



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/1/95

APRIL 17, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA
HAROLD ICKES

CC: MARTHA FOLEY
JENNIFER O'CONNOR

FROM: KATIE MCGINTY

RE: NEW WORLD MINE

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Crown Butte, Inc., a subsidiary of Noranda, has proposed the NEW WORLD mining project, an underground gold, copper, and silver mining complex located on Forest Service land less than three miles from the northeastern corner of Yellowstone National Park. On April 6, I was briefed by the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, EPA, and the Corps of Engineers on the status of the proposal. Under the 1872 Mining Act we are obligated to process the Crown Butte request. As you know, we have proposed reform of the 1872 Mining Act precisely because it reduces our role to that of a ticket agency without any ability to obtain adequate compensation, to effectively condition or to influence these kinds of proposals.

The Forest Service is preparing an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) on the proposal which will assess potential environmental effects of the mine, alternatives to permitting the mine and options for mitigation. It is in the early stages of analysis and it is too early to tell what the exact nature of the impact will be-- but there certainly could be major impacts on Clark's Ford, a federally-designated wild and scenic river. The proposed mine is located in extraordinary grizzly bear habitat and is in the corridor for bears moving between Yellowstone and the Absaroka-Beartooth Wilderness.

Noranda, a Canadian company, paid less than \$10,000 to acquire mining claims from the federal government. The mine is expected to yield up to \$800 million worth of precious metals. The environmental record of the corporation is poor. My staff has met with opponents of the mine and also with Birch Bayh and the industry people to fairly assess whether or not this mine can be operated in a manner that does not harm Yellowstone.

Local and national press have opposed the proposal, often linking their opposition to a diminishment of Yellowstone. Congressman Bill Richardson is working on legislation to establish a new National Recreation Area that would preclude this or any other mining or mining related activity in the area.

I believe it is too early to adopt an Administration position. While Secretary Babbitt has made public statements critical of the mine, I believe we should withhold judgment until the EIS process is fully underway and the environmental impacts are more certain. I am, however, exploring all our options, am closely following developments, and will advise on further steps as the issue develops further.

THE NEW YORK TIMES
MONDAY, MARCH 27, 1995

TO Mr. Babbitt
for filing
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/28

Stopping the Yellowstone Mine

Congress is in a mood to abandon the preservation of America's ecological heritage. It is therefore imperative that the Clinton Administration muster its resolve and its executive powers to block at least one monumental and irreversible environmental catastrophe. This disaster-in-waiting is a proposed gold mine in the upper reaches of Montana's Henderson Mountain, less than three miles from Yellowstone National Park.

The mine and its lethal wastes threaten not only the original crown jewel of the national park system, but one of the most beautiful and fragile wilderness areas in the country. So grave are these risks that this page suggested last year that Congress appropriate the necessary funds, about \$35 million, to compensate Noranda Inc., the Canadian conglomerate that owns the site, for its exploratory expenses and then ask the company to go away.

That is still the best course of action for saving the great national park established by President Ulysses S. Grant. But it is unlikely that the Republican Congress will spend the necessary money or pay attention to various creative strategies offered by opponents of the mine. These include a proposal by Representative Bill Richardson, Democrat of New Mexico, to put the area off limits to mining by declaring it a national recreation area.

But the battle is far from lost. Under the 1872 Mining Law, the Federal Government cannot simply seize claims to which Noranda has already taken lawful title. It can, however, use existing statutes and its regulatory machinery to break Noranda's resolve. This is a company that persists in building a mine that few others want. Washington has enough legal authority, if the White House will wake up, to prevent the desecration of an American treasure by a foreign corporation.

Under the 1972 Clean Water Act, for example, the Environmental Protection Agency, through the Army Corps of Engineers, can prohibit development on wetlands. This is an important power because Noranda proposes to dig out 56 acres of wetlands high on the mountain. There it would build what it calls a "state of the art" impoundment site for storing acid wastes — a deep reservoir the size of 70 football fields. Reputable geologists say that

any such structure, no matter how beautifully engineered, is bound to crack at some point given the region's extreme weather and its history of earthquakes. That will send poisons directly into the surrounding watershed, which includes two of the nation's important wild rivers.

If the E.P.A. and the Corps deny Noranda the necessary permits, the company will have to look elsewhere to store its toxic material. Alternative sites could be prohibitively expensive. But even if the two agencies duck what is an obvious moral obligation, there are other weapons available.

Noranda's 200-acre mine site is in the Gallatin National Forest, which is under the jurisdiction of the Agriculture Department's Forest Service. Noranda owns most of this land but does not yet have clear title to 27 acres that sit directly above a portion of the mother lode of gold, valued by Noranda at \$500 million. Environmental lawyers believe that Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt, following a formal request from the Forest Service, has the power under the 1976 Land Policy and Management Act to take permanent title to these acres on behalf of the Federal Government.

If these experts are right, then the Forest Service should promptly ask Mr. Babbitt to declare these acres off limits and the Secretary should rapidly comply. Deprived of some of its potential riches, Noranda might fold its tent.

Two environmental groups — American Rivers and Trout Unlimited — have suggested yet another approach to those pivotal 27 acres. They argue that a close reading of the 1872 Mining Law and a handful of court cases suggest that Mr. Babbitt can deny Noranda's claim if he can show that the land has greater value in an undisturbed state than it does as a mine. They also argue that even the \$500 million in estimated deposits cannot begin to compare to the ecological and recreational values of Yellowstone and its adjoining ecosystem.

Mr. Babbitt may have trouble quantifying those values, but of course American Rivers and Trout Unlimited are right. The numbers are not important. As a nation, we have to draw a line and announce that some places are simply too valuable and too sacred to our history to be put at risk.

TO VP / Leon
can we do something
about this?
B

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/1/95

April 30, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TS*

SUBJECT: Information Items

We have recently received the following information items:

- Working Paper*
- (A) **Glauthier memo on DOE's Hanford Facility.** Responds to question you raised regarding a March 28 Wall Street Journal story on problems with the environmental cleanup at Hanford. T.J. details steps the Administration is taking to improve contracting, increase oversight and reduce cleanup costs. But he also makes it clear that the problems at Hanford and other DOE sites are real and long-term and will take a sustained commitment to address.
 - (B) **McGinty memo on New World Mine.** This is an update on the proposed underground gold, copper and silver mine near Yellowstone that would be an enormous windfall for the Canadian mining company, Noranda, and which has drawn sharp criticism from many who worry about the mine's potential adverse effects on Yellowstone. Katie advises withholding judgment for now until the EIS process is fully underway and the likely environmental impacts are clearer.
 - (C) **Tyson memo on Chrysler.** This is a lengthy memo in which Laura reviews the basic business issue raised by the Kerkorian bid -- whether a company in a cyclical industry can build up a sizable cash reserve (as Chrysler has done) to carry it through the next downturn or must instead make that cash directly available to shareholders (as Kerkorian's bid would do). She also reviews possible options for government action but counsels strongly against any such action. **The bottom line is that the bid looks increasingly as though it will fall of its own weight.**

Laura has also attached a note strongly recommending the NEC's Ellen Seidman (who largely prepared the Chrysler memo) for a position on the SEC.
 - (D) **Ickes memo on Air Traffic Controllers.** Since you lifted the hiring ban in August 1993, 4500 former controllers have applied for 215 vacancies; 27 have been hired.
 - (E) **Rasco memo on BC/BS threat to abandon TennCare.**
 - (F) **Articles forwarded by Baer re Michigan State Commencement Address.**
 - (G) **William Friday note applauding your April 18 news conference.** Forwarded by Erskine.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/1/95

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: Leon E. Panetta
CC: Alice M. Rivlin
FROM: T.J. Glauthier
SUBJECT: Problems at the Department of Energy's (DOE)
Hanford Facility

[Handwritten initials]
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Working
Reagles

95 APR 24 APR 48 1995

This memorandum is intended to respond to your questions prompted by the March 28, 1995 article in *The Wall Street Journal* on environmental cleanup at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Washington. Your note on the back of the article was "Do we need to reevaluate this?".

Background

As the article points out, the environmental cleanup problems across the DOE defense complex result primarily from decades of industrial scale production of plutonium for nuclear weapons. During this period there was insufficient concern given to the environmental consequences of the weapons production activity. As the Cold War wound down the previous administration entered into a series of federal-state agreements to abate what were at certain sites very serious environmental problems. In some cases, and particularly at Hanford, these agreements were unrealistic and poorly thought out and relied upon the same contractors that created the problems.

When your Administration came in we found a cleanup program with a budget growing at over 30 percent annually, a badly demoralized program staff, contractors who believed it was business as usual and local communities who were concerned about losing high paying defense jobs and about the long term health consequences of the radioactively contaminated sites. Although, problems remain, we believe much progress has been made.

In many respects, Hanford is the largest and most complex of the DOE sites. In terms of costs, Hanford is the most expensive DOE cleanup site, representing about \$1.4 billion of DOE's \$6.6 billion Environmental Management budget request in the FY 1996. The 560 square mile Hanford site has enormous environmental problems which include unstable weapons grade plutonium in buildings with marginal controls, 150 miles of contaminated ground water seeping towards that Columbia River, and 177 underground storage tanks containing high level radioactive wastes, some of which have posed explosion risks and continue to leak into the ground.

Administration Efforts

The Administration has been working to address these problems in the following ways:

- Improving contracting. At the Hanford site, DOE in 1994 brought in a new contractor (Bechtel) who is not a traditional defense contractor and is better equipped to do environmental restoration work. Since 1993 we have improved contractor productivity at Hanford and throughout the full DOE complex. As a result we will maintain progress on cleanup activities while reducing contractor workforce by 18,000 over the next eighteen months, including 4,700 positions at Hanford. The large contractor workforce accounts for about 80 percent of DOE's cost in this program. The Department is changing contracting practices to increase competition for \$30 billion worth of contracts, rewarding contractors for reducing costs, producing results and privatizing some functions.
- Increasing oversight. In order to eliminate the abuses described in the article, there must be better oversight and accountability on how Federal money is spent. To do this the Administration has authorized DOE to hire 1600 experienced project managers, engineers, cost estimators, and safety and health professionals to provide greater accountability and oversight at DOE sites. About 200 of these are being added at Hanford.
- Reducing Cost. The changes that we are making are to enable us to do more cleanup with less money. The FY 1996 Budget for DOE highlights the Environmental Management program as a key part of your National Performance Review. The program reinvention strategy is expected to contribute \$4.4 billion in outlay savings over the next five years. These savings will come from improved management and cost controls, less overhead, better project prioritization and decentralization of authority and accountability. A 20 percent increase in productivity is expected from these efforts.

DOE's efforts to reduce costs and simultaneously produce meaningful results at Hanford will probably not be enough to eliminate all criticisms of the cleanup program. In order to remain in compliance, the Department will have to renegotiate the cleanup agreement with the state of Washington. That process could require additional Administration policy decisions and even legislative action.

Summary

Hanford is at the top of the list for continuous evaluation. While much change is underway at DOE sites, much remains to be done. On March 30, 1995, DOE released a report estimating the cost of dealing with the environmental problems at its 130 facilities in 32 states to be approximately \$230 billion over seventy-five years (Hanford's portion is about \$50 billion). DOE's "environmental cleanup" program involves much more than "cleanup". Significant resources are required to prevent serious accidents and maintain safety systems. Aging and contaminated sites represent a large "mortgage" which is a necessary cost of doing business until the approximately 20,000 buildings are stabilized or cleaned up and fundamental policy and technical issues are resolved, such as the permanent disposal of wastes and disposition of plutonium.

Although serious environmental and management obstacles remain, we believe that the Department is on track to address some of our worst environmental problems while substantially reducing contractor waste and the cost of the program. Achieving progress will require sustained, long-term effort.

To deal with these types of problems at DOE and at other federal agencies, the Federal Facility Policy Group was formed last year. Alice Rivlin and Katie McGinty co-chair this group comprised of key officials from DOE, DOD, EPA and other affected agencies. The policy group is currently reviewing the final draft report which addresses some of the key issues involved in improving the federal government's progress in environmental cleanup.

Attachments

Mess at A-Bomb Plant Shows What Happens If Pork Gets Into Play

Outlays to Curb Pollution At Hanford Complex Run Billions, Achieve Little Deficit Foes Face a Dilemma

By TIMOTHY AEPPLE

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

RICHLAND, Wash. — Imagine a vast network of government-owned factories that have produced nothing in years — yet with a work force that has swelled to more than 18,000 people and a cost to taxpayers that is nearing \$3,000 a minute.

This is Hanford Nuclear Reservation, where workers are supposed to be mopping up pollution caused by years of atomic-bomb making but instead spend most of their time shuffling papers and keeping watch over crumbling buildings.

"What all of them are actually doing is kind of a mystery," says Gregory deBruler, a local environmentalist. Tapping his coffee mug, he adds, "but I know it involves a lot of this."

Sprawling over a dusty desert half the size of Rhode Island, Hanford is a "train wreck" of government spending, a Senate panel has complained. And there is no end in sight, despite all the brave talk about reining in the federal deficit.

The Old Pork Barrel

Hanford shows what happens when an awesome environmental threat gets linked to pork-barrel politics. Many Republicans see the extremely costly cleanup efforts here — \$7.5 billion has been spent already — as an obvious place to start slashing government spending. Yet Hanford, like most old bomb factories, is in staunch GOP territory — and some Republicans are fighting to keep the money flowing.

So, the Republicans will find it tougher than expected to curb Hanford's spending. "They don't want to admit this is a jobs issue, but that's what's driving it," says Leo Duffy, a Bush administration official who launched the cleanup in 1989. Cutting fat, he adds, means cutting jobs in GOP districts.

That explains why Hanford's new voice in Congress, Rep. Richard "Doc" Hastings, is fighting to protect the cleanup while backing a balanced budget and a middle-class tax cut. Hanford is the biggest employer in the freshman Republican's district — and salaries at the complex average a relatively lofty \$43,000. A recent series of newspaper articles in the Spokane, Wash., Spokesman-Review detailed not only the wasteful spending at Hanford but also the local economic boom it has sparked. Average new-home prices in the area, for instance, have soared to about \$113,000 from \$69,000 in early 1991.

Federal Regulations Cited

Rep. Hastings says there is nothing contradictory about his approach. "We need to get a better bang for taxpayers' dollars," he says, adding that the solution isn't to cut spending blindly. He plans to soon introduce legislation that would free Hanford from having to satisfy a web of federal regulations that often conflict with each other — slowing the cleanup and driving up costs. Some Republicans in Congress favor using risk assessments to target Hanford's most-immediate environmental threats and leaving much of the less-dangerous waste alone. Under this "iron-fence" solution, parts of Hanford would simply be off-limits.

Besides Hanford, 16 major weapons facilities are being cleaned up. And examples of waste abound — like a New Mexico laboratory that left computers out in the rain, wrecking them. But Hanford's sheer size makes it the prime target for people eager to cut the budget.

A jolt is coming this week when the Department of Energy discloses its best guess of the cost of cleaning up the old factories at all 17 locations and dozens of other, smaller sites over the next 75 to 100 years. In the latest calculation, last summer, the DOE gave the White House a minimum estimate of \$400 billion. The new figure is expected to be lower. "It has to be," says one DOE official, who says some in Congress have warned that it better not be so eye-popping.

Action by Administration

Hoping to beat Congress to the punch in curbing spending, the Clinton administration has told Hanford to shed nearly 4,800 of its workers, who are mostly nonunion, over the next several years and to hack \$250 million from its \$1.5 billion cleanup budget for fiscal 1996.

At Hanford, most of the spending so far by the Department of Energy, which oversees the cleanup, has gone for studies of things such as Hanford's 177 underground waste tanks, many of which are leaking. Money also goes to baby-sit waste, like guarding contaminated buildings, or watching to see whether pollution poured on the soil years ago is seeping into the nearby Columbia River.

More difficult to explain is the growth of the work force. Six years into the cleanup, it totals thousands more than when the workers were making bombs. Many workers themselves complain there are three people for every job.

Hanford managers deny this, saying they have had to add large numbers of engineers and others with specialized skills in recent years to manage the unique aspects of the cleanup. "What we're doing now is what most corporations have already done," says John Wagoner, the top

Please Turn to Page A6, Column 1

Untidy Cleanup: Mess at A-Bomb Complex Shows What Happens When Pork Meets a Real Problem

Continued From First Page

DOE manager at Hanford. "We're reviewing all our processes and figuring out how to do the work with fewer people."

Meanwhile, Hanford's lead contractor, Westinghouse Hanford Co., a subsidiary of Westinghouse Electric Corp. of Pittsburgh, once bought computer-software packages such as Lotus 1-2-3, while throwing out the same things elsewhere at the facility. In another case, it lost track of hundreds of expensive cellular telephones.

Westinghouse says it fixed those problems. And responding to recent criticism over wasteful spending, it says it has made progress in curbing costs and achieving cleanup goals. "Our costs continue to be higher than we like," says James L. Gallagher, executive vice president of Westinghouse Government & Environmental Services Co., but he lays the main fault to the web of legal and regulatory requirements that govern the work.

Even critics of the cleanup admit that the operators can't simply turn their backs on the waste; some of it is in tanks that could blow up, or it could dribble into water supplies. Another concern is Hanford's plutonium, a material so deadly it can kill and cause disease even in minute doses. The DOE estimates that Hanford has 11 metric tons of the stuff. Much of it is locked in spent fuel, but about 3.8 metric tons is pure enough to be a threat if stolen by terrorists. Only a few kilograms are needed to make a bomb.

In addition, nobody knows how much plutonium was poured into the ground over the years. For decades, plutonium-laced waste was dumped into pits; scientists thought it fused with the soil and didn't move. But they were wrong. This is one reason Hanford's groundwater will need perpetual monitoring.

Proposed Moving Job

A congressional report released earlier this month concludes that some of the cleanup ideas not only are costly but seem dumb. For example, officials propose to separately drag eight 16,000-ton reactor cores, now nestled in buildings along the river, to a plateau miles away to be buried. But the only vehicle capable of moving such monster loads is two space-shuttle movers tied together; and they would require a special road. The price tag: more than \$500 million. Even then, radioactive isotopes inside the cores might eventually leak into the ground later.

DOE officials put such a removal far in the future. "That's pretty far down our priority list," says Mr. Wagner, the Hanford manager. As for the possibility of radioactivity seeping into the ground, he says the idea is to get the reactor cores away from the river so that the contamination can't spread so easily into the water.

"The trouble is, you have this massive cleanup being driven by questions for which we still don't have the right answers," says Steven Blush, the former DOE official who co-wrote the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee's report. "In a situation like this, it's impossible not to waste money."

Even doing nothing devours money. One of Hanford's plutonium-laced processing plants costs \$34 million a year just to maintain and watch over. "These aren't places where you can switch off the lights and leave," says Thomas Carpenter, the Seattle-based representative of the Government Accountability Project, which is monitoring the cleanup.

Another money pit sits under 16 feet of water inside two windowless concrete hulks near the Columbia's banks. Known as the "K Basins," the huge pools hold more than 100,000 rotting fuel slugs — the long rods used inside reactors.

The slugs were supposed to stay here a few months before going to a nearby facility for reprocessing, but the end of the Cold War stalled them in these tanks. "We don't have much time to get them out of here," says Victor Hoefer, a Hanford engineer as he leads the way across a metal grill suspended above one tank. Orange and purple signs with radioactivity symbols and the words "Surface Contamination" dot walls and pipes. As the fuel corrodes, it releases plutonium, uranium and strontium-90 into the water. Moreover, the basins are leaking, and a deadly slime is forming in the bottoms of the tanks.

Doing nothing to clean up the K Basins costs \$40 million a year, spent on things such as keeping the antique ventilation system pumping and the salaries of people trying to patch the leaks. Hanford officials have a grim term for this: the "mortgage." An actual cleanup will cost another \$100 million, according to Westinghouse. And that will get the rods and slime only into dry containers in an "interim storage" building away from the river.

A Bill From the Past

To environmentalists, all this is just a tab for the Cold War, but they gripe that while weapons were long politically popular, the cleanup isn't. "As soon as something becomes an environmental problem and not a defense program, it's like a shadow falls over it," says Gerald Pollet, executive director of Heart of America Northwest, a Seattle group monitoring Hanford. He deplores the cutbacks because most of the money is coming out of actual cleanup work; cutting the fat remains elusive. Contractors are still charging hefty overhead, he says, including multimillion-dollar legal bills stemming from the cleanup.

Many observers also argue that the cuts will push future costs higher because they are just delaying work that must be done anyway. Indeed, Hanford's cleanup is dictated by a legal agreement worked out among the DOE, the Environmental Protection Agency and the state of Washington. But now the DOE is trying to renegotiate it to allow for the less-extensive cleanup that it envisions.

However, even environmentalists concede that fighting for Hanford's funding is awkward when so much is wasted. "I have this dilemma when I go to lobby on Capitol Hill," says Todd Martin, another local activist. "Do I say, 'You've got to spend this money,' when I know they're throwing a lot of it down a rat hole?"

Everyone has a favorite example. One is the "grout vaults" — gigantic pools that

were supposed to hold radioactive waste. The waste was to be mixed with concrete and poured into the pools and left to dry. But after spending \$200 million to design and build the mixing plant and the first set of four vaults, a test run showed problems getting the stuff to harden. Then local activists learned there were to be 241 of the pools — which would have spread contamination far into clean parts of the surrounding desert. The project was killed.

The DOE says it still hopes to figure out a use for the pools. But for now, the complex sits nearly abandoned. "We just have a few people there," a Hanford spokesman says. "You know, keeping an eye on it."

The cleanup got so off track largely

because of the way the bombs were built. Racing to complete the facility, the government invited companies to do the work under contract. All that mattered was delivering the product; cost and environmental damage were secondary.

Some say little has changed. "The contractors working for the DOE have been at the public trough so long," contends Mr. Duffy, the former DOE official, "they don't know how to change their diet." He says the contracts make it rational to hire as many employees as possible because this tactic boosts profits. But at Westinghouse, Mr. Gallagher says that that's "dead wrong" and that the DOE contract includes incentives paid only for good performance. "Our incentive is to do the job to the

highest quality," he contends.

The contractors also have a lot of control over how the cleanups are done, a fact that can lead to strange results as well. For instance, Westinghouse recently proposed sending barrels of lightly contaminated waste such as plastic and paper to a Westinghouse subsidiary in Oak Ridge, Tenn., to be compacted — then shipped back to Hanford for disposal.

A Westinghouse spokeswoman explains the contract envisioned building a plant in Richland. Only in the meantime, she says, was the idea of sending waste cross-country considered. "This contract was competitively bid," she says, adding that the company intended to charge the same for compacting services in either place. The DOE canceled the plan after a local company that offered the service objected; the local firm is now compacting the waste.

Mr. Wagoner, the Hanford manager, cites the recently completed laundry, which replaces an outmoded facility for

cleaning such items as contaminated work clothing, as an example of how he wants to change things. He figures that building it, using normal methods, would have cost \$25 million. Any DOE facility, even one built and operated by a company under contract, must meet a maze of costly special requirements ranging from seismic reinforcements to fire codes. By inviting an outside firm to build and operate the laundry outside Hanford's gates, the DOE cut the cost to \$5 million.

Thomas Grumbly, the DOE official overseeing the cleanup, admitted last year that Hanford wastes one in every three dollars spent. But by the end of this year, he predicts, the wasteful spending should be "cut in half."

Meanwhile, the leaner times are being felt already. Some people are worried in towns such as Richland, with its "Atomic Bowling Center" and a mushroom cloud as the symbol of its high-school teams. And the gloom stretches to Hanford's quirky

Museum of Science and History, where visitors can learn tidbits such as how many doughnuts were consumed daily here in 1944 (30,000) or buy an "atomic marble" (a clear glass ball dosed with gamma radiation to turn it murky brown).

"Everybody's worried about what will happen, and that puts stress on families," says Kali Hale, a mother of nine whose husband works at the facility. Watching her 12-year-old son, Zackary, assemble a puzzle inside a glass-walled glovebox, a device normally used to handle radioactive material, Mrs. Hale says she is confident her husband's position is secure.

But the museum itself is a different story. It costs Hanford about \$1 million a year, and the push to trim budgets is threatening to kill it. That would be a shame, says Gwendolyn Leth, a Westinghouse employee who manages it. It recently underwent a major renovation, she explains. Before that, it barely mentioned environmental problems.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SET
4/4/95

Levin

Do we need

to re-examine this?

RG



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

April 25, 1995

President Bill Clinton

via fax

Dear President Clinton:

For what it is worth--and I am sure I am not the first to catch it--the arrest of the first suspect involved the quick wittedness of Officer Hanger in noticing that Timothy McVeigh had a bulge in his pocket. Officer Hanger's instinct was to reach for his own gun and point it at McVeigh's head.

I point this out for you to distribution to relevant parties in the context of gun control. This bit of information may be useful for argumentation.

Respectfully,

SKS/kc
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SE N
5-1-95

Continued from A1

People here try to avoid highway encounters with Hanger. But even when they have them, Fleming said, "we know he'll give us a fair shake. Sometimes he gives you warnings, sometimes you get a ticket. It's the law that counts."

"This is a man," added Casteel, "who drives all the way to Oklahoma City at 65 m.p.h., not a mile more. Highway law is the Lord's law to Charlie Hanger."

A hunting and fishing enthusiast, Hanger is known around Perry as a "good community man," the sort who pitches in at church charity functions and devotedly watches his daughters play at local softball games.

"He's a good trooper and a good husband," wife Nancy said. "He gives his all in everything he does."

Hanger was patrolling Interstate 35 in his black-and-white at 10:20 a.m. Wednesday—about an hour and 15 minutes after the explosion ripped through the federal building—when he saw the rattling Marquis heading north. There was no license plate under the bumper, only a rotting, blackened frame.

According to Noble County Assistant Dist. Atty. Mark Gibson, Hanger pulled the car over and asked the driver, McVeigh, where he was going. Hunched up in a jacket, McVeigh said he was on a cross-country trip and planned to drive 10 hours or so—a statement that made Trooper Hanger suspicious.

"He knows that most people will take off their jacket when they drive long distance," Gibson said. "That shows you the kind of experience he has out on the highway."

When the suspect leaned to get his wallet, Hanger saw a bulge in his jacket. The trooper then put his gun against McVeigh's head and ordered him out of the car. It was a prescient move. Inside the jacket was a 9-millimeter semiautomatic Glock pistol, fully loaded with deadly, impact-expanding Black Talon bullets.

McVeigh was arrested on five misdemeanors, including weapons charges.

During the trip to Perry in the back of the cruiser and later in the jail, McVeigh stayed calm. "He was never the least bit nervous, concerned. He was as cool as he could be," Gibson said.

McVeigh, however, nearly got away. According to two lawyers who read the arrest report, an arraignment Thursday was postponed a day because the judge was



Associated Press

Charlie Hanger, right, who nabbed blast suspect, leaves courthouse.

He was tied up in a divorce proceeding.

"He came desperately close to making bail," Gibson said.

"It was just a matter of circumstance and luck that he hadn't been released yet," said Vicky Beier, a lawyer in this town of 6,000. Beier does not represent McVeigh, who did not have an attorney Friday afternoon.

Noble County Sheriff Jerry Cook said that McVeigh was "out of the

'It was just a matter of circumstance and luck that he hadn't been released yet.'

VICKY BEIER
Attorney

cell en route to the courtroom when I received word."

"If he did have anything to do with [the bombing] I can't tell you how bad I'd have felt. We were going by what the law says, but it would have been hard to live with," Cook said.

Bail would have been easy to post if the judge had had a chance to set it, Cook said. A typical bail is \$500 and McVeigh had \$255 on him and the nearest bail bondsman was only about 30 minutes away.

As McVeigh sat in the Noble County jail awaiting a bond hearing, Charlie Hanger stewed at

home. He told Nancy, a local bank teller, that something seemed odd about the man he had arrested.

"Charlie was just curious about him," Nancy Hanger said. "He kept wondering if there was something else about him."

On Wednesday, Hanger wondered aloud to Gibson whether the suspect in their jail might have some connection to the bombing. Gibson, however, did not share that suspicion. "We just missed the connection," he admitted later.

But on Thursday morning, Charlie Hanger's gnawing policeman's intuition proved right.

Just an hour before Gibson planned to release McVeigh on bond, FBI officials called with news that he was a suspect—tipped off by a Social Security number that Hanger had transmitted into the national police crime computer files when he ran a records check on McVeigh on Wednesday morning from his patrol car.

When she heard Thursday afternoon that her husband may have played a role in cracking the bombing case, Nancy Hanger hurried over to the county courthouse to find Charlie. It was his day off, but he was there anyway, silent and somber in the hallway, wearing the same stern face he shows to speeders.

But as she approached, Trooper Charlie Hanger let it out for a brief moment. His grim roadside scowl cracked into a beaming smile.

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"That's her gravemarker, that's all I got," said Eckles, 43, as he dabbed his eyes with a soggy tissue. But police officials, who have tightened their grip around the perimeter of the bomb site, refused to let him get close enough to take a clear shot.

"They were pretty insensitive about it," he said, stroking the hair of his 6-year-old son, Zackery. "They told me to clip out a picture from the newspaper. But it's only going to mean something to me if I can take it myself."

Standing dejected outside a security checkpoint, Eckles de-
Please see FAMILIES, A14

Serrano in Oklahoma City and Ralph Frammolino, Paul Feldman and Eric Lichtblau in Los Angeles. It was written by Willman and Frammolino.

Friday, America began to confront the likelihood that the horrific destruction in Oklahoma City came not from abroad, but from within the United States.

With the arrest Friday of one Midwesterner and the questioning of two others who have possible links to a self-styled militia, the spotlight swung away from international terrorist groups and was thrown on domestic hate groups—a fragmented network of people united in their love of guns and their loathing of taxes and big

Please see THREAT, A18

man matching McVeigh's descrip-
nine minutes before it was blown up.

Authorities said they found strong ties between McVeigh and the Michigan Militia, a paramilitary group that believes the federal government's raid near Waco was tyrannical. The authorities theorized that the bombers may have been out to kill the FBI agent who had been in charge of the Texas operation, which ended in a fiery confrontation two years to the day before the Oklahoma City bombing.

There were these additional developments:

• Hope waned that any survivors remained inside the partially collapsed, nine-story federal building. The identities of only 13 victims

Please see BOMBING, A17

INSIDE TODAY'S TIMES

N. KOREANS LEAVE TALKS

North Korea walked away from talks with the United States, casting doubt on the future of an agreement halting its nuclear program. A5

DISNEY TERRORIST SCARE

Federal agents rushed to Disneyland over Easter weekend after threats were received that terrorists planned a gas attack there. B1

KINGS FIRE MELROSE

With seven regular season games left, the Kings fired Coach Barry Melrose and his assistant. Rogie Vachon was made interim coach. C1

WEATHER: Mostly sunny and warmer today with gusty winds below the canyons. Civic Center low/high: 52/75. Details: B6

■ TOP OF THE NEWS ON A2

Trooper's Vigilance Led to Arrest of Blast Suspect

■ **Bombing:** Charlie Hanger's suspicions about the man he nabbed during a traffic stop turned out to be justified.

By STEPHEN BRAUN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

PERRY, Okla.—Bad luck dogged bombing suspect Timothy McVeigh as he drove north toward the Kansas border on Wednesday morning in a battered yellow Mercury Marquis with a rusted bumper and no license plate. Bad luck's name was Trooper Charlie Hanger.

Hanger, a 22-year veteran of the Oklahoma Highway Patrol, is a road hawk—the sort of alert patrolman who takes his job so seriously that everyone in his hometown has either been stopped by him or knows someone who has.

"I don't think there's a fun-loving person in this county who hasn't looked up at Charlie from

the driver's seat at some point in their life," said Marty Casteel, 38, a farmer. "He's a fair man, mind you, but he's a ticket-writing machine."

It was Hanger's long experience with traffic violators—and a little gut suspicion—that led to the arrest of the suspect in the Oklahoma City bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. Even President Clinton made an unnamed reference to the 42-year-old, baby-faced trooper whose wife said proudly that he "was just doing his job."

"He's an unassuming man, damn it, but he's our hero," said Dave Fleming, an air-conditioning man who has worked in Hanger's home and taken "my share of tickets."

Please see HANGER, A17

L.A. TIMES
4/22/95



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

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TIME

Nuclear Terror For Sale

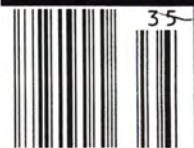
Once we feared thugs
like Carlos the Jackal.
Now no one knows who
might buy smuggled
plutonium—and hold
the world hostage

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/1/95

Donny / Sunday
We do need to
strengthen our organ.
response - MUST write
the DoD / Sec positions

B.





"KATO" Kaelin: During preliminary hearings, he said he heard thumps but did not say he saw O.J.



Rachel Ferrara: She backed up Kaelin's version but her friends say she told them another

■ JUSTICE

The Whole Truth?

As prosecution and defense wrangle, sources tell **TIME** that a Simpson friend may not have divulged all he knows

By **RICHARD LACAYO**

POWERFUL COURT CASES ARE LIKE A tornado. They exert a devastating centripetal force. Try as you may to keep yourself on the periphery, you can be dragged deep into a nasty center, the kind of place where it's easy to be torn apart. It must feel that way lately for some of the people who once thought of themselves as secondary players in the murder trial of O.J. Simpson.

Two of them are Brian ("Kato") Kaelin, who was living in Simpson's guesthouse on the night of the murders, and Kaelin's friend Rachel Ferrara. **TIME** has learned that prosecutors Marcia Clark and William Hodgman are pursuing a potentially important new lead that contradicts the sworn testimony given by Kaelin and Ferrara at the preliminary hearings in July. Kaelin told the court that at about 10:40 on the night of the murders, he was in his quarters on the Simpson estate talking on the phone with Ferrara, when he heard three loud "thumps" on his wall. Fearing a prowler, Kaelin said, he went outside to investigate, then returned to his room, where he called Ferrara back and told her he had seen no one. On the stand, Ferrara corroborated the account.

Kaelin's version was favorable to the prosecution because it was just outside his guest cottage where police say they discov-

ered the bloody glove that matches one found near the bodies of Nicole Simpson and Ron Goldman. His testimony suggested that the glove may have been dropped there by someone at around 10:40. But if so, was that person necessarily Simpson?

That's why prosecutors are now eagerly investigating a claim brought to them by two friends of Ferrara's, who say that in conversations they had with Ferrara after the murder, but before she gave her testimony, she described her phone talks with Kaelin in a crucially different manner. The two friends, both of whom have also related their story to **TIME**, say Ferrara told them that in Kaelin's second call he reported that when he opened his door to go outside, he found Simpson standing there. When a startled Kaelin told O.J. about the noises, Simpson replied that he had heard them too. The two men briefly inspected the grounds before Kaelin returned to his guesthouse to call Ferrara back.

If prosecutors can confirm that account, it would place Simpson outside the guesthouse at around the time they believe he dropped the bloody glove nearby. But if their new lead is potentially important, it's also a decidedly mixed blessing. In order to present a jury with a revised version of Kaelin's story, they would have to refute his earlier one, in the process casting doubt on his reliability as a witness. If they recant their earlier testimony, Kaelin and Ferrara could open

themselves to perjury charges, though prosecutors would presumably decline to press those in return for the pair's cooperation. William Genego, Kaelin's attorney, denies his client lied on the stand. "I am completely confident that any investigation will show that Kato told the truth."

Ferrara's two friends claim that they urged her without success to take her story to the police. One of the pair says that during the week of June 13 she contacted the West Los Angeles police station with the story and left her name with a desk clerk. When no one from there called her back, she called prosecutor Hodgman this week. "I didn't know if this was important or not," she says. "But I kept thinking someone should know." After meeting with L.A. police detective Philip Vannatter in a van parked near her apartment, she was driven to a nearby police station, where she talked for 2½ hours with Vannatter, Clark and Hodgman.

Even as the district attorney's office was trying to shore up the likelihood that it was Simpson who dropped the telltale glove, O.J.'s lawyers were trying to chip away the credibility of another support-

ing player in the case, L.A. police detective Mark Fuhrman, the man who claimed to have found the glove there. In July the defense team leaked stories that Fuhrman had a history of open hostility toward blacks, a charge that Fuhrman vigorously denies. Though Robert Shapiro, the lead defense attorney, promised not to make race an issue in the case, Simpson's attorneys filed a devastating motion that seeks police-department records on Fuhrman and three other detectives on the case. Contending that Fuhrman "is a dangerous officer with a propensity to create false information against African-American defendants," the defense offered an affidavit from a former real estate agent who claims Fuhrman told her that "if I had my way, they would take all the niggers, put them together in a big group and burn them."

Meanwhile, a grand jury begins hearing witnesses this week in an investigation of Al Cowlings, Simpson's good pal and the driver of the white Bronco during O.J.'s freeway chase. Prosecutors are looking into the possibility that even before acting as Simpson's driver, Cowlings was trying to help his friend cover his tracks, perhaps to the extent of concealing or destroying evidence. If so, the faithful companion could be charged as an accessory to murder. That's what it's like in a tornado's way.

—Reported by
Elaine Lafferty and Jeffrey Ressler/Los Angeles

LA FOR TERROR

The former Soviet arsenal is leaking into the West, igniting fears of a new brand of nuclear horror

By **BRUCE W. NELAN**



ON A SUNNY AFTERNOON IN central Kaliningrad, a Russian enclave on the Baltic, two private security guards and a trading-company executive strolled along a quiet street. They were expecting to meet a middle-aged man from St. Petersburg. In exchange for \$1 million, they would hand over an 8-in. by 8-in. metal container holding highly radioactive material. But as the traders and their client were about to make their open-air swap in mid-August, 15 police officers rushed out to grab them. The police seized the 130-lb. case emitting gamma radiation. Until a specialized laboratory can examine the material, the police cannot be sure what it is or where it was stolen from, but they believe it is dangerous—and illicit. This is the second major case of nuclear theft that Vladimir Kolesnik, the deputy chief of St. Petersburg's organized-crime department, has thwarted since last May. "The problem," he says, "is that security standards have slackened, and virtually everybody who has access to nuclear materials could steal something."

The first symptoms of the nuclear plague are spreading into Europe. After years of scares and false alarms—almost all the supposed bomb-grade goods on offer turned out to be fraudulent—German police have in the past four months uncovered four cases of smuggled nuclear material that could actually be used to make an atom bomb. The biggest haul came on Aug. 10, when Lufthansa Flight 3369 from Moscow landed in Munich with 350 grams of atomic fuel aboard. As it happened, so was Viktor Sidorenko, Russia's Deputy Minister for Atomic Energy, whose agency supervises Moscow's stocks of fissionable materials. The lead-lined suitcase was carrying MOX—mixed-oxide fuel for reactors but perfectly usable in a bomb since it contained plutonium enriched to 87%. A Colombian and two Spaniards were arrested. While

the Germans made it clear that they did not suspect Sidorenko of any involvement in the case, they had no doubts that it was the deputy minister's country from which the dangerous stuff had come. It was, said Bavarian Interior Minister Günther Beckman, "the biggest-ever plutonium find in Germany, and probably the world."

Two days later, at a railway station in Bremen, a 34-year-old German man was arrested trying to peddle a sample of plutonium to a journalist acting for the police. The seller had only a very tiny amount, .05 gram, but of such startling purity that experts said it probably came from a top-of-the-line Russian nuclear laboratory. Senior officials in Moscow reacted defensively, insisting that all their plutonium was accounted for and safely under guard. The accusation from Germany, blustered Deputy Atomic Energy Minister Yevgeni Mikenin, "is a provocation of the purest water."

The world's first notice that weapons-grade plutonium was on the open market came in southern Germany last May, when 6 grams were found in a garage owned by a German businessman who had been arrested for counterfeiting. That was followed in June by recovery of less than a gram of highly enriched uranium—probably fuel from a nuclear-powered submarine—in Landshut. Even if all this smuggled booty were put together, there would not be enough for the smallest and crudest atom bomb, which in the hands of inexperienced makers would take about 8 kg of plutonium.

Even so, the emergence of a black market for the essential material of mass destruction is a historic and nightmarish challenge for the world. It makes the threat of nuclear proliferation far more urgent and increases the number of characters who could do it themselves. "We've crossed a threshold. You smuggle small amounts of the stuff often enough, and you've got a bomb," says Leonard Spector, director of the nonproliferation project at Washington's Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The arrival of these nuclear

samples on the German market is a red alert, raising immediate questions about what is happening in other countries and who the potential users might be. If such snippets are on sale in Germany, what larger deals might be going undetected elsewhere? If bomb-grade plutonium is finally on sale, will a rogue state or terrorist group step up to buy enough to build a bomb?

Such fears have a foundation: the world has seen terrorism continuously evolve to new heights of ingenuity and depravity. This week Carlos the Jackal is in jail in France, and North Korea is using the threat of nuclear weapons to try to extort billions from its neighbors. Their juxtaposition in the news, linking the worst of 1970s-style terrorism with the brazen threat of irresponsible nuclear ambitions, shouts a warning of a different sort of terror, still indefinable but extremely frightening. The combination of brutality and fanaticism with nuclear weapons could bring about disasters almost too chilling to contemplate.

The old wave of terror, personified by Ilyich Ramírez Sánchez, is ebbing. "Carlos," says Paul Wilkinson, an expert on terrorism at St. Andrews University in Scotland, "symbolized a terrorism of the extreme left which has almost died out in



HEART OF THE SYSTEM: Plutonium is present but perhaps not accounted for at labs like Moscow's Kurchatov Institute

Europe." Carlos and his Soviet, Marxist and leftist Palestinian allies represent failed ideologies. The inheritors today are nameless Islamic extremists from Hizballah, Hamas and their sponsors—everyone thinks first of Iran as chief sponsor—who see themselves as the force of the future in the Middle East. While their cause is the same—derailing the peace process and destroying Israel—the Islamists do not need a secular professional like Carlos.

Nuclear weapons in the hands of extremists willing to use them would produce terrorism of a wholly new magnitude. The central logic of terrorism is to maximize horror and shock, producing a blaze of publicity and attention for the

cause it represents. By the measure, the crudest of fission bombs set off in a modern city vaporizing entire blocks, would make the crimes of Carlos at his ilk rank as little more than pinpricks.

WHO ARE THE SELLERS? Beyond terrorism, if significant amounts of plutonium are beginning to flow from Russia, they could make the development of nuclear weapons much easier for states that up to now have found bomb programs too expensive and technically beyond their capabilities. Countries such as North Korea and Pakistan

which have some plutonium of their own as well as countries such as Iran and Libya that would like to, might begin to look seriously at what is on offer in the new marketplace. "There is already far more bomb-quality nuclear material in Germany than the authorities can imagine," says Russian atomic expert Vladimir Chernomir, who was one of the officials charged with cleaning up the Chernobyl nuclear accident. "If economic conditions in Russia do not improve soon, there will be an outflow organized from the highest echelons."

To help prevent that, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl sent intelligence coordinators

Could a Free-Lancer Build a Bomb?

By MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

FIRST YOU HAVE TO GET THE PLUTONIUM OR THE URANIUM. Either material will do the job. But since much of the nuclear stuff offered for sale is bogus, a smart buyer would need access to a no-questions-asked research lab, perhaps in a place like Iran, to test the material. An amateur would use about 18 lbs. of 94% plutonium-239 or 55 lbs. of uranium to make a Hiroshima-strength bomb. Then you have to detonate it. The basic principles of bomb technology are available to anyone who knows where to look up the information, but actually constructing one is not quite that simple.

A handful of conspirators in a garage, like the World Trade Center bombers, would almost certainly lack the money, technical know-how or laboratory equipment to fashion nuclear raw materials into a working weapon. In fact, experts believe that it would be extremely difficult for most terrorist groups to make an atom bomb without the resources of a friendly country. The task, says Spurgeon Keeny, a physicist who is executive director of the Arms Control Association in Washington, is like building an automobile. Many people know how one is assembled, "but there is a lot of difference between that and sitting down in your shop and doing it."

Plutonium is generally more available than enriched uranium but harder to build a bomb with. Smuggling enough stolen plutonium is reasonably easy: the gray metal commonly comes in 2-lb. bars or gravel-like pellets. While it is highly toxic to breathe in—one grain can cause lung cancer—its radioactive alpha rays do not penetrate very far, so thick lead shields are not necessary. But airport metal detectors, which would register any sizable quantity, are to be avoided.

While the U.S. or Russia could make a miniaturized bomb with as little as 6 lbs. of bomb-grade plutonium-239, a beginner could hope to produce only a much larger, cruder device from 18 lbs. The fissionable metal for a bomb core has to be melted down and fashioned into a virtually perfect sphere about the size of a tennis ball—called a pit—a tricky process that takes a well-equipped nuclear laboratory. To make the bomb reach critical mass and set off a chain reaction—nuclear fission—you have to make the sphere implode in on itself. That requires a bang from about 800 lbs. of conventional explosives, packed around the plutonium. But the implosion has to apply perfectly uniform pressure from all sides, so all the explosives have to go off at exactly the same time, triggered by precisely placed high-energy capacitors—devices capable of releasing enormous, rapid bursts of electricity. The right timing devices require a level of technology

nator Bernd Schmidbauer to Moscow on Saturday to talk with President Boris Yeltsin about ways to tighten controls over nuclear stocks. "We have to tell our Russian friends," said Kohl, "you must guarantee that these possibilities for theft are reduced as much as possible."

Some Russian officials continue to deny that their facilities are the source of the leaks into Germany. "Not a single gram of plutonium-239 is missing from storage," a spokesman for the Federal Counter-Intelligence Service insisted last week. "Our storage system is as reliable as a bank vault," claimed Alexander Rumyantsev, director of the Kurchatov Institute, a leading nuclear laboratory in Moscow.

Conditions in Russia more closely resemble a bazaar than a bank. Industry and most sectors of the economy are tottering; workers are mostly unpaid. Poor people

are inventive, goes a Russian proverb, and the poorer they are the more inventive they become. Among the most aggrieved are the 100,000 workers employed in national nuclear plants and laboratories, whose salaries have slid to \$100 a month—or no pay at all for months at a time. So almost anything is for sale. Last year Russian police acknowledged thwarting 11 attempts to steal uranium from nuclear installations.

Other attempts may have succeeded, as nuclear workers grew increasingly desperate. At Krasnoyarsk-26, a factory producing weapons-grade plutonium, employees mounted a protest last month, demanding salaries that had not been paid since May. Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin then had to rush to Arzamas-16, where nuclear warheads are being disassembled, to head off a similar kind of unrest.

What makes the disarray so frightening is the staggering amount of dangerous radioactive material all over Russia. Experts there say the old Soviet weapons complex produced more than 140 metric tons of plutonium. The stockpiles of highly enriched uranium, which can also be used to make bombs, total about 1,000 metric tons.

Under strategic-disarmament treaties with the U.S., Russia is dismantling about 2,000 warheads a year, recovering shiny, fist-size spheres of plutonium called pits—the elemental core of a bomb—which it is putting into storage. A purchaser who acquired one of these would have the key ingredient of a bomb. Over the next 10 years, the U.S. and Russia will take 100 metric tons of plutonium out of warheads, and their nuclear-power industries will produce an additional 110 tons. By then there

THE INNER WORKINGS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

Implosion method, Plutonium bomb

A sphere of fissionable material is compressed by a blast from surrounding explosive. Pressure forces the material into a smaller volume—and a higher density. A precisely timed burst from an electronic neutron source then triggers a chain reaction and a nuclear explosion.

Neutron initiator

High-explosive detonators

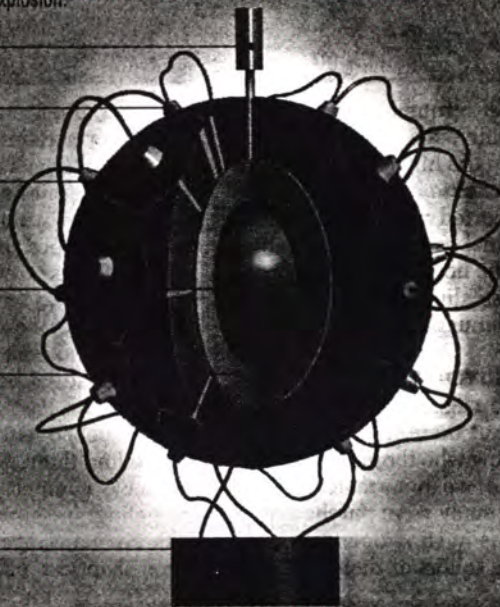
High-explosive charges to crush plutonium into critical mass

Plutonium center

Uranium 238 layer reflects escaping neutrons

Detonating device

Source: Nuclear Atlantic



Gun mechanism, Uranium bomb

Two pieces of uranium, each too small to undergo nuclear fission alone, are forced together with an explosive propellant. Once they are combined, a runaway chain reaction spontaneously causes an explosion.

Propellant

Uranium 235

Gun barrel

Uranium 235



available only to highly trained engineers working in well-equipped labs. Much of the lab work can be bypassed by purchasing ready-made plutonium pits extracted from dismantled nuclear missiles. These spheres have already been machined and need only the surrounding detonation gear to set them off. Yet so far, Russia has apparently kept close tabs on its sizable stockpile.

An alternative fuel is enriched uranium, which is uranium purified to boost the percentage of the rare isotope U-235, but you would need at least 55 lbs. The material is harder to come by than plutonium because it is usually stored in well-guarded military facilities, but it is easier to turn into a crude bomb. Making it explode is a relatively simple matter of firing one chunk of uranium, like a bullet, into another, larger chunk. The pieces

have to be shaped properly, but the tooling necessary is nowhere near as precise as that needed for a plutonium bomb.

This kind of bomb, which terrorists could conceivably make, would deliver at most one-tenth the energy of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki devices—but that is still equivalent to 1,500 tons of TNT. While such a device would weigh a few thousand pounds, it could be transported in a small truck or a large van. A bomber could simply drive it into an underground garage, like the one at the World Trade Center, park it and get as far away as possible before detonating it by remote control. The nuclear explosion could bring down one of the towers and kill virtually everyone inside the complex. Eventually, the bomb would cause at least 100,000 deaths from the blast and radiation. —Reported by Janet I-Chin Tu/Washington



A MIXED BLESSING: Intermediate-range SS-23 missiles are destroyed in Kazakhstan, but their lethal cores just go into storage

will be enough plutonium in storage worldwide to build 42,000 atom bombs.

Some Western estimates put Russia's current stock of plutonium at 200 tons. The military weapons, including all those pits, are still under tight security—as far as anyone knows. But other forms of plutonium are scattered all over the country in research institutes, laboratories, reprocessing plants, shipyards and power stations, where security is believed to be lax and accounting is unreliable.

With big money presumably to be made in the plutonium trade, some thefts will be inside jobs. Deputy Interior Minister Mikhail Yegorov told Western officials at a conference in Germany that he believed the 6 grams of plutonium found in that country in May had been stolen by officials of the Russian Atomic Energy Ministry. In other cases, Russian gangsters will step in and bribe or coerce those with access to fissionable materials to steal them.

When FBI director Louis Freeh visited Moscow last month, he told cadets and faculty of the Russian Police College that "one criminal threat looms larger than the others: the theft or diversion of radioactive materials in Russia and Eastern Europe."

Organized-crime groups, he warned, would try to obtain such materials "to be offered for sale to the highest bidder." The Russian daily *Izvestia* makes the same judgment. It reported recently that more than 5,500 criminal gangs were operating in Russia, and "the lion's share of their operations involve stealing fissionable nuclear materials and smuggling them out."

WHO ARE THE BUYERS? The rise of this illegal commerce suggests that there are serious bidders out there. But there is no evidence indicating who they are. Three of the four samples of weapons materials that turned up in Germany were purchased by undercover agents in sting operations designed to trap the sellers or their couriers.

Indeed, in the Bremen episode, the defendant's lawyer claims that his client too police operative. There have been runs in Germany, but no proof, that the 6 grams found in May were acquired for a foreign government, possibly Iraq or North Korea. In fact, there is no evidence yet that anyone in Germany was buying or prepared to buy nuclear material except the police.

When the first samples of low-grade nuclear material began to leak out of former Warsaw Pact countries in 1991, German police sent special squads into the field to find them. Since 1991, German police have counted 440 cases of nuclear smuggling, and almost all have been stopped. With so many agents posing as buyers, some skeptical officials wonder if they

might be creating a market. "There's no evidence of a real market for plutonium in Germany," says Bremen's chief prosecutor. He wonders whether the interest in pursuing criminals is bringing danger to Germany.

Yet the spectacle of parent amateurs in the plutonium business getting their hands on the real thing could bring serious consequences onto the scene of big money. How big the money has to be is still



answered because no deals outside police scams have come to light. Even so, the price of enough plutonium to make a bomb would have to be in the millions of dollars or tens of millions. It is doubtful that any terrorist group has that kind of financing. Even Hizballah, the extremist group most directly linked to a state sponsor, cannot expect to receive tens of millions for its own purchases from an Iran that is struggling to arm itself.

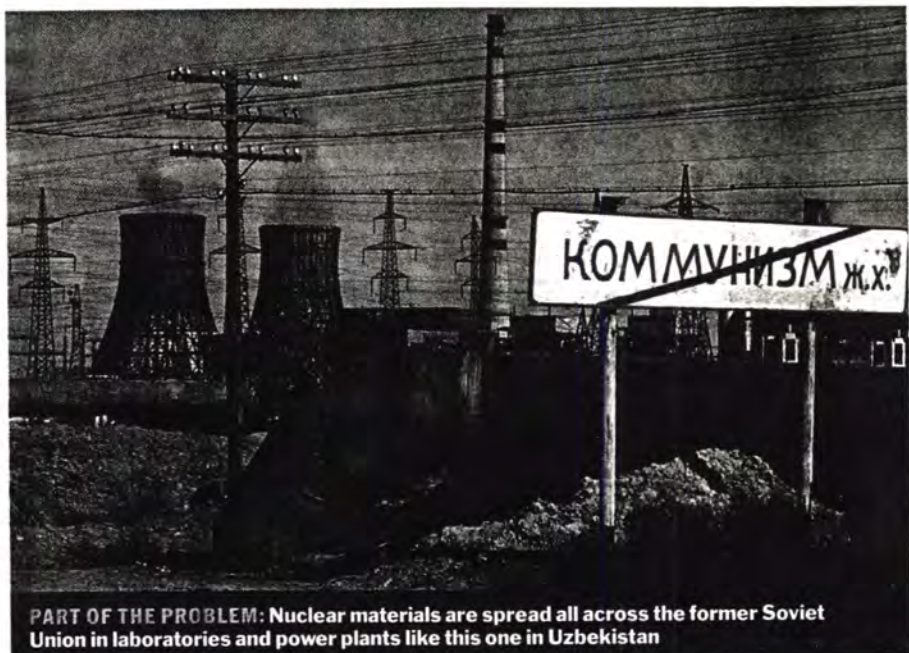
Nor is a radical state like Iran, Libya or Iraq likely to buy a bomb and hand it over to terrorists. "If you just spent \$300 million on something," asks a State Department specialist, would you turn it over to a band of terrorists "or would you keep it for your own protection?" He also wonders if Iran could keep secret forever the transfer of a nuclear weapon to Islamic militants. Tehran would have to be certain it did not leave fingerprints on the deal, or the country could become the target of reprisals—possibly nuclear. "God help the state that gave terrorists nuclear material," says the official. "The international community's response would be dramatic."

Yet the mere fact that plutonium is on the market could conceivably lend credibility to terrorist groups that might try to persuade people they have built a bomb. "The problem now," says Richard Guthrie of the Verification Technology Information Center, a nonprofit group in London, "is blackmail. If someone says he's built a bomb in a basement somewhere, how does a government react when that person produces a gram or so of weapons-grade material to prove the threat?"

While the ultimate terror would be a working bomb constructed by terrorists on their own, the much likelier catastrophe is a large purchase of plutonium by a country looking for a shortcut to a nuclear arsenal. "It's clear that the highest bidder is going to be a state," says Phebe Marr, an expert on Iraq at the National Defense University in Washington. A government with nuclear ambitions would want not just a single bomb but an arsenal or significant additions to an existing arsenal. One or two bombs could attract threats and retaliation from abroad. So an interested state would be in the market for tens or hundreds of kilograms of plutonium—and that amount would be extremely expensive.

Experts in the Middle East suggest that only Iran—in addition to Israel—is believed to be actively pursuing nuclear weapons. In spite of its severe problems of debt and unemployment, the Iranian government has not reduced its spending on arms programs. "Iran wants to be the most powerful military presence in the gulf," says Mourad El-Desouky, a military expert at Al Ahram Strategic Studies Center in Cairo. "It wants nuclear weapons for deterrence and to in-

“One criminal threat looms larger than others: the theft of radioactive materials.”



PART OF THE PROBLEM: Nuclear materials are spread all across the former Soviet Union in laboratories and power plants like this one in Uzbekistan

timidate its neighbors." He believes that the Iranians have the money to go shopping for plutonium and weapons-grade uranium from Russia's black market in Western Europe, and "it is realistic to think they are doing that."

WHO CAN CONTROL IT? Policymakers and scientists in the West hope to persuade the Russians to take steps that would head off the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. On this score, the U.S. has often talked a better game than it has played. In 1991 Congress authorized the Bush Administration to spend \$400 million a year for three years to help the former Soviet republics keep nuclear materials and facilities secure. So far, in part because of congressional inaction, about \$500 million of the first \$900 million authorized has not been spent. Among the projects held up: a Pentagon-organized training course for border-control officials of the former Soviet Union.

The National Academy of Sciences looked at the plutonium piling up in the U.S. and Russia and this year recommended concrete steps to take it out of circulation. Since the outright destruction of plutonium is problematic and prohibitively expensive, the academy suggested mixing it with other nuclear wastes and molten glass, creating radioactive glass logs weighing an unusable two tons. These would be stored in deep holes. It also proposes com-

binning plutonium with uranium to make reactor fuel, which after use will leave the plutonium locked into contaminated fuel rods.

The main problem with such ambitious ideas is that the Russians want no part of them. In general, there is enough suspicion left over from the cold war to make Russian nuclear officials determined to keep Americans from getting anywhere near their plutonium stocks. More specifically, the Russians view their plutonium as a national treasure, and they don't propose to do away with it.

Rather, they want to store their plutonium to use later as fuel in a new generation of breeder reactors, which they hope to have up and running in about 20 years. They intend to keep their tons of shiny plutonium warhead pits in storage until then—even at a cost they estimate at around \$2 per gram per year. The new reactors will be hugely expensive too, and the floundering Russian economy may not be able to afford them. Then the plutonium will be little more than an immense security problem, requiring protection against theft and diversion for about 25,000 years—the half-life of plutonium. It would be better if the experts could get to work on a solution before the huge stockpile's still-small leaks turn into a flood that could engulf the world.

—Reported by Lara Marlowe/Beirut, Elaine Shannon/Washington, Bruce van Voorst/Bonn and Yuri Zarakhovich/Moscow

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Plutonium on the Agenda

AS FAR AS the world knows, the plutonium smuggled out of the former Soviet Union has not—so far—been sufficient to build a nuclear weapon. But the evidence that there's any trafficking at all in this sinister material is profoundly troubling. It's the most serious kind of a warning that governments—and not only Russia's—need to get urgently to work to manage and control the large surpluses of the stuff that the end of the Cold War has suddenly created.

Over the past couple of years, a long shelf-full of reports and studies has described the dangers that can arise as the nuclear powers dismantle their weapons, especially in a state that has collapsed into separate and independent countries. The interceptions of small amounts of plutonium by the German police point to a lapse of security that many close watchers foresaw as entirely possible. But few governments, and certainly not the United States', are ready to deal with it.

The United States does not have a clear strategy for dealing with its own excess plutonium, let alone other countries'. Various agencies seem to be moving in different directions. As for working with Russia, Congress has appropriated some money to help Moscow set up a tight system of accounting and control, but very little of that money has actually been spent. Attempts

at cooperation have run into the general political turmoil there and, beyond that, a widespread reluctance among Russian officials to let foreigners anywhere near a substance that many still consider a great national asset. There are a lot of people, and not only in Russia, who equate plutonium with power in both meanings of the word—national power but also energy to heat and light cities in a cold climate.

Russia's President Boris Yeltsin is to visit German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Berlin next week, and later in September, he is to meet President Clinton. The security over nuclear materials deserves a high place on the agendas for these conversations.

Mr. Clinton and his foreign policy advisers have been greatly distracted in recent months by Cuba, Haiti and Bosnia. All three cases have real significance to this country as tests of its principles, particularly its principles of human rights. But in terms of American national interest and national security, Caribbean and Balkan policy hardly compare to this country's stake in the future of Russia and its nuclear armory. The leakage of plutonium so far is only a hint of what could happen. It's a hint that requires the most intense consideration by the two presidents next month when they sit down together.

The Nuclear Black Market

Recent reports that German police have intercepted small amounts of nuclear material on Europe's black market are a chilling reminder that the end of the cold war brings no guarantee of nuclear safety. Indeed, the disintegration of the former Soviet Union with its huge stockpiles of weapons and nuclear materials may actually make the world more dangerous than it was when such materials were under police-state control.

Surely there is no more urgent task before the world's governments than eradicating this embryonic trade. Yet Russia resists, and the Clinton Administration has been slow to press the issue.

The materials intercepted in four recent incidents by German authorities were not in themselves a weapon threat — the amounts of plutonium and highly enriched uranium were too small and too impure to make a bomb. What is unnerving is that these small amounts appear to have been samples designed to generate future sales of larger amounts to foreign countries or terrorist groups eager to make nuclear weapons.

There is no evidence yet that any warheads or enough material for a bomb have actually been spirited out of Russia. But German officials were right to sound the alarm. The known seizures could be a mere fraction of the dangerous traffic.

The former Soviet Union relied on physical security at installations and close monitoring of its population to prevent anyone from making off with nuclear materials. But with the police state now

gone, criminal gangs proliferating and social turbulence rising, conditions seem ripe for thefts.

The most immediate need is for intensified police work to intercept smugglers. That will require an unusual degree of cooperation among police and intelligence agencies in Europe and the former Soviet Union, with help from the U.S.

Stronger protective measures are also required at all military and civilian nuclear sites in the former Soviet bloc. At a minimum there must be an accurate inventory; even Russian officials acknowledge they have lost track of who possesses what nuclear material.

Only the Russians can truly fix the security breakdown, and they are sending mixed signals. President Boris Yeltsin has promised to block the trade in nuclear contraband, and many Russian officials seem eager to upgrade security. But nationalist politicians and many atomic energy officials in Russia dismiss the concerns as Western propaganda. Unless responsible leaders prevail, the task appears hopeless.

Securing Russia's nuclear stockpiles is a matter of great urgency. Yet the Clinton Administration, distracted by domestic battles and other foreign crises, has given it only fitful attention. No high-level official is working on the problem full time, and diplomacy is going very slowly. As the President prepares for a meeting with Mr. Yeltsin in September, there is no more important issue for the White House to engage.

The Nuclear Mafia

Plutonium and highly enriched uranium are being guarded reasonably well in the U.S. But in the former Soviet Union, where the political and economic situation is unstable and organized crime has skyrocketed, the risk of theft or diversion is high. . . [W]orkers at the nuclear storage and research facilities are paid infrequently or not at all. The temptation to accept bribes or to sell weapons-grade plutonium or highly enriched uranium is great.

This warning, published two months ago in *Chemical and Engineering News* magazine, is coming to ominous fruition as an international "nuclear Mafia" tries to peddle the stuff of atomic bombs. Germany has reported four seizures of smuggled nuclear materials since May. It identifies Russia as the source. Moscow denies the allegation but belatedly promises its cooperation in preventing the flow of nuclear materials from its labs, weapons facilities and power plants. It has arrested two men charged with stealing 22 pounds of low-grade uranium from a laboratory.

Each facility that reprocesses uranium into plutonium leaves a distinctive "signature" in its precise mix of elements. Moscow's insistence that all its plutonium is accounted for is patently fraudulent

in light of the lawlessness plaguing the country. But Germany, whose bankrolling of Russia's faltering economy gives it leverage, has wisely decided to promote a Bonn-Moscow joint crackdown rather than force the Russians to lose face.

Just as German police were grabbing their first nuclear smugglers last May, FBI director Louis Freeh was citing such illegal arms trafficking as "the greatest long-term threat to the security of the U.S." After he arranged to establish an FBI office in Moscow, *The Sun* said "it will take monumental cooperation between American and Russian authorities to keep nuclear materials out of the hands international organized-crime operations." Germany and other nations should be added to the list.

If Russia aspires to be a full partner in the international community, it should not resist efforts to fight a nuclear Mafia that knows no borders and has no scruples. As the superpowers dismantle large portions of their huge nuclear arsenals, this perversely loosens controls on large quantities of plutonium and enriched uranium, some of which could pass into the hands of criminal elements.

This is not just a German, an American or a Russian problem. It is a human problem that affects the security and viability of the planet.

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Atlanta, GA
Constitution
Atlanta Met Area



Monday

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N1956

LUCE PRESS CLIPPINGS

Plugging nuclear leaks from Russia

Revelations that minute amounts of smuggled weapons-grade fissionable material have been seized by German authorities bring to mind a favorite saying of Illinois Sen. Everett Dirksen: If you spend a million here and a million there, pretty soon you're talking about real money.

One disturbing aspect of these seizures is that Western governments have no way to know how much plutonium may have slipped past its customs defenses and fallen into the hands of regimes seeking shortcuts to super-power status.

It has been hardly less dismaying that Russia, the suspected source of the plutonium, has angrily denied reports that the nuclear trafficking is a result of its own security lapses. In fact, until late last week, its rhetoric on the subject was reminiscent of Soviet propaganda of yore, with dark intimations of foreign plotters. But last Thursday, Russian police arrested three men trying to sell \$1 million worth of plutonium. At the same time, President Boris Yeltsin dispatched a note to German Chancellor Helmut Kohl pledging to cooperate fully with law enforcement officials to stamp out

nuclear smuggling at the source.

What roused Yeltsin at last? It's hard to say, but it probably didn't hurt for the United States and Germany to work the good-cop, bad-cop routine, with the Germans blaming Russia directly and the Americans reserving judgment but offering additional assistance to Moscow to safeguard its nuclear assets.

The source of the smuggled plutonium is not yet clear, but suspicion is zeroing in on Russia's civilian nuclear sector. Security nowadays is appallingly lax, and Russian officials are far less inclined than the Belarussians and Ukrainians to let Western experts help them inventory their nuclear stockpiles.

As communism collapsed, Washington quickly recognized the potential for trouble as Moscow's grip over its nuclear assets relaxed. It spent millions to dismantle Russian warheads. It committed to buy Russia's enriched uranium for nuclear power generation. It initiated FBI-Russian internal security contacts to prevent Russian crimelords from dabbling in nuclear terrorism. Clearly, America must be ready to provide more help and persuade the Russians to live up to their nuclear responsibilities.

A suitcase of plutonium

Two disparate events this week underscored the growing urgency of finding workable solutions to the world's nuclear dilemma.

In Germany, the discovery of a suitcase containing smuggled weapons-grade plutonium from Russia confirmed the world's worst fears about the lax controls on the nuclear materials that belonged to the former Soviet Union.

In the Marshall Islands, President Amata Kabua offered to sacrifice one of his country's already contaminated islands as a dump for the world's nuclear waste in exchange for money to clean up the rest of his country's contaminated sites. The islands were used to test U.S. nuclear weapons.

It's a bad idea.

The 15-nation South Pacific Forum, of which the Marshall Islands is a member, has wisely declared their territories and waters a nuclear-free zone. So Kabua's offer understandably has raised angry eyebrows in the neighborhood.

Kabua is right to seek a means to clean up the mess left by the United States in his country. But nowhere is it written that the United States can discharge what is a clear cleanup debt by piling even more nuclear waste on the hapless Marshall Islanders. The last place nuclear waste, which has to be kept away from water and air for 10,000 years, should be put is on

an island.

The temptation of poor countries, or poor Indian tribes, as in this country, to solve the rich countries' nuclear waste dilemma — for an attractive price — is understandable. Yet there is a real danger that the nuclear nations will succeed in foisting off this stuff on poor, non-nuclear nations ill-equipped to cope with it over the millennia that it must be safeguarded.

The Russian plutonium may have been sold by low-paid Russian scientists or security officials, according to the interior minister of Bavaria, Gunther Beckstein. Because no central authority keeps track of all of the former U.S.S.R.'s weapons-grade materials and the Russians have denied that they have lost any of the material, it's a good but chilling bet, as Beckstein predicted, that "such material will continue to be offered in the future."

Some reliable mechanism must quickly be found to account for and impose strict controls on nuclear weapons materials in the former Soviet Union. The destabilized country, rife with Russian Mafia and others determined to profit by any means during a time of economic and social upheaval, needs all the prodding it can get from the United Nations and the United States to secure these potentially deadly materials.

Houston, TX
CHRONICLE
Houston - Brazoria Met Area

53

Friday

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P5260

LUCE PRESS CLIPPINGS

PLUTONIUM DANGER

Smuggled nuclear materials pose newest world threat

Life is imitating art in the four separate seizures of small amounts of deadly plutonium in Germany over the last four months.

This is the stuff of spy novels, where individuals or renegade nations with evil intentions attempt to smuggle nuclear materials out of the former Soviet Union in order to build their own atomic weapon.

Only this is not fiction. It is real and is happening. And those responsible could conceivably be close to reaching their goal. If four seizures have been made, it is certainly possible, maybe even probable, that other shipments have gotten through to their intended destinations, undetected.

In the post-Cold War era, the illegal spread of plutonium to terrorists or terrorist nations appears to be the newest and one of the most serious threats to world stability. Even a small amount of plutonium in the wrong hands

could enable terrorists or renegade nations to engage in nuclear blackmail.

While the Russians deny that any of the seized plutonium originated with them, it is an open secret that their controls over and accountability of nuclear materials are at best poor. The same is true for other former Soviet republics.

The sorry state of the Russian economy and of other former Soviet states where there are nuclear facilities, and the burgeoning Russian crime syndicates, make the possibility of bribes and payoffs in exchange for plutonium and other weapon-making materials predictable and all-too likely.

The Germans are having some success in containing the problem. What is scary is not knowing how much success. Anything less than 100 percent could be failure. The consequences of failing are frightening.

Getting a grip on nuclear smuggling

When the Soviet Union broke apart, Western intelligence officials warned that nuclear warheads and material could easily find their way out of Russia and into the hands of renegade nations or terrorists.

Then, when organized crime grew in Russia, they cautioned that the risk of nuclear smuggling had increased. But because there was no hard evidence of illegal nuclear exports, the dire warnings seemed unnecessarily alarmist—until now.

Since May, German authorities have made four seizures of weapons-grade nuclear material in undercover operations—two in just the last week.

In the largest, officials arrested three non-Russians who arrived on a Lufthansa flight from Moscow at the Munich airport with a suitcase containing more than a pound of highly radioactive plutonium. (It would take about 20 times that amount to make a bomb, although a small amount in a city's water supply could be deadly for hundreds of thousands.)

Russia denies it's missing any fissile material, but German officials insist the stuff they've seized came from the former Soviet bloc, and few experts think it could have come from anywhere else.

Still, there are many unanswered questions. Who, for example, is putting the material on the market? Is it demoralized military officers or disgruntled scientists? Is organized crime behind the distribution? But regardless of the answers, the possibility of an "atomic mafia" or a "new dimension in crime" no longer can be dismissed as the stuff of Ian Fleming novels.

The dangers of a plutonium black market, perhaps controlled by nuclear gangsters, are real and must be taken seriously. The market now is characterized by ready supplies and the potential for huge profits. The Munich couriers, for example, promised they could deliver about 9 pounds of similar grade plutonium for \$250 million. The fear is that many more shipments have avoided detection and some material may end up in Iraq, Iran, even North Korea.

Washington has acted properly in the past by helping to pay for the dismantling of Russian nuclear warheads and by contracting to buy highly enriched Russian uranium for nuclear power plant fuel.

In addition, FBI Director Louis Freeh traveled to Europe last month to share information on fighting organized crime and nuclear smuggling and to open an FBI office in Moscow. Even more international cooperation will be needed to control the threat.

But the primary responsibility lies in Moscow. Russian officials must stop issuing weak denials and tackle the problem forcefully. They quickly must get an accurate plutonium accounting and tighten security at nuclear facilities. In addition, Boris Yeltsin must make sure his recent crackdown on crime and corruption restores law and order in Russia.

Until he does, Russia will continue to be compared to Chicago in the 1930s. Then, however, the gangsters mostly killed each other with submachine guns. Now they appear to have access to nuclear weapons and are a threat to the world's security.

Los Angeles, CA **S3**
TIMES
Los Angeles—Long Beach Met Area

Wednesday D 1.242.864

AUG 24, 1994

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LUCE PRESS CLIPPINGS

Fighting Nuclear Smugglers

Chilling evidence suggesting that nuclear material is being smuggled out of the former Soviet Union for illicit sale on world markets has prompted a new agreement between Germany and Russia for closer cooperation to combat movement of the contraband. In the last four months three such shipments have been intercepted in Germany, the most recent on a Lufthansa flight from Moscow to Munich two weeks ago.

Western scientists who examined that 10.5-ounce cache of plutonium-239 believe it originated in Russia. But Moscow has emphatically denied any official laxity, and in last week's agreement Germany diplomatically refrained from new finger-pointing.

National pride is clearly very much at issue here, and some in Russia have also hastened to charge that worries over smuggled plutonium have been fabricated to justify Western intrusion into Russian nuclear facilities. But the widespread breakdown in order and controls in Russia and the rise of organized crime, graphically described by Times

correspondent Richard Boudreaux last Sunday, indicate that the theft and smuggling of nuclear material represent an all too plausible threat.

In any event there's no denying that German authorities have intercepted plutonium within their borders. How much smuggled material may have escaped detection is almost too scary to think about.

Such nuclear-ambitious countries as Iran and Libya are believed to be in the market for plutonium, a laboratory-created element not found in nature. But plutonium's great toxicity—a small amount could poison a major city's water supply—makes it a weapon coveted by terrorists as well as by states. Germany and Russia have agreed on closer intelligence cooperation and tighter border controls to try to curb the traffic in plutonium. But Germany isn't the only entry point for nuclear contraband. Other nations should be enlisted in this grim anti-smuggling effort, for the stakes are literally a matter of life and death.

AUG 29, 1994

N2258

LUCE PRESS CLIPPINGS

The greater risk in nuclear theft

After German police uncovered four cases of nuclear smuggling in four months and sparked fears of a global nuclear-weapons bazaar, calmer heads tried to prevail. If all the seized material were combined, they said, it wouldn't be enough for even a small bomb.

That might have provided some consolation until recently, when a Washington-based environmental group issued its own red alert. Nuclear weapons, the Natural Resources Defense Council asserted, can be made with much less plutonium or enriched uranium than is generally thought, and most defense officials and scientists have known it for decades.

By official estimates, it takes nearly 18 pounds of plutonium to make a bomb; in reality, it can be done with about two. In other words, a skilled designer can mold a chunk of plutonium about the size of a cigarette pack into a weapon capable of destroying a 40-block area of a major city. (In Germany, police in just one sting operation were going to buy nearly 9 pounds of weapons-grade material for \$250 million.)

So not only is the world facing the real threat of nuclear smuggling, but the danger may be even greater than previously feared. The United States and Russia are dismantling thousands of nuclear missiles, but the reduced threat of nuclear war is being replaced by the increased peril of nuclear terrorism.

Until last week, all of the discoveries had been made in Germany. Officials there were quick to

blame Russia, with its sloppy security and lax controls, as the source of the material. There were charges that the German police work was politically motivated, aimed at bolstering Chancellor Helmut Kohl's chances in the forthcoming federal elections.

Then Russian agents arrested two unemployed men and seized 21 pounds of commercial-grade uranium stolen from a nuclear complex in central Russia. Russian officials admitted controls at power plants, research centers and other facilities are loose, although they contend security at military sites is adequate.

Still, President Boris Yeltsin pledged Russia's help in finding the source of the plutonium seized in Germany. And Germany and Russia signed a cooperative agreement to control nuclear smuggling.

To insure the Russians remain serious, Germany is threatening to link foreign aid to the nuclear smuggling issue. That's a sensible first step, but the world's nuclear powers (especially the U.S., France and Britain) must work together to encourage Russia to secure its nuclear stockpiles.

They need to devise a serious, comprehensive strategy for discouraging the spread of weapons-grade nuclear material worldwide. It may mean tighter international inspection standards and higher costs. It may mean more spending in Russia to help them add controls and reduce nuclear supplies.

But no one can say they haven't been warned.

LUCE PRESS CLIPPINGS

Plutonium piracy

A series of recent arrests by German authorities has increased fears that the leakage of Russian nuclear materials used to make atomic weapons, plutonium in particular, is growing, and that the seizures made so far could be but the tip of a potentially deadly nuclear iceberg.

German police and customs officials have staged dozens of sting operations in which small quantities of plutonium 239 were seized from suspects of various nationalities — German, Spanish, Colombian — whose motives beyond profit remain unclear. In the latest incident at Munich airport, about 10 ounces of plutonium was seized that had been brought in on a flight from Moscow. It was believed to be a sample of a promised delivery of nearly 9 pounds, an amount sufficient to start work on a crude nuclear bomb.

German authorities accused Russia of lax nuclear security. Moscow vehemently denied that, and a hurried high-level meeting produced a joint statement that the two governments would cooperate to curb the smuggling of nuclear materials.

That's reassuring as far as it goes. But the fragile and chaotic state of Russia's economy and its nuclear industry, the paltry salaries of its nuclear scientists and technicians, and the existence, according to intelligence sources, of a German-based "nuclear Mafia" that's said to be buying and selling nuclear materials, have set off alarm bells among scientists and security experts. While

much of what's being offered has turned out to be bogus, the quantity of the genuine article is alarming enough.

In these circumstances, the Clinton administration must give higher priority to the problem than is now evident. For one thing, it can help dislodge funds approved by Congress but not yet disbursed to help Russia and other ex-Soviet republics dismantle nuclear warheads, tighten security procedures and boost the pay of critical personnel now susceptible to bribery. For another, it can intensify joint policing efforts with Germany, Russia and others to catch illicit traffickers. And it can try to persuade Moscow not to store hundreds of tons of plutonium cores for future energy use but to shift gradually to nuclear fuels not suitable for bomb-making.

It doesn't take much scientific know-how to understand the dangers inherent in a nuclear black market open to any renegade regime or terrorist group with the money to buy the means to wage nuclear blackmail. It still takes more skill than most terrorists are likely to have to convert nuclear raw materials into a deliverable bomb, and so far the leakage the world knows about appears to be modest in scope. That could quickly change, however. There are already enough renegade regimes eager to buy bomb-making materials to cause serious concern. Thus maximum cooperative effort by all responsible powers is urgently needed, now.

LUCE PRESS CLIPPINGS

Nuclear dangers live on after communist collapse

WHAT RESOURCES THIS COUNTRY and the rest of the Free World will be able to dedicate to our quality of life for generations yet to come may well be determined by what happens in the former Soviet Union before the end of this century.

That's the important post-Cold War reality that has yet to sink in. It's directly related to who's in control of the huge amounts of nuclear material the former communist empire amassed during the nuclear stand-off between East and West. No one needs to be told that there are still, and always will be, mad leaders around who wouldn't hesitate to use nuclear threats to enhance various radical and irrational causes.

The United States also built up a huge nuclear arsenal during the Cold War, but we have sophisticated and stable government institutions to track almost every ounce of plutonium and weapons-grade uranium. In Russia and Siberia, political instability means remaining nuclear stockpiles are a source of concern. We all have reason to worry about Russian authorities' admission this week that they have no foolproof controls.

Two unemployed men were caught in Moscow with 21 pounds of uranium-238, and it's little consolation to learn the material is not weapons-grade. German authorities have reported three recent arrests related to small amounts of plutonium smuggled out of Russia.

What's to be done? Russian and German authorities have now pledged to work together to prevent future smuggling. But President Clinton and other world leaders should act immediately to assure that the United Nations and other international organizations take definitive steps to beef up security procedures at nuclear installations and borderlines around the world.

Aside from the chance of North Korea's becoming a nuclear power, no current international problem is as important to our security and that of our children.

St. Petersburg, FL

Times

Tampa Met Area

53

Tuesday

D 378.723

AUG 16, 1994

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LUCE

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Plutonium security

The specter of an international nuclear mafia smuggling weapons-grade plutonium from fragments of the old Soviet Union and selling to the highest terrorist bidder in North Africa, the Middle East or Asia is terrible to contemplate. But the seizure of a third shipment smuggled from Russia to Germany and the arrest of two Spaniards and a Colombian in connection with the incident has focused the international security spotlight on a situation as potentially dangerous as any Cold War atomic standoff.

As nuclear arsenals in the East and West are dismantled, the steel and titanium, the telemetry and the fuel, are easily disposed of. The plutonium that served as fissionable material within each warhead presents far more difficult problems that have no immediate solutions. The security of this material from arms merchants and terrorists should be of primary worldwide concern, yet such protection is spotty and, as demonstrated by the German seizures, far from foolproof.

The Russians say none of the plutonium from their stockpiles is missing, so what was seized in Germany couldn't have come from them. The Germans say they have irrefutable proof the plutonium originated in Russia and can even identify the specific laboratory it came from.

If the plutonium is of Russian origin and the Russians are lying about losing it to avoid embarrassment, they need to be convinced it would be far more than embarrassing if the material were to fall into the hands

of those who would use it irresponsibly. If the material is Russian and the Russians honestly don't realize they've lost it, then they have problems of accountability as well as security. Then, of course, there's always the grim possibility that a nation strapped for hard currency would stoop to state-sanctioned auctions, although it's hard to imagine that any civilized society could be that short-sighted.

Nor should security concerns focus entirely on Russia or the Ukraine or any of the other former Soviet states with a share of the old atomic arsenal on hand. The United States has lost, misplaced or had pilfered some plutonium of its own over the years. If we continue to buy supplies from other nations in order to satisfy ourselves of its security, bookkeeping will become an increasing headache as well as a critical responsibility.

We have the means to create a sound plutonium security system; to be sure, the \$310-million the United States has spent to build overpriced new housing for the bloated National Reconnaissance Organization would have gone a long way toward paying for the research and development such a security system will require.

It's time to stop pointing our fingers at those who've let small plutonium stockpiles slip through theirs and join forces to keep the material safe on a worldwide basis. Regardless of the cost, it will be much less expensive to keep the plutonium safe now than to deal with it in terrorist hands later.

EDITORIALS

Time to Get Serious About Nuclear Thefts

ANOTHER CACHE of purloined nuclear material, 22 pounds of uranium-238 snatched from a closed nuclear center in central Russia, was intercepted by Russian security officials this week. While this latest example of nuclear theft involved non-weapons-grade material that, according to Russian officials, was fairly harmless, it serves once again to

Virtually any amount of plutonium constitutes a terrifyingly potent threat in the hands of terrorists

underscore the belated recognition that the wind down from the nuclear arms race may be even more hazardous than the bad old days of mutual assured destruction.

In those times, at least, there was reasonable assurance that the superpowers had absolute, police-state

control over fissile materials. No more.

Since May, four far more dangerous shipments of nuclear contraband — weapons-grade plutonium and highly enriched uranium — have been seized in Germany, presumably having originated in Russia. While none of them involved enough material to fashion a nuclear bomb, any amount of plutonium constitutes a terrifyingly potent threat in the hands of terrorists, and no one knows for sure how many thefts and transfers may have gone undetected.

One reason for the uncertainty is that no

one seems to know just how much weapons-grade material actually exists in Russia, or even where it is. The inventory is scattered among a number of nuclear sites, and security and accountability at the civilian sites, especially, has eroded significantly, undermined by lack of resources, low worker pay and morale and the determination of ordinary criminals and a sophisticated nuclear mafia to score potentially huge profits from nuclear theft.

Germany has recently taken the lead in persuading Russian government officials to take the matter more seriously. A new Russian-German accord signed this week promises to boost the sharing of information between intelligence agencies and to tighten border controls.

But while the agreement is encouraging, it is far from satisfying. Washington, too, along with the rest of the developed world, must be persuaded to make the issue a priority. Only a fraction of the more than \$1 billion the West has promised to Russia to dismantle its nuclear warheads and secure the fissile materials has actually been allocated, and virtually all of it has reportedly been spent on Western contractors rather than Russian enterprises.

Washington should treat the known threat of rogue nuclear materials in Russia at least as seriously as it does the possibility of a weapons program in North Korea. When President Clinton meets with Russian President Boris Yeltsin next month, an ambitious and cooperative commitment to deal with the problem should be at the top of the agenda.

LUCE PRESS CLIPPINGS

Plutonium for sale to highest bidder

THROUGHOUT the Cold War, this nation feared more than the Soviets' nuclear arsenal.

Today, it is not Russia's weapons that are so frightening. What frightens is the plutonium and other material that increasingly shows up on the black market.

Early this month, German officials seized about 10.5 ounces of plutonium 239 from three suspected smugglers who had flown from Moscow to Munich. The officers who arrested the smugglers said that the plutonium was just part of a deal involving 8.8 pounds of plutonium, offered for sale for \$250 million.

Germany quickly charged that Russia had lost control of its nuclear stockpile.

This incident is not the first time that nuclear material has suspiciously surfaced. German officials say that they have seized weapons-grade toxic material from suspected smugglers on four separate occasions since May.

This week, Russia and Germany agreed to a cooperative program to fight nuclear smuggling. The two nations specifically agreed to tighten their borders and exchange information on suspected smugglers.

The primary problem is that Russia lacks control over its nuclear stockpile. In Cold War days, the Soviets kept their bombs, their plutonium and their scientists on a very short leash.

Today, however, Russian plutonium and enriched uranium are stored in a wide network of research institutes, military bases, power plants and other facilities. The nation that once had central control over everything now has little control over its nuclear material.

Russia doesn't control its nuclear weapons material

Most of the people who work in those facilities — in fact, most Russians — are desperately struggling under dire poverty. Russians are free to travel, and Russia's doors are open to others.

Although President Boris Yeltsin has agreed previously to improve the security over his nuclear material, he hasn't made much progress toward that goal.

Obviously, the real threat here is that the material will fall into the hands of terrorists. Although the plutonium 239 that was seized in Munich wasn't pure, scientists say that enough of the material could be used to construct a deadly bomb. And even non-scientific terrorists could cause horrible damage by putting minor amounts of plutonium in a city's water supply or in the air. Just a speck of the material can cause lung cancer.

Yeltsin has many, many problems at home. But every other world leader — particularly President Clinton and Germany Chancellor Helmut Kohl — must impress upon Yeltsin that securing his nuclear materials must be a top priority. Then the United States and Germany should lend Yeltsin whatever technical expertise he needs to do the job.

This world lived under the threat of a mushroom cloud for decades. It takes very little imagination to conjure up what might happen if the planet's deadliest material fell into the planet's most ruthless hands. ■

San Jose, CA
MERCURY NEWS
EVENING ED



San Francisco - Oakland - San Jose Met A

Thursday

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LUCE

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Radioactive roundup

Russia needs to keep its nuclear fuel from straying

A growing trade in black market plutonium from Russia would almost be funny, in a Keystone Kops kind of way, if it weren't so alarming. Russia's safeguards on nuclear fuel stores began falling apart when the Soviet Union collapsed.

The evidence is showing up in Germany, where four shipments of contraband plutonium — almost surely from Russia — have been seized since May.

Yet only a couple of low officials admit Russia might be the source. The Ministry of Atomic Energy, or Minatom, a vast bureaucratic kingdom that controls most of the fuel, categorically denies any loss of nuclear materials, and refuses to cooperate fully in Western efforts to help improve safeguards.

Minatom chief Viktor Mikhailov says all the fingers pointing at his lax safeguards are part of a Western intelligence agency plot to weaken Russia.

Western officials are wracking their brains for new ways to keep what is now a trickle of nuclear material from

Russia from becoming a flood, washing away international efforts to control the spread of nuclear weapons to renegade states such as Iran and Libya.

Congress has set aside \$133 million to help pay for improvements in safeguards on nuclear weapons materials. Now, the Pentagon is considering using the money in new ways, for instance, to pay salaries to underpaid Russian scientists who might otherwise sell radioactive materials under the table.

This is in general a wise way to use defense money — much cheaper than building bombs. There's one downside: Russian officials, particularly crafty bureaucrats like Mikhailov, might begin to look at the U.S. defense budget as an easy way to cover their payrolls.

President Clinton should remind Russian President Boris Yeltsin that the congressional goose won't lay golden eggs forever. And then Russia will be left unable to pay for nuclear safeguards, imperiling not just the rest of the world, but Russia itself.



Sunday

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AUG 28, 1994

N4796

LUCE PRESS CLIPPINGS

EDITORIALS

No bang for the buck

That's a worthy goal when the topic is helping Russia keep track of its plutonium

Remember when we used to worry about the Big Bang?

In the 1950s, children would practice crawling under school desks to shield themselves from Soviet nuclear attack. But the threat faded, and many thought it disappeared when the Soviet Union imploded.

No such luck.

Now the nuclear danger is the little bang, or maybe nuclear terrorism without any bang at all. The same Soviet collapse that made Americans breathe easier has weakened the strict controls Moscow used to wield over its military.

The aftershocks have also impoverished many people in Russia and other former Soviet republics who have access to nuclear materiel: research scientists, weapons assemblers, security guards and workers at nuclear energy plants. Many haven't been paid their salaries for months.

So why should anyone be surprised that some people are willing to sell *anything* to make a buck?

Recently, German undercover agents were offered nearly nine pounds of weapons-grade plutonium-239 for \$250 million by an international gang of smugglers, who delivered more than half a pound before they were arrested. This was the fourth seizure of smuggled nuclear material by German authorities since May. The Germans think the nuclear goods originated in Russia.

The first installment, carried in a lead container by a Colombian on an

Aeroflot flight from Moscow, was enough for terrorists to blackmail some big city by threatening to poison the water or irradiate the air.

As for the whole nine pounds, which would fit into a can of soda, that was enough to make a bomb. Just imagine if the van that blew up the World Trade Center had contained a crude atomic device rather than garden-variety explosives. Or if a rogue regime eager for nuclear weapons — say, fundamentalist Iran or paranoid North Korea — found a supplier among the shadowy middlemen trying to feed off the Soviet collapse.

The only sane global response is to help the Russians and former Soviet republics strengthen their system of nuclear safeguards. The Bush and Clinton administrations, with wise help from Sen. Richard Lugar (R., Ind.) and Sen. Sam Nunn (D., Ga.), budgeted \$1.2 billion to help arms-reduction efforts in the former Soviet Union, with \$133 million earmarked to protect bomb-usable plutonium and uranium.

Despite the many obstacles blocking U.S. aid, put there by ex-communist bureaucrats distrustful of America, more money should be made available to help the former republics guard against nuclear theft. If necessary, U.S. funds should bypass resistant officials and go directly to institutes working on safeguard programs. To do less is to foster the era of the little bang.

Chicago, IL
Herald
Arlington Heights Ed. **S3**
Chicago Met Area

Monday

D 14.080

AUG 22, 1994

N2202

LUCE PRESS CLIPPINGS

Wanna buy plutonium?

From the Christian Science Monitor

Two years ago, when plutonium traces were found in a car abandoned on the Munich autobahn, the implications of such nuclear smuggling made it one of the main threats to peace and security. In the flush of the post-cold-war period and the hopes for warm working relations with Moscow, this fact was not given top priority by either the Bush or Clinton administrations.

However, detective work by German authorities that resulted in four arrests of those selling illegal weapons-grade plutonium this summer should keep the problem on the front burner. In the past week, two seizures of fissionable material originating in the former Soviet Union have been made. Despite admiration for German security, the real question is: How much is getting through?

Two years ago, experts pooh-poohed the idea of ex-Soviet nuclear stockpiles being raided or plundered.

Yet waning discipline in the former Soviet Army, its need for cash, and, most important, the astounding rise of mafia control in Moscow and chaos in the former Soviet states makes this a live threat.

The Clinton administration conducted a nuclear proliferation policy review for the United Nations last September, concluding that nuclear terrorism was the No. 1 danger. Still, it is not clear the White House is adequately seized by the issue.

Some U.S. scientists think the plutonium from Munich was slightly below weapons grade. This is no reason to put off the problem. Handling nuclear terrorism will require a different security approach from that of the Cold War. Much more focus is needed.

Birmingham, AL
Post-Herald
Birmingham Met Area

S3

Friday

D 80.129

S3

AUG 26, 1994

N1032

LUCE

PRESS CLIPPINGS

OUR VIEWS

Nuclear smuggling

From the day the Soviet Union fell, the prospect of an uncontrollable black market in nuclear materials, weapons and knowhow has haunted serious security analysts around the world. Now, for the first time, near-bomb-grade uranium and plutonium are turning up in the West. The predicted emergency is nearer.

Four times since May, German police have seized samples of radioactive substances they believe originated in Russian nuclear facilities; in one case, the bearer was arrested in Munich after flying non-stop from Moscow. Russian authorities deny that any such materials are missing.

But security is lax at non-military nuclear laboratories. Furthermore, there is no reliable inventory of the former Soviet Union's vast stocks of plutonium. Nuclear materials are present at some 20 facilities (not counting power plants) far-flung across Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan. The weak government in Moscow is in no position to give credible guarantees.

Sunday's arrest inside Russia of two unemployed men accused of stealing 21 pounds of uranium 238 underscores the uncertainties. While this material is used in power plants, not bombs, it allegedly came from a restricted-access facility in central Russia.

Moreover, if a handful of security breaches is proved, how many more remain undetected or unconfirmed by the Russian government? German police claim plutonium has been smuggled to Pakistan. What contraband may have passed through the unruly Caucasus to Iran or Iraq or to terrorist clients of Russian mafia gangs?

It is to be hoped that the recent arrests will sharply raise the priority placed on the issue of nuclear proliferation. The problem is obviously international in scope and demands a vigorous, coordinated response from responsible governments. The bombing of the World Trade Center is illustration enough of this country's vulnerability to terrorist attack.

In recent days, German and Russian authorities have agreed to tighten road and airport controls against nuclear smuggling. But a no-nonsense Europe-wide security strategy is needed.

The Clinton administration, too, must redouble efforts to secure Moscow's cooperation. Existing U.S. aid programs addressing the nuclear problem are moving slowly. They must be spurred and supplemented, and at their summit in September, President Clinton must let Russian President Boris Yeltsin know that the issue is of utmost concern to the United States.

Atlanta, GA
Constitution
Atlanta Met Area

S3

Thursday

D 309.253

SEP 1, 1994

N1956

LUCE PRESS CLIPPINGS

Lock up Russia's nuclear assets

Experts on proliferation took a hard look at the nuclear smuggling revealed recently by German police. Their conclusion? This is more than a tempest in a teapot — though a small one would easily hold all the plutonium and highly enriched uranium seized there. But the world doesn't have a nuclear crisis on its hands, either — not yet.

Nothing that Germans have turned up indicates a lively black market in Western Europe for fissionable material spirited out of Russia. There's no sign of a clandestine bidding war among such presumed nuclear wannabes as Iran or North Korea.

But even in the unlikely event that rogue regimes and terrorist groups won't covet this deadly material sooner or later, proliferation specialists worry that calculating criminals already do — so they can engage in believable nuclear extortion. Twice in 1993, for instance, the German government sweated out attempts to shake it down. Fortunately, those nuclear threats came to naught, but the next time could turn out to be disastrous.

If nothing else, the arrests of nuclear smugglers in Germany and subsequently in Russia should arouse the nuclear powers to gapping

security holes in the former Soviet Union and of the sluggish pace of cooperation between West and East to make fixes.

Part of the problem lies with a ponderous Russian bureaucracy that hates to admit its lapses and fears that ultranationalists may portray its efforts at improvement with U.S. help as treasonous. President Clinton will simply have to impress upon Boris Yeltsin in their upcoming summit the importance of his own responsibilities on this score. For Russia's own protection, Yeltsin must work toward getting all of Russia's fissionable materials relocated in a limited number of secure sites and thoroughly inventoried.

U.S. assistance must be more focused and forthcoming. Clinton needs to stress previous offers of nuclear security and export control technology when he sees Yeltsin. He needs to set up a mechanism for sharing intelligence with Russia about nuclear smuggling and to designate one person with overall responsibility for dealing with the issue.

Helping Russia combat nuclear thievery will be expensive (estimated at \$100 million) and no doubt frustrating. But leaving Russia to its own devices poses too terrible a risk.

LUCE PRESS CLIPPINGS

Link Russian aid with ending nuclear theft

Ironically, the end of the Cold War does not mean we are safe from nuclear disaster. In fact, it may mean we are in more danger. Just look at the seizures in Germany of atomic materials believed smuggled out of Russia.

German authorities broke up one deal reportedly involving four kilograms of weapons-grade plutonium (a kilogram is about 2.2 pounds) in exchange for \$250 million. There have been three seizures of highly enriched materials in the past four months.

There is no evidence enough material has been smuggled out to make a bomb. But there is no way to tell if all of it was intercepted. Some think the relatively small amounts to date are like appetizers, a morsel to show such material can be attained by anyone with enough money.

To solve this problem, there must be more cooperation than we've seen to date. President Boris Yeltsin has promised to stop the flow of nuclear contraband. In general, however, other Russian leaders and scientists have been defensive — denying any material is missing or questioning Germany's motives. Nationalist politicians in particular, ever longing for a return to the old days, have dismissed it as Western propaganda.

Meanwhile, a private organization dealing with nuclear issues has recommended to the U.S. and the United Nations stricter de-

Where we stand: Russia must cooperate in ending nuclear materials theft which threatens world peace.

fenses against criminal use of atomic materials. The National Resources Defense Council (NRDC) recommends lowering the official threshold of danger for plutonium from eight kilograms to one, along with similar drops for other materials.

"The criteria now in use are out of date, technically erroneous and clearly dangerous in light of the recent seizures," said Thomas B. Cochran, a senior scientist at the NRDC.

Only the Russian government and the governments of the countries once a part of the Soviet Union can put into place the tight security needed. Beyond that, they must cooperate with the intelligence and law enforcement agencies of other countries in identifying and pursuing groups that would sell dangerous materials.

President Clinton has a September meeting with Yeltsin. Stopping the flow of atomic materials should be high on the discussion agenda. Clinton and other leaders should tie economic aid to cooperation and success in achieving verifiable results.

Boulder, CO
CAMERA

Denver-Boulder-Longmont Met Area

Friday

D 32.214

AUG 26, 1994

S3

P1578

LUCE

PRESS CLIPPINGS

EDITORIAL

Nuclear nightmare isn't over

The world doesn't hear much anymore about the Doomsday Clock, that device whose minute hand was pushed closer to or farther from midnight depending on the state of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

With the end of the Cold War, the "clock" faded away, along with people's fear of thermonuclear war. Unfortunately, the deadly materials that would have made such a war possible have not faded away. They are stockpiled at hundreds of sites in the United States, Russia and other former Soviet bloc nations.

Supposedly, these stores of plutonium and highly enriched uranium are under tight security — but apparently, not tight enough. Four times since May, German authorities have seized weapons-grade nuclear materials that were being sold on the black market. The largest batch, more than a pound of plutonium 239, was found earlier this month in baggage at the Munich airport.

The Germans are convinced the material is being smuggled out of Russia. The Russians adamantly deny it, insisting that no such material is missing from any of their facilities. But given that nation's current social and economic chaos, that assertion is based more on hope than on facts.

Disarmament agreements with the United States require Russia to remove hundreds of tons of nuclear materials from warheads, work that is going on at military sites throughout the sprawling country. Technicians who were well paid during the arms race are now poorly paid, when they receive paychecks at all. For them, the temptation to smuggle out small amounts of highly saleable material must be great.

By most accounts, such smugglers

would have no trouble finding ready buyers. Individuals arrested by German authorities include two Spaniards, a Colombian, five residents of the Czech Republic and Slovakia and a resident of the former East Germany. But they were only middlemen. The ultimate customers are believed to be terrorist groups and rogue nations such as Iran, Libya, Iraq, and possibly North Korea and Syria.

Most likely it would take the resources of a nation to buy enough radioactive material to make a nuclear bomb. The men arrested in Munich said they were prepared to deliver nine pounds of plutonium

Most likely it would take the resources of a nation to buy enough radioactive material to make a bomb.

for \$250 million — presumably beyond the budget of shadowy terrorist groups.

Such groups also would lack the expertise and the sophisticated equipment necessary to fashion plutonium or uranium into an explosive device. Even so, the materials could prove valuable to them for purposes of blackmail or use against a populace in other ways.

During a trip to Germany in July, FBI director Louis Freeh called the black market in nuclear materials the "greatest long-term threat to the security of the United States" since the end of the Cold War.

So far, Russian officials have resisted outside inspections or oversight of their nuclear-materials stockpiles. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl is pressuring Russian President Boris Yeltsin to join an international effort to stop the leaks in the security system. The United States should add its weight to that pressure.

With plutonium's well-known "half life" of 25,000 years, the nuclear monster is going to be with us for a very long time and we must find foolproof ways to contain it.

The New Threat That Must Unite the World

Plutonium terrorism: International action is needed

Plutonium, named for the ancient god of the mythic underworld, is becoming a commodity in the real international criminal underworld. A larger threat than this to international security is difficult to imagine.

A highly radioactive element that did not so much as exist before nuclear technology first produced it in the 1940s, plutonium is one of the most toxic substances known to science.

One ten-thousandth of a gram, inhaled, can cause cancer. A few ounces in an urban water reservoir could cause hundreds of thousands of deaths. And plutonium-239, an isotope of the element, is a key ingredient in nuclear bombs.

Weapons-grade plutonium has hitherto been under the military control of the world's few nuclear powers.

Nuclear non-proliferation has been a continuing theme in international relations not just because a nuclear attack anywhere would be a catastrophe but because of the terrorist potential of plutonium in civilian hands.

The recent arrest in Germany of Spanish and Colombian civilians on charges of selling black-market plutonium apparently stolen somewhere in Russia suggests that the terror many have warned of may be becoming a reality. Russia has denied that the stolen plutonium comes from its military inventory, and the plutonium intercepted by German security is in fact of reactor-fuel grade rather than high-quality weapons-grade stuff. Unfortunately, a U.S. Department of Energy test recently confirmed that, properly handled, even reactor-grade plutonium can be used to make a bomb; and for other terrorist purposes, reactor-grade plutonium is as lethal as weapons-grade.

The arrests in Germany instantly became a major German-Russian in-

cident. Washington has protested to Moscow. To date, incensed Russian denials have yielded to only tentative cooperation. All this is worrisome: Even in the chilliest Cold War days, international civilian terrorism was one area in which East-West cooperation could usually be counted on.

Post-Cold War leaders must cooperate at least as well as Cold War leaders did. There may have been a breakdown in security at nuclear

power plants in Russia and the other post-Soviet republics. Inventory control even at military installations may not be all it could be. But these problems exist in some form wherever plutonium exists, and they must be addressed as common problems, not offenses by one nation against another. Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary recently con-

firmed that 6,000 pounds of plutonium was unaccounted for in U.S. inventories. And terrorist theft of plutonium from U.S. nuclear power plants cannot be ruled out.

The German public has every reason to be particularly alarmed, but Americans have no reason for complacency. One of the plutonium smuggling suspects arrested in Germany is from Colombia. Islamic terrorist groups are increasingly active in Latin America. The United States has a notoriously porous, resolutely unmilitarized southern border. Preventing the unthinkable from happening calls for rethinking—in a hurry—the relations between crime fighting and national defense and between national and international security. Russia, this time—and for its own sake above all—has got to be an ally rather than anyone's ancestral enemy. No nation stands to lose more than Russia if the gods of the underworld make plutonium their drug of choice.



Handful of death: German policeman with plutonium.

S3

S3

The Washington Post

Black Market Plutonium

LIKE A LEAK in a dike, the trickle of smuggled plutonium turning up in Germany is ominous all out of proportion to the small amounts involved. The shipments have the aspect of salesmen's samples—just enough to show buyers that the smugglers have pipelines to the real stuff. There's an unpleasant implication that the recently seized material may have been intended to set up larger deliveries. The only conceivable purpose of black market plutonium is to make nuclear weapons.

The German authorities announced yesterday that they had confiscated two grams of weapons-grade plutonium from a suspect in Bremen—the fourth case of this kind in three months. The largest amount seized was the 300 grams of plutonium that arrived in a lead-lined suitcase on a plane from Moscow to Munich. Before, that, police arrested six smugglers with a gram of highly enriched uranium. Before that, they found five grams of plutonium in a garage near the Swiss border.

One question is why all these discoveries have been in Germany. Perhaps it's because these new trade routes involve former East German secret police. But it's also possible that highly radioactive materials are moving in all directions, and it's only that the German authorities are more effective than

others in intercepting them. You have to wonder whether similar shipments may be moving southward to Iran and elsewhere in the Middle East.

Russia denies that it is the source of this radioactive contraband, but chemical analysis in Germany strongly suggests otherwise. The Russian military continues to assert that it has reliable control over its nuclear weapons and, fortunately, there's no evidence to the contrary. But the rest of the former Soviet Union's nuclear complex is an altogether different matter—the gigantic system of plants and laboratories producing and enriching nuclear materials. Inflation has diminished salaries there to pittance. Morale is low in these plants, and discipline is sagging.

Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl says that he will send an envoy to Moscow to discuss the situation. The United States has been offering financial help. But not much of that money has actually been spent because of the chaos in Russia, and now the congressional appropriations committees are unwisely cutting back the amounts available. There's an increasingly urgent case for a much more muscular (and expensive) international effort to ensure the security of Russia's plutonium and enriched uranium—if the Russians can be persuaded to accept it.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/1/95

95 MAY 1 A 9:07

April 27, 1995

✓
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

FROM: Harold Ickes (u)

SUBJECT: Fundraising letters for the re-elect

Laura Hartigan has asked whether it is alright with you if James Carville, Paul Begala and Frank Greer sign fundraising letters for the re-elect.

Let's discuss.

Yes

1000 1 1000 10

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/1/95

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

95 APR 22 P3:58

21 April 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
ERSKINE BOWLES
DOUG SOSNIK

FROM: Harold Ickes (45)

SUBJECT: My 20 April 1995 meeting with Geoff Garin

As you know, Doug Sosnik and I meet weekly with Geoff Garin which we find most helpful. To the extent you wish, it might be worthwhile if you were to meet with him every three weeks or so, but that is your call.

The following are notes I took during our meeting. They were dictated from my notes and, therefore, are somewhat random.

Based on his research, Garin thinks the most effective overall message for you is: 1, that a new world economy has developed over the past decade or so and that the United States has fallen behind; 2, the problems have been compounded by the 12 years of neglect under the Republican administrations; 3, American middle class and American workers took the brunt of these dramatic changes and, in effect, were the victims; 4, your (the President's) goal has been, and continues to be, to change the direction of the country so as to put American working families back on solid economic footing so that they can compete in this rapidly changing international economy.

He suggests that with that as the overall story/ theme and explanation, you can then discuss your various accomplishments relating them in context to the over-all story. He thinks it a mistake to start discussing accomplishments without first articulating the overall story so that people have a framework to which to relate the accomplishments.

Although he thinks that changing how government works is a useful concept, he points out that basically voters believe that is what Republicans are elected to do.

He urges that you use 1992 as a benchmark, and measure the Republicans against that backdrop; that there was a budget deficit, a trade deficit and a deficit in investing in people as a result of misguided Republican policies, and that your Administration is about changing the direction of the country.

In his view, the problem with focusing on accomplishments per se, without an overall framework and story, is that, people generally say "fine, but you haven't done enough."

Basically, as he sees it, the argument to be made in September and October of 1996 is that we have turned the country around, not that we have solved every problem, but that we have put it on the right track and it is headed in the right direction.

He urges that you structure the argument so as to be seen as more Presidential and as defining the Presidency. Although he generally applauded the Dallas speech, he felt that it defined you more in a political role than as President. Basically, your job is to make sure that the system works for everyone, not just for one party or the other. Your job is do what is right for the people. You should cast yourself as nonpartisan, rather than as bipartisan.

He thinks that welfare reform is the only issue that really counts this legislative session. He finds it hard to conceive of a circumstance under which you will not be required to sign a welfare reform bill, and, therefore, you must bend every effort with the Senate to ensure that as good a bill as possible comes out of the Senate and the conference. He feels strongly that nothing else, other than welfare reform, means anything to the public in terms of congressional activity.

He also applauds your reference in the Warm Springs speech to persistent experimentation.

He suggests that between now and this October or November, you fire a high level Administration official, for example, for not cutting enough waste or not following an inspector general's findings, etc. Such action would graphically underscore your resolve and insistence that government workers meet the highest standards.

He urges very strongly that you do not talk about what you are doing with the Congress, rather just do it and let your actions speak for themselves. Otherwise you will be seen as process oriented and undercut your status as President by being seen as too much involved with the Congress.

With regard to welfare reform, it his view that if it is between welfare reform and cutting school lunches, there will be broad public support for welfare reform with little concern that school

lunches are cut.

Although he is not against using the veto threat selectively, he is concerned about too much talk of veto without having firmly in mind the end game. He feels that the use of the veto threat last year with respect to healthcare was counterproductive because the end game had not been thought out when the veto threat was issued.

He urges strongly that you talk about the 2 or 3 things that you can't accept, rather than a multiplicity of things you can't accept, and then stick to those 2 or 3 things.

He sees your overall message as being that outlined in the third paragraph of this memo, as well as a focus on persistent experimentation, a la Roosevelt, and constantly hammering on the need for and progress of reform.

Like you, he feels that there will be a very genuine debate about how much government we really want. He sees the first phase dominated by Republicans fussing about cutting waste and abuse. The second phase will be focussed on pushing federal governmental functions down to the state and local levels. After that, the real debate about the role of and how much government we want will begin, and he thinks it will be a critical debate.

He urges that you begin setting up that debate along the lines of your speech to the Florida legislature.

He also thinks commitment to reform is a good theme but urges that you focus on lobbying reform not campaign finance reform. You need to emphasize that only the President stands for and represents all of the people.

In his view, the Republicans are still not viewed by the general public as being too extreme, but the public does see them as favoring the rich and powerful.

At bottom, he sees yours as a story of economic recovery.

With respect to affirmative action, he does not think it will be the defining issue in 1996. His basic recommendation is to muddle through with what we now have. That is, affirm that affirmative action has worked, that we are in a transitional phase, that we still need it, but that a number of areas need tightening up which you intend to do.

He said that proposition 187, which was considered such a "hot" issue in California last year, made only 1-1/2 point difference. As you know, he was Diane Feinstein's pollster.

In his view, the trick with respect to affirmative action is to

give people other things to think about.

Although he recognizes it as fairly high risk, he urges that you very seriously consider giving a "big" speech about race in America rather than a smaller speech on affirmative action per se. Obviously the "bigger speech" would include affirmative action.

That is, he urges that you consider giving a moral speech about race in America and its affect on American politics. He thinks it would be a bold move showing that you have a strong moral core.

Focussing on affirmative action, he made the point that those against racial preferences must agree that people cannot be discriminated against, that we need an honest conversation about it in this country, that we confront the fact that there is still discrimination and that we need mechanisms to ensure equality of opportunity.

He urges very strongly that any statement about affirmative action focus very much on women. According to his polls, that is worth about 11 points.

He urged that you stress the fact that we are in the middle of a transition period which is not over yet, but we have accomplished a great deal and at the rate things are going, the end is in sight.

He very much underscored the fact that the most important thing is to keep Jesse Jackson out of a primary against you. In his view, you cannot be re-elected if Jackson runs a primary against you.

With respect to polling in general, he would not spend money on national polls on at this time, nor would he spend money on individual state polls because they won't tell you much that will be useful months from now. He wouldn't begin polling on a state by state basis nor would he do any national polls until late summer or early fall of this year.

Rather, he thinks we should poll on specific issues such as Medicare/Medicaid and, more importantly, poll distinct constituency groups that we need to know more about. For example, Stan considers northeast catholics as a critical group, and Garin's point is that while he agrees that they are a critical group, we know little about how to talk to them. Therefore he suggests that we do some polling with respect to that and other specific groups to determine what moves them and how best to talk to them.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 28, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/1/95

95 APR 28 17:07

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK

SUBJECT: WEEKLY REPORT

Below are some items of political news I thought would interest you.

PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS

Bob Dole. Dole announced the national co-chairs for his campaign this week. They are: former Ambassador Gerald Carmen (R-NH), Lt. Gov. Mike Huckabee (R-AR), Reps. Jim Leach (R-IA), Susan Molinari (R-NY) and J.C. Watts (R-OK), former Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis (D-PA), former Reagan aide Lyn Nofziger (R-CA), former Reps. Vin Weber (R-MN) and Pat Saiki (R-HI) and former Senator Steve Symms (R-ID) → Bill Clinton W. Byrd

Pete Wilson. Governor Wilson confirmed his complete campaign team this week. It includes top talent from the Reagan and Bush administrations, as well as California's finest consultants. Big names include former Bush VP chief of staff Craig Fuller, Reagan strategist Stuart Spencer, media consultant Don Sipple, former Bush political operatives James Lake and James Ray, opposition researcher Joe Rodota, and former RNC Vice Chair Ken Reitz. Wilson also named a Patton, Boggs lawyer and former Bush agriculture official, Ann Veneman, as his Secretary of Agriculture (replacing someone who was forced to resign over ethical transgressions). In Wyoming last weekend, Wilson continued his aggressive turnaround on environmental protection, calling for oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. In an attempt to provide cover for his assault on environmental laws, he is making a significant effort to save the ancient Headwaters Forest in northern California from corporate raider Charles Hurwitz's Pacific Lumber Company chainsaws. Finally, a San Diego Union poll revealed antipathy toward Wilson's campaign on his home turf--more than half of San Diego *Republicans* oppose his candidacy, and only 9 percent of independents say they would vote for him. Wilson will speak to GOPAC in Washington, D.C. on May 1.

Can we
keep on
this

New York Poll. A New York Post poll released this week shows you beating all major Republican presidential candidates in two way races with 45-47% of the vote, and winning three way races by even larger margins. The job performance question yielded a 41% approval rating. The poll was conducted April 19-24.

Texas. Gramm's campaign released a poll showing him well ahead among Texas GOP primary voters. Gramm scored 51%, followed by Dole with 25%. The poll also showed Gramm leading you 51%-42% in a general election match-up in Texas, a pretty good showing for you against the state's popular senior senator.

GOP in Georgia. In addition to his national agenda, House Speaker New Gingrich has taken an active role in leading the Georgia Republican Party. Gingrich held his first public strategy session with GOP state legislators on Wednesday in Atlanta where he promoted a plan for taking over the Georgia House and Senate in 1996. Democrats currently hold a strong majority in both chambers of the legislature. While Gingrich has not yet endorsed a GOP presidential nominee, Georgia's GOP leadership has already become divided in its support of Lamar Alexander and Phil Gramm. Gramm has received the endorsement of the state's GOP congressional members (other than Gingrich) while Alexander has won the support of key local GOP leaders from the metro-Atlanta area. Georgia will hold the first presidential primary in the southeast on March 5th--one week before "Super Tuesday."

Mrs. Gore in New Hampshire. Mrs. Gore travelled to New Hampshire this week on a two-day tour through Hampton, Exeter, Portsmouth, Durham and Manchester and received rave reviews everywhere she went. She opened the Seacoast Mental Health Center in Exeter, toured the Manchester Mental Health Center and delivered an address on mental health issues at Odyssey House at the University of New Hampshire. She gave exclusive interviews to John DiStaso of the Manchester *Union Leader*, WMUR-TV and *Foster's Daily Democrat*. She also attended several receptions with supporters and key elected officials.

1995 RACES

Denver Mayoral Race. A television poll released last night shows a tightening race and a deadlocked run-off. Mayor Wellington Webb leads the pack with 37%, while Councilwoman Mary DeGroot trails with 28%, followed by City Auditor Bob Crider at 14% and attorney John Frew at 4%. Webb's lead evaporates in a likely run-off with DeGroot to a statistically insignificant margin of 44% to 42%. The race was characterized this week by Webb's fending of charges of cronyism, saying in a televised debate: "I don't condone cronyism." Meanwhile, when DeGroot aired an ad stressing that Denver had never had a female mayor, former Colorado First Lady Dottie Lamm slammed her on behalf of Webb for pandering to gender politics. In a radio ad this week, DeGroot may have previewed a salient issue for her run-off campaign, advocating the elimination of Denver's current affirmative action programs.

Louisiana Gubernatorial Race. First quarter financial reports showed state Treasurer Mary Landrieu (D) with a strong lead in fundraising among Louisiana's gubernatorial candidates. Overall, she has raised almost twice as much money as any other candidate--and spent the most amount of early money on a campaign organization. By the April 14th filing period Landrieu enjoyed approximately \$1 million cash on hand, followed by former Governor Buddy Roemer (R) with \$776,000 on hand. U.S. Rep. Bill Jefferson (D) had more than \$500,000 on hand and

Lt. Governor Melinda Schwegmann (D) trailed with about \$275,000 on hand. Attorney Phil Preis (D), one of the lesser known candidates in the primary field, closed the reporting period with more than \$521,000 on hand.

Mississippi Gubernatorial Race. The Mississippi press has strongly reprimanded Governor Kirk Fordice (R) for his negative comments regarding the Oklahoma bombing. In a statement to the press last Thursday, Fordice criticized you for saying there would be "swift, sure justice" against the terrorists responsible. Fordice responded that he "hasn't seen anybody executed for the World Trade Center bombing." He further questioned, "is the president policeman, judge and jury? Don't we have laws and courts?" The Molpus campaign has not commented on Fordice's statement. A clip is attached.

San Francisco Mayoral Race. A new poll affirms Willie Brown's place as frontrunner in the November election for Mayor of San Francisco. While Brown finished a close second to incumbent Frank Jordan in the first round of balloting, he led by 9 points in a head-to-head runoff against the current mayor. Roberta Achtenberg earned 14 percent of the vote for third place, 15-20 points behind the two leaders. Brown hosted an elegant \$600,000 fundraiser for Assembly Democrats last weekend to commemorate his 15th (and last) year as **Speaker**. Meanwhile, Jordan consultant Clint Reilly has launched a signature-gathering effort to force a referendum on a campaign spending limit measure recently enacted by the Board of Supervisors. If the referendum qualifies, the spending limit will be suspended, helping frontrunners Jordan and Brown, who have stronger fundraising capabilities than the longshots. For the notoriously profligate Reilly, the referendum is a two-fer: he gets paid for running the referendum campaign and can make more money on a spending limit-less Mayor's race.

1996 RACES

Illinois Senate Race. Rep. Richard Durbin (D) has said that he hopes to make a decision on the Senate race by the end of the month. Former Attorney General Neil Hartigan (D) is expected to announce his candidacy soon and Rep. Lane Evans (D) insists he is still looking at the race.

Texas Senate Race. John Odom, an attorney and former aide to ex-Gov. Mark White (D), has joined trial attorney Shelton Smith in considering a run against Phil Gramm for his Senate seat in 1996. Odom lost a very close Democratic primary for Attorney General in 1990 to Attorney General Dan Morales (D). Odom, like Smith, is not well-known in the state but is highly regarded in Democratic circles. Smith and Odom met recently and there is apparently a good chance that they will decide between them which one should make the race in order to avoid a primary.

New Jersey Senate Race. Passaic Co. Freeholder Richard DuHaime announced this week that he is interested in running against Senator Bill Bradley in 1996. Other Republicans said to be looking at the race include Rep. Richard Zimmer, who has already announced his intention to run, Assembly Speaker/'94 Senate nominee Chuck Haytaian and Rep. Marge Roukema.

Nebraska Senate Race. There is no new news on whether Gov. Ben Nelson (D-NE) will enter the 1996 Senate race, though Rep. Doug Bereuter (R-NE) appears to be looking at it more seriously than previously thought.

Governor Lowry. Although Governor Lowry has a strong environmental record and must count environmentalists as a core constituency in his re-election bid, he received a lukewarm reception scattered with boos during his appearance at a Seattle Earth Day rally last weekend.

OTHER POLITICAL NEWS

New Mexico Chair. New Mexico Democrats will elect a new chair tomorrow, culminating one of the most hotly contested and expensive chair campaigns in state history. Attorney and early supporter Cate Stetson and Attorney Earl Potter have spent a combined \$100,000; Potter leads slightly in committed delegates. Potter, a party insider from Santa Fe with ties to former Governor King, plans to expand the party's fundraising base beyond traditional Democratic constituencies. Stetson, a resident of Albuquerque, has touted her ties to the administration and her outsider credentials during the course of the campaign.

Governor Bush. The Texas Poll released this week reports that Gov. George Bush (R) enjoys a 49% approval/27% disapproval ratio and a whopping 74% favorable/13% unfavorable personal favorability ratio.

New York Senate Race '98. The 1994 Republican nominee for State Comptroller, Herb London, said this week that he is interested in challenging Senator D'Amato in 1998. London is a New York University professor who has lost races for the governor's and comptroller's seats.

Senator Baucus. Senator Baucus blasted Montana's right wing militia groups in an impassioned editorial this week, saying "There is no place for hatred under Montana's Big Sky, and no place in America." Militia leaders have responded with staunch criticism of Baucus.

Representative Chenoweth. Although Representative Chenoweth condemned the Oklahoma bombing, she refused to back off her support of right wing militia groups, saying "I will not condemn any group or individual purely on the basis of guilt by association." Idaho Democratic party activists characterized her remarks as irresponsible and accused her of legitimizing militias. She also proposed federal legislation requiring federal officials to get permission from local law enforcement officials (i.e. sheriffs) in order to carry a weapon.

Los Angeles Riots. Tomorrow's third anniversary of the outbreak of the Los Angeles riots is passing without fanfare.

cc: The Vice President
Leon Panetta
Harold Ickes
Melanne Verveer
George Stephanopoulos



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

THE PRESIDENT

5/1/95

Kathleen A. McGinty
Chair

April 28, 1995

95 APR 28 P4:55

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHLEEN MCGINTY

CC: LEON PANETTA

RE: CEQ WEEKLY REPORT

REGULATORY REFORM

The Senate Judiciary Committee reported out the Dole regulatory reform bill (S. 343) following an acrimonious markup in which some of the Democrats accused Hatch of short-changing them on time to consider amendments while Republicans countered that Democrats were delaying the process. The markup followed two weeks of discussions between Democrats, Republicans and the Administration which failed to yield consensus. Attention now turns to preparing for debate on the floor which is not expected before June and will involve the Government Affairs and Energy committees.

THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT (PCSD)

The PCSD held its eighth quarterly meeting April 27-28 at the Presidio in San Francisco. The Vice President spoke to a breakfast meeting of the Council that was attended by many area business leaders. He also addressed a larger public meeting at a session chaired by Sec. O'Leary. The Council's formal meeting featured a discussion of the policy recommendations to be included in the Council's final report. The Council is scheduled to complete a draft report for public comment in June or July, with a final report to be delivered to you in October or November.

TIMBER SALVAGE

CEQ accompanied the Department of Agriculture ^{to meet} ~~met~~ with the staff of Senators Hatfield and Gorton to suggest some minor and mostly, technical, changes to the Gorton "sufficiency" language which has engendered much controversy and is included in the Senate rescission bill. Unfortunately, they were not very forthcoming about most of our suggestions. However, Gorton's staff seemed to indicate they would consider including the language making sales consistent with your Forest Plan. The language will also be disseminated to Senate Democrats, including the Minority Leader. On the House side, we intend to meet with Representative Dicks' staff early next week.

PRESIDIO



The Administration made very favorable news in the Bay Area on Friday by announcing resolution of long-standing disagreements between the Department of Defense and the Department of the Interior over the Presidio. At the request of the Vice President and with considerable assistance from OMB, Secretary Perry and Deputy Secretary Deutch agreed to transfer some disputed infrastructure and operations funds, and make certain other arrangements that will significantly benefit the park. These steps were very well received by members of the northern California delegation, including Congresswoman Pelosi.

TAKINGS LEGISLATION

Administration representatives continued to meet with Senator Bumpers staff to draft a takings bill that would match both his and the Administration's policy goals. We will organize senior staff briefings on this effort next week. We are very hopeful that a mutually agreeable bill is within reach.

The National Conference of State Legislatures and National Institute of Municipal Law Officers both issued strong statements of opposition to the Dole/Gramm/Hatch and the House-passed takings bills.

The State of Washington legislature passed the first general takings compensation bill. The bill obviously applies only to state activities but is otherwise very much like the Dole/Gramm/Hatch bill. Because the bill was presented to the legislature by citizen petition (organized by the timber industry) it is not subject to gubernatorial veto, but can be blocked by another citizen initiative. Such an effort is already well underway (organized by civic and environmental organizations) and appears likely to succeed. The overall political posture is similar to what occurred in Arizona last year where the people, through a referendum, voted it down before it could take effect.

ENVIRONMENTAL LAWS AND MANAGEMENT

Senator Larry Craig (R - Id.) held a well attended hearing on the application of the Endangered Species Act (ESA), the National Environmental Policy Act, the Clean Water Act and the Federal Advisory Committee Act to public lands in general, and U.S. Forest Service activities in particular. Testimony generally split into two camps, with ESA being by far the most controversial issue. On the other hand, the Federal Advisory Committee Act's (FACA) restrictions were hailed by no party. While you recently signed an important modification to FACA contained in the Unfunded Mandates Act that allows state, local governments and tribes to participate in groups with federal agency officials, FACA still restricts the participation of private citizens on groups advising government agencies.

CALIFORNIA TRIP

This week I travelled to California to speak and meet with key constituencies. While in Los Angeles I addressed the LA Chamber of Commerce Environment Committee, met with local environmentalists, toured the SolarEagle project (solar powered vehicle) at CalState-LA and attended a reception in my honor at the home of Bruce & Janet Karatz. While in San Francisco I gave the keynote address to the Presidio Conference on Sustainable Development, participated in NPR's local call-in radio program, and met with all of the EPA Regional Administrators to discuss our reinventing environmental regulations package. In addition, I participated in the President's Council on Sustainable Development Conference, where the Vice President gave the keynote address.

IN THE NEWS

Attached is a summary of 25 op-ed pieces compiled by Greenwire, the American Political Network's daily report on the environment. There is a prevailing sense that changes need to be made to many of our environmental laws but that many of the current provisions in the Contract On America threaten the progress we have made in the last 25 years on the environment.

*4 EARTH DAY IV: HOW'S IT PLAYING? 25 OPINION PIECES

Of 11 recent editorials on the state of the environment, eight called for revisions in various environmental laws, but eight also urged Republicans in Congress to be cautious in revamping those laws.

BOSTON GLOBE: "The revival of hostility to government programs, epitomized by the Contract With America, threatens to reverse the initiatives [of the last 25 years] that produced so much [environmental] progress and promise ... yet more" (4/22).

C.S. MONITOR: "The Republican Congress is in danger of misinterpreting the public desire for a lighter regulatory hand from Washington as lack of interest in the environment. That would be a mistake" (4/21).

DETROIT NEWS: "State and local governments know best what ails their environments, not some bureaucrat inside the Beltway. ... There is a role for government in protecting the environment, ... [but] the market responds best to incentives rather than sanctions. ... Regulatory reform will not yield environmental catastrophe (4/19).

INDIANAPOLIS STAR: "There is a growing need for better solutions to the real problems that threaten the environment -- from river, lake and ocean pollution to exhaustion of landfills ... from slashing of forests ... to sloppy monitoring of nuclear energy plants" (4/22).

L.A. TIMES: "The time has come for a rethinking of environmental protection, for the public will no longer accept the costs of cleanup without assurances that the most effective and efficient means are being used. ... Whining and exaggeration over health hazards have cost environmentalists much credibility. ... Likewise, Republicans should heed the polls and see that by demonizing the environment they are planting a political time bomb that will explode in their faces" (4/21).

MIAMI HERALD: "The generation in charge doesn't seem to get it yet. ... Clean water, untainted soil and breathable air are what keep us alive and able to build communities. If we squander [these], we destroy all hope for our progeny" (4/22).

N.Y. TIMES: "All is not well. It is too soon for anyone to declare victory, too soon for complacency, too soon for Congress to abdicate its responsibility for national stewardship. ... Gingrich, Dole & Co. are in no mood to compromise, even though the environmentalists are prepared to meet them halfway" (4/22).

S.F. CHRONICLE: "Unfortunately, the reforms and redirections that would be appropriate to a 25-year-old movement have been crowded off the environmental agenda this year by the resurgence of special interests and anti-environmentalists who have taken control of Congress" (4/21).

Tacoma [WA] NEWS TRIBUNE: "After years of legislative successes ... environmental groups find themselves under attack in the political arena as never before. That is not altogether a bad thing, if it leads to a more rational assessment of the choices Americans must make when they regard environmental questions. ... however, it would also be a mistake to go too far in weakening environmental protection laws" (4/22).

USA TODAY: "Some fine-tuning [of enviro laws] is in order.

... But our core laws -- those regarding clean air, clean water, pesticides, endangered species, etc. -- are working well" (4/21).

WASH. TIMES: "The legacy of Earth Day is a mixed one. ... Technology may someday provide for private property in the air or water ... If you doubt the value of private property in dealing with environmental problems, then keep in mind the devastation in the country that tried to do away with private property, the Soviet Union" (4/22).

OP-ED ROUNDUP

Editorial writer Yael ABOUHALKAH in the KANSAS CITY STAR: "The GOP is trying to scale back or effectively kill some good laws ... [Pres.] Clinton better be ready to veto the worst of the lot" (4/16).

Kathy COE in a Greensboro NEWS & RECORD editorial: "The next challenge is to accept the fact that there may be more than one way -- the way of the federal government -- to cleanse the water and scrub the air ... The fact is local environmental controls have been successful on a limited scale" (4/21).

Gregg EASTERBROOK in a N.Y. TIMES op-ed: "Nearly every ecological trend in the United States is positive. ... Such progress hardly means environmental challenges have been overcome. ... Mr. Gingrich, Mr. Dole, Sen. Slade Gorton, Reps. Thomas DeLay and Bud Shuster and others are attempting to undermine the very laws that made possible the good news" (4/21).

Harold GILLIAM in an S.F. CHRONICLE editorial: "Environmental issues are absent from political campaigns because too many leaders are trapped in ... preoccupation with the immediate, the ephemeral ... The chief hope for the future lies ... among the millions of ordinary people celebrating Earth Day and those who are taking actions to restore the planet" (4/16).

VP Al GORE in a N.Y. TIMES op-ed: "What have we learned? First, collaborative processes work better than adversarial ones. Second, flexibility works better than one-size-fits-all dictates. Third, ... we should shift some responsibilities from central bureaucracies to local communities. Fourth, pollution is often a sign of economic inefficiency, and you can make money by preventing it" (4/23).

Denis HAYES, exec. dir. of the Seattle-based Bullitt Foundation and one of the originators of Earth Day, in a SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER op-ed: "Today, for the first time, the environmental movement faces a disciplined opposition that displays a robust pride in being 'anti-environmental.' Well funded by mining, timber and agricultural interests, these anti-environmental activists are using high technology to deluge politicians with propaganda" (4/16).

John HERITAGE, an aide to former Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-WI), who created Earth Day, in a Balto. SUN op-ed: "Clearly it is time for a new approach to environmental politics. ... If the cleanup drive is going to survive tight budgets and new Congresses and administrations, the environmentally-concerned must start listening to other viewpoints and seeking common ground" (4/21).

Columnist Jeff JACOBY, in a BOSTON GLOBE op-ed: "For 25 years, sensible environmentalism has been drenched in the hype

and fearmongering of the prophets of doom" (4/20).

Robert LICHTER of the Center for Media and Public Affairs, in W.S. JOURNAL op-ed: "The political culture of environmental activism is that of contemporary upper-income liberalism. And the activists' heightened sense of ecological danger reflects this perspective, rather than mainstream opinion" (4/21).

Donella MEADOWS, professor of environmental studies at Dartmouth College, in an L.A. TIMES op-ed: "The environment is not one player on the field; it is the field. It holds up, or fails to hold up, the whole economy and all of life, whether the spotlight is on it or not" (4/21).

Julian SIMON, professor of business administration at the U. of Maryland, in a WASH. TIMES op-ed: "Every single measure of material and environmental welfare in the United States has improved rather than deteriorated. This is also true of the world taken as a whole" (4/20).

Columnist Tony Snow, in a DETROIT NEWS op-ed: "Market-based programs have made a difference . . . Green capitalism marries two venerable ideals -- individual consent and reverence for the land. . . . It confirms what our hearts have told us all along: You don't have to manacle mankind to save a tree" (4/20).

Karyn STRICKLER, former director of the National Endangered Species Coalition, in a C.S. MONITOR op-ed: "National [enviro] groups have forgotten that grass-roots political organizing can change the so-called 'political reality.' . . . If they don't recognize their problems and radically reconstruct themselves, it will be done for them, quite at the expense of our natural heritage" (4/21).

Environment-beat reporter Stevenson SWANSON, in a CHICAGO TRIBUNE op-ed: "Support for the environment is a mile wide and an inch deep. The national attitude toward the environment is neatly reflected in the fact that despite the election of a supposedly pro-environment president in 1992, no significant environmental legislation has been passed" (4/23).

Rep. Bruce VENTO (D-MN) in a Minneapolis STAR TRIBUNE op-ed: "Congress [is] intent on setting back the environment to pre-Earth Day crisis situation. [They are] demonstrating inexperience and arrogance; intent upon legislating by anecdote based upon misinformation, misconceptions and a fervor fed by big oil, mining, timber and other anti-environment special interests" (4/20).

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 27, 1995

95 APR 27 AID: 18

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA

FROM: JIM DORSKIND *Ji*

SUBJECT: RECOMMENDATIONS OF JUDGE FRANK M. JOHNSON, JR.,
FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM

As you know, we received an impressive packet of letters (apparently solicited by John Byron Sandage, Attorney-Adviser at the Department of State). I've attached a copy of the list that Mr. Sandage provided.

Had we received any of these letters individually, we would have submitted a response to the President for his personal signature. However, in view of the number of letters involved, and the process by which they were delivered, a "Dorskind" response may be more appropriate. What's your feeling?

Dorskind response: _____

BC sig response: _____

BC autopen response: _____

Attachment

*I think we should
get a P decision
+ then
send back
a letter
with the decision
I assume he'll
say yes & I don't
think it will matter
it'll sit on these for
a little while*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/1/95

TO: Alan KRECZKO

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

ATTACHED IS A PUBLIC
CITIZEN DRAFT +
AN EDITED DRAFT OF THE
FOIA AMENDMENT. Would
Tony support the draft as
edited? We need to know
soon since bricks are due.
John

DRAFT 3/15/95

NSC RECORD STATUS AMENDMENT

(a) Except as provided in subsection (b), the records of the National Security Council (the "Council") shall be treated as agency and not presidential records.

(b) A record of the Council which is (i) prepared for the President, or for use by a person who is not an officer or employee of an agency, including the Council, in providing direct advice to the President, ~~(ii) which is not generally available to other persons at the Council, even if they have the appropriate security clearance,~~ and ~~(iii) which is plainly marked "Restricted Access -- Presidential Record,"~~ shall be treated as a presidential record if the procedures set forth in subsection (c) are followed.

(c) An official of the Council at the level of Senior Director or above who believes that a record prepared by, or received by, that person meets the requirements of subsection (b) shall affix to the record the marking set forth in paragraph (b)(iii), preceded by the term "Proposed." Any record so marked shall be promptly reviewed by the Executive Secretary of the Council, who shall make a final determination, not subject to judicial review, as to whether the requirements of subsection (b) have been met, in which case the term "Proposed" shall be deleted. If the requirements of subsection (b) have not been met, the record shall be treated thereafter as an agency record.

(d) The Council shall establish such procedures as may be appropriate to enable the Executive Secretary to make the determinations provided in subsection (c) in a prompt and accurate

manner[^] and to ensure that records designated as presidential continue not to be generally available to officers and employees of the Council. If the Executive Secretary determines that a record designated as presidential is or has been made generally available to persons at the Council, the Secretary shall revoke the presidential designation and the record shall thereafter be treated as an agency record of the Council. Procedures established under this subsection shall be published by the Council but shall not be subject to judicial review.

(e) The Council shall include, as part of the Council's annual report under the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. § 552(e), the number of records and the percentage of all Council-generated records that have been designated as presidential.

Society of Critical Care Medicine

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Assistant Clinical Professor
UCLA School of Nursing and
Veterans Affairs Medical Center
Los Angeles, California

Executive Director

Norma J. Shoemaker, MN, FCCM

April 6, 1994

Mr. John Podesta
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

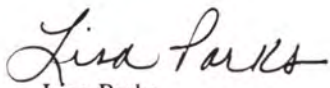
Dear Mr. Podesta:

Mr. Steve Lawton of Hogan & Hartson suggested I send the enclosed letter directly to your attention.

The Society of Critical Care Medicine supports President Clinton's efforts to block a repeal of the Brady Bill and the ban on assault weapons. If we can provide assistance with this effort, please contact me at 714/282-6032 or Steve Lawton at 202/637-8615.

Thank you.

Sincerely,


Lisa Parks
Director of Public Affairs

to
Dorskind?
YES +
Rotom

25th

Anniversary
Society of Critical Care Medicine

Society of Critical Care Medicine

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Assistant Clinical Professor
UCLA School of Nursing and
Veterans Affairs Medical Center
Los Angeles, California

Executive Director

Suzanne J. Shumaker, MN, FCCM

April 6, 1995

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The 8,500 members of the Society of Critical Care Medicine (SCCM) take the opportunity to reconfirm our commitment to preventing the loss of life due to handguns and assault weapons. SCCM strongly supported passage of the Brady Bill and ban on assault weapons last year and we reaffirm our interest in working with you and members of Congress to prevent the repeal of the Brady Handgun Law and the ban on assault weapons.

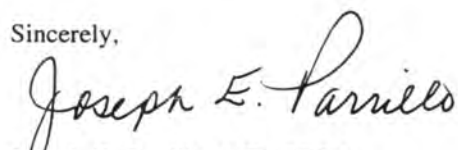
As the critical care physicians, nurses and allied health professionals who care the 4 to 6 million patients who suffer from life-threatening illness and injury every year, we witness the devastation caused by readily available firearms. Please know that we are available to meet with you and your advisors on this issue, participate in briefings and press conferences. We would be honored to arrange for you to visit one of the many intensive care units across the United States that provides cares for gunshot wound patients and meet with the patients, families and critical care professionals "on the front line" of this issue.

The human toll of handgun violence is well-documented and sobering: more than 37,000 Americans killed with firearms each year. In 1992, 112,000 Americans sought emergency medical care for injuries related to firearms. At one urban medical center alone, 300-400 gunshot wound victims are cared for *every month*, giving King-Drew Medical Center in South Central Los Angeles the dubious distinction of managing more gunshot wound victims than any other U.S. hospital. Our children are especially vulnerable to handgun violence: every day, 15 children age 19 years and younger are killed in gun-related homicides, suicides and unintentional shootings. Many more are wounded.

The economic effect of gunshot injuries is also staggering. In 1992, the federal government spent \$20.4 billion for the medical care of gunshot wound victims, 86 percent of which are costs borne by taxpayers. The estimated loss of income amounts to \$15,000-\$20,000 *per patient*. The ICU care of these patients totals upwards from \$3,000-\$5,000 per day, per patient.

As critical care professionals we remain deeply concerned about efforts to repeal the Brady Bill and the ban on assault weapons. We hope that you will accept our offer to work with you and members of your staff to prevent the further death and disability of Americans due to firearms. If your staff has questions, or would like to arrange a visit to an ICU, please contact Lisa Parks, Director of Public Affairs, at the SCCM Executive Office, 714/282-6032.

Sincerely,



Joseph E. Parrillo, MD, FCCM
President

8101 E. Kaiser Boulevard, Suite 300
Anaheim, California 92808-2259

714-282-6000 Fax 714-282-6050 Internet info@sccm.org



The National PTA®

Office of Governmental Relations
2000 L Street N.W., Suite 600
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 331-1380
Fax: (202) 331-1406

Arnold Fege

Jim
Daskin
SLR
JLF

Dear John:

Could you make sure that the president receives this letter. His staff was great and wanted to assure that these accolades did not get lost.

Arnie

11:35
4:12:5
95 APR 5

OFFICE OF GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS
2000 L STREET N.W.
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WASHINGTON, DC 20036
(202) 331-1380
(202) 331-1406 FAX
ARNOLD FEGE
DIRECTOR
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THE
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April 4, 1995

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

First, I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your excellent presentation at the National PTA legislative Conference on March 15. Our mutual concerns about the future of children and public education was indeed shared by both you and our membership. That you would care and take time out of a busy schedule to be with parent volunteer leaders is a tribute to your values and your commitment to the family and the public interest.

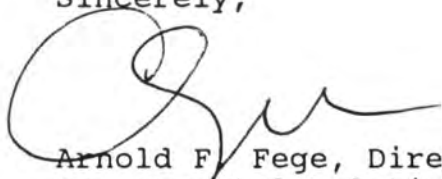
Second, I had the honor of working with some of the finest staff in setting up your National PTA event. I have worked with many presidential staffs over the years, and was formerly an advance person for Senator Robert F. Kennedy so I recognize superior performance and dedication when I see it. Especially in this era when civil service is impugned and the media walk recklessly over careers, no matter whom, it behooves me to have you know some of your staff who made the event pleasurable and memorable. White House staff such as Billie Webster, Julia Moffett, Bill Galston, Kitty Higgins, Phil Caplan, Brian McParlin, Gabrielle Bushman, and Grace Garcia all provided essential assistance in making the logistics of the event move smoothly and competently. At the Department of Education, Dick Riley is phenomenal and an excellent friend of the National PTA. His staff who worked with us on the conference were Mary Jean Letendre (who made a presentation on Title 1 despite having a leg in a cast), Mike Cohen, Regan Burke, Patrick Steele, Terry Peterson, Bill Modjewleski, and Judith Heumann. Although Tom Payzant was not part of the program, he continues to be a strong asset to your policies and personally a good friend who we supported during the nominations process despite far right opposition.

These are people who are fighting hard for children, work long hours including holidays and weekends, are professional at what they do and are consummate performers. They seldom

get the recognition they deserve, put up with a media atmosphere that is frequently demeaning, and believe in sacrifice on behalf of the public interest. I can't tell you how enjoyable it was to work with this team, and to create the speaking event. I tip my Chicago Irish hat to them, and might even suggest an evening of Irish political reminiscence with Brian McPartlin and he offered that maybe we would include you as well. You know how crazy us advance people can be!!

Again, many thanks for your cogent remarks and support.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Arnold F. Fege', with a large, stylized initial 'A'.

Arnold F. Fege, Director
Governmental Relations



May 14-20, 1995
The Adventure Of A Lifetime.

PRESENTED BY
Tanqueray.

THE CENTER

Monday, April 17th, 1995

BETTY MITCHELL-CURRIE
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Betty,

I am writing to you upon the encouragement of our mutual friend David Mixner. He thought you might be able to help me reach President and Mrs. Clinton more directly.

We are inviting the President and First Lady to participate in the Closing Ceremonies of the **California AIDS Ride**. On this event, over 1,500 courageous riders will pedal their way from San Francisco to Los Angeles to raise over \$4 million dollars for AIDS care and services in both cities. **California AIDS Ride** has the potential of being the single most significant AIDS fundraiser in the history of the epidemic and the President and Mrs. Clinton's involvement would make the event even more distinguished.

Thank you for any assistance you may be able to offer. Your time and consideration are greatly appreciated.

Cordially,

Brian VanDerWilt
Producer, Closing Ceremonies
California AIDS Ride

8270
Santa Monica
Boulevard,
Los Angeles,
California
90046

213/874.7474
800/4 RIDE 95

FAX 213/654.8897



May 14-20, 1995

The Adventure Of A Lifetime.

PRESENTED BY
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THE CENTER

April 17th, 1995

Dear President & Mrs. Clinton:

Last year 470 individuals, most of whom hadn't cycled in years, made the 530-mile, 7-day journey from San Francisco to Los Angeles and so created the California AIDS Ride. In the process, these courageous riders raised over 1.6 million dollars for AIDS care at the Jeffrey Goodman Special Care Clinic of the Los Angeles Gay & Lesbian Community Services Center.

This year, we have over 2,500 preparing for California AIDS Ride 2. We have combined our efforts this year to benefit both the Jeffrey Goodman Special Care Clinic and the San Francisco AIDS Foundation. California AIDS Ride 2 has the potential of being the single most significant AIDS fund-raiser ever in the history of the epidemic.

Knowing your sensitivity and support of our cause, I want to personally extend an invitation to you to participate in the Closing Ceremonies on May 20th in Los Angeles at 4:00 pm. Acknowledging the chance of scheduling difficulty, a pre-taped video could be played during the ceremonies in your absence.

The national exposure the Ceremonies will receive from the media is unprecedented. ABC, Fox, MTV, & *Good Morning America* have all made coverage commitments to date. Over 10,000 people will be in attendance—many of whom still hold steadfast the images of hope created last year by Melissa Etheridge.

Thank you for your time, consideration, and extraordinary commitment to making the world a better place. As committed as you are to ending the epidemic and providing hope to the myriad of people affected by it, so am I to having your presence at the Closing Ceremonies, May 20th.

I know of no greater honor.

Cordially,

Brian VanDerWilt
Producer, Closing Ceremonies
California AIDS Ride 2

8270
Santa Monica
Boulevard,
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California
90046

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800/4 RIDE 95

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The
American
College of
Obstetricians and
Gynecologists

The
American
College of
Obstetricians and
Gynecologists



409 12th Street, SW
Washington, D.C. 20024-2188

Kathy Bryant, JD
Associate Director
Government Relations
(202) 863-2511
Fax (202) 488-3985

April 20, 1995

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Kathy Bryant", is written over a horizontal line.

The Honorable Robert Dole
Majority Leader
U.S. Senate
S-230, The Capitol
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Dole:

The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (ACOG), an organization representing more than 35,000 physicians dedicated to improving women's health, wants to express its disappointment over your recent remarks regarding the Senate's consideration of the nomination of Dr. Henry Foster for the position of U.S. Surgeon General.

While some Senators have raised concerns about the nomination of Dr. Foster, Senate protocol usually relies on the official confirmation hearing process as the appropriate forum for these discussions. As you know, the Labor and Human Resources Committee is prepared to hear testimony on Dr. Foster's nomination on May 2. You affirmed this process on February 6 when you were quoted as stating that Dr. Foster deserved to have a hearing before the Senate because "we shouldn't shoot down somebody before they've even had a hearing." Furthermore, you stated that "it is the general rule that the President is entitled to his nominees, and that has been the general rule around here forever."

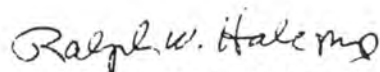
Unfortunately, your most recent comments that even if Dr. Foster's nomination is favorably reported by the Committee you may not bring it up for floor consideration severely compromise Dr. Foster's right to participate in the customary process through which Surgeon General nominees proceed. While it is outrageous that Dr. Foster's record as a physician has been grossly distorted by his opponents since his nomination, it is even more distressing that politics now threatens to interfere with the official process by which Dr. Foster seeks to clarify his own record.

ACOG firmly believes that Dr. Foster would make an excellent Surgeon General. His career in medicine, in medical research, and in public service has led him to be recognized as one of the top physicians in America. As an obstetrician-gynecologist, Dr. Foster is acutely aware of public health needs, especially as they relate to teen pregnancy, which is

identified by both parties in Congress and the Administration as one of the most pressing public health programs in this country. Furthermore, Dr. Foster is known throughout the medical community as a consensus-builder who takes a thoughtful approach to the issues before him and is far from the divisive figure being portrayed. The confirmation process will allow these facts about Dr. Foster's record to be presented to the U.S. Senate.

ACOG urges you to clarify your statements regarding Dr. Foster's nomination and to ensure that the Senate's consideration of this nominee is not further compromised by reaffirming Dr. Foster's right to a confirmation hearing and to have his nomination voted on by the full Senate. Dr. Foster should be guaranteed no less and, as Majority Leader, it is your responsibility to uphold this important process.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ralph W. Hale MD".

Ralph W. Hale, MD
Executive Director

RWH\V\

April 17, 1995

95 APR 24 P12:16

Robert Davis M.D.
Reg. No. 04160-081
3600 Guard Road
Lompoc, California 93436

with
TB Counsel

John D. Podesta - Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Podesta,

On March 16, 1995 I wrote you regarding the reconsideration of my **Application for Executive Clemency**, which was placed in abeyance. Correctly stated, my application is really a request for Presidential consideration to place me in a Work Cadre type situation, where I would still be incarcerated, but be able to practice medicine.

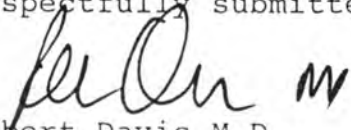
In short, my idea is that I be relocated to either an Indian reservation, a rural underserved community, or an inner city clinic. There I would be incarcerated in a setting similar to a Bureau of Prisons Work Cadre Program.

I understand that you are very busy and that my request may be trivial as far as the big picture of running a country goes, however, I believe that my proffer will allow me to give to society an additional form of restitution no considered by the courts. If instituted, my request could potentially result in the prevention of needless illness and suffering and the savings of lives.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

I appreciate your evaluation of my proposal.

Respectfully submitted,



Robert Davis M.D.

RD/rd

cc: Margarat Colgate Love, Pardon Attorney

COPY

March 16, 1995

Robert Davis M.D.
Reg. No. 04160-081
3600 Guard Road
Lompoc, California 93436

The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear

Today I received notification through my counselor at Federal Correctional Institute Lompoc, that my **Application for Executive Clemency** was not timely, and was placed in abeyance until the results of the appeal of my criminal conviction is determined.

This communication was directed to the Warden of FCI Safford and dated February 9, 1995.

I would beg of you to please humbly extract my file from abeyance status and consider my request.

The proposal that I made to the President was unique and is an additional form of restitution where I would be able to save lives, help the needy and still serve the goals of justice, through my incarceration, but in an alternative capacity.

My request is not self motivated, but one to help others.

I would therefore, greatly appreciate your consideration of my **Petition and Amendment to Petition** that I have submitted to your office.

I am looking forward to your response.

Respectfully submitted,

Robert Davis M.D.

RD/rd

cc: Margarat Colgate Love, Pardon Attorney