

We don't quite know what was going on in the White House as I look back at the record. I don't think Bush had made up his mind because for the first twenty-four hours he wasn't quite clear himself what to do. And strangely, he had a meeting that week with Mrs. Thatcher who happened to be in the United States, and after the meeting with Mrs. Thatcher he came down with this very hard line.

And we know that he then proceeded to discourage the negotiations not only among the Arabs, (in fact we might even use the word veto, it would not be totally inappropriate) over the course of the ensuing months, so that everybody who tried to intercede in this effort in order to conduct some mediation talks were told that they were not welcome to continue.

Bush's strategy after this first day or so was diplomacy by ultimatum, which was the strategy of the Hapsburgs in 1914, if you recall. It was to give no concessions whatever and to prepare for war. Well, you might say, and certainly many Americans said, and certainly all the world newspapers said, why should you grant concessions to an aggressor. And there is a certain moral position and one can't dismiss it totally, but there is another answer, and that is if you grant no concessions you take a huge risk of war and wars often turn out, as the Hapsburgs found, in a way you don't foresee. They don't wind up quite the way you would like them to do.

This was, after all, a legitimate diplomatic conflict. I like to compare it with the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. I think the United States recognized that it could not live with what the other side had committed and which was for a moment a *fait accompli* -- bringing the missiles into Cuba. President Kennedy made quite clear that the Soviet Union would have to get the missiles out of Cuba, but on the other hand he was willing to allow the Soviets to walk away having saved face. He did not seek to humiliate Khrushchev, he made this look as if there were some *quid pro quos* involved, and I think there were some *quid pro quos* involved, although what we delivered was rather insignificant.