous as ours has become, questions about the profound implications of a U.S.-led invasion of Iraq deserve much more in the way of answers than we have now. Seldom has the U.S. had a greater need for wise and candid and prudent leadership. This is not a good time to be dancing in the dark. □

E-mail: bobherb@nytimes.com

More sober analysis then suggested that the chief target of the killers was President Megawati Sukarnoputri of Indonesia, whose government they hoped to destabilize. The perpetrators appear to have been members of Jemaah Islamiyah, an organization that seeks to turn the country into an Islamic theocracy. The Indonesian Army, a state within a state, has been

Thomas Keneally is author of "American Scoundrel: The Life of the Notorious Civil War General Dan Sickles."

Private Art in Public

By Gabriella De Ferrari

In America it is individuals, not governments, who have established public collections of art, books and manuscripts of dazzling quality, diversity and depth. The single-donor museum has long contributed to this nation's cultural richness. While tax deductions support the founding of these institutions, it has been the vision of generous donors that has given the public such treasures as Boston's Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, New York's Frick Collection, Los Angeles's Getty Museum, and more recently the Pulitzer Foundation for the Arts in St. Louis, the Neue Galerie for German and Austrian Art in New York, and the Kreeger Museum in Washington, D.C. Some donors impose few restric-

Amending the rules for small museums.

tions on their gifts. J. Paul Getty, for example, gave his trustees a relatively free hand in accomplishing "the diffusion of artistic and general knowledge." Others, like Mrs. Gardner, attempted to control every detail, dictating how the collections are displayed, prohibiting loans, forbidding new acquisitions and even requiring the museum's director to live in the museum building. While restrictions can preserve the values of the time when the collection was created, they also carry risks. The Barnes Foundation, one of the most important collections of late 19th- and early 20th-century art in America, is a case in point.

Last month, 51 years after Albert C. Barnes died, the trustees of his foundation filed a petition requesting relief from Dr. Barnes's rigorous limitations on operations, use of the collection and governance. The trustees claim that the foundation is on the verge of bankruptcy, unable to meet

Gabriella De Ferrari is a writer and former director of the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston.

Even though the Australian Air Force began airlifting patients from Balinese hospitals within hours of the blasts, there was a sense that the government was slow off the mark.

The populace had been divided over involvement in America's proposed Iraqi adventure. It must be said that the American ambassador, Tom Schieffer, has been arguing his government's position with some skill. But despite the connections between Jemaah Islamiyah and Al Qaeda, a lot of Australians are arguing it's a long

operating expenses given changing economic circumstances and Dr. Barnes's many restrictions. If the petition is granted, the foundation's governing document would be changed to permit relocation of its gallery from suburban Philadelphia to a new museum downtown and to expand the board from five to 15 members. This proceeding raises the question of how long a donor's control over cultural treasures should last.

Virtually all institutions established by a single donor — no matter how wealthy when founded — eventually require public support to survive. That support includes direct cash from the public and indirect subsidies through local, state and federal tax exemptions. These institutions become public burdens as well as public assets, and should therefore reflect the public's interest in ensuring access to important cultural properties.

Current law permits donor restrictions to run in perpetuity. Yet every museum confronts increasing costs, changing public demands and new approaches to the presentation of collections. Mrs. Gardner could never have foreseen the need for the degree of climate control nor the public benefit of lending artworks for short periods of time to traveling exhibitions. Mr. Frick could not have imagined the many public programs museums must now provide. Flexibility is not merely desirable but also necessary if cultural property is to serve the public as fully as possible.

Today's trustees can go to court for relief, as the Barnes's trustees have done. But these proceedings are time-consuming and their result is uncertain. A better way to balance a donor's wishes and the public's interest is to adopt state laws that would limit the period during which donor restrictions are enforceable, releasing trustees from them after, say, 50 years. This change would give trustees latitude to adjust to changing needs.

Would such laws diminish gifts of great collections to the public? There is little reason to think so: the drive of collectors to present their holdings as they enjoyed them, even for a limited period, and the tax and personal benefits of giving are simply too compelling. Limiting the period of restrictions would benefit the public and give single-donor museums a more robust life in perpetuity. □

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Article Title: *Dancing in the Dark*

Paragraph	Comfort	Exciting Life	Accomplish	Peace	World Beauty	Equality	Family Security	Freedom	Happiness	Inner Harmony	Mature Love	National Security	Pleasure	Salvation	Self-Respect	Social Recognition	True Friendship	Wisdom	Survival	Safety	Belonging	Esteem	Self-Actualization	Example	Narrative	Statistics	Analogy	Definitions	Quotations	Peer	Expertise	Trustworthy	Dynamic	Likeability		
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October 28, 2002

'In Material Breach'

By WILLIAM SAFIRE

1 **W**ASHINGTON -- If the U.N. Security Council fails to adopt a resolution holding Iraq "in material breach" of its many disarmament agreements, that refusal will have consequences for the U.N. and several of its member nations.

2 The State Department cannot say that, of course, because our diplomacy with Council members rests on persuasion, not threats. But should the U.N. deny the fact of Saddam's repeated and sustained defiance of its irresolute resolutions, the world body will henceforth play only in a little league of nations.

3 Every diplomat knows what "in material breach" means: as called for in the resolution put forward by the U.S. and Britain, that phrase clears the way for the liberation of Iraq. If Saddam does not promptly come into total compliance with no-nonsense inspections, we would have the useful, though not necessary, U.N. coloration for our overthrow of the outlaw regime.

4 Russia, France, China and Mexico lead the pack wanting to strip that triggering phrase from the declared U.S. position. If they succeed, their "no" votes would assert that Saddam is not in material breach of a dozen previous Security Council orders, which Baghdad would interpret as a legal triumph. It would also show that Colin Powell's faith in the U.N. system and his own persuasive powers has been grievously misplaced.

5 What would be the consequences of a victory by Saddam over the U.S. in the Security Council? If President Bush were to meekly accept the rebuff of a further wateringdown of the U.S.-British resolution, his administration would become a laughingstock. Worse, the world would have no way to restrain nuclear blackmail.

6 That won't happen. Should Vladimir Putin and Jacques Chirac lead the Council down the path of appeasement, Bush will undertake the liberation of the Iraqi people with an ad hoc coalition of genuine allies. And here is one pundit's assessment of the likely consequences:

7 After our victory in the second gulf war, Britain would replace France as the chief European dealer in Iraqi oil and equipment. Syria, the Security Council member that has been the blackmarket conduit for Saddam's black gold, would be frozen out. The government of New Iraq, under the tutelage and initial control of the victorious coalition, and prosperous after shedding the burden of a huge army and corrupt Baath Party, would reimburse the U.S. and Britain for much of their costs in the war and transitional government out of future oil revenues and contracts.

8 If Turkey's powerful army on Iraq's border significantly shortens the war, its longtime claim to royalties from the Kirkuk oil fields would at last be honored. This would recompense the Turks for the decade of economic distress caused by the gulf wars, and be an incentive for them to patch up relations with praelocracy Iraqi Kurds fighting Saddam at their side.

9 The evolving democratic government of New Iraq would repudiate the corrupt \$8 billion "debt" that Russia claims was run up by Saddam. Even more troubling to Putin will be the heavy investment to be made by the U.S. and British companies that will sharply increase the drilling and refining capacity of the only nation whose oil reserves rival those of Russia, Saudi Arabia and Mexico.

10 Rising production from a non-OPEC Iraq, matched by Saudi price cuts from princes desperate to hold market



Article Title: 'In Material Breach'

2008

Paragraph	Comfort	Exciting Life	Accomplish	Peace	World Beauty	Equality	Family Security	Freedom	Happiness	Inner Harmony	Mature Love	National Security	Pleasure	Salvation	Self-Respect	Social Recognition	True Friendship	Wisdom	Survival	Safety	Belonging	Esteem	Self-Actualization	Example	Narrative	Statistics	Analogy	Definitions	Quotations	Peer	Expertise	Trustworthy	Dynamic	Likeability			
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One of the worst exemptions gave the parties the right until Election Day to establish groups that can keep on raising soft money after the election —

their help, seven years of hard work aimed at bringing reason and honor to America's politics could all too easily go down the drain.

When a College Scholarship Buys a Car

Every college student in America would like a new car or a spiffy off-campus apartment paid for by the government. Thanks to a so-called "merit based" policy that showers students with tuition aid whether they need it or not, this boondoggle has become a fact of life at the University of Georgia.

Georgia offers free tuition to students who maintain a B average in high school and college — a proposal that has become increasingly popular with politicians. For those who come from affluent families, the money saved is going to luxuries. As The Times's Greg Winter reported last week, students describe this transaction as the University of Georgia Exchange: "get the scholarship, get a car."

The federal government traditionally concentrated on boosting college enrollment for the poorest Americans as a way of allowing them to move out of

poverty and into the tax-paying middle class. But the states and federal government are shifting tuition aid from a need-based formula aimed primarily at those least able to pay to one aimed at pleasing middle-class and affluent voters who can pay their own way but would naturally prefer not to. In terms of new investments in education over the last decade, the federal government is estimated to have spent as much as \$10 on upper-income students for every new dollar spent on the poor.

The soaring costs of tuition and the erosion of the Pell grants have dimmed the prospects of talented students who have the misfortune of not being born rich. About 25 percent of high-achieving, poor students fail to enroll in college at all. If this pattern continues to play out, the dream of upward mobility through education will sputter and die.

Recalcitrant North Korea

① North Korea now says it may be willing to shut down its newly revealed nuclear weapons program, if Washington negotiates with it on this and other issues. The Bush administration insists that the North act first. The White House should explore the offer, reported by Philip Shenon in yesterday's Times. Yet recent history, particularly North Korea's evasion of a 1994 nuclear agreement with Washington, shows how frustrating diplomacy with Pyongyang can be.

② Fortunately, there is no immediate danger to South Korea or the United States, so the world need not act precipitously. North Korea is in desperate economic shape. Pyongyang cannot feed its people, and neither its leaders nor its neighbors want to see it crumble into dangerous chaos. It has no chance without substantial outside help and therein lies potential leverage. In return for their help, other countries must insist that the North eliminate its unconventional weapons and long-range missiles.

③ Progress so far has been disappointing. Last week's talks between North Korea and Japan went nowhere when Pyongyang refused to discuss its nuclear bomb-making. South Korea's outgoing

president, Kim Dae Jung, dedicated his term to improving ties with the North. Pyongyang barely reciprocated.

④ The United States has also been treated shabbily. The 1994 agreement succeeded in freezing the North's reprocessing of plutonium for nuclear bombs and shutting a power reactor that had been providing the raw materials for this bomb fuel. North Korea later suspended long-range missile tests. But it now turns out that North Korea has been running a parallel bomb program based on uranium.

⑤ Despite the frustrations, patient diplomacy remains the best — really the only — available course. Military action risks a response that would endanger millions of Japanese and South Koreans and tens of thousands of American troops. A new Korean War could devastate two of Asia's biggest economies, Japan and South Korea, and poison American relations with China and Russia.

⑥ Washington and these four interested neighbors must together convince North Korea that its only hope lies in eliminating its unconventional weapons programs. This will not prove easy, but it is truly the only alternative for now.

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THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Light in the Tunnel

For a brief, shining moment last Friday, the world didn't seem like such a crazy place. When all 15 members of the U.N. Security Council, including Syria, raised their hands in favor of a U.N. demand that Iraq submit to unrestricted inspections of its weapons arsenal or else face "serious consequences," it was the first hopeful moment I've felt since 9/11.

It was the first time since then that the world community seemed to be ready to overcome all of its cultural, religious and strategic differences to impose a global norm — that a country that raped its neighbor and defied U.N. demands that it give up its weapons of mass destruction not be allowed to get away with it. In a year in which the "I-hate-you" virus has been loosed around the globe, and everyone is either mad at everyone else or telling everyone else to go to his corner — "Muslims, go to your corner"; "Jews, go to your corner"; "Christians, go to your corner" — one could savor a momentary countertrend.

How did it happen? Well, the short answer is that we learned something surprising this past week — that in the world of a single, dominant superpower, the U.N. Security Council becomes even more important, not less. France, Russia and China discovered that the most effective way to balance America's overwhelming might was not by defying that power outright, but by channeling it through the U.N. And the Bush team discovered that the best way to legitimize its overwhelming might — in a war of choice — was not by simply imposing it, but by channeling it through the U.N.

In other words, "to the extent that the world wants to balance American power, without being against America, countries need to make it worth America's while to go through the U.N., by producing a credible resolution," said the Mideast expert Stephen P. Cohen. "And to the extent that America wants to take on what it alone defines as the axis of evil, but not have to act alone, it needs to go through the U.N. as well."

Without the Security Council, we would have to exercise power nakedly, something Americans are ready to do in a war of self-defense (Afghanistan), but not in a war of choice (Iraq). And without the Security Council, others would have to balance our power nakedly, something they are ready to do in self-defense, but reluctant to do in a war of choice.

The superhawks complain that President Bush made a mistake going through the U.N., because now he'll

never be able to use force if Saddam remains defiant or has hidden his weapons. Not only is this wrong, but Mr. Bush had no choice — not because he had to please the Euro-wimps, but because he had to please the American and British people.

The American public told Karl

How the U.N. got its groove back.

Rove, and the British public told Tony Blair, that Iraq was a war of choice, and while it may be a legitimate choice, they did not want to fight it without the cover of the U.N. and the support of its key member states. Because there is no war in Iraq that does not end up with a long-term occupation and nation-building, and that can't be effectively pursued alone or under an exclusively U.S. umbrella. Mr. Rove, Mr. Blair and Colin Powell communicated that to Mr. Bush — who then balanced a threat to go it alone with a diplomatic effort to avoid having to do so.

As I said, all this made for a pretty good weekend (unless you're Saddam). But will it last? That depends entirely on the U.N.'s ability to see this resolution through. Countries could vote in favor of the Iraq resolution for all kinds of reasons: some powers were seeking balance; Syria was buying life insurance. But to stand together to actually implement a credible inspections resolution — and to endorse the use of force if Saddam resists — the parties actually have to believe in it. The Americans have to be prepared to actually stand down if Saddam really complies, and the Europeans and the Arabs actually have to be prepared to stand up — or more likely, stand out of America's way — if he doesn't.

What an improbable moment. There must be some larger forces driving it: The American administration most skeptical of the U.N. ends up breathing a whole new life into the organization. And the countries most worried about American unilateralism — France, Russia, China and a nation that just barely missed making the short list for the axis of evil, Syria — end up legitimizing an American threat, if not the American use of force.

I wonder what will happen next weekend.



Tim O'Brien

marriage by stigmatizing singlehood, a process that has already begun with the reintroduction of word "illegitimacy" into the lexicon. After all, that's the very constituent the government is trying to hide.

ade Horn, the Bush administration official who oversees the welfare program, has assured critics that the administration, by supporting demonstration projects that promote marriage, doesn't intend to coerce people at the altar. And, indeed, what tools the government has available — like the relationship training seminars Oklahoma has begun to offer — seem better, if unproven.

When it comes to social engineering, the government has turned out to be a very good catalyst. Mr. Moynihan, whose report was in many ways prescient — numbers he cited for black families in 1965 now apply to all families, regardless of race — has said, "If you let government to change families, you know more about government than I do."

Even if conservatives don't know how to get there, at least they recognize that marriage, this very private institution, has very public consequences. Liberals, who have a much better understanding of the obstacles we face, need to enter that conversation.

4/16

S. Robinson

Article Title: Light in the Tunnel

Paragraph	Comfort	Exciting Life	Accomplish	Peace	World Beauty	Equality	Family Security	Freedom	Happiness	Inner Harmony	Mature Love	National Security	Pleasure	Salvation	Self-Respect	Social Recognition	True Friendship	Wisdom	Survival	Safety	Belonging	Esteem	Self-Actualization	Example	Narrative	Statistics	Analogy	Definitions	Quotations	Peer	Expertise	Trustworthy	Dynamic	Likeability		
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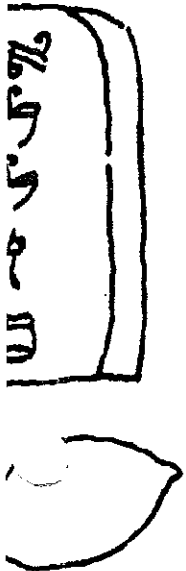
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THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Crazy in the 'Hood

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principle especially relevant to a world so hypnotized by its many false idols. Judaism finds its expression in radical pluralism, an assertion that there is no name for God — at least none that any human being could conceive. And because it puts human needs above anyone's notion of deity, Judaism is ultimately enacted through the very real work of social justice. As our nation and the world struggle to balance the conflicting priorities of religion, freedom and human rights, Judaism's core strengths are greatly needed. It would be a terrible shame if the religion's biggest concern continued to be itself. □

Mark Podwal

SEOUL, South Korea
The best way to understand the North Korea problem is to imagine a small neighborhood in which one of the neighbors, an unemployed loser, has placed dynamite around his house and told all the others that unless they bring him Chinese take-out food every day — and pay his heating bills — he will blow up his house and the neighborhood with it. The local policeman, affectionately called Uncle Sam — whose own house is safely across town but who walks the beat in this neighborhood — is advising the neighbors not to give in. "Very easy for you to say," the neighbors tell Uncle Sam. "But we have to live with this guy."

What strikes you most coming from Washington to South Korea is the contrast between the near-hysteria with which North Korea is viewed in Washington — now that it has disclosed another clandestine nuclear bomb program in violation of its 1994 promise to end it — and the rather ho-hum manner in which South Koreans greet this news.

After decades of living through North Korean threats, and after five recent years of "sunshine" engagement with the North, which has given the South a much clearer idea of how poor the North really is, many South Koreans seem to view North Korea more like a crazy aunt than a strategic threat. They either don't really believe its threats or assume the U.S. will deal with them in the end. This attitude may be delusional, but it is very widespread. A South Korean TV reporter told me that many people she interviews go so far as to ask her why the U.S. is "bullying" the North.

"The young generation, even people in their 30's and 40's, they don't remember the [Korean] war; they are a real postwar generation," says former Prime Minister Lee Hong Koo. "North Korea is less dangerous to them. It makes no sense to them to have another war. The older generation still feels a war is a possibility — they feel the Communists can do things that make no sense."

So far, though, more Koreans have mentioned to me the North Korean cheerleaders — with white pompoms — that the North sent with its soccer team to last month's Asian Games in South Korea than they have the new nuclear threats. Indeed, South Korea is in the midst of a presidential election campaign, yet the "nuclear crisis" is barely mentioned — partly because no candidate wants to be blamed for frightening away foreign investors. "The North is like a Pan-

dora's box," said Chung-in Moon, a Yonsei University Korea expert. "You don't know what will happen when you open it. Best to be very careful."

Given these South Korean views, given that China, Russia and Japan do not want a confrontation with the North either, U.S. policy options are limited. Make no mistake, serious South Korean strategists value President Bush's rhetorical hard line. "South Korea on its own does not have strong enough leverage to change the North's behavior — only

South Korea's eccentric aunt.

the U.S. does," says Taewoo Kim, an expert at the Korea Institute for Defense Analysis. South Korean strategists want the North to hear that tough Bush rhetoric — they just don't want the president to act on it. They want America to brandish a big stick and let its allies talk softly.

And that seems to be the collective strategy that is taking shape. It could best be described as "suspend and talk." President Bush suspended the heavy oil shipments that North Korea needs to heat itself through the winter, as punishment for its latest clandestine nuclear program. At the same time, though, the U.S., Tokyo and Seoul have all — surprisingly — signaled a willingness to address North Korean concerns about its survival if it dismantles its latest nuke program.

How many times are we going to buy this carpet? More than you might think. Sure, some Bush hawks would like to just bash the North, but the neighbors will never go along. Their view is that when dealing with a heavily armed crazy state like North Korea — which will probably never give up some kind of nuclear deterrent — all you can do is steadily reduce its ability to wreak havoc. All you can do is shrink its nuclear programs in exchange for food, and expand trade and investment to alleviate some of its abject poverty — so when it does collapse it does the least damage possible.

A crazy state like the North can have only a crash landing, but the fewer nukes it has lying around when it does, and the fewer starving people, can make the difference between a total mess and a total disaster. And those are our choices. □

57

Article Title: Crazy in the Hood

Jeelung
HSON
James Kim

Paragraph	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
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Atlanta, the urge to cultivate something that nobody else in the neighborhood has runs deep. Whether this passion comes from a need to compete, to experiment or just to be different is irrelevant. What counts is pushing the limits of possibility and proving the experts wrong.

But what happens when the limits of possibility are pushed not by gardeners but by climate change? Some of the joy leaves the enterprise; ambivalence seeps in. At least it has for me.

The arboretum where I work has given me a special vantage point

Peter Del Tredici is director of living collections at Harvard University's Arnold Arboretum.

What plants can tell us about climate change.

It's a concept that has its origins in the passion for collecting that characterized the Victorian era in America, and it's one to which the arboretum has remained true throughout its history. We gather plants from all over the world, grow them outdoors in Boston and see how they fare. For the first 114 years, observations

climate similar to Boston's (quantity of rainfall and temperature) have a greater chance of surviving than plants that come from areas with very different climates.

Second, there are always exceptions to this rule, most of them attributable to the effects of glaciation, which long ago transported cold-tolerant plants into some very warm climates. Identifying these vestigially hardy plants is one of the most rewarding aspects of my job. It's also one of the most challenging, because a wide variety of environmental factors can influence the survival of a given plant. A series of warmer or wetter years, for example, may allow us to grow something for a time. It's not until a fatal act of

my observations, our longstanding concern about the cold hardiness of plants is being trumped by concerns about their tolerance of summer drought. What nature gives with one hand, it takes away with the other.

Certainly the effects of global climate change are unpredictable. All we really know is that the weather is going to be different than it has been in the past. Unheralded species of plants, waiting in the wings like Broadway understudies, may become dominant over time, while old favorites decline. From the garden where I work, the plants seem to be telling us something we may not want to hear: the world is changing.

An Iraq War Won't Destabilize the Mideast

By Reuel Marc Gerecht

BRUSSELS
Arguments against a war in Iraq often revolve around the belief that an American invasion would destabilize the Middle East. According to this critique, the region is a powder keg of instability that a war, with all its inevitable unintended consequences, could well ignite. The Arab street would rise, radical Islamist recruiters would benefit from yet another grievance and Iraq's fractious citizens — Arab Sunnis, Shiites, and Kurds — would possibly crack their country apart. Those cracks would spread throughout the region.

But a war with Iraq might not shake up the Middle East much at all. Most regimes in the area are too stable, strong and clever. For example, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt appears to be vastly more adept than was Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the shah of Iran. The shah allowed the clerical establishment considerable independence — and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini used the mosques and religious schools to build his network of revolutionary mullahs. Mr. Mubarak, by contrast, has thoroughly co-opted his religious hierarchy. The Egyptian people may riot over bread subsidies. They hit the streets in great numbers to mourn the passing of a beloved singer. They have not once set Egypt

Reuel Marc Gerecht is a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

ablaze over the travails of the Palestinians or the bellicose actions of the United States. And Egypt, with its densely urban, youthful and homogeneous population, is perhaps the most likely state in the Middle East to succumb to a popular dissatisfaction rising from the streets.

Fears of instability in Saudi Arabia also seem misplaced. The most abused people of the country — the Shiites of the oil-rich Eastern Province, whom the regime's hard-core Sunni clerics refer to as "dogs" — aren't going to riot on behalf of Saddam Hussein, who has brutally oppressed his own Shiite majority. And Saddam Hussein has never been a beloved figure in Saudi Arabia, even among Saudis who loathe the United States.

Saudi militancy is mainly financial and expressed through proxies. The Saudis held a telethon to support Palestinian militants. They spend millions of dollars to support organizations that spread hatred of the United States and Israel. Yet they have not once rioted in significant numbers for the Palestinians or against the royal family's American protectors. This is as true for the fundamentalist heartland in the Najd region as it is for the more cosmopolitan Hijaz. Remember, Osama bin Laden stands out among both rich and poor because he is a Saudi who actually did something himself.

Ever since the Iranian revolution, Saudi Arabia's rulers have fine-tuned their internal security and their modus vivendi with the kingdom's radical Islamists, who have been richly endowed over the past two decades. It is very difficult to

imagine a Saudi Khomeini — or a successful conclave of coup-plotting colonels. A second Persian Gulf war just doesn't offer a regime-shaking catalyst that the Saudi dynasty hasn't handled before.

The instability theory doesn't work any better with Turkey and Jordan. Though a war might encourage Iraq's Kurds to express their ethnic identity more forcefully and thus provoke an incursion by a Turkish military fearful of Kurdish nationalism, neither of these is likely. Turkey has come to terms with the self-governing Kurdish enclave in northern Iraq. Slowly, painfully but with

Baghdad's neighbors are geared for conflict.

Increasing astuteness, Turkish society has come to appreciate the differences among the Kurds and how deeply millions of Turkey's Kurds have integrated with the increasingly democratic Turkish republic. Turkish generals, by and large cautious men attuned to popular sentiment, have expressed no desire to occupy northern Iraq. And Iraq's Kurds, repeatedly burned by international politics, are unlikely to risk their self-governing experiment by pressing nationalism too far.

In the event of war, Saddam Hussein may well try to destabilize Jor-

dan, which has close economic ties with Iraq. And many in Jordan's large Palestinian community have lionized the Iraqi dictator as an anti-American, anti-Israeli champion. But it is very doubtful that Jordan's Palestinians think more highly of Saddam Hussein than they do of King Abdullah II. Since 1970, when the Palestine Liberation Organization and Yasir Arafat were ejected from Jordan, Palestinians on the East Bank of the Jordan River have not once gone on a rampage against the Hashemite monarchy.

The one truly unsettling thing a second Persian Gulf war might unleash is Iraqi democracy. President Bush's rhetoric about Muslims' right to freedom has been unprecedented. Yet the administration has been vague about its aspirations for Iraq after Saddam Hussein. There may be good reasons for this vagueness, but it may also indicate that while promotion of democracy is high on the administration's list of ideals, it is low on the list of priorities.

Practical American support for liberal ideas in the Arab world has been virtually nil. The administration recently faced its first really hard test: Mr. Mubarak's imprisonment of the democracy advocate Saad Eddin Ibrahim, an Egyptian-American. The administration failed to put any serious pressure on Egypt. This is the kind of corrupt stability in the Middle East that does us no honor and ultimately harms our interests. Bin Ladenism's appeal is unlikely to end in a Muslim world dominated by such unchanging despotism.

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Article Title: An Iraq War Won't Destabilize the Mideast

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interest money. I thought the debate on the issues has given way to vitriolic attack ads, paid for by well-heeled special-interest groups that want something in exchange. A disgusted and increasingly cynical public demanded remedies. McCain-Feingold was Congress's response. Signed by President Bush in March, it is the most far-reaching campaign law since the Watergate reforms of the 1970's.

In fairly short order, however, an unlikely array of opponents lined up to challenge it, including attack-ad purveyors like the National Rifle Association, civil libertarians and the political parties themselves. Some critics have complained that the new law "criminalizes" speech, while others have compared the reformers to the architects of the Alien and Sedition Acts.

At the heart of the case are two parts of the new law — its new rules for "soft money" and its restrictions on sham issue ads. The soft-money provision closes a small but critically important loophole in the campaign finance laws. These laws had long restricted direct contributions to federal campaigns. But the parties found ways around these limits by raising soft money, funds supposedly designed for general party-building activity that in fact wound up underwriting individual campaigns.

Subsidizing Terrorism

Saudi Arabia belatedly seems to recognize that the diversion of large sums of money from the kingdom to terrorist groups has become a threat to continued good relations with the United States. After a week of damaging publicity in the wake of the disclosure that thousands of dollars donated by the wife of the Saudi ambassador to Washington may have ended up in the hands of two of the Sept. 11 hijackers, the Saudi government announced a series of measures yesterday aimed at halting illegitimate transfers.

The heart of the problem is Saudi Arabia's large informal network of private charitable foundations. Devout Muslims are expected to donate some 2.5 percent of their wealth each year to charity. Until very recently, these foundations operated with minimal regulation or oversight. Terrorists have also laundered money through Saudi banks and companies and have parked large sums in accounts under their control.

Some of the rules outlined yesterday have been in place for months and have yielded only limited results. Others are still in the planning stage. Nevertheless, they can help bring the money transfers under more effective control, provided they are vigorously and consistently enforced. The policies

by such campaign operations, as well as campaign finance laws.

The new law subjects these ads, when they run in the days leading up to an election, to the same rules that apply to federal campaign spending: corporations and unions cannot use their own money to pay for them, and individuals who spend more than \$10,000 a year on them must disclose it. Critics charge that these issue-ad rules trample on free speech. But they do nothing more than treat issue ads as the functional equivalent of campaign spending, which they are.

Opponents also argue that the new law intrudes unduly on the states. It is a clever, and fashionable, claim, since it tries to piggyback on the Supreme Court's continuing campaign to increase state sovereignty. But it is a spurious argument, since state election spending is being regulated only with respect to its role in federal elections.

Far from stifling dissent or censoring speech, McCain-Feingold does the opposite, by drawing rules that help give ordinary Americans of all political views a meaningful role in the electoral process. It would be a sad day for democracy if, in the name of freedom, a court struck down these much-needed repairs for a broken electoral system.

include a call for systematic auditing and supervision of charities and government monitoring of charitable funds as they move abroad. Some modest steps have also been taken, under American pressure, to curb money laundering and freeze terrorist accounts. Much more needs to be done in both areas.

Even the best controls won't amount to much unless they are backed by a new level of energy and commitment by the highest levels of the Saudi government. This cannot be just a public relations exercise to damp down criticism in the American press and Congress. Yesterday's announcement would have sounded more convincing if it had not been accompanied by an acerbic lecture from Saudi Arabia's spokesman in Washington, Adel al-Jubeir, accusing Americans of mindlessly bashing Saudi Arabia without duly weighing the evidence.

Charity is a pillar of Islamic belief and a valued source of welfare for the needy and ailing. Around this time every year, billions of dollars are collected from the faithful around the world and distributed by private charitable organizations. Sustained and aggressive monitoring by Saudi Arabia will be essential to keep these funds out of the hands of terrorists.

Progress, at Last, on Drunken Driving

A costly deadlock in Albany over an important measure to combat drunken driving in New York ended this week. The Senate majority leader, Joseph Bruno, dropped his insistence that the bill tightening the legal definition of drunkenness be tied to stiffer penalties for repeat offenders. Instead, Mr. Bruno said, his chamber will act on the Assembly bill on drunkenness on Dec. 17.

This is a welcome change. It would have been even more welcome had Mr. Bruno agreed to do so months ago — before New York had forgone about \$36 million in extra federal highway aid because of the legislative impasse. In the end he bowed to fiscal reality and a desire to avoid further delaying a sensible change that experts say could save 40 lives a year in New York State. It did not hurt that

Senator Charles Schumer traveled around the state last week criticizing the Legislature for failing to act. New York will now become the 32nd state to pass this law.

With this modest achievement under their belts, the State Assembly and Senate should be able to come together quickly over legislation to raise penalties for repeated violations of drunken-driving laws. Senator Bruno was wrong to insist on making such penalties contingent on lowering the definition of drunkenness from 0.10 percent alcohol in the bloodstream to 0.08. But he is right about the need for a serious crackdown on repeat offenders. Moreover, the two chambers are not as far apart on the issue as the accusations of intransigence from each side would suggest.

A Slimmed-Down Education Department

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Subsidizing Terrorism

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Two Versions of John Snow

President Bush may have lost faith in Paul O'Neill, but not in his type. In naming John Snow as his new Treasury secretary, the president has once again bypassed Wall Street and Washington's cadre of political economists, including a number of retiring members of Congress, to tap a corporate chieftain from what in the late 1990's would have been referred to as the old economy. Mr. Snow runs the CSX railroad. And like Mr. O'Neill, he worked in government in the 1970's, when he came into contact with Dick Cheney.

Rounding out its economic team, the White House is expected to name Stephen Friedman to replace Lawrence Lindsey as the chairman of the National Economic Council. Wall Streeters should be mollified if Mr. Friedman, Robert Rubin's co-chairman at Goldman Sachs in the early 1990's, becomes the top White House economic adviser.

The big question is whether President Bush thinks Mr. Snow will do a better job of creating a clear and sound economic policy for the administration, or whether he simply believes Mr. Snow will be a more credible salesman for the Bush team's old tax-cutting agenda.

Iraq in the Dock

As every 10-year-old knows, long answers can distract attention and delay deserved punishment. That may be the tactic Iraq has chosen. It responded to a United Nations deadline for disclosing its prohibited arms programs with a 12,000-page digital and print tome. Weapons and intelligence experts in Washington are slogging through that deluge of data to determine whether Baghdad has truly complied with the Security Council's order last month to catalog its biological, chemical, nuclear and missile development programs so that U.N. inspectors can supervise their elimination.

Those anticipating a scene of high drama in the next few days, with the Bush administration producing satellite photos that expose the Iraqis as brazen liars in their denials of such programs, will probably be disappointed. The verdict will more likely emerge gradually, as Baghdad's claims are painstakingly compared with information ferreted out by American, British and other intelligence agencies and U.N. arms inspectors.

Only then will it be clear whether Iraq can be disarmed peacefully. Fortunately, even the most alarming assessments of Iraqi weapons indicate that the world can afford to wait weeks or months, if necessary, to sort through the evidence and determine the answer. Before resorting to force, Washington and its allies must persuade other nations

Mr. Snow knows that one reason Mr. O'Neill is headed back to Pittsburgh is that he questioned the need for further tax cuts and whether the nation could afford them. Yet the next Treasury secretary will never be perceived by financial markets as a strong leader of the administration's economic team if he unquestioningly accepts, and goes about selling, a reckless Christmas tax-cutting wish list compiled by White House political operatives.

If he is confirmed, Mr. Snow must call for a time out, to judge the merits of each proposed tax break against the soaring deficit, the possibility of war with Iraq and the worst fiscal predicament facing the states in a half-century. Aiding states could help keep local taxes under control and may be the most effective way to help the economy.

Mr. Snow, who earned a Ph.D. in economics in addition to a law degree, has impressive credentials, and there is reason to hope that he may be sensitive to the need for fiscal prudence. In the mid-1990's, as head of the Business Roundtable, an organization representing C.E.O.'s, he pressed the Clinton administration and Congress to make deficit reduction their top priority.

that Iraq's refusal to cooperate in its own disarmament leaves no acceptable alternative.

Those determined to avoid war at all costs may demand more direct and irrefutable evidence than this kind of coercive inspection program is capable of producing in the face of willful Iraqi deception. But the rigorous evidentiary standards of an American courtroom do not apply here. A case for military action is likely to be made by highlighting any major discrepancies between Iraq's report and American and other findings. Given Baghdad's track record, which includes serial aggression against neighbors, wholesale duplicity toward the Security Council and missing stocks of nerve gas and biological weapons material, this seems a reasonable approach. To all this must be added Iraq's demonstrated capacity to convert those ingredients into highly lethal unconventional weapons.

Iraq is entitled to no presumption of innocence. It has arrived at this point after invading, occupying and looting Kuwait and then failing to honor the cease-fire terms it accepted after that conflict. Had Baghdad kept its word then, its unconventional weapons would long ago have been destroyed and the sites where they were developed permanently monitored. If careful scrutiny of Iraq's new report shows it to be still defaulting on its promises, it will have forfeited the chance for a peaceful solution.

When Nike Speaks

Last May, California's highest court held that the sportswear company Nike is subject to lawsuits, and potential liability, for its misstatements in the course of public debate about its third-world labor practices. The lamentable 4-to-3 decision, however, accomplished this by extending the state's consumer protection law that forbids misleading product claims. By refusing to grant the company the same broad First Amendment protection enjoyed by its critics, the ruling poses an immediate threat to robust debate and reporting about globalization,

sure of ingredients and nutrition values on food packages, say, and limit the claims a company may make on a product label or in advertising. The opposite extreme is represented by the California majority, which applied consumer protection laws to stifle corporate speech in a vital political debate.

As the three dissenters in the California decision warned, the potential for liability is already having a chilling impact well beyond Nike. Corporations are more hesitant to speak out on an array of public issues, lest they be sued for potentially deceptive or inaccurate statements — a point under-

ceeding to attack Iraq. Evidence is not confirmed, then it is time for this nation to refocus to the war on terror and a collapsing economy.

JOSEPH CA
Stafford Springs, Conn., Dec

To the Editor:

Re "A Signal Moment Ahead: Is Slow March to War?" (news analysis, Dec. 8):

President Bush cites two scenarios of Iraq's weapons destruction. Yet his administration has undermined decades of control these weapons global scuttled verification of the B Weapons Convention — to show Pentagon's development of biologically engineered anthrax. It is a new generation of earth-permeable nuclear warheads for use against nonnuclear states.

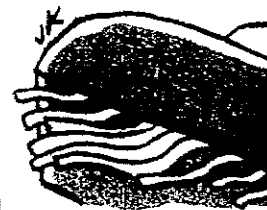
Those who suspect that Mr. Cheney's national energy portfolio of 2001, which projects that the United States import dependence will grow to 66 percent by 2020.

Military deployments in the Middle East on terrorism — from Cok Iraq to Central Asia — in the interests.

Once imagined as a nuclear war between superpowers, a global conflict between the rich and the desperate poor have only losers.

DAVID
Bloomington, Ind., De

To Stop a Thief



To the Editor:

Re "Thanks for Not Stopping a Thief" (editorial, Dec. 8)

As a longtime member of the Red Cross, I have had drummed into me the threat of identity theft and have taken what measures to avoid this danger.

I buy nothing online, pay for most purchases, and spend very boring hours shredding and charge slips and old statements and tax records.

One of the weakest defenses is that when I pay with card bills, I am instructed to destroy my credit card number.

A Germ-Free Gre

To the Editor:

Oh, the risks of greeting other. I salute those aboard the cruise ship plagued by a stomach virus, elbowing instead of shaking hands (news article, Dec. 8).

Why don't we all agree to shake hands with its in-

Article Title: Iraq in the Dock

Paragraph	Comfort	Exciting Life	Accomplish	Peace	World Beauty	Equality	Family Security	Freedom	Happiness	Inner Harmony	Mature Love	National Security	Pleasure	Salvation	Self-Respect	Social Recognition	True Friendship	Wisdom	Survival	Safety	Belonging	Esteem	Self-Actualization	Example	Narrative	Statistics	Analogy	Definitions	Quotations	Peer	Expertise	Trustworthy	Dynamic	Likeability		
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The Quality of the President's Merc

By Margaret Colgate Love

Almost two years into his presidency, George Bush has yet to grant a single pardon or commute a single prison sentence. This unusual record may reflect a certain indifference to the value and purpose of executive clemency. With the holidays upon us, it is fair to ask President Bush how he intends to use his constitutional power to pardon.

At this point in their respective terms, Ronald Reagan had granted 85 pardons; Jimmy Carter, 162; Gerald Ford, 253; and Richard Nixon, 82. All had also commuted some prison sentences. Even George H.W. Bush

Margaret Colgate Love was pardon attorney in the Justice Department from 1990 to 1997.

had by this time granted nine pardons and commuted one sentence.

The only president in the past 100 years to have granted no pardons at all by the end of his second year in office is Bill Clinton, whose pardoning practices were hardly exemplary. Mr. Clinton waited until the end of his term to start thinking about his pardoning legacy. Mr. Bush should not make the same mistake.

Presidential pardons have both a symbolic and practical function in America's justice system. Most pardons are not controversial; one former presidential adviser has described them as the "housekeeping business" of the presidency. Dozens of ordinary people apply for pardons every year, not only to confirm their rehabilitation but also to regain rights of full citizenship lost as a result of their convictions. Hundreds of federal prisoners petition the president to commute their sentences. By making available executive grace to

at least a few of these people who have made mistakes but have fully paid the price, the president could set an example for us all. In government as well as in personal relationships, the capacity and willingness to forgive is a sign of courage and character and makes for a stronger commu-

effect on disappointed individuals but because of what it reflects about the federal justice system. As that system has become more expansive, it has also become more rigid and less forgiving. Truth-in-sentencing laws make no provision for a change of heart. The collateral consequences of conviction linger long after the sentence imposed by the court has been served, disqualifying convicted people from many jobs and public benefits, discouraging rehabilitation and helping to create a class of people who live permanently at the margins of the law. The restorative power of the pardon has been largely ignored by those responsible for this system.

The framers of the Constitution understood the president's power to pardon not as a personal privilege but as an obligation of office. They understood that the president had a duty to be merciful, to mitigate the sometimes harsh results of the legal system. A president who uses his

When will
George Bush
grant a pardon?

nity.

For most of our history, presidents have used their power to pardon frequently and generously. The recent decline of regular pardoning is disturbing not so much because of its

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Bush's Stumble: The So San Affair

WASHINGTON
The Senate Foreign Relations committee, under its new chairman, Richard Lugar, should make its first order of business an inquiry into President Bush's maladroit and shortsighted decision-making in the So San affair.

Our National Security Agency, to its credit, spotted the movement of 15 Scud missiles and 85 drums of chemicals from a factory in North Korea to its secret loading aboard the freighter So San, and tracked the unflagged ship around the world to the Arabian Sea.

The C.I.A. was unable to determine the customer of these offensive weapons, unreliable in military combat but useful in striking terror into cities. State and Defense, worried that the ultimate customer might be Iraq, enlisted the Spanish Navy in stopping and boarding the vessel.

Apparently nobody thought the crisis through enough to ask: What do

we do when we find the missiles? What if they are destined for an ally in the war on Al Qaeda like Egypt or Yemen or Saudi Arabia? What's our policy on the movement of terror weapons into a tinderbox?

Then came Saleh into our alley. The dictator of Yemen, Ali Abdullah

Saleh in
our alley.

Saleh (pronounced sally), claimed the destructive cargo, for which I am told he had paid North Korea \$41 million.

U.S. officials were thunderstruck. Had Saleh not solemnly assured us 18 months ago, when we purchased his support in the war on terror, that he would no longer buy Scuds from

North Korea? His disputes with the Saudis and Eritreans were long since resolved; the only logical explanation was that he planned to re-sell the secret shipment at a whopping profit to a nation or group that did not wish us well.

The Yemeni insisted he had bought the missiles years before he made his promise to us and just never got around to telling us about it. Nobody believed that, but Saleh lets us kill Al Qaeda leaders on his territory, and our knowledge of this shipment means he won't be able to re-sell it easily.

So President Bush decided to sacrifice the principle of the interdiction of terror weaponry entering a war zone on the altar of practicality. Instead of suggesting a fair compromise — "We'll reimburse you for your \$41 million purchase, and we'll impound the cargo" — he chose to appease an unreliable ally and turned the 15 missiles, with the unidentified chemicals, over to the man who had made the U.S. look foolish.

Because the news of our turnover broke before we had alerted Madrid, we humiliated a real ally, Spain, which — at our request — had put its sailors' lives at risk by firing across the bow of a hostile vessel and boarding it. Spain has been a stalwart European supporter against Saddam, and is almost alone with us in urging Turkey's admission to the European Union. Our So San signal to eight other U.S. allies patrolling waters against Al Qaeda in the region: Go out on a limb for America, then watch us saw the limb off behind you.

Meanwhile, the interdiction of this unflagged ship on the high seas was seized upon as an insult by the North Koreans. Pyongyang trumpeted plans to start up plutonium production, which could be seen as a provocative use of Saleh's fungible \$41 million.

The Bush administration's embarrassment at this irate reaction to its high-seas flip-flop was heightened by former President Bill Clinton. He struck a fierce pose in Rotterdam: "We actually drew up plans to attack

E-mail: safire@nytimes.com

DEC 19

These pieces are separately owned by the Getty Museum and the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Admittedly, shipping tons of mar-

20th century: They were eroded and discolored in Athens by some of Europe's worst pollution and in London by a misguided harsh scrubbing in

the British Museum. They have offered Britain major exhibitions of other ancient art. They have also stopped asserting ownership of the

a celebratory occasion. If ever there were a case for putting the integrity of an artwork above ownership interests, this is it. □

The Quality of the President's Mercy

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When will George Bush grant a pardon?

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The framers of the Constitution understood the president's power to pardon not as a personal privilege but as an obligation of office. They understood that the president had a duty to be merciful, to mitigate the sometimes harsh results of the legal system. A president who uses his

pardon power courageously and creatively can bolster public confidence in the overall morality of the criminal justice system.

Even if the legal system were foolproof and no mistakes were ever made, post-sentence pardons would still offer the president an opportunity to recognize criminal justice success stories. If the president neglects the pardon power, it may become effectively unavailable to serve the benign purposes the framers envisioned for it. In this way, failure to exercise the power may have the same consequence as abuse of it.

This is the time of year when Americans pause to take stock of their lives and resolve to improve, to be kinder, fairer, more compassionate. By exercising his pardon power wisely and generously, President Bush can send a sign that forgiveness and reconciliation are still and always within our grasp. □

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Bush's Stumble: The So San Affair

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North Korea and destroy their reactors," the retroactive hawk told a security forum, "and we told them we would attack unless they ended their nuclear program." (Talk about secrecy: Who knew, in 1994, that those cowboys in the Clinton White House were threatening preventive war?)

The So San affair, still shrouded in diplomatic secrecy, does not show the vaunted Bush national security team at its best. With plenty of time provided by satellite intelligence, Bush did not formulate plans to deal with operational contingencies; humiliated by a Yemeni double-crosser, the president had the White House spokesman retreat into pettiness to explain away a policy flinch on the spread of terror's weaponry.

Yes, we need unstable Yemen's help at the moment. But President Bush is duty bound to drive home the message to our least savory "partners" that they need America more. □

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The Korean Crisis

North Korea's decision to reopen a plutonium reprocessing plant and disable international monitoring equipment at the site is an extremely threatening move that puts the rogue regime on a course to building new nuclear weapons within a matter of a few months. Since pre-emptive military action to disable the plant and other North Korean nuclear installations could not likely be conducted without igniting a catastrophic war on the Korean Peninsula, the United States and its allies must find a peaceful way to persuade Korea to give up its nuclear weapons program. Even though Kim Jong Il's autocratic regime has a history of negotiating in bad faith, as shown by its breach of a 1994 agreement, diplomacy still looks more promising than the Bush administration's wishful policy of trying to prevail by simply isolating Pyongyang.

While Washington is preoccupied with Iraq, North Korea has abruptly re-emerged as an ominous threat to international security. Given its erratic leadership, its record of exporting missile and other military technologies to American foes and its rekindled nuclear weapons program, North Korea is at least as threatening to global security as Iraq, and probably more so. American intelligence officials suspect that North Korea already has one or two nuclear weapons. North Korea has missiles that can strike Japan and may soon have intercontinental missiles.

In an effort to curtail North Korea's weapons programs, the Clinton administration reached a deal with Pyongyang in 1994. In exchange for oil shipments and international assistance in building nuclear power reactors that would not produce material easily upgraded into bomb-making elements, North Korea agreed to forgo its plutonium-based nuclear program. This fall, confronted with hard American intelligence, North Korea admitted it was pursuing an alternative uranium-based program. The Bush administration reimposed economic sanctions in response, and North Korea has now decided to reactivate a reprocessing program that extracts plutonium from spent reactor fuel.

In deciding how to manage the escalating crisis, the Bush administration is understandably

wary of rewarding bad behavior and sending a signal to other nations that rich rewards await those who violate nonproliferation agreements. But by itself, engaging in negotiations does not amount to appeasement. Washington could pursue talks without necessarily rushing to lift the economic sanctions, or forswearing the possibility of pursuing sterner measures in the future.

The alternative policy of refusing to engage North Korea unless and until it abandons its nuclear weapons program only serves Pyongyang's ends and is unlikely to isolate it. That is because the Communist regime is astutely trying to drive a wedge between Washington and Seoul. South Korean public opinion strongly favors further engagement. The recent election of Roh Moo Hyun, who campaigned on a platform of reconciliation with the North and more independence from Washington, will only embolden Pyongyang's eagerness to test the solidity of the half-century-old Seoul-Washington alliance. President-elect Roh takes office in late February and it would be a bad idea to hand him a crisis in relations with Washington as his first challenge.

The Bush administration must engage in multi-lateral talks to diffuse the crisis. It must continue to press China and Russia to use their leverage with Kim Jong Il to advance certain points. One is that the international community cannot tolerate the existence of North Korea's nuclear weapons program, and that Pyongyang cannot expect new security guarantees or economic aid until it shows a willingness to abandon it. Another is that any new deal must have ironclad, on-site monitoring and inspection requirements. Though ultimately detected, North Korea's uranium-based program remained secret for far too long.

Such a stern but diplomatic approach strikes us as more likely to moderate North Korea's conduct and to avert an explosive confrontation. It would also solidify our alliance with South Korea and other regional players. As with Iraq, Washington will have a stronger case to make in favor of alternative action down the road, if needed, if it first engages in diplomacy.

A Change in Traditional Pensions

Middle-aged employee, beware. The Treasury Department has proposed new rules on how companies can convert traditional pension plans — which benefit those who stay at one company all their working lives — into more portable ones. It's a good idea, but as now written, the rules could dramatically cut older employees' retirement income.

cently toward the needs of employees. For example, the fact that companies can avoid age discrimination claims by contributing the same percentage of salary to all employees will not sit well with older workers. They are shortchanged because the value of benefits under traditional plans spikes toward the end of one's working years, after hardly rising early

D.
Newar
The writer is scientific
Public Health Resear

To the Editor:

I am puzzled by the
ated with the present
smallpox vaccine (C
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pox Shots," front pag

I was vaccinated
the 1930's (everybo
again in the 1960's, a
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ANTHC
Kensington, Md

To the Editor:

Re "Ducking Sm
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Racism, Still

To the Editor:

Re "What My M
About Racial Seg
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Observer, Dec. 23):

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and church gave m
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#10

Article Title: *The Korean Crisis*

Paragraph	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
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APPENDIX B

French Articles

10/10/02	p. 17	"Le France et l'Irak"
10/15/02	p. 19	"Leçons de Bali"
10/20/02	p. 14	"Irak et Corée du Nord"
11/01/02	p. 18	"Bush maintient le cap de la défense antimissile"
11/06/02	p. 17	"Docteur W. et Mister Bush"
11/10/02	p. 13	"Le Choix de Saddam"
11/21/02	p. 20	"L'impossible mission de M. Blix"
11/26/02	p. 15	"Tchéchénie: qu'on nous explique"
12/03/02	p. 20	"L'opposition irakienne entre vœu pieux et divisions"
12/10/02	p. 17	"L'unité dans la confusion"
12/21/02	p. 15	"Scénario américain"
12/24/02	pp. 1, 14	"Imaginer la Paix"

ANALYSES

NU

ement possible pour l'administration
aine.

l'éventualité où Saddam Hussein gâche-
même la chance d'un règlement pacifi-
re intervention militaire mandatée par le
l de sécurité, qui aurait dûment constaté
nquements de l'Irak à ses engagements,
t pas les mêmes conséquences que la
e préventive » bruyamment annoncée
ashington, il y a encore peu de temps.

rope, dont on a une fois de plus déploré les
is, en ayant plusieurs cordes à son arc, n'a
tent pas mal joué. L'Allemagne a servi de
oix à une bonne partie de l'opinion euro-
en choisissant de s'opposer à toute inter-
en Irak, mandatée ou non par l'ONU. Il
it pas souhaitable que ce désengagement

durablement sa politique extérieure ;
n l'occurrence, ce refus radical de la part
ys traditionnellement aligné sur les Etats-
évéilé la profondeur du fossé transatlanti-
ait apparaître par contraste comme digne
sid' tion à Washington la position de la
lle n'excluait pas d'emblée qu'il
jour en venir aux armes en Irak.

rande-Bretagne n'a pas « collé » aux
fnis d'aussi près qu'on le dit : elle a beau-
it pour les amener devant l'ONU et res-
l'objectif sur le démantèlement des
rakiennes de destruction massive. Elle a
issi, en relayant plus d'une fois le messa-
çais à Washington, à ce qu'il n'y soit pas
l'un revers de main au moyen d'un de
ivais procès pour anti-américanisme que
éricains savent si bien resservir à Paris
fois que de besoin.

ance est devenue l'interlocuteur princi-
Etats-Unis à mesure qu'elle devenait le
tour duquel se rassemblaient, et se
ent, toutes les oppositions à leur projet.

septembre, trois jours avant le discours
ge Bush aux Nations unies, Paris, par la
Jacques Chirac, présentait sa position
l et définissait une stratégie en deux
lui, au fil des semaines allait s'imposer
la seule alternative au projet américain
de susceptible de recueillir un consen-
était sans ambiguïté : pas de complai-
our Saddam Hussein, pas de tolérance
réarmement de l'Irak. Mais elle était fer-
nême obstinée, sur l'autre aspect de la
: pas d'atteinte aux prérogatives du
de sécurité de l'ONU, seul habilité à
du recours à la force.

lu que la France tienne très fermement
oint pour que les autres tiennent face
n' « pressions » de Washington, et
c) refus contre le projet de résolu-
écano-britannique reste majoritaire.
e avait conçu un contre-projet, qu'elle
lans sa poche mais dont la teneur était
et qui, pouvant recueillir la majorité au
épargnait à ses dirigeants d'avoir à s'in-
sur un éventuel usage du veto contre le
éricain.

Le Monde
ÉDITORIAL

La France et l'Irak

① LE DÉBAT sur l'Irak à l'As-
semblée nationale, mardi
8 octobre, a confirmé plusieurs
vérités. La première est qu'il est
fondamental que les représen-
tants du peuple aient leur mot à
dire en politique étrangère.
C'est essentiel quand il en va de
la paix et de la guerre dans une
région proche de l'Europe, le
Moyen-Orient. Et c'est impératif
quand la France pourrait y
être associée à des opérations
militaires. La qualité du débat,
mardi, a, de ce point de vue,
réconforté tous ceux qui jugent,
à raison, que le gouvernement
doit rendre compte à l'Assem-
blée de la politique extérieure
de la France.

② La deuxième vérité est que
l'ensemble des interventions,
de la droite à la gauche, a mani-
festé sur l'Irak une sensibilité
commune. Elle exprime un
rejet d'une certaine approche
américaine, celle qui consiste à
voir le monde « en noir et
blanc », en « Bien et Mal », celle
qui, au nom de l'action préventi-
ve, envisage la guerre comme
un premier recours, celle qui
estime que les Etats-Unis ne
sont pas liés par le droit com-
mun international. Le premier
ministre, Jean-Pierre Raffarin,
a parfaitement exprimé cette
sensibilité.

③ Il a repris à son compte le
mot d'Hubert Védrine sur la
« vision simpliste » de Washing-
ton ; il a jugé qu'il fallait tou-
jours donner une chance aux
alternatives à la guerre ; il a esti-
mé que la seule légalité interna-
tionale procédait du Conseil de
sécurité de l'ONU, et que les
résolutions de ce dernier devai-
ent s'appliquer à l'Irak mais aus-
si au conflit israëlo-palestinien.
C'est d'autant plus notable que

M. Raffarin vient d'une famille
politique « atlantiste », où l'on
a toujours attaché du prix à la
solidarité avec les Etats-Unis.

Appuyé par Alain Juppé et
Edouard Balladur, deux anciens
premiers ministres, M. Raffarin
a refusé l'automatisme de la
guerre contre Saddam Hussein.
La France veut deux résolutions
ou une résolution à double
détente : d'abord laisser leur
chance aux inspecteurs du
désarmement de l'Irak ; ensui-
te, décider de l'action à entre-
prendre au cas où l'Irak ferait
obstruction aux inspections.
Etant entendu que la France
conçoit les inspections comme
un exercice réel et non comme
l'habillage diplomatique précé-
dant une guerre décidée à
l'avance.

Mais là paraît s'arrêter l'una-
nimité. La gauche a semblé lais-
ser entendre que la France
devrait s'opposer à toute opéra-
tion militaire contre l'Irak.
M. Raffarin s'y refuse. Il ne veut
« exclure aucune option » face à
un Saddam Hussein récalcit-
rant, dès lors qu'elle aurait l'ap-
pui du Conseil. M. Juppé a rap-
pelé la position du président
Jacques Chirac, « prêt à exami-
ner toutes les options ». Le mini-
stre des affaires étrangères,
Dominique de Villepin, expli-
que que le mécanisme des deux
résolutions permettrait de faire
« la pédagogie » de l'opinion,
dans l'hypothèse d'une inter-
vention militaire. M. Balladur,
qui préside la commission des
affaires étrangères, demande
qu'une « éventuelle intervention
soit bien préparée et justifiée ».
Sur fond sonore commun, à
l'Assemblée, les partitions
n'étaient pas tout à fait sem-
blables.

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#130

Article Title: La France et l'Irak

Paragraph	Comfort	Exciting Life	Accomplish	Peace	World Beauty	Equality	Family Security	Freedom	Happiness	Inner Harmony	Mature Love	National Security	Pleasure	Salvation	Self-Respect	Social Recognition	True Friendship	Wisdom	Survival	Safety	Belonging	Esteem	Self-Actualization	Example	Narrative	Statistics	Analogy	Definitions	Quotations	Peer	Expertise	Trustworthy	Dynamic	Likeability		
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ANALYSES

Souveraineté

de lecture des institutions européennes. C'est que, dans la théorie pure de l'économie de marché, l'usage de la souveraineté conduit à une moindre efficacité économique. En juillet 1998, au cours d'une conversation avec Kenneth Arrow, le récepteur de cette théorie, je lui parlais du thème des recherches en cours : le marché était-il compatible avec la démocratie ? N'y avait-il pas dans les évolutions récentes le risque d'une régression de la démocratie ? Sa réponse, même si elle apparut a posteriori évidente, fut comme toujours lumineuse. Le marché, me dit-il, n'est, en soi, compatible avec aucun régime politique, aucune forme de gouvernement, ni la démocratie, l'oligarchie, ni la dictature. Bien sûr : n'enseignait-on pas dans la théorie élémentaire des marchés parfaits que toute intervention de l'Etat ne tend à réduire l'efficacité de l'économie ? Je connaissais donc la réponse pour l'avoir moi-même enseignée. Mais jusqu'à ma conversation avec Arrow, je n'en avais jamais vraiment compris les conséquences politiques. C'est une chose que de savoir en termes économiques et une autre de le faire en termes politiques. Le cloisonnement des savoirs, l'hypothèse implicite qui préside aux débats économiques, selon laquelle la démocratie en tant que régime politique est indépendante des politiques économiques effectivement mises en œuvre, nous empêchent fréquemment de percevoir les enjeux de ce que nous proposons. Une autre façon d'appréhender les choses est de souligner que le marché n'a besoin pour fonctionner que d'individus, d'électrons libres, et que toute intrusion du collectif ne peut que conduire à une affectation non optimale des ressources. ... Bien sûr, ces considérations peuvent paraître excessives, au regard de la volonté politique étendue qui a présidé à la construction européenne. Mais à mi-parcours, et en l'absence pour l'instant d'un projet politique cohérent, l'Europe apparaît comme un lieu vide de la souveraineté, un gouvernement par des règles, plutôt qu'un gouvernement par des choix. Le pouvoir monétaire a été confié à une institution indépendante - la seule dans le monde moderne n'est pas vraiment tentée de rendre des comptes à la démocratie - et le pouvoir législatif (et le pouvoir exécutif) a été soigneusement encadré par des règles. Or il apparaît qu'un tel système n'est pas efficace au regard même des critères économiques qui en constituent le fondement. Trop souvent, il ne permet pas de tirer pleinement profit de la libre interaction des individus. Le dogmatisme n'a jamais été de bonne méthode pour atteindre les objectifs finaux, au premier chef desquels le plein-emploi, auxquels les sociétés tendent légitimement. Les piètres performances de l'Europe dans les années 1990 - croissance faible, chômage de masse - auraient dû au moins nous faire douter. Heureusement, il se trouve que la démocratie, au-delà de sa désirabilité intrinsèque, permet aussi une meilleure adaptation aux circonstances, une plus grande flexibilité. Elle permet des choix explicites, que le débat et la persuasion nous aident à faire, et qui ont pour effet tantôt de remettre

Le Monde
ÉDITORIAL

Leçons de Bali

1. BIEN SÛR, la prudence s'impose. Le gouvernement indonésien n'a pas encore le début d'une piste sur l'attentat de Bali, le plus terrible commis dans le monde depuis le 11 septembre 2001. L'Indonésie est un archipel de 212 millions d'habitants, dont certaines parties échappent très largement aux autorités centrales. Mais, dans le carnage perpétré samedi 12 octobre, nombre d'éléments désignent la piste islamiste.
2. Le fait même qu'il n'y ait pas de « signature », pas de revendication, est la marque des réseaux terroristes informels qui opèrent dans la mouvance d'Al-Qaïda. La cible choisie par ceux qui ont planifié cet attentat à la voiture piégée : des civils, des touristes, en grande partie étrangers, fréquentant une boîte de nuit. Les avertissements répétés des dernières semaines, venus des Etats-Unis ou d'Australie, signalaient la menace de l'islamisme radical en Indonésie - et, plus largement, en Asie du Sud-Est.
3. Dès dimanche, le gouvernement australien et d'autres dans la région pointaient une organisation présente en Indonésie, la Jemaah Islamiyah. Elle aurait des liens avec le réseau d'Oussama Ben Laden. Même en se méfiant des amalgames, de la psychose et des jugements hâtifs, la piste islamiste paraît la plus crédible.
4. L'attentat de Bali est alors à mettre en relation avec les événements des dernières semaines : un pétrolier français attaqué au large du Yémen le 6 octobre ; un militaire américain assassiné quelques jours plus tôt au Koweït, notamment. Centralement ou non, planifiés par une cellule dirigeante ou découlés de manière informelle par des réseaux flottants, ces attentats manifestent une réalité : la permanence du danger de l'islamisme radical ; la permanence de la bataille que ce dernier est décidé à livrer aux Occidentaux ou à des gouvernements qui leur sont proches. Le renversement des talibans, en Afghanistan, a peut-être réduit la menace islamiste ; elle ne l'a aucunement éliminée. Le résultat des élections qui viennent d'avoir lieu dans un pays aussi sensible que le Pakistan est un nouvel avertissement : jamais les partis islamistes n'y ont réalisé meilleur score...
5. D'où la deuxième leçon à tirer du drame de Bali : les Etats-Unis se trompent de priorité avec leur obsession irakienne. Celle-ci paraît relever de considérations étrangères à la lutte contre le terrorisme islamiste : préoccupations pétrolières ; ambitions stratégiques au Proche-Orient ; positionnement sur la scène politique internationale américaine.
- Point n'est besoin d'être grand politologue pour prédire, sans grand risque, l'impact que pourrait avoir une campagne de bombardements sur l'Irak : des recrues par milliers pour Al-Qaïda et un regain de terrorisme dans le monde. Il ne faudra pas, alors, jouer les innocents.
6. Le secrétaire à la défense, Donald Rumsfeld, appelait ses forces armées, dimanche, à opérer avec plus de munitions « intelligentes ». On voudrait humblement lui suggérer d'opérer non pas avec des bombes, mais avec une politique « intelligente ».

15 OCTOBRE

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#14

Article Title: **Leçons de Bali**

Paragraph	Comfort	Exciting Life	Accomplish	Peace	World Beauty	Equality	Family Security	Freedom	Happiness	Inner Harmony	Mature Love	National Security	Pleasure	Salvation	Self-Respect	Social Recognition	True Friendship	Wisdom	Survival	Safety	Belonging	Esteem	Self-Actualization	Example	Narrative	Statistics	Analogy	Definitions	Quotations	Peer	Expertise	Trustworthy	Dynamic	Likeability		
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- entreprises
- communication
- aujourd'hui
- météo
- sports
- sciences
- culture
- version texte

L'éditorial du Monde

Irak et Corée du Nord

① LA CORÉE DU NORD a admis qu'elle poursuivait un programme, jusque-là tenu secret d'armes atomique en violation d'un accord passé en 1994 avec les Etats-Unis. Cette révélation faite par Maison Blanche, a une explication interne aux Etats-Unis à quelques jours du vote de mi-mars

② Elle donne des arguments aux républicains dans leur critique de la politique Clinton-Gore qui obtenir des concessions de Pyongyang en échange d'assistance et qui avait semblé pouvoir se conclure par un accord global sur les missiles à la veille du départ de Bill Clinton de la Maison Blanche.

③ Mais l'"aveu" de Pyongyang a aussi embarrassé l'administration Bush. Car il s'agit d'un deuxième pays de "l'axe du Mal" qui se dote d'armes de destruction massive. Or la solution pour détruire la menace n'est ici pas militaire comme en Irak, a immédiatement fait savoir l'administration Bush. Face à la Corée du Nord, elle entend cette fois passer par la voie diplomatique.



- le desk
- les dépêches
- les dossiers
- les fiches pays
- les thématiques
- la check-list
- les portfolios

④ Pour expliquer à l'opinion américaine et mondiale pourquoi il faut adopter deux stratégies différentes à l'égard de pays logés à la même enseigne, Washington souscrit à la thèse nord-coréenne d'un programme à caractère pas offensif comme en Irak. *defensif et non*

- éducation
- finances
- forums
- interactif
- mots croisés / jeux
- emploi
- immobilier

⑤ Ce n'est pas faux : Pyongyang cherche avant tout à assurer la survie du régime, et la bombe atomique n'est pas tant faite pour menacer ses voisins que pour prévenir une attaque et surfer négocier une aide étrangère impérieuse à sa sortie du borborygme dans lequel l'a mis son isolationnisme

- newsletters
- vos préférences
- aide et services
- qui sommes-nous ?

⑥ Dans le cas coréen, les Etats-Unis n'ont en réalité d'autre choix que de négocier. La menace d'action militaire "préventive" n'est guère envisageable. Il ne fait pas de doute que les Etats-Unis peuvent réduire Pyongyang en cendres, mais ils risquent une riposte sur la Corée du Sud des forces américaines présentes dans la région, entraînant des pertes considérables militaires et civiles.

⑦ En matière de sanctions, les Etats-Unis ne peuvent guère faire beaucoup plus que chercher à l'aide humanitaire internationale. Une façon d'adopter finalement la même politique que Clinton et qui consiste à "acheter" une nouvelle fois la neutralisation de la menace potentiellement coréenne.



- édition électronique
- éditions nomades
- archives
- les thématiques
- abonnements

⑧ Reste qu'un armement nucléaire dans les mains d'un régime aux abois fait peser sur toute la région une lourde menace. La communauté internationale s'est révélée impuissante à la prévenir. Et le risque majeur de ce nouvel exemple de prolifération nucléaire au côté des puissances déclarées (Etats-Unis, Chine, Russie, Grande-Bretagne, France, Inde et Pakistan) est d'accroître les disséminations. *encore des*

⑨ Plus encore que l'apparition de nouvelles puissances nucléaires, ce sont les éventuels transferts de

transferts de

le technologie de celles-ci à des organisations terroristes de type Al -Qaida qui constituent le plus grand danger. désormais

- ARTICLE PARU DANS L'EDITION DU 20.10.02

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#15

Article Title: *IRAK et Corée du Nord*

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Bush maintient le cap de la défense antimissile

GEORGE W. BUSH vient de signer, avec l'accord du congrès, la loi qui attribue 355 milliards de dollars (pratiquement autant d'euros) au budget 2003 de la défense aux Etats-Unis. C'est une hausse de 12 % par rapport au montant des crédits en 2002. Il faut remonter à Ronald Reagan pour trouver une telle augmentation : c'était quand, il y a vingt ans, la Maison Blanche avait lancé son projet de bouclier spatial antimissile. Entre-temps, le programme a avorté sous cette forme.

1) Mais l'actuel président, en dépit de la priorité qu'il entend donner à la lutte contre le terrorisme international, n'a pas renoncé à mener à bien un nouveau projet antibalistique. On en a la preuve avec le fait que, dans le budget 2003 du Pentagone, les crédits alloués à la lutte antimissile passent à 7,4 milliards de dollars, au lieu de 5,4 en 2002. La hausse est de 37 %, trois fois plus que la croissance moyenne de l'enveloppe globale des dépenses militaires aux Etats-Unis. Difficile, dans ces conditions, de considérer que

Bush a radicalement changé ses priorités en matière de sécurité après les attentats du 11 septembre 2001.

BOUCLIER « MULTICOUCHE »

2) Le Pentagone prétend, au contraire, que terrorisme et antimissile vont de pair. Il n'y a qu'à observer, dit-on à Washington, la prolifération des armes balistiques dans le monde. La technologie risque d'être à la portée de n'importe qui, un jour, surtout pour servir de vecteur à une autre prolifération, celle des munitions de destruction massive à base d'ingrédients biochimiques ou nucléaires, comme, par exemple, ces armes radiologiques dites « sales ».

3) C'est Paul Wolfowitz, le numéro deux du Pentagone, qui cite - sans autre précision - le risque qu'un pays « sans foi ni loi » ou qu'un réseau terroriste « très élaboré » peut faire courir à la planète entière en déployant, à proximité des côtes de pays-cibles, de simples barges embarquant des missiles à courte portée, pour exercer un chantage contre les démocraties.

4) Dès lors, peut-on se passer d'un bouclier antimissile ? Le Pentagone maintient donc son programme et le diversifie même. En 2004, il prévoit de premières installations à terre, autour de Port

Greely en Alaska, destinées à surveiller l'espace et à neutraliser des missiles adverses relativement sommaires. En 2004, encore, deux nouvelles frégates, dotées du système Aegis (« bouclier » en grec), seront susceptibles de suivre et de s'opposer au tir de missiles offensifs sur le modèle de ce qui s'est passé, à titre expérimental, il y a une quinzaine de jours, avec la frégate *John-Paul-Jones*. En 2004, enfin, les Américains ne désespèrent pas d'avoir mis au point un avion gros-porteur, du type Boeing-747, armé d'un laser qui serait pointé contre des missiles assaillants pour les détruire en vol ou - plus efficace ! - depuis leur site de lancement.

5) Bref, M. Bush maintient le cap de sa politique antimissile, en dépit d'avis plus nuancés de ceux

qui considèrent qu'on ne peut pas courir deux lièvres à la fois et que le combat antiterroriste, parce qu'il sera difficile, risqué et qu'il prendra du temps, exclut de se disperser. Au Pentagone, on réplique que ce serait une erreur grossière de se concentrer sur une menace unique, alors qu'elle est « duale » en réalité, et qu'elle revêt des formes plus complémentaires et diverses que carrément contradictoires.

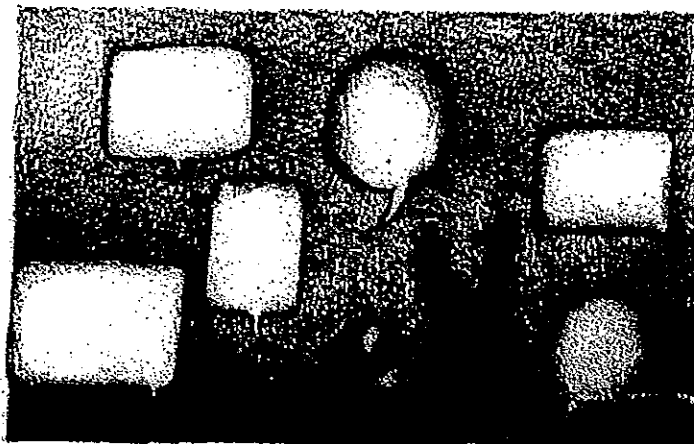
6) De la validité de ce choix en faveur d'un bouclier « multicouche » - dès le départ de missiles hostiles, durant la phase ascendante de leur trajectoire et contre des missiles en approche de leurs cibles -, M. Bush veut convaincre ses alliés. Ses conseillers s'y emploient, non sans énergie.

7) Le président n'a aucune peine à

persuader Israël de l'intérêt d'un tel dispositif. Les industriels et les militaires, dans les deux pays, œuvraient déjà - avant même la crise en Irak - à la conception d'un antimissile tactique, baptisé Arrow (flèche), pour lequel les Israéliens, compte tenu de ce qu'ils perçoivent de leur environnement régional, sont très en avance. Ce missile pourrait servir, tels le Patriot de la guerre du Golfe et les versions plus perfectionnées qui en ont été dérivées, à protéger des forces américaines déployées sur un théâtre extérieur. Pour Israël, cet armement relève d'une panoplie plus stratégique car il contribue à la défense de ses intérêts vitaux, voire à sa survie.

8) Mais le dialogue implique aussi les Européens, y compris la France. A l'OTAN, dont plusieurs pays membres craignent que s'accroisse l'écart technologique avec les Etats-Unis, on débat de l'opportunité de développer des capacités d'alerte et de détection infrarouge des tirs adverses.

Mauvaise passe PAR GUILLAUME DÉGÉ



« HIT TO KILL »

9) Ce qui n'implique pas, pour autant, que les Européens soient déterminés à se lancer dès aujourd'hui dans un programme ambitieux, à l'américaine, d'interception (le mode *hit to kill*, autrement dit la destruction d'ogives hostiles par collision directe entre leur porteur intercontinental et un intercepteur) telle qu'on la pratique outre-Atlantique. Seuls, peut-être, les Etats-Unis en sont capables. Ce à quoi l'Europe travaille, en revanche, c'est à édifier une panoplie - sinon plus modeste, du moins davantage à sa taille - qui vise à protéger des sites ponctuels sensibles ou des forces terrestres et aéronavales menacés par des missiles de moindre envergure, portant par exemple à 600 kilomètres. Mais l'Europe est loin d'en faire un chantier commun. Pour la France, qui développe le SAMP/T contre des missiles de croisière, le but est d'y parvenir à l'horizon 2010. Il figure dans la programmation militaire 2003-2008. L'Allemagne et l'Italie regardent de l'autre côté de l'Atlantique, en s'étant associées aux Etats-Unis pour mettre au point - malgré son coût prévisible - le programme MEADS (Medium Extended Air Defense System) concurrent du projet français.

chercher conseil.

Jacques Isnard

Nostalgies irakiennes

quatre ans, jour pour jour, avant la rencontre de Londres...

A Amman, cette semaine-là, on manque s'étouffer d'apoplexie

certains familiers du diwan royal, le cabinet privé d'Abdallah II où tout se décide en Jordanie, l'oncle déchu et le neveu couronné s'en-

on imaginer meilleur candidat qu'un Hachémite, un descendant du Prophète, dans les veines duquel coule, aussi, le sang d'Ali,

Article Title: Bush maintient le cap de la defense antimissile

Paragraph	Comfort	Exciting Life	Accomplish	Peace	World Beauty	Equality	Family Security	Freedom	Happiness	Inner Harmony	Mature Love	National Security	Pleasure	Salvation	Self-Respect	Social Recognition	True Friendship	Wisdom	Survival	Safety	Belonging	Esteem	Self-Actualization	Example	Narrative	Statistics	Analogy	Definitions	Quotations	Peer	Expertise	Trustworthy	Dynamic	Likeability		
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Docteur W. et Mister Bush

COMME LE HÉROS de Steven-
son, George W. Bush est à la fois
Docteur Jekyll et Mister Hyde. Tan-
tôt porte-voix éloquent d'une Amé-
rique touchée au cœur par un isla-
misme obscurantiste et assassi-
n. Tantôt va-t-en-guerre obsédé
par Saddam Hussein, l'incarnation
du « mal ».

De ces deux facettes, laquelle
retiendra la postérité ? Peu de prési-
dents américains avant lui ont été à
ce point interpellés par l'Histoire :
Washington, Lincoln, Wilson, Roo-
sevelt... Saura-t-il se hisser à leur
hauteur et répondre au défi que le
terrorisme, après le totalitarisme,
lance à la démocratie ?

Il n'y a pas que les Américains à
attendre une réponse, les yeux fixés
sur la Maison Blanche, l'épicentre
de l'empire. Depuis la tragédie du
11 septembre 2001, le monde entier
guette les faits et gestes du quaran-
te-troisième président des Etats-
Unis car il en va aussi de son avenir.
Pour l'instant George W. Bush a
déçu. Méfiance atrabilaire, rhétori-
que simpliste, diplomatie de traf-
neur de sabre... Tout cela rappelle
l'époque où, au nom d'une cause
juste, l'anticommunisme, les Etats-
Unis justifiaient les moyens par la
fin. L'antiterrorisme, lui aussi, est
une cause légitime. Mais il ne doit
pas non plus servir de prétexte à
n'importe quelle aventure.

Ce parallèle entre anticommuni-
sme et antiterrorisme évoque inévi-
tablement les pires moments de la
guerre froide : du Vietnam au ren-
versement de Salvador Allende,
que de crimes l'Amérique a commis
au nom de la « liberté » !

Aujourd'hui les Etats-Unis don-
nent à nouveau le sentiment de se

tromper d'ennemi. Faute de pou-
voir terrasser l'hydre Al-Qaida, voi-
là George W. Bush qui menace d'en-
vahir l'Irak, au risque d'embraser le
Proche-Orient. Rien ne semble en
mesure de le retenir sur cette pente
hasardeuse malgré les concessions
tactiques qu'il a faites et fera sans
doute à ses alliés. S'il faut comparer
ce George W. Bush-là à l'un de ses
prédécesseurs, c'est à Lyndon
B. Johnson que l'on pense, aveuglé
par son anticommunisme et sa
volonté de ne pas perdre la face
devant Ho Chi Minh, au point d'en-
traîner l'Amérique dans le plus
grand désastre de son histoire
depuis la guerre de Sécession.

L'ESPRIT DE CROISADE

Le Mister Hyde qui sommeille en
George W. Bush sommeillait déjà
chez Johnson. L'esprit de croisade
et l'obsession du « mal » (le com-
munisme, Saddam Hussein...) sont
très caractéristiques de la culture
politique américaine. Une forme de
paranoïa que l'historien Richard
Hofstadter a été le premier à dia-
gnostiquer dans un essai paru dans
les années 1960 et qui reste d'actua-
lité, *The Paranoid Style in American
Politics* (Harvard University Press,
rééd. 1996).

George W. Bush succombera-t-il
à ce travers comme y ont succombé
avant lui les croisés de l'anticommu-
nisme primaire : le sénateur Joseph
McCarthy, l'inspirateur détraqué de
« la chasse aux sorcières », J. Edgar
Hoover l'inamovible patron du FBI,
Lyndon Johnson déjà nommé ?

L'homme est, dans le fond, plus
complexe qu'il n'y paraît. Texan
d'adoption, jouant volontiers le plé-
béien, George W. Bush est un patri-

en formé dans les meilleurs éta-
blissements de la côte Est, Andover,
Yale et Harvard. Un héritier sensi-
ble au poids de l'héritage donc à sa
place et à celle de sa famille dans
l'histoire (depuis cinq décennies il
s'est toujours trouvé un Bush pour
être élu gouverneur, sénateur, mem-
bre de la Chambre des représen-
tants ou président des Etats-Unis).

Ce pedigree et l'ombre portée du
11 septembre laissent parfois devin-
er un autre George W. Bush, spon-
tanément en phase avec le désarroi
de ses concitoyens. Et trouvant les
mots pour le dire : « *Nous sommes
un pays averti du danger et qui doit
défendre la liberté. Notre chagrin a
tourné à la colère, et notre colère à la
détermination. Que nous amenions
nos ennemis devant la justice ou que
nous faisons justice à nos ennemis,
justice sera faite.* » (Discours devant
les deux Chambres réunies du Con-
grès le 20 septembre 2001).

Ce désarroi des Américains est
plus profond qu'il n'y paraît, pour
des raisons qui n'ont pas toujours
été comprises hors des Etats-
Unis. Jamais jusqu'au 11 septembre
aucun ennemi n'avait frappé une
grande ville américaine. Ni pendant
la Grande Guerre ni en
1939-1945. Terre d'invasions et d'oc-
cupations, l'Europe, elle, a intériori-
sé ces vicissitudes-là. Pas l'Améri-
que qui continue, aujourd'hui enco-
re, de ressentir comme un viol les
attaques du 11 septembre, un viol
qui peut se répéter. Et qui persiste à
accorder un crédit, apparemment
illimité, à son président...

Là est la grande force de George
W. Bush. Mais la compassion et la
popularité ne font pas une politi-
que. Aujourd'hui que l'émotion sus-

citée par les 3 000 morts du 11 sep-
tembre est retombée, on attend du
président des Etats-Unis qu'il pren-
ne l'histoire à bras le corps, pas
qu'il joue les Don Quichotte.

Installé à la tête de la première
puissance mondiale dans une situa-
tion qui exige une intelligence
aiguë de l'avenir sinon une vision,
George W. Bush peine à résoudre
ce paradoxe : jamais les Etats-Unis
n'ont été aussi puissants, jamais ils
n'ont été plus vulnérables. L'Amé-
rique est le seul pays à pouvoir
intervenir militairement partout
dans le monde, la seule puissance
capable d'envoyer des troupes ou
des missiles n'importe où. Partout
le dollar est roi. Partout Holly-
wood fascine. Ces trois attributs
de la puissance - militaire, écono-
mique et culturelle - rendaient jus-
qu'ici les Etats-Unis invincibles.
Du moins, le croyaient-ils. Le
choc du 11 septembre 2001 les a
dessillés. Les voilà aux prises avec
un ennemi invisible et kamikaze,
réchauffé dans leur sein. Un enne-
mi qui leur impose de s'interroger
sur leurs valeurs, qu'ils croyaient
universelles, et de repenser les
règles de la guerre dont la gram-
maire est devenue obsolète.

GUERRE PRÉVENTIVE

Comme Woodrow Wilson au len-
demain du premier conflit mondial,
le président américain s'est ainsi
retrouvé le 11 septembre 2001
devant une page blanche. Qu'en
a-t-il fait ? Qu'en fera-t-il ? Ce
qu'on appelle la « doctrine Bush »,
formulée en trente et une pages, au
mois de septembre, dans *The National
Security Strategy of the United
States of America*, est de ce point de
vue plus décevante qu'éclairante.
Que dit George W. Bush dans ce
document, un exercice auquel sont
tenus tous les présidents des Etats-
Unis ? D'abord que l'Amérique est
aujourd'hui moins menacée par des
Etats forts (la Russie, la Chine) que
par des Etats faibles (l'Afghanistan
des talibans, l'Irak). Ensuite que les
concepts de dissuasion et de confine-
ment (*containment*) ne sont plus
opérants face aux nouvelles mena-
ces qui pèsent sur l'Amérique. D'où
le droit, que les Etats-Unis ont déci-
dé de s'arroger, de mettre préventi-
vement leurs ennemis hors d'état
de nuire.

Ce concept de guerre préventive
allié à un vigoureux plaidoyer pour
la « liberté » (le mot figure quaran-
te-sept fois dans le document con-
tre quatre fois celui de « justice »),
ne sonne pas vraiment neuf. La
guerre préventive, les Etats-Unis
l'ont toujours pratiquée, particuliè-
rement en Amérique centrale, avec
les mêmes accents de pasteur évan-
gélisme prêchant les vertus de la
liberté. George W. Bush s'enferme-
ra-t-il dans ce néo-impérialisme plu-
tôt que de passer à la postérité pour
un prophète des temps nouveaux ?
A son image, l'Amérique du XXI^e
siècle a le choix de devenir Athènes ou
Sparte. Avec ce président-là, il n'est
pas dit qu'elle prendra la bonne
route.

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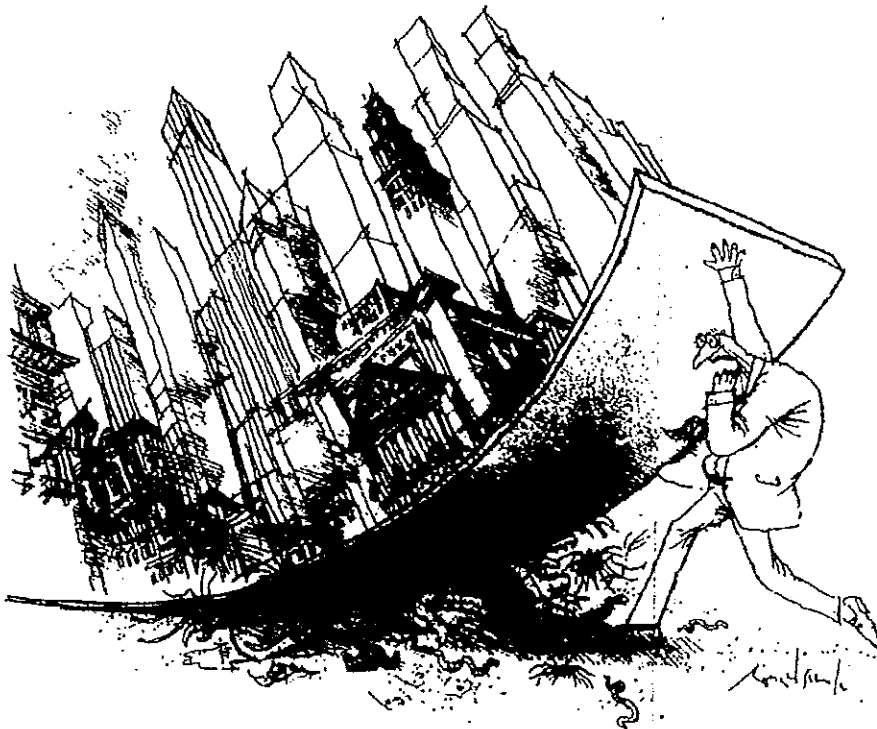
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Wall Street PAR RONALD SEARLE



#11

Article Title: Docteur W. et Mister Bush

Paragraph	Comfort	Exciting Life	Accomplish	Peace	World Beauty	Equality	Family Security	Freedom	Happiness	Inner Harmony	Mature Love	National Security	Pleasure	Salvation	Self-Respect	Social Recognition	True Friendship	Wisdom	Survival	Safety	Belonging	Esteem	Self-Actualization	Example	Narrative	Statistics	Analogy	Definitions	Quotations	Peer	Expertise	Trustworthy	Dynamic	Likeability		
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Ethos

Bush

Article Title: **Le choix de Saddam**

Paragraph	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Comfort				1		1	2																	
Exciting Life																								
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Wisdom						1	2																	
Survival						1	2																	
Safety		1			1	1	5																	
Belonging		1				1	3																	
Esteem						1	1																	
Self-Actualization							0																	
Example		1				1	6																	
Narrative							0																	
Statistics							0																	
Analogy							0																	
Definitions							0																	
Quotations		1					0																	
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Trustworthy		1					1																	
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L'impossible mission de M. Blix

! cause, re, et il gé com, la peir est, à n peut ils avec thodes, que les tsolent la jus- pelée à actrique anne, a site à ne erson- ertains ». L'In- eut se il n'est de l'ac- avoyer n pri- e, fût- lées ne ler at le, vos, sem- lences s pay- de la rées à seule rmais de la t José ilions Cette : bien : José agés, épen- als, y voca- vaste gra- ffe ». éso- s.

1 HANS BLIX n'avait pas encore posé le pied à Bagdad qu'un vol de faucons était déjà sur ses traces. Réalisant avec une semaine de retard que la résolution 1441 risquait de retarder la mise au pas de Saddam Hussein au profit d'une nouvelle expérience d'inspections, les durs de Washington ont commencé à donner du claron. L'Amérique n'est-elle pas en train de se faire « rouler » par l'ONU et sa « résolution antiquerre » ?, demandait vendredi un ancien de l'administration Reagan dans le *Wall Street Journal*. « L'axe de l'apaisement » n'est-il pas à l'œuvre, avec Hans Blix d'un côté et, de l'autre, Kofi Annan, un ami de l'Irak qui a eu l'audace de réclamer de la « patience » pour les inspecteurs alors qu'il était reçu jeudi dernier à la Maison Blanche ? Quelqu'un « devrait faire à M. Amman une faveur et lui dire de la boucler, pour le bien de son institution, conseillait avec délicatesse le même journal. A chaque fois qu'il parle, il donne à Saddam l'illusion qu'il peut esquiver les exigences de l'ONU ».

2 Avant même de commencer les inspections, Hans Blix aura tout entendu. N'est-il pas trop neutre ? Trop faible ? Crédule ? N'était-il pas le chef de l'AIEA, l'Agence internationale pour l'énergie atomique, alors que l'Irak bâtitait tranquillement son programme nucléaire clandestin, que la Corée du Nord en faisait autant, que le nuage de Tchernobyl passait sur l'Europe, etc. ? Sous-entendu : comment pourrait-il, avec un tel CV, ne pas se laisser abuser par un régime irakien ?

CONVOQUÉ À WASHINGTON

3 Si on va plus profond dans les arguments, le grand défaut de M. Blix est de ne pas avoir été le candidat de Washington lorsqu'il s'est agi, en janvier 2000, de désigner le nouveau chef des inspecteurs. Les Américains réclamaient Rolf Ekeus, le chef de la première commission d'inspection. Moscou s'y est opposé. Après Richard Butler, le « cowboy » australien, parti d'Irak le 16 décembre 1998, on ne pouvait trouver caractère plus opposé que M. Blix, juriste constitutionnaliste, ancien délégué suédois à la conférence d'élaboration de la convention de Vienne de 1969 sur la loi des traités, ancien ministre des affaires étrangères, âgé aujourd'hui de

74 ans, ce qui est de l'avis général un atout pour résister aux tentatives d'instrumentalisation et aux pressions.

4 Pendant l'élaboration de la résolution 1441, M. Blix a été convoqué deux fois à Washington. Quelques-unes des conditions d'inspection telles que prévues par les « durs » dans le premier énoncé de la résolution ont été adoucies ou rendues facultatives après qu'il les eut jugées impraticables. Lorsque la querelle sur la définition de ce qui constituerait un *côsus belli* (le fameux « *material breach* ») a éclaté entre les membres du Conseil de sécurité, M. Blix s'est tout à coup souvenu qu'il avait lui-même participé à la définition de cette « infraction patente » contenue dans la convention de Vienne, article 60.

5 Il a photocopié la page et l'a fait circuler... Résultat : « Les cheerleaders du néo-impérialisme s'inquiètent de voir que M. Bush a été Blixé », écrivait samedi le *New York Times*.

6 Mais le plus dur reste à venir. Dès lors qu'ils sont de retour à Bagdad, M. Blix et ses inspecteurs sont en première ligne. « Les Américains montent leur dossier », affirme un expert, commentant les accusations de premier « *material breach* » dans les zones d'exclusion aérienne, portées ce week-end par Washington. Nul doute que ceux qui n'étaient pas partisans de la solution « inspections » vont suivre de près le choix des sites prioritaires - les palais présidentiels ? - tels qu'ils auront été retenus par M. Blix et manifester une tolérance zéro.

7 Tant qu'il n'aura rien trouvé, M. Blix sera condamné à chercher. Sans renseignements, les inspections n'ont pas beaucoup de chances de succès. Avant de partir, M. Blix assurait ne pas avoir reçu d'information particulière des services secrets américains. « S'ils veulent démontrer l'inutilité des inspecteurs, les Américains n'ont aucun intérêt à leur donner des renseignements »,

estime un expert. Les informations peuvent provenir des scientifiques irakiens eux-mêmes. M. Blix a exclu d'encourager activement les Irakiens à faire défection. La plupart des responsables dans un secteur aussi stratégique sont des militaires. Les inspecteurs ne voient pas comment organiser le transfèrement des candidats au départ à l'étranger. « Qu'est-ce qu'on fait ? On les emmène dans notre voiture jusqu'à l'avion ? demandait l'un d'eux. Mais s'il y a un barrage irakien ? On les regarde se faire arrêter ? »

8 Pour M. Blix, l'idéal serait évidemment d'avoir la coopération - c'est-à-dire l'aveu - des Irakiens. Avant le 8 décembre, Bagdad est censé fournir la liste de ses programmes chimiques, biologiques et nucléaires, de ses unités de production cachées (cf. l'usine de poulets de 1995), ainsi que l'inventaire de ses usines pharmaceutiques, d'insecticides, etc. Si le régime s'en tient à sa ligne actuelle, décrite par Saddam Hussein lui-même ce week-end et assurant que l'Irak n'a pas produit d'armes de destruction massive « après le départ des inspecteurs » en 1998, le résultat risque de ne pas être très productif. « Ils s'en tireront en mettant dans la déclaration la liste de 1998 à peine révisée », prévoit un scientifique.

9 Selon M. Blix, il y a fort peu de chances que les inspecteurs aient trouvé la preuve de l'existence d'armes de destruction massive avant le 8 décembre. M. Blix ne se fait pas d'illusions sur le « travail de fourmi » de ses effectifs. Si certains pays ont des preuves permettant de contredire la déclaration d'armements irakienne, « ils n'auront qu'à les mettre sur la table », dit-il. Dans le cas contraire, il faudra laisser les inspecteurs travailler jusqu'au premier rapport de fin janvier. Ce dont certains à Washington pourraient s'accommoder, selon un raisonnement des plus pragmatiques. « Si vous songez à envoyer des troupes à Bagdad, ne préféreriez-vous pas le faire après que les Nations unies auront découvert et détruit quelques-unes des armes les plus mortelles de Saddam » ?, avançait un chroniqueur du *New York Times*. Le changement de régime, autrement dit, n'en serait que meilleur après les inspections.

Insécurité PAR SERGUEI



Corinne Lesnes

L'OTAN à la recherche de la fonction perdue

A PROPOS de l'organisation qu'il dirige, Lord Robertson pourrait, lors du sommet qui s'ouvre à Prague le 21 novembre, parodier Oscar Wilde : « L'annonce de la mort de l'OTAN est largement exagérée. » Après le 11 septembre 2001, l'avis de décès avait pourtant été signé par

ricain pour montrer que l'OTAN n'était pas absente de la lutte contre les talibans. Cette agitation ne suffisait pas à redonner une raison d'être à l'Alliance. Il y avait bien la présence américaine en Europe, mais cette garantie paraissait fragile. Il y avait aussi l'extension vers l'Est,

en une semaine et « projetables » dans n'importe quelle partie du monde.

C'est une trouvaille de Lord Robertson et du secrétaire américain à la défense, Donald Rumsfeld. « Un vote de confiance des Etats-Unis à l'égard de l'OTAN », a jugé George

d'une politique européenne de défense, butent aujourd'hui sur l'ambiguïté entretenue à dessein sur les rapports avec l'OTAN. L'Europe de la défense est-elle un appendice de l'Alliance ou une réalité en soi, complémentaire mais autonome ? Entre Paris et Londres, il avait été possible

61

Article Title: L'Impossible mission de H. Blix

Paragraph	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
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Tchéchénie : qu'on nous explique !

Des règles du jeu par Walter Schwimmer

① **N**OUS ne désirons pas ajouter aux articles, enquêtes, éditoriaux et dossiers de la presse française et internationale, aux rapports des ONG russes et européennes, des observateurs de l'OSCE, des émissaires du HCR, qui témoignent tous de l'ampleur des exactions commises par les troupes russes en Tchétchénie. Et nous ne répéterons pas ici la liste des forfaits perpétrés contre les civils : arrestations arbitraires, détention dans des camps de filtration, viols, tortures, assassinats, enlèvements contre rançon, commerce de cadavres...

② Nous voulons bien penser qu'en l'absence de qualification juridique il reste difficile de nommer « génocide » la somme de ces crimes. Qu'on nous dise alors comment qualifier un processus d'élimination qui met en péril l'ensemble du peuple tchéchène.

③ Nous savons que la politique étrangère ne peut se contenter de grands principes et qu'elle doit pour suivre des objectifs réalistes. En fait de « pragmatisme », nous constatons que les appels à la « retenue », loin d'empêcher l'escalade, tendent à légitimer la violence du Kremlin.

④ Nous aimerions saisir quel avantage l'Union européenne trouve à permettre de telles abominations.

⑤ Nous voyons bien l'intérêt de l'Alliance atlantique dans la construction d'un front mondial contre la

menace terroriste. Alors pourquoi faire silence sur une terreur d'Etat qui risque de l'attiser ?

⑥ La coopération des polices est sans aucun doute nécessaire. Faut-il pour autant avaler les amalgames de la propagande poutinienne ?

⑦ Il faudrait qu'on nous éclaire sur la cohérence d'une coalition qui condamnerait pêle-mêle lutte anticolo-

⑧ niale et terrorisme, gouvernement légitime et factions islamistes, partisans et kamikazes.

⑨ Nous voulons croire la Russie promise à un bel avenir démocratique. Qu'on nous explique tout de même en quoi nous l'encourageons dans cette voie en fermant les yeux sur la brutalité de M. Poutine, quand il applique à l'administration le modèle de l'ex-KGB, manipule les groupes d'intérêt économique, muselle la presse écrite et audiovisuelle, excite le racisme contre les Caucasiens et les musulmans, et lorsqu'il montre son mépris pour la vie des citoyens de la Fédération - des spectateurs du Théâtre de la Doubrovka aux habitants de Grozny.

⑩ Nous pensons que nos dirigeants ont la louable ambition de construire une maison commune avec la Russie. Ils devraient exposer comment ils entendent y parvenir en laissant Moscou bafouer les conventions internationales, ridiculiser le Conseil de l'Europe, l'OSCE et finalement l'Union européenne.

⑪ A quoi ressemblera l'espace européen, si les valeurs démocratiques y subissent les « variantes et interprétations dérogatives » chères au président russe ?

⑫ L'Europe a besoin d'acheter du pétrole et du gaz, de vendre des Airbus, voire des trains à grande vitesse. Mais l'opinion publique a le droit de savoir si le silence sur la situation en Tchétchénie est une condition sine qua non à la conclusion de ces marchés.

leurs pourparlers avec le gouvernement élu d'Aslan Maskhadov ?

⑬ Nous saluons volontiers les efforts que la diplomatie française a consentis pour exprimer son inquiétude au début de cette seconde guerre. Nous approuvons son appel à une solution politique. Mais comment favoriser celle-ci, quand, au

Ce texte a été signé par plus de 130 personnalités de tous horizons, parmi lesquelles : **GIORGIO AGAMBEN, MARIANNE ALPHANT, AGNÈS B., STÉPHANE BALIBAR, YÉZÉKIEL BEN-ARI, JANE BIRKIN, GINEVRA BOMPIANI, PIERRE BOULEZ, MARCEL BOZONNET, CHRISTINE BURGOS, PATRICE CHÉREAU, HÉLÈNE CIXOUS, VINCENZO CONSOLLO, SOPHIE DELIZÉ, JACQUES DERRIDA, PASCAL DUSAPIN, GÉRARD FABBIANI, CARLO GINZBURG, JEAN-LUC GODARD, ROMAIN GOUPIL, ALAIN JOXE, CLAUDE LANZMANN, BERNARD-HENRI LÉVY, JEAN-PAUL MANGANARO, ANDRÉ MARKOWICZ, ARIANE MNOUCHKINE, MATHILDE MONNIER, TONI NEGRI, BERNARD OUTTIER, ELISABETH PERCEVAL, OLIVIER PY, ELIAS SANBAR, BERNARD SOBEL, VÉRONIQUE SURROI, ANTONIO TABUCCHI, EMMANUEL WALLON.**

⑭ moindre froncement de sourcils de M. Poutine, l'Europe accepte d'emprisonner le négociateur tchéchène, l'acteur Akhmed Zakaev, ministre de la culture signalé pour ses positions modérées, que la Russie reconnaissait hier encore comme un interlocuteur crédible ?

⑮ En attendant des réponses à ces questions, il nous importe de contribuer à la recherche de l'issue pacifique que le Conseil européen affirme souhaiter. C'est pourquoi nous demandons aux autorités de remettre un visa de libre circulation à M. Zakaev et ses collègues, que nous invitons en compagnie de démocrates russes, dans les théâtres, les cinémas, les bibliothèques, les universités et autres lieux publics, afin qu'ils puissent exposer la situation en Tchétchénie et émettre leurs propositions de paix devant l'opinion, la presse, ainsi que nos élus.

⑯ **L**ES opérations militaires se sont intensifiées en Tchétchénie

⑰ après la prise d'otages de Moscou. La perspective de la paix s'éloigne et le principe d'une solution négociée devient plus incertain. Pourtant, une issue politique à la guerre en Tchétchénie est plus urgente que jamais. Cet objectif est celui des 44 pays membres du Conseil de l'Europe, y compris de la Russie.

⑱ En entrant au Conseil de l'Europe en 1996, la Russie est devenue membre d'une organisation dont la vocation est de garantir l'Etat de droit, le respect des droits de l'homme et la démocratie dans chacun de ses pays membres. Sur tous ces plans, en six ans, la Russie s'est considérablement rapprochée de ses partenaires européens. Avec le soutien des experts de Strasbourg, elle a progressivement adapté sa législation aux exigences de la convention européenne des droits de l'homme, qui est le traité de base du Conseil de l'Europe. C'est ainsi qu'elle a supprimé de facto l'application de la peine de mort.

⑳ Aujourd'hui, les citoyens russes s'estiment victimes d'une violation des droits garantis par la Convention de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme, et ils le font.

㉑ Au-delà de ces acquis considérables, nous entendons continuer à contribuer au retour de la paix et à la restauration de la démocratie et de l'Etat de droit en Tchétchénie, où ont lieu des violations massives des droits de l'homme. Les libertés fondamentales garanties par la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme doivent être pleinement respectées en Tchétchénie comme partout ailleurs en Europe.

㉒ Le Conseil de l'Europe condamne tout recours à des formes radicales de violence contre des populations civiles, du type de la prise d'otages du Théâtre de Moscou. Ce type d'actions est hélas aujourd'hui considéré comme une arme acceptable ou légitime par de nombreux groupes de revendication. Ne nous voilons pas la face : des terroristes, y compris des étrangers, opèrent en République tchéchène et ils n'ont aucun intérêt à ce qu'un règlement politique raisonnable intervienne. Il paraît pourtant dangereux de supposer que personne, parmi les combattants, ne peut être associé à la recherche d'une

⑳ solution. Da appelle aux i qu'elles se cc ment sur Les li droits de l'hon le terrorisme q comité des mi l'Europe en Ju res antiterrori en réponse au de la prise d'ot vent être propi point conform

㉓ J'en appelle ces fédérales e ment pour q tions militair Tchétchénie, dans la plus é appliqué, en n° 80 du géné appelle avec l des droits fo population civ tchéchène.

㉔ La protectio mentaux de c une obligation c ces d'un Etat. L d'otages de M

Aujourd' une affa

㉕ pas dans l'usa; de la force milit pousser une Je Tchétchènes di rangs des sépar risties, mais dans solution négoc

㉖ L'adoption p quelques jours i ges de Moscou, la loi sur les mé cher l'utilisation promouvoir ou me constitue ur pation que noi plus grande atte me de prendre protéger nos dé du terrorisme, question que ce l'adoption de mesure remett libertés fondam culier le droit à sion et d'inform Depuis janvier parlementaire di pe a formé un mixte avec des r ma d'Etat. Cegr

Nous aimerions saisir quel avantage l'Union européenne trouve à permettre de telles abominations

① Il est enfin clair que Paris a cherché à se concilier les bonnes grâces de Moscou dans les négociations serrées concernant l'Irak au Conseil de sécurité des Nations unies. Cela suffit-il à justifier le fait que Jacques Chirac et Dominique de Villepin aient reçu les ministres russes des affaires étrangères et de la défense, sans les inviter publiquement à relancer

Circoncire, raccourcir, éradiquer

par Kristian Feigelson

#26

Article Title: Tchétchénié: qu'on nous explique

Paragraph	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
Comfort	1																								
Exciting Life																									
Accomplish																									
Peace																									
World Beauty																									
Equality																									
Family Security																									
Freedom																									
Happiness																									
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L'opposition irakienne entre vœu pieux et divisions

ON DEVAIT se fier aux déclarations publiques, tout irait pour le mieux dans la meilleure des oppositions au régime de Saddam Hussein. On ne demanderait qu'à croire les opposants lorsqu'ils affirment faire partie d'« un seul groupe », d'une « grande famille » (l'ancien général Najib Salhi) ou être « tous dans un même bateau » (le secrétaire du comité central du Parti communiste, Hamid Majid Moussa). La réalité est différente. Alors que les risques d'une intervention contre le régime irakien demeurent très grands, et que la chute de Saddam Hussein est tout à fait probable, de sérieuses divergences continuent d'opposer la multitude d'opposants, membres de partis ou personnalités indépendantes.

Quelles que soient leurs origines politiques, ethniques et idéologiques, ils souhaitent tous le renversement d'un régime dont, à titre politique mais aussi parfois personnel, ils ont été victimes. Ils sont d'accord sur des principes généraux et des concepts - démocratie, élections libres, respect des libertés, pluralisme politique, décentralisation. D'autres questions telles que la forme du pouvoir, une fois Saddam Hussein renversé, ou la séparation de la religion et de l'Etat posent problème. Reste à savoir comment les compromis se feront quand il faudra passer aux actes.

Pour l'heure, tous ou presque disent qu'ils ne voudraient pas un soutien « extérieur » pour se débarrasser de Saddam Hussein, étant entendu que « extérieur » signifie « américain », les Etats-Unis étant les seuls à s'être fixé pour objectif la chute du régime. Une couverture onusienne d'une telle attaque les comblerait. Elle les libérerait d'une double hantise : être ultérieurement forcés de se soumettre aux oukases américains concernant l'avenir de l'Irak, alors que les projets de Washington peuvent ne pas correspon-

dre à leurs vœux ; ne pas apparaître aux yeux de leurs propres concitoyens, et aussi d'une large partie du monde arabe, comme des marionnettes aux mains d'une administration américaine détestée au Proche-Orient, qui entend modeler le pays et la région à sa guise. On a les soutiens qu'on peut, plaident, avec des nuances, ceux qui approuvent une attaque armée américaine.

LA RÉOLUTION 688, UN VŒU PIEUX

Depuis douze ans, disent les partis kurdes, seuls les Etats-Unis ont porté un intérêt politique à l'opposition irakienne, quels qu'aient été par ailleurs les mérites des organisations non gouvernementales et de certains gouvernements occidentaux pour ce qui est de l'assistance humanitaire. L'Amérique, admettent-ils, roule d'abord pour elle-même, et n'a pas hésité à l'occasion à fermer les yeux lorsque le régime irakien a sévi contre ses propres populations. Et de rappeler l'insurrection du printemps 1991, lorsque, après avoir encouragé les Irakiens à se soulever, les Etats-Unis ont laissé Saddam Hussein écraser la révolte dans le sang. Le fait est, ajoutent-ils, que les Etats-Unis semblent aujourd'hui résolus à aller jusqu'au bout. Comment faire la fine bouche ?

C'est le même argumentaire qu'invoque le Conseil suprême de la révolution islamique en Irak, l'une des deux plus importantes formations chiïtes. Mais alors que le discours des partis kurdes a le mérite de la franchise, celui du Conseil est plus ambigu. « Naguère, les Etats-Unis ne souhaitaient pas de changement de régime en Irak. (...) Ils veulent désormais un nouveau pouvoir à Bagdad », déclarait tout récemment encore au Figaro l'ayatollah Mohammad Baqer Al-Hakim, le chef dudit Conseil. Pour ajouter aussitôt : « Mais nous ne comptons que sur Dieu et sur nos

propres capacités » pour peu que, soulagé-il, la communauté internationale force Saddam Hussein à respecter la résolution 688 du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU relative aux droits de l'homme et l'empêche de réprimer sa population. L'argument tient du vœu pieux, car il est difficile d'imaginer que Saddam Hussein se pliera de plein gré aux normes internationales en matière de respect des droits de l'homme, qui plus est, pour faciliter la tâche de ceux qui veulent sa chute. Sauf à intervenir militairement pour l'obliger à se soumettre... C'est la quadrature du cercle.

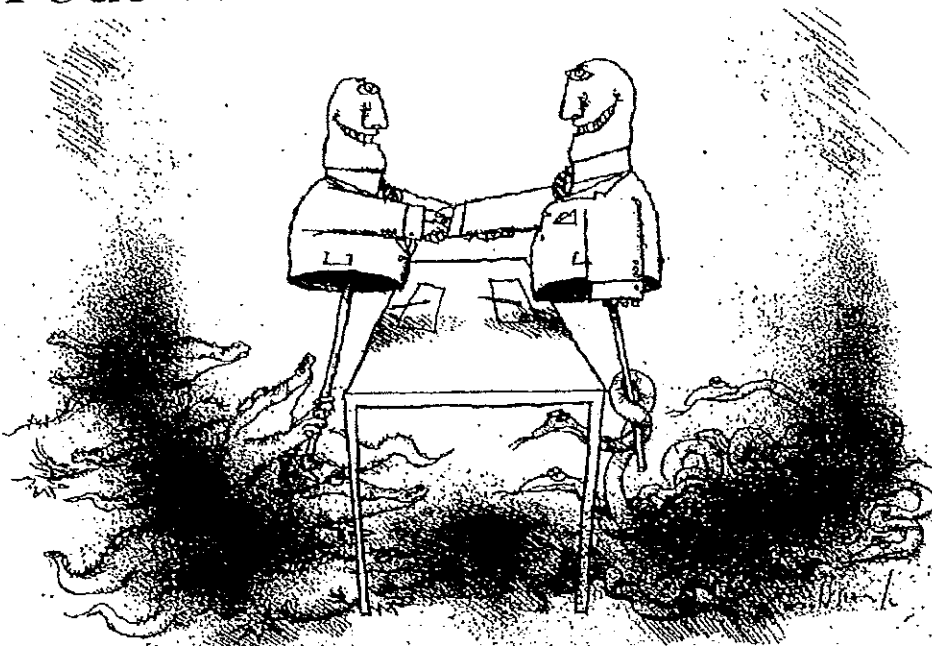
Le Parti communiste n'a eu de cesse de réclamer depuis des années l'application de la résolution 688. Il demande aujourd'hui que la relation entre les Etats-Unis et l'opposition soit une relation entre pairs, qui tienne compte des intérêts de Washington mais aussi « de ceux du peuple irakien dans ses composantes arabe, kurde, turkomanne, assyro-chaldéenne. Nous voulons une relation équilibrée qui ne favorise pas les intérêts du plus fort [les Etats-Unis]... Il est impensable de compter sur la guerre américaine, l'invasion américaine et "la libération" américaine. L'opposition irakienne doit éviter de commettre cette faute », plaide dans de récentes déclarations à un quotidien kurde le secrétaire du comité central du PC, Hamid Majid Moussa. Malgré des divergences idéologiques avec les communistes, la Daawa, l'autre grande formation chiïte, est à peu près sur la même longueur d'onde. Avec d'autres petites formations communément groupées sous le qualificatif de nationalistes arabes, le PC et la Daawa ont décliné une invitation à un congrès de l'opposition suggéré par les Etats-Unis, qui devrait avoir lieu entre les 12 et 15 décembre à Londres pour discuter de l'après-Saddam Hussein.

Avant de donner leur accord, même les partis et personnalités qui ont accepté de participer à ce forum se sont renvoyés reproches et invectives. Pas question de laisser les partis constitués - le PDK et l'UPK pour les Kurdes, le Conseil suprême de la révolution islamique en Irak pour les chiïtes et l'Alliance nationale pour les sunnites - dominer la rencontre et rasler la mise, clamaient certains, singulièrement Ahmad Chalabi, qui se veut la figure de proue du Congrès national irakien (CNI), une coalition d'opposants constituée dès le début des années 1990 à l'instigation de Washington. Ce sont, selon lui, des dinosaures qui ne représenteraient pas l'Irak d'aujourd'hui, a fortiori de demain. Jusqu'à plus ample informé, ce sont pourtant ces formations qui bénéficient d'une réelle représentativité en Irak.

Ahmad Chalabi n'en a pas moins fini par obtenir, grâce à l'intervention de certains de ses amis du Pentagone, que de nombreuses personnalités « indépendantes » soient invitées à Londres. Une bonne partie de l'opposition souffre - ou bénéficie - de parrainages encombrants - ou rassurants... Les Etats-Unis, la Syrie et l'Iran sont les principaux tuteurs, qui bénéficient de leviers d'influence. Et ces ombrelles servent souvent d'arguments aux opposants eux-mêmes pour se lancer reproches et anathèmes. Réussiront-ils à s'entendre lorsque sonnera l'heure de vérité ?

Mouna Naïm

Tout va bien PAR RONALD SEARLE



La représentativité

est une arme à double tranchant. Bernard Thibault a succédé à Louis Vignat à la CGT. François Chérad

ne une mutation de la CGT, largement amorcée par son prédécesseur. Plus distancée du PCF, elle cul-

Mais elle compte un adhérent pour huit timbres mensuels payés quand la CGT se base sur 10 timbres. Avec

#21

Article Title: L'opposition irakienne entre valeurs et divisions

Paragraph	Comfort	Exciting Life	Accomplish	Peace	World Beauty	Equality	Family Security	Freedom	Happiness	Inner Harmony	Mature Love	National Security	Pleasure	Salvation	Self-Respect	Social Recognition	True Friendship	Wisdom	Survival	Safety	Belonging	Esteem	Self-Actualization	Example	Narrative	Statistics	Analogy	Definitions	Quotations	Peer	Expertise	Trustworthy	Dynamic	Likeability		
1	1			1		1										1				1	1	1														
2			1	1														1		1	1	1														
3																		1		1	1	1														
4					1													1		1	1	1														
5					1													1		1	1	1														
6	1																			1	1	1														
7																		1		1	1	1														
8			1															1		1	1	1														
9	2	0	3	4	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	4	2	6	6	6	6	6	6	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0			
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L'unité dans la confusion par Ran Halévi

S i nous en sommes aujourd'hui à envisager une nouvelle guerre contre l'Irak, ce n'est pas seulement en raison des dangers que représente le régime hors-la-loi de Bagdad. C'est la conséquence de l'irrésolution coupable que les pays occidentaux ont longtemps éprouvée à son endroit, mais aussi des profonds dissentiments dans les relations entre les Etats-Unis et ses alliés européens et, au-delà, dans leurs visions respectives du monde comme il va.

Aujourd'hui encore, tout semble indiquer que l'accord obtenu au sein du Conseil de sécurité donne lieu à des lectures, et à des visées, passablement différentes.

L'administration américaine cherche un blanc-seing pour une action militaire que les plus faucons jugent nécessaire et les plus modérés inévitable : pour les uns comme pour les autres, la moindre incartade irakienne devrait constituer une violation substantielle » autorisant d'attaquer l'Irak sans repasser par le Conseil de sécurité.

La France, mais aussi la Russie (pour des raisons moins estimables), ont une interprétation sensiblement moins étendue de ce qui relève de la « violation substantielle ».

Et si on s'accorde sur l'impératif de faire peur, physiquement, à Saddam Hussein et à son entourage - visiblement, ils ont aujourd'hui très peur -, la Maison Blanche considère les inspections comme un prélude aux opérations militaires ; alors que, en bonne logique, l'objectif prioritaire des semonces adressées à Saddam devait être de le décider à se désarmer s'il ne veut pas mourir.

C'est dire, en d'autres termes, que le fond des divergences transatlantiques touche à l'urgence de se lancer aujourd'hui dans une guerre préventive contre l'Irak. Ce qui a rendu si laborieux à ce propos le dialogue entre Européens et Américains, ce ne sont pas seulement les arguments échangés publiquement mais les soupçons nourris par chacun des interlocuteurs sur les intentions et les arrière-pensées de l'autre.

De l'Europe, la soudaine priorisation donnée par les Américains à l'affaire irakienne suscitait des inter-

rogations légitimes. Après avoir épargné le président irakien en 1991 et toléré tant bien que mal son impunité, voici qu'ils somment la communauté internationale de s'embarquer derechef dans une guerre généralisée contre lui.

Le malaise ressenti en Europe redoublait encore au vu des explications fournies par Washington pour justifier la nécessité d'une guerre préventive contre l'Irak : la crainte de voir Saddam user d'armes non conventionnelles dès qu'il en aurait les moyens et, par voie de conséquence, la menace qu'il ferait peser notamment sur Israël, donc sur la stabilité de la région, voire sur la paix du monde.

La première raison me paraît parfaitement fondée. Je trouve illusoire, et dangereux, de persister à croire en l'efficacité rassurante de la dissuasion d'antan : l'expérience du 11 septembre 2001 nous a avertis que le temps de « l'équilibre de la terreur » est définitivement révolu. Présumer que le dictateur irakien se plie à cette logique désormais périmée est un risque qu'il serait déraisonnable de courir.

Mais, justement, quel est le risque immédiat que représente aujourd'hui Bagdad ? De l'avis général, la capacité militaire irakienne

dit que l'ultimatum adressé aujourd'hui à Saddam ne puisse aboutir à leur élimination.

Ce que redoutaient également les Européens, non sans raison, ce sont les lendemains incertains des opérations militaires, fussent-elles aussi victorieuses qu'on l'annonce. Il est curieux, en effet, que les bruyants prosélytes à Washington d'un « nouveau Proche-Orient » n'aient rien de crédible à dire sur l'après-Saddam, si ce n'est de conseiller l'envoi à Bagdad d'un nouveau MacArthur chargé d'éduquer les Irakiens à la démocratie qu'ils n'ont jamais connue.

Le risque de démembrement de l'Irak, d'une inflammation de la question kurde ne semble pas hanter leurs certitudes, pas plus que le souvenir cuisant du départ précipité avec armes et bagages des troupes américaines du Liban après le premier attentat qui avait coûté la vie à quelques dizaines de soldats.

Comment alors expliquer que les Européens, et les Français en particulier, aient tant de mal à faire entendre des objections aussi raisonnables ? C'est que, dans l'opinion américaine, les plus méfiants à leur égard suspectent justement leurs motifs et les mieux disposés se méfient de leur état d'esprit.

L'expérience du 11 septembre 2001 nous a avertis que le temps de l'« équilibre de la terreur » est définitivement révolu

est considérablement réduite depuis la guerre du Golfe. Saddam possède, il est vrai, beaucoup plus d'armes chimiques et biologiques qu'en 1991, mais beaucoup moins de moyens qui permettent de les utiliser - quelques dizaines de missiles et plusieurs « avions-suicides » dont la capacité d'atteindre, par exemple, le territoire israélien est jugée très faible.

On peut certes redouter que l'Irak livre à des groupes terroristes des armes biologiques « séchées » faciles à stocker et à transporter, dont la potentialité de nuisance est énorme. Mais rien ne

Pour les premiers, la France aborde la question irakienne avec son habituel esprit mercantile et l'orgueil inentamé d'une ex-grande puissance sur le retour, dont le siège au Conseil de sécurité compense indûment le déclin de son poids géopolitique. On est confondu par l'extraordinaire virulence avec laquelle de telles opinions sont exprimées outre-Atlantique.

Les seconds, plus équitables, n'en sont pas moins catégoriques : l'influence que revendiquent les Européens sur la scène internationale est disproportionnée par rapport aux efforts qu'ils acceptent

de consentir dans le domaine militaire face aux redoutables périls du moment.

Mais ce qui inquiète davantage à Washington est cette propension qu'on décèle dans certaines capitales européennes à tout relativiser, y compris les pires dangers qui nous entourent : l'extrémisme islamiste,

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les menaces d'un terrorisme à la fois évanescents et mondialisés, les risques d'explosion à nos portes que représente l'absence de démocratie dans tous les Etats arabes du Proche-Orient, dont les dirigeants apeurés ou corrompus préfèrent compenser leur incurie par des concessions, voire des encouragements, aux courants les plus violemment hostiles à l'Occident.

La relative discrétion de certains dirigeants européens - et de beaucoup d'intellectuels - devant la radicalisation du monde arabo-musulman n'y aide pas : les amis américains de l'Europe s'en alarment, alors que ses critiques les plus véhéments y lisent la résurgence du sempiternel esprit munichois.

Sur ce fond d'inquiétude et de méfiance réciproques, l'unanimité obtenue au sein du Conseil de sécurité relève d'une véritable prouesse. Mais les mésententes et les tensions qui sous-tendent cette unanimité demeurent. Pour une raison simple sinon immédiatement perceptible : depuis quelques années Américains et Européens sont en train de vivre deux expériences différentes de la démocratie.

Alors que l'Amérique tend à affirmer, et à cimenter, sans complexes son identité nationale, l'Europe ne cesse d'estomper le cadre national au profit d'une union dont les bénéfices matériels se paient d'une dépolitisation accélérée : là, l'invocation du droit finit toujours par se plier à la souveraineté politique ; ici, elle se déploie hors des instances politiques et, souvent, contre elles.

Au fond, s'il nous est de plus en plus difficile de nous entendre, c'est peut-être que nous nous ressemblons de moins en moins. Seulement, nous ne le savons pas encore, ou pas assez pour le reconnaître.

Pourquoi nous ne ferons pas la guerre

que nous devons prendre particulièrement garde à notre façon de procéder, surtout compte tenu de notre position actuelle dans le monde.

L'ancien secrétaire d'Etat James Baker, ainsi que l'ancien général Brent Scowcroft ont plaidé en août dernier auprès de M. Bush le...

#28

Article Title: L'unité dans la confusion

Paragraph	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Comfort						1			1											1		50		
Exciting Life																						2		
Accomplish						1																2		
Peace																						0		
World Beauty													1									3		
Equality																						4		
Family Security																						0		
Freedom																		1				1		
Happiness																						0		
Inner Harmony																						0		
Mature Love																						0		
National Security												1										3		
Pleasure																						0		
Salvation																						0		
Self-Respect																						9		
Social Recognition													1									8		
True Friendship																						8		
Wisdom																						4		
Survival																						4		
Safety																						7		
Belonging																						2		
Esteem																						10		
Self-Actualization																						0		
Example																						8		
Narrative																						0		
Statistics																						1		
Analogy																						6		
Definitions																						0		
Quotations																						1		
Peer																						0		
Expertise																						0		
Trustworthy																						0		
Dynamic																						3		
Likeability																						0		

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des villes

tablissement public d'aménagement marillais Euroméditerranée avec un très vaincant montage de photos : « On ne voit pas les mêmes choses d'en haut et d'en bas, on ne voit pas la même chose. » Cela provoquait une flexion acide de Jean de Legge, consultant en aménagement du territoire, sur les rapports entre les grands projets d'aménagement et l'identité des villes : « On raisonne souvent comme si l'identité avait une réalité autre que le récit de ceux qui ont tous le droit à la parole. » A quoi Thierry Martin, d'Euroméditerranée, répondait : « Il y a quand même des tomes (de ces histoires) écrits avant qu'on intervienne », et sans la compréhension desquels on ne peut pas maîtriser ce qu'on propose quand on rebâtit ces villes blessées. Mais tout le monde s'accordait sur ceci : les tentatives qui arrivent à sortir du marasme sont celles qui entendent un récit partagé par le plus grand nombre. Bien loin des palmarès.

Michel Samson

Le directeur Hugo PAR CAGNAT



ETE AURA SU PORTER

Le Monde
ÉDITORIAL

Scénario américain

- ① LE « PARTI de la guerre » l'a-t-il définitivement emporté à Washington, avec l'aide de son meilleur allié sur le terrain, Saddam Hussein ? A entendre le secrétaire d'Etat, Colin Powell, expliquer que l'Irak avait « totalement failli à ses obligations » devant la communauté internationale et manqué « sa dernière chance », il est difficile de ne pas conclure que les jeux sont faits. La colombe présumée au sein de l'administration a adopté un langage de faucon et accusé l'Irak de « violation patente » de ses engagements, employant le mot fatidique, celui qui, dans le langage codé du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU, suffit à justifier l'usage de la force. Ajouter, comme l'a fait Colin Powell, que les Etats-Unis « feront tout ce qui est possible pour éviter la guerre » peut difficilement être pris au pied de la lettre. Cela signifie surtout que Washington continue à privilégier une action dans le cadre de l'ONU et va prendre son temps.
- ② Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, l'Irak lui a facilité la tâche. Si volumineux qu'il soit, le rapport fourni sur son armement n'a pas « apporté les preuves » qui permettraient de vérifier ses déclarations, comme l'a expliqué jeudi le chef des inspecteurs de l'ONU, Hans Blix. Mais, contrairement à Washington, M. Blix, si sévère qu'il soit à l'égard du rapport, n'en conclut par pour autant que l'Irak s'est définitivement mis la corde au cou. Il indique seulement que Bagdad doit fournir « plus d'informations », tout en convenant qu'il a fait « beaucoup de progrès sur la procédure des inspections ». La position de la France ne semble pas très éloignée. Pour Paris, le rapport comporte des lacunes très préoccupantes, mais l'essentiel est que l'Irak se montre coopératif à l'égard des inspecteurs, et, en tout état de cause, il est trop tôt pour tirer des conclusions définitives.
- ③ Washington aussi compte sur les inspecteurs, mais d'une autre manière. Il exige qu'ils se livrent à une opération scabreuse, à laquelle M. Blix rechigne beaucoup : faire sortir de leur pays des spécialistes irakiens et leurs familles pour obtenir d'eux des révélations. Si, comme c'est très probable, Saddam Hussein fait la moindre difficulté, la guerre s'imposera d'elle-même. D'ici là, le dispositif américain dans la région, déjà considérable, aura encore été renforcé. Et les quelques généraux du Pentagone qui ne sont pas convaincus par les chances de succès d'une guerre éclair, sans déploiement massif de troupes, n'auront plus de raisons de s'inquiéter.
- Le scénario mis en place à Washington semble donc se dérouler parfaitement. George Bush a adroitement fait la synthèse des positions des faucons (sur le fond) et des colombes (pour la forme). Pourtant, contrairement aux apparences, il n'est pas seul maître du jeu. Le moment arrivera où les autres membres du Conseil de sécurité, dont la France, devront faire leur choix, politique et moral : donner, ou non, un brevet de vertu international à une opération américaine dont les motivations dépassent très largement l'objectif de désarmement de l'Irak.

Le Monde

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Article Title: Scénario américain

Paragraph	Comfort	Exciting Life	Accomplish	Peace	World Beauty	Equality	Family Security	Freedom	Happiness	Inner Harmony	Mature Love	National Security	Pleasure	Salvation	Self-Respect	Social Recognition	True Friendship	Wisdom	Survival	Safety	Belonging	Esteem	Self-Actualization	Example	Narrative	Statistics	Analogy	Definitions	Quotations	Peer	Expertise	Trustworthy	Dynamic	Likeability	
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LE RÉGIME de Saddam Hussein a dénoncé, dimanche 22 décembre, les « mensonges » des Etats-Unis et de la Grande-Bretagne, qui l'ont accusé de ne pas avoir livré l'ensemble des informations sur ses armes de destruction massive. L'Irak affirme de plus avoir de documents à fournir aux inspecteurs des Nations unies, mais se dit prêt à accentuer sa coopération. La mort, dimanche, de notre confrère de TFI, Patrick Bourrat (photo), renversé par un char américain au Koweït, suscite une large émotion en France.

JACK GUIZ

► Face à l'imminence d'une guerre, Bagdad plaide non coupable

► L'armée américaine sera prête fin janvier

► La mort de Patrick Bourrat, journaliste

Lire page 2

Les tirs au but menacent la vie des supporteurs de foot

« OUTRE LES questions de justice sportive, peut-être la loterie des épreuves de tirs au but devrait-elle être abandonnée pour des raisons de santé publique. » Telle est la surprenante conclusion d'une étude épidémiologique publiée le 21 décembre dans le très sérieux *British Medical Journal* (BMJ). Ses auteurs, chercheurs à l'université de Birmingham et à celle de Bristol, ont étudié les admissions aux services des urgences en Grande-Bretagne lors de la Coupe du monde de football de 1998. Et plus précisément celles qui ont suivi le match du 30 juin, qui a vu l'Argentine l'emporter face à l'Angleterre à l'issue des tirs au but (4-3), alors que les deux équipes étaient à égalité (2-2) à l'issue des prolongations. Ils ont constaté que le nombre d'infarctus du myocarde avait augmenté de 25 % le jour du match – soit 55 admissions de plus qu'en moyenne – et d'autant lors des deux jours qui ont suivi l'élimination de l'Angleterre.

Le stress induit par les tirs au but serait à l'origine de cette « épidémie » d'infarctus. Mais « des effets plus subtils tels qu'une consommation accrue d'alcool et de tabac ne peuvent être écartés », écrivent les épidémiologistes. Ils voient dans leur étude la confirmation d'observations déjà menées lors de matches à haute tension, tel

un France - Pays-Bas de 1996. L'étude hollandaise avait montré que les victimes des infarctus étaient majoritairement des hommes, mais la différence entre les sexes est moins marquée en Grande-Bretagne. Il semble également que l'effet soit « restreint aux parties perdues lors des tirs au but ».

Les chercheurs dressent un parallèle avec des situations catastrophiques ou guerrières : en 1994, une augmentation de 35 % des admissions pour infarctus a été observée lors du séisme de Northridge, en Californie. A Tel-Aviv, le nombre d'infarctus a doublé en janvier 1991, lors du pic des attaques de missiles irakiens contre Israël. « Il pourrait sembler inapproprié de comparer le bouleversement psychologique causé par des tremblements de terre ou des bombardements avec celui associé à un tournoi de football majeur », reconnaissent les chercheurs. Leurs chiffres montrent qu'il n'en est rien. Le traumatisme peut même être durable : un an après, lorsqu'ils visionnaient les penalties fatals, la tension artérielle et la fréquence cardiaque des supporteurs anglais augmentaient...

Hervé Morin

POINT DE VUE

Imaginer la paix par Paul Ricœur

SI LA GUERRE a fait un saut qualitatif avec le terrorisme des kamikazes, c'est parce qu'elle a fait surgir un ennemi qui n'est pas identifiable à un Etat, qui n'est pas identifiable du tout, qui unit le suicide à la mort indiscriminée, et ignore les quelques règles de « droit de la guerre » élaborées au dernier siècle.

Mais cette guerre d'un nouveau type n'a fait, en un certain sens, que révéler, en les portant à l'extrême, des traits que je dirai de « détérioration » de la guerre, à l'œuvre depuis la fin des guerres napoléoniennes. Nous avons connu un modèle, sinon raisonnable, du moins intelligible, de la guerre que Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) a érigé, dans *De la guerre* en objet scientifique, avant que Gaston

Bouthoul (1896-1980) ne crée le concept de polémologie, lequel restera sans parallèle du côté d'une éventuelle « logique de la paix ». Il est bon d'en rappeler quelques formules pour mieux comprendre ce que j'appelle la détérioration de la guerre : « La guerre est un duel entre Etats, duel qui a un commencement (codifié en déclaration de guerre) et une fin (signifiée par la victoire, la défaite ou la trêve). » « La guerre est une lutte visant à éliminer les forces armées et les forces morales de l'ennemi », et « la stratégie a pour but d'aboutir à cette destruction » ; ajoutons : « Les erreurs dues à la bonté des âmes sont la pire des choses », car le cours de la guerre est « la montée aux extrêmes ».

2) Tout cela est bien connu, et garde un air intelligible à défaut d'être

rationnel. Mais des limites importantes sont posées : il n'est pas demandé d'anéantir l'ennemi en tant qu'Etat, Etat susceptible de signer la paix et de « garder les traités » ; sinon la guerre ne serait pas, comme il est dit, « la continuation de la politique par d'autres moyens » ; elle ne serait pas elle-même un phénomène politique, et nullement économique, et, si l'on peut dire, pas seulement militaire.

Lire la suite page 14 et les extraits de deux autres interventions (Julia Kristeva et Arlet Dorjman) au 6^e Forum International de l'Académie universelle des cultures

PAUL RICŒUR est philosophe.



MARIE DORCHY / SIPA PRESS

Elles sont esclaves. En 1994, quand elles ont fini ne, les journalistes Dominique pas que la France élan aussi. Comité a pris en charge pres de flons d'employeurs coupables fois de vies (photo : Françoise diennes) Elias, faute de subve l'esclavage moderne pourrait d

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INFORMATIONS :

Imaginer la paix

Tristeva

Suite de la première page

pe, il n'a même plus que la paix est en crise à Jérusalem, à Paris, à New York et conjointement le discours sur la paix au début de ce siècle.

A est psychanalyste, professeur à Paris-VII.

qui ne se sent profondément en crise : à savoir c'est à peine si nous nous mettons sous ce prétexte le besoin de la guerre, les pulsions sadomasochiques ne dans certaines exaltations. Bien plus que, des civilisations, la civilisation moderne résiste à la réponse à l'interrogation : « Qu'est-ce qu'une vie ? » Les sciences et rationalismes elles-mêmes ne peuvent répondre à cette interrogation : on s'étonne de voir devenir les déclarations de mort ? De ce fait qu'elles ont précédé la cession de fréquenter, flattent de freiner, subliment la violence.

aux deux totalitarismes stalinien, Hannah Arendt dans le même sens la « superfluité de la violence » en s'arrogeant le droit de la surface de la terre : Juifs, Tziganes, Arabes. Dans la foule distingue entre biologique, et « bios » (biographie), partanoire de la cité avec non pas nécessairement héroïques, les plus performants, économes, avec lequel il soit respecté émergeant (...). Les investigations des frontières biologiques est de reconstruire Hannah Arendt, discours sur la violence, encore moins la vie (...).

C'est cette guerre-là, sans doute elle-même rationalisée, mais précisément acceptée dans cette version, qui s'est « détériorée ». Elle se faisait entre Etats-nations identifiables dans le concert des nations et fait passer à l'acte, dans des situations contingentes d'exceptionnalité, la relation permanente entre ami et ennemi, dans son jeu réglé.

C'est cette guerre encore intelligible que la première guerre mondiale a contribué à défigurer par le traité de Versailles. A vrai dire, elle n'avait jamais été le seul modèle de guerre. Les croisades, en transformant les pèlerinages en randonnées sauvages - pensez seulement au sac de Constantinople en 1203 - et en imposant les précaires Etats d'Occident en terre d'Orient, avaient créé un modèle de guerre mêlant la politique et la religion ; pensez plus encore aux guerres de religion, menées sur des frontières confessionnelles non étatiques, et dont l'issue a été précisément le renforcement des Etats nationaux capables de mener les guerres codifiées qu'on a dites ; pensez encore aux guerres coloniales qui, en tant que guerres de libération, ont visé à instaurer des Etats-nations comparables à ceux de leurs anciens maîtres.

Mais la guerre s'est franchement « détériorée » dans sa conduite même : mobilisation générale abolissant la frontière entre populations civiles et forces armées ; exterminations de masse menées par des régimes totalitaires ; anéantissement non seulement des forces armées mais des Etats, mis dans la situation de capitulation sans condition et laissant les vainqueurs sans vis-à-vis responsables.

D'un autre côté, les luttes de classe, dans leur phase violente, ont aboli la différence, chère aux Anciens, entre la guerre au dehors, qui avait son bon droit, et la guerre au dedans, l'insupportable guerre civile, qu'ils appelaient sédition. Quelques épisodes du XX^e siècle ont scandé cette détérioration, dès la guerre d'Espagne, guerre civile au départ, devenue prodrome de la seconde guerre mondiale, avec les transformations catastrophiques de la conduite même de la guerre évoquées plus haut.

C'est sur ce fond, avec l'accent mis sur les guerres d'extermination, les guerres de libération et de décolonisation, qu'a surgi la guerre de type inédit que l'évoquons en commençant, la guerre d'Al-Qaïda, la guerre terroriste.

(13) De son côté, la paix est restée à la merci d'accords bilatéraux concernant la limitation des armes nucléaires et conventionnelles, sans que les institutions internationales aient la moindre maîtrise sur les situations d'équilibre des forces ni sur la prolifération des armes de destruction massive.

(14) Nous avons en mémoire l'échec de l'ancienne Société des Nations et nous assistons à l'incapacité de l'ONU - pourtant fondée sur une charte qui est un excellent document, plus déclaratif que contraignant, et encore moins coercitif - à présider à une politique mondiale de prévention des conflits. La « sécurité collective », comme on dit, est à la merci de la politique des Etats membres, et des plus forts, comme le montrent les opérations parfois partiellement réussies de « maintien de la paix ».

(15) Ce qui éclate aux yeux, c'est que nous n'avons pas dépassé le stade des Etats-nations, seuls signataires de la Charte, en dépit de son préambule qui commence par les mots « Nous les peuples », alors qu'il n'est fait aucune place à un quelconque système de représentation démocratique de ces peuples dans une organisation qui reste strictement intergouvernementale. Carence que ne corrige pas, mais que complique la création des agences spécialisées dont la liste est impressionnante, aux plans bancaire, alimentaire, éducatif, sanitaire, etc.

~~S'il fallait désigner une forme verbale qui distingue l'imagination de la paix du rêve, je la nommerais l'optatif de la tranquillité, dans l'acceptation calme des différences à l'échelle de la planète Terre~~

La paralysie et, souvent, l'inefficacité des institutions censées

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le et groupe humain : juifs, touga-
nes, malades mentaux Dans la fou-
lée, la philosophe distingue entre
« zozé », ou vie biologique, et « bios »,
ou vie racontée (biographie), parta-
gée dans la mémoire de la cité avec
d'autres vivants : non pas nécessaire-
ment avec les plus héroïques, les plus
brillants ou les plus performants,
mais avec les quelconques, avec qui-
conque, pourvu qu'il soit respecté
comme un sujet émergent (...)

Mises à part les investigations
scientifiques sur les frontières biolo-
giques de la vie, force est de recon-
naître qu'après Hannah Arendt,
nous n'avons pas de discours sur le
« sens de la vie », et encore moins
sur « l'amour de la vie » (...)

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nier tambourin se fut éteint que la
fanfare navale s'est éloignée au son
de sa marche militaire vers le port
où elle devait accueillir les navires
qui revenaient des célébrations mari-
times.

J'éprouvais un sens d'émerveille-
ment devant ce moment de, com-
ment l'appellerai-je, conciliation,

ARIEL DORFMAN, écrivain chilien,
est professeur à l'université Duke
(Caroline du Nord, Etats-Unis).

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soulagement, trêve ? Non pas sim-
plement le signe d'une certaine com-
préhension mutuelle entre le peuple
le plus profond du Chili et ses sol-
dats, séparés par les longues années
de la dictature de Pinochet et par
tous les massacres qui ont dans le
passé précédé et d'une certaine
manière annoncé cette dictature,
mais de quelque chose de différent,
une réunion des hautes terres et du
littoral, une reconnaissance mutuel-
le fondée sur l'idée que la mer accep-
tait enfin ce que les hauteurs avaient
à apporter, qu'elles apportaient
depuis des millénaires, une premiè-
re indication d'un avenir où les anta-
gonismes latino-américains ne
recourraient pas inévitablement à la
violence pour déterminer qui devait
dominer l'air et les avenues. Nous
offrant aussi un modèle de résolu-
tion des conflits : la guerre peut être
évitée si le parti le plus faible décide
de persister dans sa dignité et sa
résistance, de vaincre sa peur - mais
seulement si l'autre parti, celui qui
est apparemment le plus puissant,
renonce à la présomption automati-
que de sa supériorité et ose se laisser
défier. (...)

N'est-il pas temps, maintenant
que la guerre s'approche encore une
fois, que chacun d'entre nous racon-
te sans se lasser ces histoires d'une
paix possible ?

... sont les vainqueurs sans être les

responsables.
D'un autre côté, les luttes de
classe, dans leur phase violente,
ont aboli la différence, chère aux
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guerre de type inédit que j'évo-
quais en commençant, la guerre
d'Al-Qaïda, la guerre terroriste,
la guerre sans protagoniste identi-
fiable à un Etat. Mais le lit était
fait, si j'ose dire, à cette mutation
par les transformations qui ont,
comme je me suis risqué à dire,
« détérioré » la guerre.

Le branchement, même préten-
du, de la guerre terroriste sur les
guerres de libération en augmente
le caractère ambigu et la puissan-
ce idéologique.

Mais ce n'est encore là que la
moitié du tableau : si la paix reste
« imaginer », c'est aussi en rai-
son de nos déceptions concernant
les entreprises collectives et insti-
tutionnelles visant au « maintien
de la paix », comme on dit, plutôt
qu'à l'instauration de la paix, sur
des bases justes. Certes, ces entre-
prises respectables ont elles-
mêmes une longue histoire, qui
confirme que, malgré toutes les
catastrophes, la guerre et la paix
ne cessent de faire couple.
(...) Avec les institutions internatio-
nales du XX^e siècle, une « logique
de paix » a tenté de prendre corps,
face à une « logique de guerre »,
solidaire de l'idée sécuritaire de
défense nationale avec ses appa-
reils diplomatiques et militaires.
Cette logique devait être planéta-
re, comme Emmanuel Kant
(1724-1804) l'avait anticipé, et
comme il était imposé par la géo-
politique de la guerre et par la
mondialisation au plan économi-
que et aussi à celui de la communi-
cation et de la diffusion des
savoirs et des techniques.

En fait, la fin de la guerre froide
et la disparition d'un ennemi identi-
fifié n'ont pas modifié la structure
des armées ni arrêté la recherche
et la fabrication d'armes de des-
truction massive de plus en plus
perfectionnées et plus sophisti-
quées, sans compter la répartition
très inégale de la puissance militai-
re dans le monde.

l'imagination
de la paix du rêve,
je la nommerais
l'optatif
de la tranquillité,
dans l'acceptation
calme
des différences
à l'échelle
de la planète Terre

La paralysie et, souvent, l'ineffi-
cacité des institutions censées
assurer la sécurité à l'échelle mon-
diale alimentent la déception, qui
double le sentiment diffus d'insé-
curité que le 11 septembre 2001 a
démultiplié. Comme un auteur
compétent l'écrit, nous sommes
en train de régresser de la vision
d'« amélioration » de nos sociétés
citoyennes rêvées par John Locke
(1632-1704), Wilhelm Gottfried
Leibniz (1646-1716), Kant, à la
vision « pessimiste » de Thomas
Hobbes (1588-1679), pour qui seu-
le la peur de la mort violente peut
engendrer des mesures de survie.

C'est précisément dans cette
situation, dominée par l'instinct
sécuritaire à l'échelle des peuples
et des individus, et à la faveur des
déceptions qui accompagnent les
mesures internationales de « main-
tien de la paix », faute de pouvoir
l'instaurer, qu'il nous faut imagi-
ner la paix. L'imaginer, c'est-à-dire
non la rêver ou l'halluciner, mais
la concevoir, la vouloir et l'espé-
rer. Car la paix, ultimement, est
plus que l'absence de la guerre, ou
la suspension de la guerre, c'est un
bien positif, un état de bonheur,
consistant dans l'absence de crainte,
la tranquillité, dans l'ac-
ceptation des différences.

L'état de paix est à imaginer
comme l'exact contraire de la peur
de la mort violente, qui suscite tou-
tes les formes d'attaque anticipée.
Cet état de vie, qu'Augustin
(354-430) définissait par la « tran-
quillité de l'ordre », reste l'imagi-
naire qui hante l'état de guerre lui-
même, comme l'accorde Hobbes
au début du *Léviathan*. S'il fallait
désigner une forme verbale qui dis-
tingue l'imagination de la paix du
rêve, je la nommerais l'optatif de
la tranquillité, dans l'acceptation
calme des différences à l'échelle
de la planète Terre.

Paul Ricoeur

#24

Article Title: *Imaginer la paix*

Paragraph	Comfort	Exciting Life	Accomplish	Peace	World Beauty	Equality	Family Security	Freedom	Happiness	Inner Harmony	Mature Love	National Security	Pleasure	Salvation	Self-Respect	Social Recognition	True Friendship	Wisdom	Survival	Safety	Belonging	Esteem	Self-Actualization	Example	Narrative	Statistics	Analogy	Definitions	Quotations	Peer	Expertise	Trustworthy	Dynamic	Likeability	
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Reinach

Maslow

Logos

Ethos

200516140005000014682401401127112554

Arguments

A people

APPENDIX C

Frequencies

Statistics

		Article	Comfort	Exciting Life	Accomplish	Peace
N	Valid	24	24	24	24	24
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		12.50	1.92	.29	2.29	2.67
Median		12.50	1.50	.00	2.00	2.50
Mode		1 ^a	0 ^a	0	0 ^a	1
Std. Deviation		7.071	1.767	.624	2.032	1.949

Statistics

		World Beauty	Equality	Family Security	Freedom	Happiness	Inner Harmony
N	Valid	24	24	24	24	24	24
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		1.04	1.92	.17	.92	.13	.08
Median		.50	1.50	.00	1.00	.00	.00
Mode		0	0	0	0 ^a	0	0
Std. Deviation		1.197	1.886	.637	1.139	.448	.408

Statistics

		Mature Love	National Security	Pleasure	Salvation	Self-Respect
N	Valid	24	24	24	24	24
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		.08	2.88	.08	.04	.25
Median		.00	2.00	.00	.00	.00
Mode		0	1	0	0	0
Std. Deviation		.282	2.383	.408	.204	.608

Statistics

		Social Recognition	True Friendship	Wisdom	Survival	Safety	Belonging
N	Valid	24	24	24	24	24	24
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		2.92		2.04	3.00	4.08	2.21
Median		3.00		2.00	2.00	3.50	2.00
Mode		3		0	2	3	1 ^a
Std. Deviation		2.358		1.732	2.167	2.062	1.641

Statistics

		Esteem	Self-Actua lization	Example	Narrative	Statistics	Analogy
N	Valid	24	24	24	24	24	24
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		3.50	.00	8.13	.17	.75	1.29
Median		3.00	.00	6.50	.00	.00	.00
Mode		2	0	4 ^a	0	0	0
Std. Deviation		2.537	.000	6.442	.637	1.327	2.440

Statistics

		Definitions	Quotations	Peer	Expertise	Trustworthy
N	Valid	24	24	24	24	24
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		.13	1.29	1.08	1.46	1.67
Median		.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.50
Mode		0	0	0	0 ^a	0
Std. Deviation		.338	1.654	1.886	1.382	1.494

Statistics

		Dynamic	Likeability
N	Valid	24	24
	Missing	0	0
Mean		1.00	.63
Median		.00	.00
Mode		0	0
Std. Deviation		1.474	1.439

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

Frequency Table

Comfort

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	6	25.0	25.0	25.0
	1	6	25.0	25.0	50.0
	2	4	16.7	16.7	66.7
	3	4	16.7	16.7	83.3
	4	1	4.2	4.2	87.5
	5	2	8.3	8.3	95.8
	6	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total		24	100.0	100.0	

Exciting Life

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	19	79.2	79.2	79.2
1	3	12.5	12.5	91.7
2	2	8.3	8.3	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Accomplish

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	5	20.8	20.8	20.8
1	5	20.8	20.8	41.7
2	4	16.7	16.7	58.3
3	5	20.8	20.8	79.2
4	2	8.3	8.3	87.5
5	1	4.2	4.2	91.7
7	2	8.3	8.3	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Peace

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	3	12.5	12.5	12.5
1	6	25.0	25.0	37.5
2	3	12.5	12.5	50.0
3	3	12.5	12.5	62.5
4	4	16.7	16.7	79.2
5	4	16.7	16.7	95.8
7	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

World Beauty

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	12	50.0	50.0	50.0
1	3	12.5	12.5	62.5
2	5	20.8	20.8	83.3
3	4	16.7	16.7	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Equality

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	8	33.3	33.3	33.3
	1	4	16.7	16.7	50.0
	2	2	8.3	8.3	58.3
	3	6	25.0	25.0	83.3
	4	2	8.3	8.3	91.7
	6	2	8.3	8.3	100.0
	Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Family Security

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	22	91.7	91.7	91.7
	1	1	4.2	4.2	95.8
	3	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
	Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Freedom

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	10	41.7	41.7	41.7
	1	10	41.7	41.7	83.3
	2	2	8.3	8.3	91.7
	4	2	8.3	8.3	100.0
	Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Happiness

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	22	91.7	91.7	91.7
	1	1	4.2	4.2	95.8
	2	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
	Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Inner Harmony

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	23	95.8	95.8	95.8
	2	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
	Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Mature Love

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	22	91.7	91.7	91.7
1	2	8.3	8.3	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

National Security

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	1	4.2	4.2	4.2
1	10	41.7	41.7	45.8
2	2	8.3	8.3	54.2
3	3	12.5	12.5	66.7
4	2	8.3	8.3	75.0
5	2	8.3	8.3	83.3
6	2	8.3	8.3	91.7
7	1	4.2	4.2	95.8
9	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Pleasure

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	23	95.8	95.8	95.8
2	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Salvation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	23	95.8	95.8	95.8
1	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Self-Respect

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	20	83.3	83.3	83.3
1	2	8.3	8.3	91.7
2	2	8.3	8.3	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Social Recognition

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	3	12.5	12.5	12.5
1	4	16.7	16.7	29.2
2	4	16.7	16.7	45.8
3	7	29.2	29.2	75.0
4	2	8.3	8.3	83.3
6	2	8.3	8.3	91.7
8	1	4.2	4.2	95.8
9	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

True Friendship

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 12	1	4.2	4.2	4.2
0	20	83.3	83.3	87.5
1	3	12.5	12.5	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Wisdom

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	6	25.0	25.0	25.0
1	5	20.8	20.8	45.8
2	4	16.7	16.7	62.5
3	2	8.3	8.3	70.8
4	5	20.8	20.8	91.7
5	2	8.3	8.3	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Survival

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	3	12.5	12.5	12.5
1	2	8.3	8.3	20.8
2	8	33.3	33.3	54.2
3	2	8.3	8.3	62.5
4	3	12.5	12.5	75.0
5	3	12.5	12.5	87.5
6	1	4.2	4.2	91.7
7	1	4.2	4.2	95.8
8	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Safety

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	2	8.3	8.3	8.3
2	3	12.5	12.5	20.8
3	7	29.2	29.2	50.0
4	3	12.5	12.5	62.5
5	3	12.5	12.5	75.0
6	2	8.3	8.3	83.3
7	2	8.3	8.3	91.7
8	2	8.3	8.3	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Belonging

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	4	16.7	16.7	16.7
1	5	20.8	20.8	37.5
2	5	20.8	20.8	58.3
3	5	20.8	20.8	79.2
4	3	12.5	12.5	91.7
5	1	4.2	4.2	95.8
6	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Esteem

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	2	8.3	8.3	8.3
1	4	16.7	16.7	25.0
2	5	20.8	20.8	45.8
3	2	8.3	8.3	54.2
4	2	8.3	8.3	62.5
5	3	12.5	12.5	75.0
6	4	16.7	16.7	91.7
7	1	4.2	4.2	95.8
10	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Self-Actualization

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	24	100.0	100.0	100.0

Example

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	1	4.2	4.2	4.2
2	1	4.2	4.2	8.3
4	5	20.8	20.8	29.2
5	3	12.5	12.5	41.7
6	2	8.3	8.3	50.0
7	1	4.2	4.2	54.2
8	5	20.8	20.8	75.0
9	1	4.2	4.2	79.2
12	1	4.2	4.2	83.3
13	1	4.2	4.2	87.5
14	1	4.2	4.2	91.7
18	1	4.2	4.2	95.8
32	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Narrative

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	22	91.7	91.7	91.7
1	1	4.2	4.2	95.8
3	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	14	58.3	58.3	58.3
1	6	25.0	25.0	83.3
2	3	12.5	12.5	95.8
6	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Analogy

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	16	66.7	66.7	66.7
1	2	8.3	8.3	75.0
2	1	4.2	4.2	79.2
3	1	4.2	4.2	83.3
4	2	8.3	8.3	91.7
7	1	4.2	4.2	95.8
9	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Definitions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	21	87.5	87.5	87.5
1	3	12.5	12.5	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Quotations

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	10	41.7	41.7	41.7
1	6	25.0	25.0	66.7
2	5	20.8	20.8	87.5
4	1	4.2	4.2	91.7
5	1	4.2	4.2	95.8
6	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Peer

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	11	45.8	45.8	45.8
1	8	33.3	33.3	79.2
2	3	12.5	12.5	91.7
3	1	4.2	4.2	95.8
9	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Expertise

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	7	29.2	29.2	29.2
1	7	29.2	29.2	58.3
2	5	20.8	20.8	79.2
3	3	12.5	12.5	91.7
4	1	4.2	4.2	95.8
5	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Trustworthy

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	8	33.3	33.3	33.3
1	4	16.7	16.7	50.0
2	3	12.5	12.5	62.5
3	6	25.0	25.0	87.5
4	3	12.5	12.5	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Dynamic

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	13	54.2	54.2	54.2
1	5	20.8	20.8	75.0
2	3	12.5	12.5	87.5
4	2	8.3	8.3	95.8
5	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

Likeability

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	17	70.8	70.8	70.8
1	5	20.8	20.8	91.7
4	1	4.2	4.2	95.8
6	1	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	24	100.0	100.0	

T-Test

Group Statistics

	COUNTRY	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Comfort	America	12	1.08	1.084	.313
	France	12	2.75	1.960	.566
Exciting Life	America	12	.25	.622	.179
	France	12	.33	.651	.188
Accomplish	America	12	2.42	2.109	.609
	France	12	2.17	2.038	.588
Peace	America	12	2.08	1.564	.452
	France	12	3.25	2.179	.629
World Beauty	America	12	.25	.622	.179
	France	12	1.83	1.115	.322
Equality	America	12	1.25	1.422	.411
	France	12	2.58	2.109	.609
Family Security	America	12	.25	.866	.250
	France	12	.08	.289	.083
Freedom	America	12	.58	.669	.193
	France	12	1.25	1.422	.411
Happiness	America	12	.00	.000	.000
	France	12	.25	.622	.179
Inner Harmony	America	12	.00	.000	.000
	France	12	.17	.577	.167
Mature Love	America	12	.08	.289	.083
	France	12	.08	.289	.083
National Security	America	12	2.17	1.992	.575
	France	12	3.58	2.610	.753
Pleasure	America	12	.00	.000	.000
	France	12	.17	.577	.167

Group Statistics

	COUNTRY	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Salvation	America	12	.08	.289	.083
	France	12	.00	.000	.000
Self-Respect	America	12	.25	.622	.179
	France	12	.25	.622	.179
Social Recognition	America	12	2.08	1.782	.514
	France	12	3.75	2.633	.760
Wisdom	America	12	1.33	1.371	.396
	France	12	2.75	1.815	.524
Survival	America	12	2.33	1.775	.512
	France	12	3.67	2.387	.689
Safety	America	12	3.25	1.765	.509
	France	12	4.92	2.065	.596
Belonging	America	12	2.17	1.899	.548
	France	12	2.25	1.422	.411
Esteem	America	12	3.33	2.425	.700
	France	12	3.67	2.741	.791
Self-Actualization	America	12	.00	.000 ^a	.000
	France	12	.00	.000 ^a	.000
Example	America	12	5.83	2.887	.833
	France	12	10.42	8.185	2.363
Narrative	America	12	.33	.888	.256
	France	12	.00	.000	.000
Statistics	America	12	.58	.793	.229
	France	12	.92	1.730	.499
Analogy	America	12	1.08	1.621	.468
	France	12	1.50	3.119	.900
Definitions	America	12	.08	.289	.083
	France	12	.17	.389	.112
Quotations	America	12	.92	1.505	.434
	France	12	1.67	1.775	.512
Peer	America	12	.92	.996	.288
	France	12	1.25	2.527	.730
Expertise	America	12	1.17	1.403	.405
	France	12	1.75	1.357	.392
Trustworthy	America	12	1.67	1.497	.432
	France	12	1.67	1.557	.449
Dynamic	America	12	1.42	1.832	.529
	France	12	.58	.900	.260
Likeability	America	12	.17	.389	.112
	France	12	1.08	1.929	.557

a. t cannot be computed because the standard deviations of both groups are 0.

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances	
		F	Sig.
Comfort	Equal variances assumed	4.711	.041
	Equal variances not assumed		
Exciting Life	Equal variances assumed	.239	.630
	Equal variances not assumed		
Accomplish	Equal variances assumed	.061	.807
	Equal variances not assumed		
Peace	Equal variances assumed	1.290	.268
	Equal variances not assumed		
World Beauty	Equal variances assumed	4.634	.043
	Equal variances not assumed		
Equality	Equal variances assumed	1.926	.179
	Equal variances not assumed		
Family Security	Equal variances assumed	1.936	.178
	Equal variances not assumed		
Freedom	Equal variances assumed	2.756	.111
	Equal variances not assumed		
Happiness	Equal variances assumed	10.577	.004
	Equal variances not assumed		
Inner Harmony	Equal variances assumed	4.840	.039
	Equal variances not assumed		
Mature Love	Equal variances assumed	.000	1.000
	Equal variances not assumed		
National Security	Equal variances assumed	1.587	.221
	Equal variances not assumed		

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances	
		F	Sig.
Pleasure	Equal variances assumed	4.840	.039
	Equal variances not assumed		
Salvation	Equal variances assumed	4.840	.039
	Equal variances not assumed		
Self-Respect	Equal variances assumed	.000	1.000
	Equal variances not assumed		
Social Recognition	Equal variances assumed	1.109	.304
	Equal variances not assumed		
Wisdom	Equal variances assumed	2.449	.132
	Equal variances not assumed		
Survival	Equal variances assumed	1.226	.280
	Equal variances not assumed		
Safety	Equal variances assumed	.993	.330
	Equal variances not assumed		
Belonging	Equal variances assumed	1.144	.296
	Equal variances not assumed		
Esteem	Equal variances assumed	.011	.918
	Equal variances not assumed		
Example	Equal variances assumed	4.861	.038
	Equal variances not assumed		
Narrative	Equal variances assumed	8.209	.009
	Equal variances not assumed		
Statistics	Equal variances assumed	.971	.335
	Equal variances not assumed		

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances	
		F	Sig.
Analogy	Equal variances assumed	2.198	.152
	Equal variances not assumed		
Definitions	Equal variances assumed	1.497	.234
	Equal variances not assumed		
Quotations	Equal variances assumed	.218	.645
	Equal variances not assumed		
Peer	Equal variances assumed	1.123	.301
	Equal variances not assumed		
Expertise	Equal variances assumed	.123	.729
	Equal variances not assumed		
Trustworthy	Equal variances assumed	.000	1.000
	Equal variances not assumed		
Dynamic	Equal variances assumed	4.684	.042
	Equal variances not assumed		
Likeability	Equal variances assumed	6.576	.018
	Equal variances not assumed		

Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means			
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Comfort	Equal variances assumed	-2.578	22	.017	-1.67
	Equal variances not assumed	-2.578	17.151	.019	-1.67
Exciting Life	Equal variances assumed	-.321	22	.752	-.08
	Equal variances not assumed	-.321	21.952	.752	-.08
Accomplish	Equal variances assumed	.295	22	.771	.25
	Equal variances not assumed	.295	21.974	.771	.25
Peace	Equal variances assumed	-1.506	22	.146	-1.17
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.506	19.956	.148	-1.17
World Beauty	Equal variances assumed	-4.298	22	.000	-1.58
	Equal variances not assumed	-4.298	17.238	.000	-1.58
Equality	Equal variances assumed	-1.816	22	.083	-1.33
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.816	19.291	.085	-1.33
Family Security	Equal variances assumed	.632	22	.534	.17
	Equal variances not assumed	.632	13.415	.538	.17
Freedom	Equal variances assumed	-1.470	22	.156	-.67
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.470	15.635	.162	-.67
Happiness	Equal variances assumed	-1.393	22	.177	-.25
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.393	11.000	.191	-.25
Inner Harmony	Equal variances assumed	-1.000	22	.328	-.17
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.000	11.000	.339	-.17
Mature Love	Equal variances assumed	.000	22	1.000	.00
	Equal variances not assumed	.000	22.000	1.000	.00
National Security	Equal variances assumed	-1.495	22	.149	-1.42
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.495	20.571	.150	-1.42

Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means			
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Pleasure	Equal variances assumed	-1.000	22	.328	-.17
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.000	11.000	.339	-.17
Salvation	Equal variances assumed	1.000	22	.328	.08
	Equal variances not assumed	1.000	11.000	.339	.08
Self-Respect	Equal variances assumed	.000	22	1.000	.00
	Equal variances not assumed	.000	22.000	1.000	.00
Social Recognition	Equal variances assumed	-1.816	22	.083	-1.67
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.816	19.328	.085	-1.67
Wisdom	Equal variances assumed	-2.157	22	.042	-1.42
	Equal variances not assumed	-2.157	20.466	.043	-1.42
Survival	Equal variances assumed	-1.553	22	.135	-1.33
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.553	20.319	.136	-1.33
Safety	Equal variances assumed	-2.125	22	.045	-1.67
	Equal variances not assumed	-2.125	21.477	.045	-1.67
Belonging	Equal variances assumed	-.122	22	.904	-.08
	Equal variances not assumed	-.122	20.387	.904	-.08
Esteem	Equal variances assumed	-.316	22	.755	-.33
	Equal variances not assumed	-.316	21.676	.755	-.33
Example	Equal variances assumed	-1.829	22	.081	-4.58
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.829	13.695	.089	-4.58
Narrative	Equal variances assumed	1.301	22	.207	.33
	Equal variances not assumed	1.301	11.000	.220	.33
Statistics	Equal variances assumed	-.607	22	.550	-.33
	Equal variances not assumed	-.607	15.427	.553	-.33

Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means			
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Analogy	Equal variances assumed	-.411	22	.685	-.42
	Equal variances not assumed	-.411	16.541	.687	-.42
Definitions	Equal variances assumed	-.596	22	.557	-.08
	Equal variances not assumed	-.596	20.290	.558	-.08
Quotations	Equal variances assumed	-1.116	22	.276	-.75
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.116	21.426	.277	-.75
Peer	Equal variances assumed	-.425	22	.675	-.33
	Equal variances not assumed	-.425	14.338	.677	-.33
Expertise	Equal variances assumed	-1.035	22	.312	-.58
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.035	21.975	.312	-.58
Trustworthy	Equal variances assumed	.000	22	1.000	.00
	Equal variances not assumed	.000	21.967	1.000	.00
Dynamic	Equal variances assumed	1.414	22	.171	.83
	Equal variances not assumed	1.414	16.021	.176	.83
Likeability	Equal variances assumed	-1.614	22	.121	-.92
	Equal variances not assumed	-1.614	11.895	.133	-.92

Statistically Significant Correlations

Example & Analogy:	0.670**
Expertise & Likeability:	0.462*
Comfort & Exciting Life:	0.417*
Comfort & World Beauty:	0.659**
Comfort & Equality:	0.441*
Comfort & Freedom:	0.515*
Comfort & Happiness:	0.617**
Comfort & Social Recognition:	0.457*
Exciting Life & Freedom:	0.525**
Exciting Life & Inner Harmony:	0.583**
Exciting Life & National Security:	0.464*
Exciting Life & Pleasure:	0.583**
Accomplishment & World Beauty:	0.442*
Accomplishment & Pleasure:	0.494*
Peace & Freedom:	0.516**
Peace & Inner Harmony:	0.474*
Peace & Pleasure:	0.474*
World Beauty & Equality:	0.483*
World Beauty & Social Recognition:	0.571**
World Beauty & Wisdom:	0.586**
Equality & Freedom:	0.745**
Equality & Inner Harmony:	0.461*
Equality & Pleasure:	0.461*
Equality & Wisdom:	0.560**
Family Security & National Security:	0.415*
Freedom & Inner Harmony:	0.577**
Freedom & National Security:	0.445*
Freedom & Pleasure:	0.577**
Freedom & Wisdom:	0.509*
Happiness & Inner Harmony:	0.416*
Happiness & Pleasure:	0.416*
Inner Harmony & National Security:	0.547**
Inner Harmony & Pleasure:	1**
Inner Harmony & Self-Respect:	0.613**
Inner Harmony & Social Recognition:	0.459*
National Security & Pleasure:	0.547**
National Security & Wisdom:	0.423*
Pleasure & Self-Respect:	0.613**
Pleasure & Wisdom:	0.459*
Social Recognition & Wisdom:	0.597**

* Significant at the 0.05 level

** Significant at the 0.01 level