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B/W Page

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## The View From Purgatory

Q: Did it warm your heart out there in Purgatory, President Nixon, to see the friendly banter at the White House unveiling of the Clinton portraits?

RN: Same as at my funeral; everybody was forced to be gracious. Nobody would say what everybody thought: that Hillary's portrait is fine but Bill's is awful. Now ask me about Karzai.

Q: President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan spoke to a joint session of Congress yesterday.

RN: It was a joint meeting, you know — joint sessions are only to hear the U.S. president. But wasn't Karzai terrific? He was grateful for America's liberation of his country, and you don't hear a lot of that these days. He asked NATO to put its troops where its mouth is, which it won't. That's why we need a new Mansfield Amendment — to threaten the French and Germans with an American pullout from Europe.

Q: But hasn't Bush begun to do that already?

RN: Not fast enough. You saw the results of the European Parliament elections? Schröder is finished. Chirac has had it. Next year they'll be begging Bush for support. And that's when we should crack 'em hard to bolster our friends in Afghanistan. This Karzai fellow should make a deal with his warlords to get some breathing room this fall for his election. Then he can attack his real problem, which is not so much the Taliban terrorists as it is the damned poppies. We have to help him eradicate the huge opium trade before that place becomes a criminal state. Only then can we have a Muslim model for democracy in Iraq.

Q: Do you think the handover of sovereignty in Baghdad this month will make a big difference?

RN: It'll get the Iraqis into their own war, ready or not. If the Shiite majority has the guts to use our help in putting down Saddam's killers, they deserve their freedom. But it's time for them to stop whining about us and start fighting the bombers.

Q: But what of our prison abuse?

RN: Look, when the Iraqis in the street get sore, not at us but at the bombers not only blowing up their oil wells but also killing their wives and children, any terrorist suspects the new government rounds up will wish the Americans were back in charge.

## Nixon's ghost, on the 2004 campaign.

That prison story and the C.I.A. re-creations will drag on and on in the media here because it helps the doves make a necessary war look bad.

Q: Now you're into politics, how do you see the campaign dynamic?

RN: Let me say this about that: Bush went into a slump because of war casualties, and as we come out of the war, Bush comes out of his slump. Now he has to stop responding to Kerry's demands — all that U.N. kissy-face — and start talking about exciting plans for the economic boom in his second term.

Q: And what should Kerry be doing as his Boston convention approaches?

RN: First, stop the daily grouching, which turns people off after a while. Stay the hell away from job creation, which has backfired on him. Claim credit for straightening Bush out on Iraq and move on to the great dream. Pick one powerful domestic issue — old folks' health or college education, whatever — hit it hard and make it his own. Kerry's been all over the lot so far.

Q: Where will the campaign be four months from now?

RN: That's Oct. 16, with jobs and the market rising, casualties contained, at least one terrorist attack in the U.S. Debates are over, with Kerry winning on points and Bush on personality. First, half of the swing vote, larger than expected, moves toward the incumbent, which puts Bush a couple of points ahead.

Q: That energizes the Democrats.

RN: Not all of them. The prospect of a Bush win would help Democrats in Congressional races because people who prefer Bush may not trust him, and will split their tickets. And the Hillary crowd, having done their bit for Kerry, won't cry at his potential defeat because it would open the way to the Clinton restoration in 2008.

Q: (Gasp!) That's absolutely Machiavellian.

RN: Thank you. And with Coach Joe Gibbs back, keep your eye on those Redskins. □

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# When Politics Corrupts Money

By Shirin Ebadi and Amir Attaran

The World Bank has a human rights problem: it doesn't respect them enough. The bank also has a political problem: concern about global poverty, according to its president, James D. Wolfensohn, is "near a low point." Yet the bank, concerned about the second problem, seems to lack awareness of the first — to the detriment of its mission to help the world's poor.

The World Bank, which provided \$18.5 billion in aid in 2003, should withhold money from governments that are antidemocratic, or that violate their people's human rights. To lend money to tyrants is to strengthen them and to become complicit when they stamp on their people's rights. To lend money to one-party states is to lock in their hegemony, and to ridicule the dignity of people outside the party. To lend money to well-kept dictators is to enslave their citizenry, who even after the dictator is gone must repay principal and interest — to the bank.

It would undoubtedly shock most rights-loving Western taxpayers to know that the bank does not consistently differentiate between democracies and dictatorships when making

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decisions about loans and aid. In the last decade, the bank has offered loans to dozens of countries that violate civil rights, according to organizations like Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and the United Nations.

The bank's justification for lending to despots is contained in one word: pragmatism. The belief is that oppressed people are better off if their governments borrow money to pro-

## The World Bank should not help dictatorships.

vide socially useful services. By lending money to oppressive governments, the bank says, it is helping to make society more equal — if only a little.

Maybe, maybe not. Either way, there is no need to argue the point, because however much money the bank lends to oppressive governments (and that is plenty), there are enough poverty-stricken democracies that would gladly have it instead. Mr. Wolfensohn himself has said that if the world's total supply of foreign aid were doubled — to about \$100 billion annually — poor countries could easily absorb the increase and use it to pay for projects to help reduce poverty.

If he is right and the unfulfilled needs are that extensive, then why doesn't the bank find other takers for

the money it now lends to oppressive governments? The bank could easily redirect more than half its lending (say, \$10 billion out of the \$18.5 billion total) and still finance only a fraction of the poverty programs Mr. Wolfensohn deems worthy. The bank can find more than enough needy democracies willing to accept its aid.

Thus the bank's "pragmatic" justification to lend money to oppressive governments is absurd. It amounts to giving secretive, frequently kleptocratic dictatorships priority — before the democracies have their fill. This handicaps both the citizens and leaders who together shoulder the hard work of sustaining democracies.

Instead, the bank should devise a kind of human rights scorecard. At a minimum, it should include the civil freedoms (of expression, of the press, of women) and the social and economic freedoms (access to health, education and property). The bank should monitor these freedoms and refuse to aid any country that violates them.

By using a scorecard like this, the bank would show that governments that exclude civic participation in politics are not legitimate borrowers in their people's interest, because the people have no say. Using the scorecard would also harness the inspirational power of human rights to rekindle fading interest in the bank's work. And, not incidentally, it would probably be the most benign form of conditionality ever applied by the bank.

So why not do it? The bank's pragmatists point out that, under its charter, "only economic considerations shall be relevant" to lending decisions.

But this argument proves nothing. If the leadership and governance of a prospective debtor are relevant considerations for a commercial bank, then surely they are important to the World Bank. Even if democratic economies do not always outperform oppressive ones, they are safer risks. As a report of the United Nations Development Program noted last year, "no democracy has ever performed as badly as the worst dictatorships."

Cutting loans to dictators would therefore avoid the worst economic outcomes like default and endless debt rescheduling. Had the bank practiced rights-based lending in the past, it never would have loaned money to corrupt despots like Jean-Claude Duvalier of Haiti or Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire — loans that citizens there are still paying back. Rights-based lending would also save taxpayer money while achieving equal or better results for the world's poor.

Mr. Wolfensohn appeared to admit as much last month, when asked about the World Bank's practice of lending to dictatorships. "The easiest thing for me, for the bank," he said, "would be to say, just wait until these countries are democratic" before lending to them.

Mr. Wolfensohn is right. The bank should either produce honest reasons for giving aid to dictators and tyrants while democracies go begging, or it should do "the easiest thing" — and stop. To carry on, laden with excuses rather than principles, is not only a waste of money. It is an insult to the human rights of billions of people. □

NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

## Dare We Call It Genocide?

ALONG THE CHAD-SUDAN BORDER The Bush administration says it is exploring whether to describe the mass murder and rape in the Darfur region of Sudan as "genocide." I suggest that President Bush invite to the White House a real expert, Magboul Muhammad Khattar, a 24-year-old widow huddled under a tree here.

The world has acquiesced shamefully in the Darfur genocide, perhaps because 320,000 deaths this year (a best-case projection from the U.S. Agency for International Development) seems like one more boring statistic. So listen to Ms. Khattar's story, multiply it by hundreds of thousands, and let's see if we still want to look the other way.

Just a few months ago, Ms. Khattar had a great life. Her sweet personality and lovely appearance earned a hefty bride price of 40 cattle when she was married four years ago to Ali Daoud, a prosperous farmer. The family owned 300 cattle and 50 camels, making them among the wealthiest in their village, Ab-Layha in western Sudan. Ms. Khattar promptly bore two children, the youngest born late last year.

About the same time, though, the Sudanese government resolved to crush a rebellion in Darfur, a region the size of France in western Sudan. Sudan armed and paid a militia of

## Slaughter and rape in Sudan as the West looks away.

Arab raiders, the Janjaweed, and authorized them to slaughter and drive out members of the Zaghawa, Masalit and Fur tribes.

On March 12, Ms. Khattar was performing her pre-dawn Muslim prayers about 4 a.m. when a Sudanese government Antonov aircraft started dropping bombs on Ab-Layha, which is made up of Zaghawa tribespeople. Moments later, more than 1,000 Janjaweed attackers rode into the village on horses and camels, backed by Sudanese government troops in trucks.

"The Janjaweed shouted: 'We will not allow blacks here. We will not let Zaghawa here. This land is only for Arabs,'" Ms. Khattar recalled.

Ms. Khattar grabbed her children, and, as shots and flames raged around her, raced for a nearby forest. But her father and mother tried to protect their animals — they were yelling, "Don't take our livestock." They were both shot dead.

The attack was part of a deliberate strategy to ensure that the village would be forever uninhabitable, that the Zaghawa could never live there again. The Janjaweed poisoned wells by stuffing them with the corpses of people and donkeys. They also blew up a dam that supplied water to the farms, destroyed seven hand pumps in the village and burned all the homes and even the village school, the clinic and the mosque.

In separate interviews, I talked to more than a dozen other survivors from Ab-Layha, and they all confirm Ms. Khattar's story. By most accounts, about 100 people were massacred that day in Ab-Layha, and a particular effort was made to exterminate all men and boys, even the very young. Women and girls were sometimes allowed to flee, but the prettiest were kidnapped.

Most of those raped don't want to talk about it. But Zahra Abdel Karim, a 30-year-old woman, told me how in the same attack on Ab-Layha, the Janjaweed shot to death her husband, Adam, and 7-year-old son, Rashid, as well as three of her brothers. Then they grabbed her 4-year-old son, Rasheed, from her arms and cut his throat.

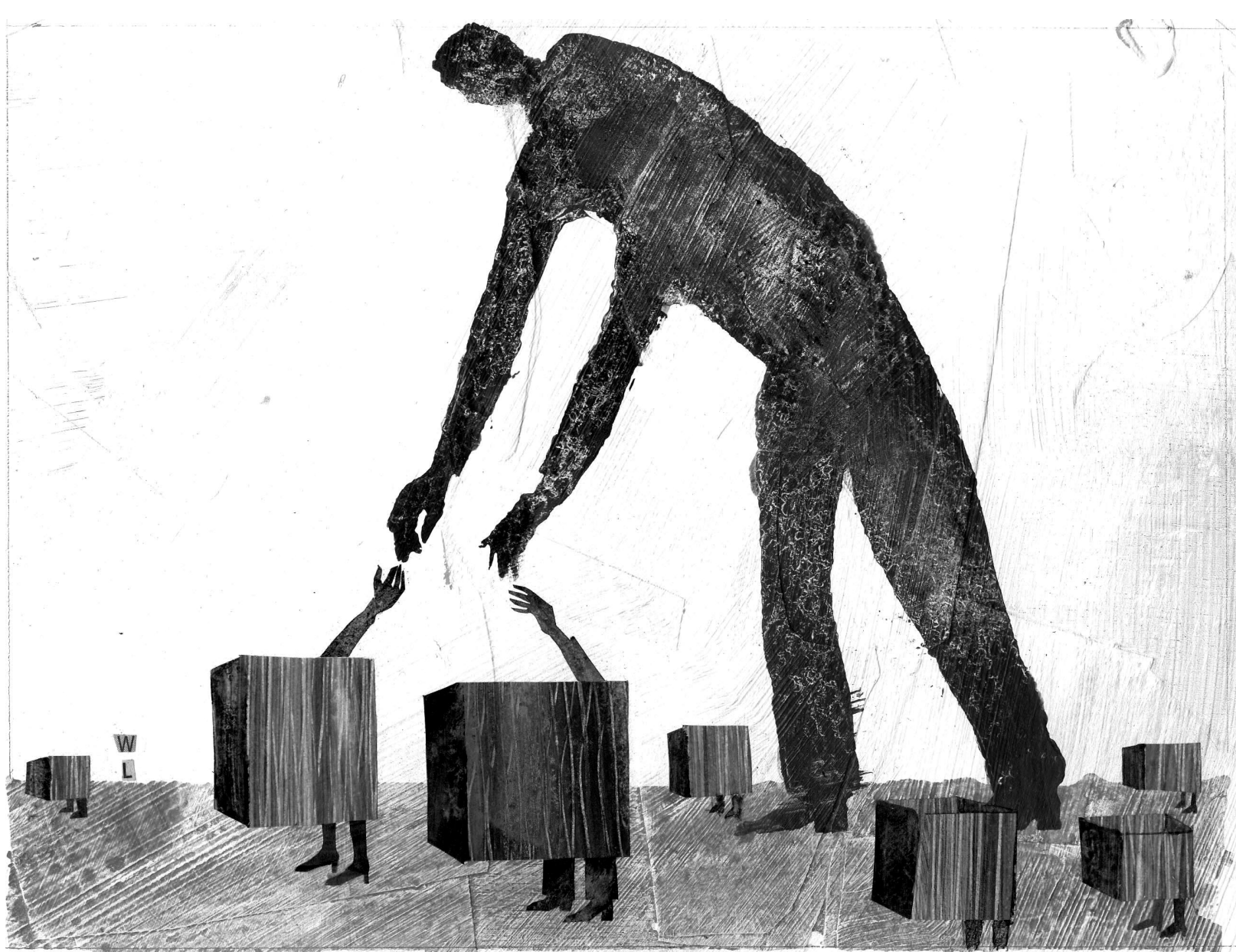
The Janjaweed took her and her two sisters away on horses and gang-raped them, she said. The troops shot one sister, Kuttuma, and cut the throat of the other, Fatima, and they discussed how to mutilate her. (Sexual humiliation has been part of the Sudanese strategy to drive out the African tribespeople. The Janjaweed routinely add to the stigma by branding or scarring the women they rape.)

"One Janjaweed said: 'You belong to me. You are a slave to the Arabs, and this is the sign of a slave,'" she recalled. He slashed her leg with a sword before letting her hobble away, stark naked. Other villagers confirmed that they had found her naked and bleeding, and she showed me the scar on her leg.

By comparison, Ms. Khattar was one of the lucky ones. She lost her parents, her home and all her belongings, but her husband and children were alive, and she had not been raped. Unfortunately, her luck would soon run out.

I'll tell you more of her story on Saturday, because if she and her people aren't victims of genocide, then the word has no meaning.

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Warren Linn

# Bush Shouldn't Write Off the Black Vote

By Juan Williams

WASHINGTON With the presidential election only a few months away, it is time for President Bush to unleash his secret weapon — his relationship with black and Hispanic voters.

The president is already winning a third of the popular vote among Hispanics, according to a Zogby International poll taken this spring. With advertisements and outreach focused on reforms to allow easier immigration for workers, the president has a good chance to add to his numbers among Hispanics.

But in a close race, the key to reelection rests on the president's ability to increase his percentage of the black vote. Here, he has the chance to make tremendous gains — if only because he now has practically no support among black voters. A May Washington Post/ABC News poll showed the likely Democratic nominee, Senator John Kerry, with a 79 percent to 6 percent lead over Mr. Bush among black voters. If the president gets only 6 percent of the black vote this year he will have achieved the near impossible task of getting a lower percentage of black votes than he did in 2000, when he won 8 percent.

But the president has the opportunity to flip the script. With a direct appeal, President Bush could win at least 20 percent of the black vote — and the White House.

How can he attract those votes?

Juan Williams, senior correspondent for NPR and political analyst for Fox News Channel, is the author of "My Soul Looks Back in Experience."

First, the field is open. Compared with previous Democratic campaigns, Mr. Kerry's has done a poor job of reaching out to black voters. As Donna Brazile, Al Gore's campaign manager in 2000, said recently, "Don't expect me to go out and say John Kerry is a great man and a visionary if you're not running ads on African-American or Hispanic cable networks. Fair is fair. So send my dad a postcard, send my sisters a bumper sticker."

The Kerry campaign has also been notable for its lack of blacks and Hispanics among the candidate's top advisers. And Mr. Kerry has rarely been identified with issues that compel black voters — notably affirmative action.

Second, it's increasingly clear that blacks are no longer willing to vote as a bloc, automatically lining up with the Democrats. This is particularly true of younger black voters. A 2002 poll by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, a research group based in Washington, found a shift in the political identification of black voters. For example, 34 percent of 18- to 25-year-old black voters identified themselves as independents. Overall, 24 percent of black Americans of all ages see themselves as independents — a four percentage point increase since the 2000 election. And now 10 percent of blacks call themselves Republican, a six percentage point rise since 2000.

Young black Americans seem ready for a forthright conversation about race and politics. While many older blacks responded with anger to Bill Cosby's recent call for poor black people to take more responsibility for their problems, the young people I encountered were uniformly supportive of Mr. Cosby's words.

It's worth noting that for this group, the president has an issue with considerable appeal: school vouchers. Despite strong opposition from civil rights leaders (and Democrats), 66

percent of blacks and 67 percent of Hispanics favor vouchers, according to a recent Newsweek poll. That is higher than the 54 percent of whites who say they want to see vouchers used to give students access to better schools.

Third, Mr. Bush has a network to make a pitch to black voters — the black church. Despite some bumps along the way, black churches remain generally enthusiastic about the president's faith-based initiative. The president has used his appearances before faith-based groups as a way to communicate with black Americans. It was no surprise that Mr. Bush used a speech to

## A modest effort could put him back in the White House.

ministers to condemn Senator Trent Lott for expressing kind words about Strom Thurmond's segregationist past.

And then there is the president's top selling point with black voters — his track record of appointing minorities to top positions. There are three black cabinet secretaries in the Bush administration: Alphonso Jackson, secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development; Rod Paige, secretary of education; and Colin Powell, the secretary of state.

What's more, the administration official most closely identified with the president is a black woman, Condoleezza Rice, the national security adviser. By giving Ms. Rice and Mr. Powell so much clout, President Bush miles ahead of any other president,