

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. letter	To Denise Hughes from Margaret Williams re: employment (1 page)	03/07/95	b(6)
001b. letter	Draft letter to Denise Holmes from Margaret A. Williams re: employment (1 page)	03/03/95	b(6)
001c. memo	To Maggie Williams from Jennifer Klein re: Denise Holmes letter (1 page)	02/25/95	b(6)
001d. letter	To Hillary Rodham Clinton from Denies E. Holmes re: health insurance (1 page)	12/19/94	b(6)
001e. letter	To Hillary Rodham Clinton from Denise E. Holmes re: health insurance (1 page)	12/19/94	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Maggie Williams (Correspondence)
OA/Box Number: 12630

FOLDER TITLE:

[Maggie Williams Mail 1995-1996]: H [2]

2013-0359-S

ry1338

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

File
w/ MAM
Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 18, 1995

Ms. Jennifer Harbury
1010 Vermont Ave., NW #620
Washington, DC 20005

Dear Ms. Harbury:

The First Lady has asked me to respond to your recent letter regarding your husband's disappearance in Guatemala in 1992.

All of us sympathize with the terrible loss you must feel. We also admire the courage and determination you have shown in refusing to allow this case to be forgotten or ignored.

As you know, the President has ordered a government-wide review of this and related matters. We are hopeful that review will be completed soon and that it will shed light on the many questions you and other concerned Americans have raised.

I know you have discussed your husband's disappearance several times with Richard Feinberg, the President's Special Assistant for Latin American Affairs. May I suggest that you contact him directly should you have any questions about the review the President has ordered or require assistance in any way.

Thank you again for taking the time to bring your concerns to the First Lady's attention.

Sincerely,


Margaret A. Williams
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

April 13, 1995

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR MAGGIE WILLIAMS

FROM: ANDREW D. SENS

SUBJECT: Jennifer Harbury's Letter to the First Lady

Jennifer Harbury wrote to the First Lady on March 21 reviewing the case of her husband's disappearance in Guatemala and requesting a meeting with the First Lady. Shortly after the letter was written, certain intelligence information surfaced and the President ordered a full review of the issue. Until that review is completed, it is inappropriate to discuss the case or investigation in detail. Consequently, we are limiting our comments on the matter.

Accordingly and to avoid involving the First Lady directly in this issue at this time, we recommend that you respond to Ms. Harbury on her behalf. A suggested response is at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Proposed Response to Ms. Harbury's Letter
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

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A

Divider Title: _____

PROPOSED RESPONSE TO MS. HARBURY'S LETTER TO THE FIRST LADY

DEAR MS. HARBURY:

THE FIRST LADY HAS ASKED ME TO RESPOND TO YOUR RECENT LETTER REGARDING YOUR HUSBAND'S DISAPPEARANCE IN GUATEMALA IN 1992.

AS YOU KNOW, THE PRESIDENT HAS ORDERED A GOVERNMENT-WIDE REVIEW OF THIS AND RELATED MATTERS. WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT REVIEW WILL BE COMPLETED SOON AND THAT IT WILL SHED LIGHT ON THE MANY QUESTIONS YOU AND OTHER CONCERNED AMERICANS HAVE RAISED.

ALL OF US SYMPATHIZE WITH THE TERRIBLE LOSS YOU MUST FEEL. WE ALSO ADMIRE THE COURAGE AND DETERMINATION YOU HAVE SHOWN IN REFUSING TO ALLOW THIS CASE TO BE FORGOTTEN OR IGNORED.

I KNOW YOU HAVE DISCUSSED YOUR HUSBAND'S DISAPPEARANCE SEVERAL TIMES WITH RICHARD FEINBERG, THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS. MAY I SUGGEST THAT YOU CONTACT HIM DIRECTLY SHOULD YOU HAVE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE REVIEW THE PRESIDENT HAS ORDERED OR REQUIRE ASSISTANCE IN ANY WAY.

THANK YOU AGAIN FOR TAKING THE TIME TO BRING YOUR CONCERNS TO THE FIRST LADY'S ATTENTION.

SINCERELY
MAGGIE WILLIAMS

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B

Divider Title: _____

March 21, 1995
1010 Vermont Ave. N.W. #620
Washington, DC 20005

Ms. Hillary Rodham Clinton
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ms. Rodham Clinton,

I have long been an admirer of yours, and greatly respect you for being the model and modern First Lady that you are. It must be no small task. Having observed you for the last several years, I believe that you might be the most competent person to help me resolve my husband's case. For this reason I would like very much to ask for a private meeting with you.

As I am sure you are aware, my husband, Efrain Bamaca Velasquez, is a Mayan citizen of Guatemala who was captured by the army in March 1992. At that time, he was the last surviving Mayan commander of the resistance, or U.R.N.G. forces in Guatemala. He had grown up illiterate and starving on a coffee plantation, and left for the mountains at the age of eighteen. There he learned to read and write, and rose to the rank of a commander. His first wife was shot to death at his side during an army ambush; the second was tortured to death. His was no easy life, but he remained in the mountains for some seventeen years under combat conditions, because he wished for the terrible repression in Guatemala to end.

He vanished in combat on March 12, 1992. In fact he was captured alive by the army and placed in an experimental intelligence program aimed at breaking him through physical torture and psychological abuse until he yielded all of his information. To conceal this situation, the army carried out an elaborate international hoax, claiming that they had found my husband's body after the combat and buried it in Retalhuleu. When asked for confirmation, they sent a perfect, feature by feature description of my husband. Months later a young prisoner escaped from a base and reported that Efrain was in fact alive and undergoing severe torture. I returned to Guatemala and opened the Retalhuleu grave and found the body of an eighteen year old who in no way resembled my husband. Nor had he died in combat. He had been tied by the ankles, fingerprinted, shot, stabbed, strangled, battered, and had a skull crushed by terrible blows.

After the exhumation, the Inter-American Commission of OAS issued protective orders against the army and U.N. Special Expert Monica Pinto spoke strongly of the case in her 1994 presentation to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. Numerous Congresspersons and Senators have also written strong letters of protest, and the case was included in Connie Morella's Resolution of 1994. Letters of protest have also been written by Amnesty International, America's Watch, the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center, Jimmy Carter and many others. The Guatemalan army has remained defiant.

After the Human Rights Accord was signed during the 1994 peace process, I had some hopes that the case might be resolved but these were soon dashed. The officially sponsored human rights violations began to skyrocket. Evidently the army beleived that as long as the peace talks were in progress, no monies from Washington D.C. could be cut, and they could kill with impunity. They did so, with virtually no protest from the international community. At this point, all doors in Guatemala closed in my face. The same was true at the U.S. Department of State. For this reson I began my hunger strike last fall. As you know, on the thirty first day the U.S. Ambassador issued a demarche, confirming that my husband had indeed been captured alive by the army, and that he had not been seriously wounded. Moreover, many Guatemalans, including soldiers, have reported seeing my husband alive and in army hands.

The army remains defiant. The officially sponsored murders and kidnappings are higher than ever, and as reflected by the recent MINUGUA report, the government and the army have a virtual monopoly on human rights abuses. (The U.R.N.G. forces are cited for destruction of property.) The cancellation of IMET funding was an excellent beginning, but the only army response was to declare me a subversive and claim that I admit in my book to being a gun-runner. This is hardly promising.

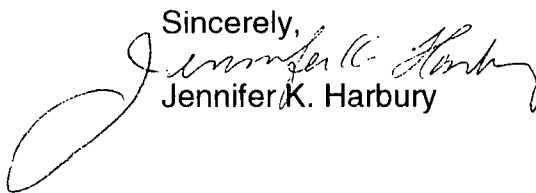
If the army gets away with this case despite everthing, they will know that they can get away with anything and they will be quite right. As a result, no Guatemalans will be safe in the future. We are being tested.

I am only asking that my husband, if alive, be presented to the courts for a fair trial and treated in accordance with the law. If he has been murdered I want his body returned to me for burial. I also want human rights to be respected in Guatemala, so that no more people die. 150,000 murders is quite enough.

There are many many more steps that can still be taken with respect to the army. They will, in the end respond to pressure. To date, our government has simply asked for change, bu the overall support, in one form or another, has always continued. Firmer steps must be taken. These are outlined in my attached memorandum.

As members of the international community we must insist on compliance with the basic standards of international law as well as with the signed peace accords. If we fail to do this, war will continue in Guatemala.

There are many compromise resolutions to my case, and I wish to discuss these informally with you. I will call your office soon.

Sincerely,

Jennifer K. Harbury

Memorandum Re: U.S. Policy in Guatemala
March 19, 1995

1. The policy of the Clinton administration is to promote both human rights and lasting peace in the war ravaged region of Central America. Our policy also seeks to promote regional stability and prosperity.
2. Guatemala is the only nation in the region which continues to be at war. The peace talks began anew in 1994 and a Global Human Rights Accord was signed in March 1994 as part of that process. Perversely, the officially sponsored human rights violations began to skyrocket after such accord was reached, as reflected in the recent MINUGUA report. Apparently the Guatemalan army, long labelled one of the worst human rights violators in the western hemisphere, presumed that U.S. support could not be cut off so long as the talks were in progress, and that they could therefore act with full impunity.
3. With regard to the BAMACA case, there is full and clear evidence, including an eye witness report and confirmation by the CIA, the State Department and MINUGUA, that Bamaca was indeed captured alive by the army and secretly detained. The names of the high level officers involved are known. OAS has issued protective orders, U.N. Special Expert Monica Pinto has decried the case, MINUGUA has reported the violation in strong terms, Rep. Connie Morella has included the case in a Congressional Resolution, and numerous Congresspersons and Senators, as well as the international human rights organizations such as the Kennedy Memorial Center, Amnesty International, Americas Watch, Jimmy Carter have protested strongly. To date the only response from the army is defiance.
4. If no consequences are applied in this case, despite the full and clear evidence and the international outcry, then the army will know that it can get away with anything, and they will be quite correct. No Guatemalans will be safe in the future. This is not an individual case, this is a test case.
5. International law prohibits the kidnapping, torture, secret detention, and extrajudicial executions of any human beings under any circumstances. The Guatemalan army has long justified violating these laws on political grounds, insisting that it may pick and chose whom it may legally torture and murder. No such "exceptions" exist under the law. Should we do nothing about this case, we will be reinforcing the fictional justification which has already led to the murder and "disappearance" of over 150,000 Guatemalan civilians, and the destruction of 440 Mayan villages. Should we strengthen the army's distortion of the law, we will be authorizing many more deaths. This in turn, will lead to further war.
6. When the army immediately flouted the Global Human Rights Accord that it had just signed, and the official repression increased sharply, public trust in the peace process disintegrated, leading to the near break down in the talks in late 1994. This in part, was worsened by the international community's failure to insist on compliance with the signed agreements. If the people of Guatemala believe that they will continue to die as mere pieces of paper are signed and then ignored, there can be none of the requisite public

support for the process. We must insist on compliance. This case, given its high visibility and absolute proof, is being carefully watched. If it is resolved, this will give strong reassurance that a true change in the human rights situation is forthcoming.

7. A final cease fire, while highly desirable, will not guarantee an end to the officially sponsored human rights violations in Guatemala. The war has not caused the human rights violations; rather, the human rights violations in Guatemala have caused the war. Unless the true causes of the war, ie. the repression, racism and abject poverty are addressed, a new war will break out within only a few years. This has happened for the last five centuries. It is time to help bring a true and lasting peace to Guatemala. This will not happen if we continue to acquiesce to repression.

8. The courts, police systems, and other key social and political structures can never develop or function until the army is limited to its correct military functions. A judge cannot rule properly if in fear of assassination. The army now blocks all social evolution.

9. Ms. Harbury asks for no special privileges for her husband. She asks only that he be given a fair trial and that he not be tortured. These are the minimum requirements of international law.

10. There is much to be done. Ms. Harbury proposes a two pronged test, requiring 1) That her case be resolved, whether her husband is alive or dead, and 2) that the overall human rights violations significantly decrease. If these do not occur within a clearly defined time frame, a phasing in of sanctions, beginning with those which only impact the army, should begin. By way of example, such military sanctions could include 1) insistence on the extradition of those officials involved in drug trafficking, 2) cancellation of all visas to military officers 3) an end to all training exercises of any kind, 4) a ban on any sales, including by private companies, of helicopter, truck, armored car and other army vehicle parts, as well as any other non-lethal aid to the army, 5) withdrawal of the National Guard. If intransigence and defiance of international law continue, limited trade measures may begin, and slowly strengthened. Although the Clinton administration will not normally link trade to human rights, they have done so in pariah cases, such as Haiti.

11. The U.S. does not violate its neutral position in the peace process by imposing necessary sanctions on only one side; as the U.S. government already funds and supports one side but not the other, it may sanction one side but not the other. Moreover, as the recent MINUGUA report makes painfully clear, the Guatemalan security forces have a virtual monopoly on the killings and terror in Guatemala. We must take a firm position on international law.

FACT SHEET

1. My husband, Efrain Bamaca Velasquez, is the last surviving Mayan commander of the URNG resistance forces in Guatemala. He is also known as Commander Everardo. We met when I was in Guatemala working on a book about the thirty-five-year civil war in that country. At that time he had been in the mountains for some seventeen years.
2. Everardo vanished during a brief combat on March 12, 1992 near the Rio Ixcucua in Guatemala. He was in fact captured alive by the army and taken to a nearby military base, where he became part of a new experimental program aimed at breaking him through combined physical and mental torture. The goal was to force him to give his seventeen years worth of information about the URNG. To conceal this, the army carried out an elaborate hoax, announcing to the world that he had died in combat and was buried in Retalhuleu. When asked for confirming evidence they released a perfect, feature by feature description of my husband.
3. Later, a young prisoner escaped from a military base and reported that my husband was alive and under torture. When I returned to Guatemala and opened the grave, I found the body of a young man who was 5 cm. too short, 15 years too young, and with different dental records. The autopsy done at the time the body was brought in from the river on March 13, 1992 shows that his features in no way resembled those of my husband. Nor did he die in combat. He had been tied by the ankles and beaten to death.
3. After receiving this evidence, the OAS issued protective orders against the army, the UN Special expert denounced the case at the UN Commission on Human Rights, it was included in a Congressional resolution, and numerous senators and congresspersons wrote letters of protest. International human rights organizations decried the case. To date the army has defied all such protests.
4. I carried out a hunger strike in October 1994 in front of the National Palace in Guatemala City, demanding that my husband be released to the courts for a fair trial. On day 31, the US Embassy issued a formal declaration to the President of Guatemala, confirming that the Embassy had a CIA report which showed my husband had indeed been captured alive by the army. I was also invited to the White House to speak with the President's National Security Advisor Anthony Lake. Believing that at last something would be done, I suspended my hunger strike after 32 days and returned to Washington.
5. I did meet with National Security advisors and explained the case to them. I also explained that, since the human rights accord was signed as part of the peace process, human rights violations were skyrocketing. The army, long labelled one of the worst human rights violators in the Western Hemisphere, evidently believed that its funding from Washington, DC could never be cut once the peace talks were in progress. I also explained that the only thing the army understands is sanctions.

6. The next thing I knew, our National Guard was sent to Guatemala, and State Department was telling me no sanctions of any kind would be applied. When I asked why, they stated that we must be neutral, and cannot punish one side without punishing the other. Yet we fund one side without funding the other.... I was also told that guerilla forces have begun to commit serious human rights abuses as well, including kidnapping. What this had to do with saving my husband's life I cannot imagine. Moreover MINUGUA, the UN investigatory team, has just issued its first report, showing numerous and horrible violations by the security forces. The only guerilla violations cited have to do with destroying property, such as electrical poles. I therefore informed the administration that I would return to my hunger strike if nothing was going to be done.

7. Forty-eight hours before I returned to my hunger strike on March 12, the US government did cancel IMET, or military education funds, and declared that our National Guard would remain in Guatemala this year but would not return next year. This is all a good first step, but represents a small amount of funding. I knew it would not be enough to push to army into resolving this case, so I did not suspend the hunger strike. I was afraid all doors would close in my face again. Indeed, the only army reaction was to state that they don't even know if Everardo was present in that combat and that I admitted in my book to being a gun runner for the guerrillas. (Strange, I wrote that book but do not recall that particular line....). In other words, total defiance.

8. If adequate consequences are not attached to my husband's murder, he stands no chance of survival. State Department says he is already dead, but only because their secret sources cannot find him alive. Nor can they find any information as to his execution. Meanwhile, many Guatemalans, including the people of his home town, as well as two soldiers, have reported seeing him alive.

9. If the Guatemalan army gets away with this, despite the clear evidence, the CIA confirmation, and the international outcry, they will know they can get away with anything and they will be quite right. NO Guatemalans will be safe in the future. We must insist that our government take appropriate steps to force an end to the officially sponsored human rights violations and a resolution to this case immediately. We should start with phased- in but concrete sanctions, beginning with sanctions which only impact on the army, such as 1) an end to all training; 2) extradition of all those involved in the drug trafficking; 3) cancellation of visas to the US of all military officials; 4) ending sales, private or governmental, of mechanical parts for helicopters, armored cars, trucks, etc; 5) withdrawal of our ambassador in protest of army defiance; 6) withdrawal of the National Guard.

AFFIDAVIT

COUNTY OF
STATE OF

I, Jennifer Kristina Harbury, a United States citizen, forty two years of age, and of sound mind, swear that the following statement is true and correct:

TESTIMONY

My name is Jennifer Kristina Harbury. I was born on October 27, 1951 in Baltimore, Maryland and I am a citizen of United States. My father, a Professor of Biochemistry and my mother, a homemaker, raised me and my three siblings in New England. I received my B. A. degree in Asian studies from Cornell University in 1974, and my J.D. degree from the Harvard School of Law in 1978. After graduating I moved to Texas to work with migrant farmworkers. As discussed below, I have also spent time performing human rights activities in Guatemala. My book, "Bridge of Courage" documents the tragic civil war in that country, and was published by Common Courage Press in 1993. My interest in the human rights situation is more than academic, however. My husband, Efrain Bamaca Velasquez, is a Mayan citizen of Guatemala. He is known as Comandante Everardo of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union, or U.R.N. G. forces. Since March of 1992 he has been unlawfully detained and mentally and physically abused by the Guatemalan army. Since his abduction, I have committed all of my time and resources to saving his life.

I first became interested in Guatemala in the early 1980s, when literally thousands of Guatemalan refugees began to arrive at the Texas-Mexico border. Many were fleeing the massacres and scorched earth campaigns carried out by the Guatemalan army as part of its counter-insurgency campaign. Others were fleeing the officially sponsored repression in the cities. My immigration lawyer friends had difficulties in obtaining political asylum for these clients. One of the obstacles was the lack of adequate documentation. In that era, there were no human rights organizations operating in Guatemala, not even the International Red Cross. For this reason I decided to travel to Guatemala myself, and compile evidence about the ongoing human rights situation.

I arrived in Guatemala in the spring of 1985, not long after the assassinations of Rosario Godoy de Cuevas and Hector Gamez, two founding members of the Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo, or GAM, a recently formed mutual support group for relatives of the "disappeared". Rosario had been murdered together with her 19 year old brother and her two year old son. Originally, I had planned to stay in Guatemala for only a few months, but in the

end I remained for most of 1985 and 1986. During that time I travelled extensively throughout the country, to the Peten, to the Ixcan, to the Verapaz area, to the Ixil triangle, and through the southwest. I compiled testimonies as to the ongoing human rights violations, and assisted the victims of the repression in any way that I could.

I left Guatemala in late 1986. I had noticed that my activities and meetings were being monitored and I did not wish to place my friends in any danger. Back in Texas, I began to work on a book about the ongoing civil war in Guatemala. I believed that my best contribution to peace in that country would be to make the circumstances and realities of this war better known and understood by the international community. It was my hope that this in turn, would lead to a better foreign policy in the United States. I was particularly interested in educating the public about the U.R.N.G. , given the dearth of information on this topic in the U.S. press, and in books covering Guatemala. I had known number of U.R.N.G. members during my time there, and wished to break the existing stereotypes about them. For the next several years I travelled extensively, compiling interviews and information, and worked at writing the book. It was in this way that I met my husband, Efrain Bamaca Velasquez, or Comandante Everardo.

In 1990 I travelled to Guatemala and climbed the volcano Tajumulco in order to interview various U.R.N.G. combatants in the "Luis Ixmata" frente of O.R.P.A., one of the four member organizations composing the U.R.N. G. The Comandante of that frente, "Everardo", (whose legal name is Efrain Bamaca Velasquez), was responsible for arranging my interviews and for assuring my safety. I remained in the volcano with the frente for one month, and many of the life stories I heard there are included in my book, "Bridge of Courage". I became close friends with Comandante Everardo during that month but it was not until 1991 that we saw each other again and became a couple.

In 1991, Everardo wrote me from Mexico City. He had arrived to do some preparatory work for the peace negotiations. At the time, the agenda item of human rights was being discussed. However, the next issue on the agenda was equal rights for the Mayan people of Guatemala. Everardo is a Mayan villager himself, who learned to read and write in the mountains. His first language is Mam, and he had grown up in an impoverished Mayan community on the southwest coast. (He was born on June 18, 1957 on the Finca El Tablero, El Tumbador, San Marcos). He was also one of the last surviving Mayan Comandantes. For this reason, the U.R.N. G. had called him to Mexico City to work on the preparations and position papers for the theme of indigenous rights. I came to Mexico immediately and we spent many happy months together. We were married on September 25, 1991 during a stay in Texas.

In January of 1992, Everardo had to return to his frente. His compañeros were going through a transitional phase of the war, and needed his leadership. He was to return for Guatemala for a few months, then come back to Mexico City to continue his work there. Meanwhile, I travelled to New Hampshire to be with a long time friend

who was dying of cancer.

On or about March 12, 1992 Everardo vanished in combat at the Rio Ixcucua, (near Nuevo San Carlos, Retalhuleu). None of his fellow combatants saw him fall. There was simply a hail of bullets, smoke, and confusion. The combatants took cover, and when they looked up a few minutes later, Everardo had simply disappeared. There was no trace of his body, his boots, or his back pack anywhere. He was the only U.R.N. G. combatant missing after this skirmish. No one else disappeared during these several days, or near the Rio Ixcucua. The next day, the army announced that its troops had discovered a cadaver in olive green uniform with a rifle, at the Rio Ixcucua after the combat, and had sent it to Retalhuelu for an autopsy and burial. Small but vague articles appeared in the press, and no name was given. After that, there was no further word in the press or from the army.

The U.R.N.G. leadership notified me immediately that Everardo had disappeared, and I promptly travelled to Mexico City for more information. All of us were somewhat perturbed by the vague and somewhat contradictory press bulletins. Everardo had been in the mountains for some seventeen years at the time of his disappearance, and was a top ranking Commander, as well as one of the founders of O.R.P.A. His face was surely very well known, through intelligence sources, to the Guatemalan army. Moreover, the contents of his backpack, (maps, codes, medical supplies, correspondence, battle plans, cash etc.) would certainly have informed the army that this was no ordinary combatant. Normally, the death of a U.R.N.G leader of this stature would have been headline news as a great military triumph. Yet all was silent after the first few bulletins.

Disturbed, and suspicious that perhaps Everardo had in fact been captured alive, and that a hoax was being carried out by the army to conceal his capture, the U.R.N. G. leadership opened communications with Lic. Ramiro De Leon Carpio, then the Human Rights Ombudsman, and currently the President of Guatemala. He asked De Leon Carpio to contact the G-2 or intelligence division of the Guatemalan army and request forensic photographs, dental records, and fingerprints of the cadaver found at the Rio Ixcucua on March 13, 1992. De Leon Carpio answered by telephone that the army claimed that no such forensic data had been taken. He then sent a letter (May 11, 1992) to the U.R.N.G. giving a precise written description of the cadaver, and stating that the person had been wounded and had shot himself through the mouth. (Copy attached hereto). The description matched that of Everardo feature by feature and to the centimeter, and gave an accurate age range. The possibility that Everardo had committed suicide was not strange. Many U.R.N.G members have committed suicide to avoid being captured alive and tortured by the army. (In some thirty years of war, the army had killed all captured prisoners.) However, it was very unusual for the army intelligence division not to have taken any physical evidence for their files. When I lived in Guatemala earlier, I had been a number of trips to the morgues with family members seeking their relatives. G-2 members were often there first, and we would have to wait until they had finished taking their evidence. (This had happened to friends of Rosario Godoy de Cuevas, for example, when they went to identify her body in the morgue.) Given the contents

of Everardo's backpack, it was odd indeed that they did not bother to taken any such routine evidence in this case of all cases. Our concern that a hoax was being perpetrated began to mount.

The U.R.N.G. leadership then asked De Leon Carpio to arrange for an exhumation of the body in the grave in Retalhuleu. As no U.R.N.G. member could enter Guatemala openly without risking arrest and/or assassination, the parties agreed that the exhumation should be carried out in Guatemala, and the results sent to Mexico City for verification by the U.R.N. G. leadership as to whether or not the deceased person was in fact Everardo or not. Given the fears of a hoax, the U.R.N.G. did not send detailed physical information about Everardo to De Leon Carpio. They did not trust the army. For similar reasons, they asked that foreign observers be allowed to attend, so as to assure that army pressure or intimidation against the forensic physician would not lead to a falsified report. (In the case of Hector Gomez, for example, the forensic physician was assassinated not long after he filed an accurate but gruesome autopsy report.) Thus if the body in the grave, for example, was six feet tall, and the report stated five feet, the observers could indicate that the report was falsified.

I insisted on attending the exhumation as well, thinking that it quite probably was Everardo in the grave, and wishing to give him a decent burial. All of my friends in the U.S. solidarity network advised strongly against this. Despite the fact that I am not a U.R.N.G. member, they felt that such a public appearance would be quite dangerous. They also reminded me that the Guatemalan authorities are very sensitive about exposure in Washington about human rights violations, as this could lead to economic sanctions. They are thus extremely sensitive to the involvement of foreigners in such matters, and would be likely to cancel or impede the exhumation if they knew of my personal link to Everardo. My own experience in Guatemala confirmed what they were telling me, and so I decided to attend the exhumation, as simply one of the observers, but without stating that I was Everardo's wife.

Arrangements for the exhumation were very slow, despite the urgency of the situation. De Leon Carpio, understandably wished to obtain "courtesy approval" from the army before proceeding. Finally, the exhumation was scheduled for late May 1992, and I flew to Guatemala City with three other U.S. citizens. We spoke with De Leon Carpio the night we arrived, and left the city early the next morning with De Leon's forensic specialist Leonel Gomez. In Retalhuleu we proceeded to the cemetery together with the local judge and his assistant. The "XX", or unidentified persons, are buried behind the cemetery morgue, but the plot in question had been marked pursuant to the cemetery records. Two grave diggers began to open up the grave upon the judge's orders. As they dug, the small area began to fill up with policemen carrying rifles. They stated that the army was sending soldiers as well. As the grave diggers reached the edges of the body bag in the grave a car screeched into the cemetery and Lic. Asisclo Valladares, of the Ministerio Publico, jumped out, running across the other graves and shouting at us. He began by stating that everything must be called off because the matter had not been cleared by his

office. Leonel showed him all of the papers and explained that it was an international human rights matter and been arranged by his office for months already. Asisclo Valladares then stated that the exhumation must be called off because foreigners were present. I then intervened and said that we could leave and wait in the parking lot. He said that this would not be good enough either, that a U.R.N.G. member must come to Guatemala and identify the body. Leonel explained the arrangements, and pointed out that any U.R.N.G member would be subject to immediate arrest if he or she publicly arrived in Guatemala. Valladares admitted that this was true, but insisted that a U.R.N. G. member must all the same, attend. He then asked if any of us observers were U.R.N.G. members arriving to identify the body. We said no. He then said that Francisco Villalgran, the public spokesperson for the U.R.N.G. who had signed the correspondence with De Leon Carpio, must come to Guatemala to attend. He then ordered the grave diggers out of the grave, despite Leonel's protests, and stated that he was postponing the exhumation for a few days. Then he asked if any of us were family members of the deceased. Given the large number of police, the furious and somewhat hysterical tone of Asisclo Valladares, and the fact that I had neither an attorney nor an embassy person with me, I did not answer, or try explain that I was a relative but not a U.R.N.G. member. The situation was too tense. As Asisclo Valladares was promising to reschedule the exhumation for a few days later, I decided to first speak with a Guatemalan lawyer as well as the U.S. embassy before answering the question. As it turned out, the exhumation was never rescheduled, despite numerous inquiries by the U.R.N.G. leadership.

By the end of the summer, I was convinced that Everardo was indeed dead, although I was not sure how he had died or where he was buried. I thought it was possible that he was buried in the Retalhuelu grave as reported, but that his body had been mutilated by the army and for this reason the authorities had called off the exhumation. I also thought it was possible that he had been captured alive by the army. Based on my experience in Guatemala, I assumed that if this were the case, he had long since been tortured to death. I had known many, many people in Guatemala to be dragged away by either the death squads or members of the armed forces. With the exception of those who miraculously escaped during the first month or so of captivity, none ever returned alive. They either vanished forever, or their battered bodies arrived in the morgue, bearing grim signs of torture. Too much time had elapsed for me to hope, with any realism, that Everardo was still alive. Or so, at least, I thought. As it turned out, I was wrong.

In early 1993, however, I was contacted by the U.R.N. G. and invited to interview a young man named Santiago Cabrera Lopez. Santiago had been a combatant in my husband's frente (the Luis Ixmata frente) and was also known by his nom de guerre of "Carlos". He was captured by the Guatemalan army in 1991 together with "Karina" or Anastasia Lopez Calvo. I interviewed him in Mexico City for a number of hours and found his story to be quite coherent and consistent. Santiago told me that after his capture he was severely beaten by members of the army and was later placed in a pit in the floor of a military installation, together with Anastasia. Later, he spent months chained hands and feet to a bed. Other prisoners were sent in to brow

beat him and to break his moral. He was taken to identify friends in the morgue. He was told that if he tried to escape that not only would he be hunted down and killed, but that his family would be killed as well. He would then be forced, under threats of further torture, to give information to army intelligence officials. These threats were acted upon. For example, on one occasion, Santiago was unable to identify a certain prisoner to the army's satisfaction, and he was therefore subjected to torture with electrical prods.

There were many other prisoners of war in the same circumstances. The army did not kill them but kept them under constant fear and abuse to force them to work with military intelligence. Apparently, the goal of this system was to "break" the prisoners psychologically so as to convert them into a secret cadre of army informants. (This was successfully done in the famous case of Father Pellecer in the early 1980s). Santiago decided that his only chance for an escape lay in pretending to be a model prisoner, giving away information that would not result in the death of another compañero or companera, and pretending that he had switched allegiances and was now truly with the army. In the end, this was indeed how he managed to escape, first being placed in uniform, then receiving wages, finally working with less and less of a guard, and in the end gaining freedom to leave on short trips. From one such trip he simply never returned, fleeing the country instead. He dared to flee because he knew his family was safely out of the country as well.

Santiago also reported that on March 12, 1992 he saw my husband dragged into the military base of Santa Ana Berlin, where he himself was being held at that time. Needless to say, he recognized his own commanding officer quite well. He saw Everardo a number of times over the next several weeks, bound to a bed and undergoing interrogation. He saw army officials waving a gun at my husband and shouting that he had no right to live. He also heard other officials stating that no one should know who the prisoner was, and that everyone thought he had been killed and buried. Some of the prisoners were sent in to pressure my husband into talking. After approximately a month Everardo was taken away. In late May the prisoners were told he had attempted to escape and had been killed. They were warned never to speak of him. The officials were watching the prisoners' faces, deciding who was truly loyal to the army, and who was still loyal to the U.R.N.G. forces.

In late July of 1992, Santiago saw my husband again, this time in the base #18 of San Marcos. The prisoners are rotated from area to area to gather further information. (Evidently Everardo had been held for some time in the military base of Ouetzaltenango.) This time, Santiago saw my husband lying on a metal bed. He was stripped to his underwear and his entire body was terribly swollen. One arm and leg were heavily bandaged. He was speaking, but in an abnormal voice. There was a green gas tank next to the bed. The army officers carrying out this torture told Santiago to leave the room immediately and never tell anyone what he had seen or he would be killed. A doctor had been sent for to make sure that my husband did not die. With all of the information he has, as a founder, a comandante, and a combatant with 17 years of experience, the goal was to break my husband and force him

to talk. They did not wish to kill him. Indeed, Santiago saw him alive a short time later. My husband was being interrogated. The swelling had gone down and his voice was normal. Santiago could not see his arm and leg, as these were concealed by the army uniform he was wearing. Not long thereafter Santiago was sent away on a mission with the soldiers, and when he returned, Everardo had been taken away. Santiago escaped the country in late 1992.

A second prisoner, "William", (Jaime Adalberto Augustin Recinos) escaped from a different part of the country at about the same time. Although he did not see my husband, he heard his guards referring to "Everardo". Santiago and William together were able to name thirty five other captured U.R.N.G. combatants, as well as my husband, whom they had personally observed under secret detention in the hands of the Guatemalan army.

The officials named by Santiago as directly involved in the detention and torture of my husband are the following:

1. Coronel Barahona was the leader of the army unit which captured Everardo.
 2. He was interrogated by specialists named "Chato" (or Kaibil) and Capitan Laco.
 3. He was also interrogated and threatened by Major Soto of G-3.
 4. Coronel Julio Alpirez and Major Mario Sosa Orellana were in charge of his detention.
 5. Specialist Juan Jose Orozco Giron was sent for the oxygen tank.
 6. Specialist Simeon Cum Chuta sent Santiago into the infirmary with the typewriter, and clearly knew what was going on in there.
 7. Coronel Alpirez and a G-2 specialist named "Gualip" were seen by Santiago torturing my husband.
 8. Specialist Rene Jimenez Gonzalez was questioning my husband about a tape of the Voz Popular shortly after the torture session.
- The complete list of names is included in Santiago's affidavit, attached hereto.

Santiago and William travelled to Geneva Switzerland in February of 1993 and presented their testimonies to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. I immediately filed writs of "Exhibicion Personales" with the Guatemalan Supreme Court. These were to no avail, the official response being that the Guatemalan army claimed they had no such prisoners. Shortly afterwards, however, three of the prisoners, including Anastasia, were presented alive on Guatemalan television, stating that they had voluntarily joined the Guatemalan army. In March 1993, I testified to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of OAS. Santiago's testimony had been videoed in advance and was also shown.

Numerous letters of protest were then sent to Presidents Serrano and De Leon Carpio from human rights organizations, religious organizations, and various members of the U.S. Congress and Senate. The only response from the Guatemalan authorities was to insist that the prisoners were not in their custody and that William and Santiago were lying.

Given this situation, I returned to Guatemala, obtained the services of a Guatemalan attorney, and filed for an exhumation of the body buried in the Retalhuelu cemetery. The original file in the Human Rights Ombudsman's office, containing De Leon Carpio's telephone notes and correspondence could not be located. I did, however, see the judicial records from the original case filed the year before. These were sealed, but as a family member filing directly for the exhumation, I was entitled to read them.

Leafing through the first few pages, I found the report of the Juez de Paz (Justice of the Peace) who was brought out to the Rio Ixcucua by the army to recover the body. (The photos in the press show him surrounded by soldiers, standing over a cadaver. The face of the cadaver cannot be seen.) As I began reading the report, my heart skipped a beat, for it gave exactly the same, detailed, feature by feature description as that contained in the 1992 letter signed by De Leon Carpio. Reading on, I noted that the report gave even more highly detailed information, including the number of bullet bags, the number of bullets in each bag, the canned food in the back pack, the contents of the pockets, etc.etc..The document even described the cadaver's underwear as bikini style, white with horizontal blue lines. I was quite impressed with all of the careful detail until I reached the line that stated "SCARS AND MOLES; NONE".

My husband had been in active combat for seventeen years, and he is quite literally a human museum of battle scars. He has an old scar on his upper right lip, faded but clear, from a fall over a cliff. Since he had no mustache, this would have been quite visible to any physician. Everardo also has a very thick and long scar on his left arm from a deep gash. On his chest, just over his heart, is a large round scar about the size of a silver dollar from a piece of shrapnel that bounced off his breast bone. He was shot through the upper back (shoulder area) with shot gun pellets, a number of which are still embedded in his body. He has a bad scar on one leg perhaps from a bullet, and numerous scars across both legs from shrapnel and fragment wounds. If the Juez de Paz looked at the cadaver in question closely enough to see what kind of blue lines were on the underwear, he would certainly have seen at least some of these very clear and severe scars. Obviously the Juez de Paz never saw my husband's body out there at the Rio Ixcucua at all. Instead he saw a different cadaver in olive green, and was given a pre-written description by the army to sign and file with the courts.

I spoke later with some of the journalists who were present that day. They told me that no one was allowed close to the body, no one was allowed a close up photo of the face, and no one was allowed to investigate the area. They were instead, given an official version by the army members present. I asked if the civilian officials were allowed to look around. The journalists just laughed and said no. I cannot name these journalists for fear of endangering them. One of them was severely battered and hospitalized recently.

The next document of interest in the files was the autopsy report filed by the official Retalhuleu forensic physician. He in fact had filed two documents: one with the death records in Nuevo San Carlos,

noting the death of a person in olive green, March 13, 1992, at the site of the combat (filed March 1992). The second, filed March 1992 is the actual report of the autopsy which the doctor performed on the body in question on March 13, 1992, the same day it was brought in from the Rio Ixcucua by the authorities. By law, the autopsy and burial of an identified body had to be carried out within twenty four hours. According to this autopsy report, the body brought in from the river was not that of a person in his thirties, nor was he 1.60 meters, nor dark skinned, nor clean shaven. Rather, the deceased was in his twenties, was 1.55 meters, had a mustache, and had medium toned skin. Moreover, the deceased had turned up ("achinados") eyes, and a scar on one hand. My husband does not have this scar, nor does he have tilted up eyes. The physical description was, in short, of a completely different person than my husband. Moreover, it flatly contradicted the description given in the May 1992 letter signed by Ramiro De Leon Carpio. More startling still was the discrepancy with regard to the cause of death. According to the De Leon Carpio letter Everardo had received a bullet wound in the back and had then shot himself through the mouth to avoid being captured alive. According to this autopsy report, the person had been tied by the ankles, had been fingerprinted (he had black ink on his fingertips), shot, stabbed, battered, had a 2 centimeter strangulation wound around the throat, and a skull crushed by blows. The cause of death is listed as "contusions to the head and thorax" and strangulation. Clearly, this young man had not committed suicide.

On August 17, 1993 I proceeded with the exhumation of the Retalhuleu grave where the body in question was buried. Present were the same Retalhuleu judge, the official forensic physician who had performed the 1992 autopsy, Mary Grandfield from Consular Services at the U.S. Embassy, my lawyers, the cemetery administrator, representatives of the Ministerio Publico and the Department of Health, the police, and numerous other Guatemalan officials. We proceeded to the small uneven area behind the morgue where the unidentified bodies are all buried. The cemetery administrator had marked the spot where his records showed the correct grave to be located. Unfortunately, given that graves are extremely close together, together with the uneven and untended grounds, it is very difficult to measure off the spaces with precision. As a result, the first grave opened was the wrong one, (although it turned out to be immediately next to the correct one) and contained a body in civilian clothing with an intact skull.

The Retalhuleu forensic physician, holding his 1992 autopsy report in his hand, immediately noted that this was not the correct grave. Nevertheless, the head was lifted out of the grave and handed to me in a bucket to examine. It was not that of my husband. The head in the bucket had a metal cap on one front tooth. Everardo has no such caps on his teeth. Also, the spacing of the teeth was quite different. At this point, the authorities had to decide whether to dig open the grave immediately above or immediately below the first one. They dug just above it and found another cadaver in civilian clothes. The skull was intact, although it had a bullet imbedded in one side. Again, the forensic physician indicated that this was not the correct body, and again, the head was brought up in a bucket for my inspection. The

skull was missing a front tooth. Everardo is not missing a front tooth. I asked my forensic doctor, Dr. Michael Charney, if it was an old extraction or inflicted at the time of death. He examined the jawbone and pronounced the extraction quite old. Finally, the grave just below the first one was opened. It contained a body with a severely smashed skull, buried with an olive green U.R.N.G. uniform. I am about 5 feet 3 inches tall, and my husband is perhaps a half inch to an inch shorter than I am. The body in the grave was far smaller than I am. Also, the uniform was of a person quite slight in build, which my husband is not. The Retalhuleu forensic doctor confirmed that this was the cadaver brought in from the Rio Ixcucua the year before, and upon which he had performed the autopsy. (The slight size, the olive green uniform, which is unusual in that area, and the terrible head injuries made the recognition easy.) The cadaver was then carried into the morgue. Although the upper part of the skull was in pieces, I could see that the upper front teeth had two metal caps or coronas, which my husband does not have. Dr. Charney examined the pelvic bones of the cadaver and estimated the age at the time of death to be between eighteen and twenty. There is a range of error of approximately five years. However, Everardo was nearly thirty five when he vanished. Clearly, the body was not my husband's.

I then made arrangements to bury the young combatant in the coffin I had bought for Everardo. Because he remains unidentified, I was not permitted to move his body to the small grave plot I had purchased in the legal part of the cemetery. I had to rebury him amongst the XX graves behind the morgue. I did, however, have a small tombstone erected which reads "XX, ?- 12 Marzo 1992, Presente en Ia Lucha". I returned later to be sure the tombstone had actually been erected. It was in place. Also, the day after the exhumation, I returned to the cemetery with a priest who gave a moving mass for all of the XX victims buried in the graves behind the morgue.

Having finished in Retalhuleu, I returned to Guatemala City and reported my findings to Marilyn MacAfee, the U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala. She had previously been concerned that even if the cadaver in the grave turned out not to be that of my husband, that I would have difficulty establishing that Everardo had ever been in the hands of the army in the first place, as the officials were insisting that the witness was lying. I showed her the May 1992 letter signed by Ramiro De Leon Carpio and read her the description it contained, while she looked at Everardo's photograph. Janet Hawkins of the Harvard magazine was with me during this meeting. I pointed out that if the army never had Everardo in the first place, then why did they send his description when asked for a description of the cadaver? Also, if they never had him in the first place, where did they get the feature by feature, to the centimeter accurate description from, and why did they send it? Surely they did not happen to simply guess every feature in my husband's face, together with his height, build, age, and lack of beard or mustache? Ms. MacAfee requested all the information to be presented in writing, and agreed that the evidence was compelling. She also agreed to ask the Minister of Defense, General Mario Enriquez, to meet with me.

I was in fact able to meet with General Mario Enriquez a few days

later in the Casa Crema. Susan Lee accompanied me to this meeting. We spoke briefly about the case, and I urged that all thirty six known prisoners be turned over to the Guatemalan courts for fair trials and treatment in accordance with the requirements of international humanitarian law. Alternatively, I asked for them to be placed in a publicly recognized center for prisoners of war, and treated in compliance with the Geneva Conventions. In return, I offered to avoid further public scandal, and to refrain from filing any further charges against the army.

General Enriquez replied that the army never captured my husband and that it was all a tragic misunderstanding. He said that his troops had found a cadaver in olive green at the Rio Ixcucua, and sent it to Retalhuleu for burial. I myself admitted that this was not my husband. Thus the army never had him in the first place. Perhaps he was off on some secret mission somewhere. I showed him the letter signed by Ramiro de Leon Carpio, who was currently the President of Guatemala. I asked him where such a perfect description of Everardo had come from if they never had him in the first place? And why had they sent this description instead of a description of the young man actually found and buried? Enriquez was startled by my response and unable to answer my questions.

General Enriquez then stated that "many other" people were saying that the guerrillas must have switched the body in the Retalhuleu grave in order to make the army look bad. I pointed out that the autopsy was carried out the same day that the body arrived from the Rio Ixcucua, and prior to burial. A good description of the deceased was possible as decomposition had not yet set in. The autopsy report described a person totally different from my husband. The cadaver was never that of my husband in the first place. Moreover, the Retalhuleu forensic physician was present at the exhumation, holding his own 1992 autopsy report in his hand, and clearly stated that the body in the grave was the same one he received on March 13, 1992. As combat had been unusual in that area, cadavers in olive green uniform were uncommon. Moreover, the small size and unusually brutal head injuries made recognition easy. Again, General Enriquez listened uneasily to my response and was quite unable to explain any of the issues I had raised.

General Enriquez closed our meeting by stating the only the subversives claimed that secret prisoners or prisons existed in Guatemala. I asked if he were referring to subversives such as Diana Ortiz, for example, the U.S. citizen nun who had been abducted and tortured in a clandestine prison by Guatemalan authorities. Enriquez did not respond. I again offered to refrain from further charges and international scandal if the thirty six prisoners were presented in a public and legal detention center, protected from any torture or other physical or psychological abuse, and given access to doctors, family members, and human rights organizations. Enriquez simply insisted that no such prisoners existed. Thus we parted.

The OAS Inter American Commission on Human Rights was in Guatemala during the first week of September 1993 and I gave them my full testimony about the exhumation results and my findings from the

judicial records, including the 1992 autopsy report.

I also went on a seven day hunger strike, starting approximately the 7 of September 1993. I positioned myself in front of the Polytechnica with thirty six candles for the thirty six prisoners, and four banners. One asked where Everardo and the thirty six prisoners were. The second gave all of their names. The third stated that human rights apply to everyone. The fourth asked "Are you the new army or not?" This referred to the army's claims that under the new president De Leon Carpio, all of the human rights abuses had ceased, and they were the "new army" meriting international respect and support. I stayed day and night there on the Avenida Reforma for a week straight and drank only water. Numerous Guatemalans passed by waving and clapping and shouting "Animo Senora" and "Bamaca Bamaca!" (my husband's last name). They also stopped to visit, bringing flowers, their children, jugs of water and saline solution, candles, books, prayers and hugs. They told me of their own lost loved ones, dragged off long ago and disappeared by the death squads, and told me I was speaking on behalf of many who could not speak for fear of reprisals. Despite all of this, I received no official response at all from the Government. President De Leon Carpio informed the press that he wished to meet with me. I called daily offering to meet with him privately at any time and at any place. This was never arranged. At the end of the week De Leon told the press he wanted to meet with me but of course could not do so out there in public in front of the Polytechnica. He never mentioned my numerous calls and offers to meet with him in private. His fear of the army was quite clear. Only a few weeks earlier his own cousin, Carpio Nicholle had been assassinated by a large group of masked men with military style rifles on a remote road near an army base. Since that time, the president had reversed almost all of the human rights positions he had held during his time as human rights Ombudsman.

I returned to Washington D.C. after the hunger strike and began to inform the different human rights organizations, as well as members of the United States Congress and the Senate. The Inter American Commission issued interim protective orders against the Guatemalan army, requiring, among other things, that a serious search be made for the prisoners and a report filed back with the Commission in thirty days, describing the results of such search. Given the Guatemalan army's insistence that there is no internal war going on in Guatemala, the Commission was careful to refer only to "prisoners" and not to "prisoners of war". The Guatemalan authorities responded to the Commission after sixty days, stating that there was no war ongoing in Guatemala and therefore no such prisoners of war existed, that all criminals were turned over to the courts, and that the interim protective orders were therefore unnecessary and inappropriate. I spoke with the International Red Cross, which has limited power in Guatemala, as the Guatemalan government refuses to recognize an ongoing war, and has also officially rebuffed the organizations offer of "assistance and services". I also addressed the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, Switzerland during their February 1994 session. Monica Pinto, the U.N. Special Expert for Guatemala, mentioned the case specifically in her presentation to the Committee during that session. I also addressed the U.N. Committee on Forced

Disappearances during their 1994 session in New York. The members promised to immediately contact the Guatemalan authorities. Meanwhile, U.S. Representative Connie Morella introduced a Congressional Resolution which specifically included my husband's case. The same resolution was introduced into the Senate by Senator Patty Murray.

In the face of all of this pressure, the Guatemalan army was unable to come up with any reasonable explanations about the case. Since the exhumation, they have given the following arguments, none of which work:

1. They claim they never had Everardo in the first place. But then where did the perfect, feature by feature to the centimeter accurate description of him come from and why did they send it?
2. They claim that the U.R.N. G. must have switched the body in the grave to make them look bad. However, the March 13 1992 autopsy was performed as soon as the body arrived from the Rio Ixcucua, and prior to the burial. The body was never that of my husband in the first place. The features, height, coloring, beard, age and scars are those of a person quite different from my husband. Also, the forensic doctor from Retalhuleu was present at the exhumation in August 1993 and confirmed that the body found in the grave was the same as that brought in from the Rio Ixcucua on March 13, 1992.
3. The army has also claimed that the U.R.N.G. faxed the description of Everardo to De Leon Carpio's office back in 1992. However, I have a copy of the letter sent by the U.R.N.G. leadership. It gives Everardo's name, date of birth, height, and states that he was "dark". They sent no further details because they believed a hoax was being carried out. The De Leon Carpio letter, on the other hand, gives a description of the shape of his face and forehead, his hair, eye brows, nose, lips and build. Where did all these additional details come from?

More importantly, the U.R.N.G. asked for a description of the cadaver found by the army on March 13, 1992. Why did the officials send a description of Everardo instead of the cadaver, which was so different? What objective could exist other than to carry out a terrible hoax?

4. Finally, the army officials speaking with me have tried to suggest that De Leon Carpio's description must have come from "somebody else" other than the army. However, since the body was buried within twenty four hours, there are very few others who saw it prior to burial. These others are all easily ruled out. The following are the alternative sources of the first hand description:

- a. The Justice of the Peace initially was taken by military officials to the combat site to see the body. He gave the report I described above, similar to that of De Leon Carpio. It states the precise type of underwear the cadaver had on, plus an highly detailed description of the face, yet states "scars and moles none". Clearly, this Justice of the Peace never really saw my husband's body out there at the Rio Ixcucua. He saw a quite different cadaver, but signed the pre-written

report he was given to sign by the army.

b. Members of the National Police were present and helped transfer the cadaver to the morgue in Retalhuleu. But where would they get such an accurate description of Everardo from? The cadaver found was completely different in appearance from my husband. Also what motive could there be for falsifying the description? The police did not take Everardo prisoner. They did not participate in the combat at the River. Moreover, Santiago saw Everardo in the hands of the army, not the police. The police had no motive in issuing a false description of the cadaver other than to help the army cover up an abduction and illegal detention.

c. The official Retalhuleu forensic physician who performed the autopsy on March 13, 1992 is the only civilian to see the cadaver outside the presence of the army officials. The physician described someone completely different from Everardo. The body found in the grave in 1993 matches this description.

d. The Guatemalan army members are the only other people to see the cadaver prior to burial. They certainly would have the motive to falsify the description of the body if they were illegally detaining and torturing Everardo. Moreover, Everardo vanished in a combat with the army. The witness saw Everardo in the hands of the army on numerous occasions. The De Leon Carpio letter was written in response to a U.R.N.G. request to seek forensic photographs and fingerprints of the cadaver from army intelligence. The description sent in no way matches the autopsy report or the body found at the Rio Ixcucua or in the Retalhuleu grave.

In short, the original source of the disinformation can only be the Guatemalan army. It is possible that this disinformation was sent to an intermediate source, which in turn sent it on to De Leon Carpio. But the original source remains the Guatemalan army.

By late January of 1994 the Minister of Defense, General Enriquez began to show signs that some of the international pressure was taking effect. I met with him once again in the Casa Crema, together with Colonel Merida who at that time was the head of G-2 or army intelligence. We began the discussion with the same defense arguments I have outlined above. I explained why none of these arguments were reasonable. I also repeated my efforts to convince them to present the prisoners to the civilian courts of law. In return, I offered again, to cease my lobbying efforts in Washington as well as to legally waive all of my charges against them. They insisted that they did not have Everardo, but were extremely interested in my offer of a discrete and mutual solution. They kept suggesting that perhaps he was on a secret mission, or had perhaps gone to look for me in Texas. When I responded that this was impossible, they looked quite disappointed, as if I had missed an important cue. For the rest of the week I mulled over these conversations, wondering what I had missed, and what the look of disappointment had meant.

After thinking over the various comments, it occurred to me that perhaps these officers did indeed want to resolve the case, but that they were unwilling to admit, even in private, what they had done. What they wanted was some way to give Everardo back without ever having to admit that they had taken him in the first place. For this reason they were urging that he was on a "secret mission" or on his "way to Texas". They wanted him to reappear under some pretext that would show he had never been abducted or abused, and that it was all a "misunderstanding". They wanted a face saving way out of the problem. I was, and still am, willing to allow them a pretext of this nature in order to save my husband's life.

In order to test my hunch, I went to the G-2 office in the National Palace and asked to speak with Col. Merida. He was out of the country, but his second in command received me, somewhat nervously. The man began by berating me about my book but I stopped him and said I was there to correct a potential "misunderstanding". I said that I was convinced that my husband was in the hands of the army, for the reason that I had given. However, should he appear alive in Texas stating that he had changed his mind and wanted to live in the States with me, I would welcome him with open arms. I would also legally waive all claims against the army, as well as inform the Congress and Senate that the matter had been happily resolved. Until he appeared alive, I would continue to fight for his life with all of my might. But if he did appear alive, I would stop all of my efforts. I simply wanted to make it clear that I was not part of a "propaganda stunt" and that all my efforts would halt as soon as Everardo reappeared alive. The G-2 officer's attitude changed dramatically with these comments. He relaxed, became more friendly, poured me coffee and told me that I was a most intelligent woman. He also commented that this is what they had always supposed...that "one" would certainly want to be with "one's family" and that Everardo had perhaps gone to Texas. I reported this interesting series of events to Marilyn MacAfee, the U.S. Ambassador. She found it promising and arranged for a last minute meeting with Enriquez the next morning. Although it was a Friday evening and he was leaving the country on Sunday, he agreed to meet with me on Saturday morning.

Once again I went to the Casa Crema. Enriquez welcomed me quite warmly, and said he had heard of my visit to the G-2 office and that he always had time to meet with me. I repeated that if Everardo showed up alive in Texas or anywhere else, that I would drop all charges and advise both the Congress and Senate that the case had been fully and satisfactorily resolved. The uproar over the case would cease. We could all come out "winners" or we could all come out "losers". I urged that given the new peace process possibilities, that we should work hard for a mutually acceptable solution.

General Enriquez listened quite carefully and agreed that a mutual solution was most preferable. He also stressed that I was most intelligent and honorable, and that he now realized that I was not a subversive propaganda stunt after all. He stated that given his respect for me, he had already ordered his intelligence divisions to carry out a sweep of the U.R.N.G. areas and to find Everardo. We spoke of the different possible scenarios. Perhaps he was wounded and became

disconnected from his troops. I nodded. Perhaps, Enriquez offered, he was fighting with the CPRs (civilian resistance populations which the army has bombed for years, and which are now seeking international protection as civilians). I answered that he could not possibly be with the CPRs, indicating that this would not be an acceptable alibi. Enriquez looked disappointed, but dropped the suggestion, and stated that with the sweep he was confident that Everardo would be found and that the case would be happily resolved. He put his arm around my shoulders and walked me to the door, stating that he hoped to one day be present at our children's baptism. He then kissed me on the cheek in front of his troops in the courtyard.

I saw General Enriquez two days later in Washington D.C. in Ambassador Mulet's official residence. The occasion was a reception for the local human rights community as well as a number of Congressional assistants. General Enriquez was of course present, as were representatives of EPICA, Americas Watch, Guatemala Partners, NISGUA, and the Guatemala Human Rights Commission. So was Deb Hauger from House Foreign Affairs, and Col. Keller, the new military attache in Guatemala.

General Enriquez began by giving a small speech, during which he admitted that the army had committed some excesses, and thanking the human rights community for pointing these out. He also mentioned that he was pleased to see me again so soon, and how much respect he had for me. He appeared to be quite nervous and tense. Instead of having everyone sit down together for a discussion, the arrangements were that General Enriquez circulated informally from group to group in the room, chatting. I listened to him speaking with Anne Manuel at one point, and asked him about my case. He said that if I could just tell him where my husband was being held, he would take me there himself and set things straight. This is similar to his other on the record comments and did not surprise me at all. I answered that I could certainly not guess where the army was hiding and torturing my husband, and that responsibility lay with the army. Anne Manuel then asked if the army was going to do something, or leave it all up to me. For the first time in public, General Enriquez answered that he was in fact ordering a search for Everardo and hoped that he would soon be found. I was surprised and pleased to hear him say this on the record. As he circulated around the room, he repeated a number of times that he fully recognized the importance of this case and that the credibility and prestige of the army were at stake, and that he was making it a high priority to find Everardo, and clear the matter up for once and for all. He repeated a number of times that he was ordering a search, and stated that now that Everardo's photo had been published together with mine in my book, that they knew who to look for, and that this would be of great help. This comment amused me, as Everardo's photo had been published repeatedly in the Guatemalan press for some time. He spoke confidently of finding Everardo, and seemed to wish to reassure everyone in the room that the matter would soon be properly resolved. Deb Hauger approached me and said that he had just taken her aside and said that he thought Everardo was probably still alive, although "of course he didn't know". At another interval, he said that he much hoped to one day see Everardo and Jennifer in Texas, living happily ever after. (Pat Davis of the G.H.R.C./ USA heard this

comment.) In his closing speech he again stressed his respect for me, and repeated that he recognized that the case was urgent and critical to the credibility of the army. He stated that the army was going to carry out an intense search, and indicated his confidence that Everardo would be found, and his hopes to see us living happily together again. I was, needless to say, very happy with all of these public declarations. The fact that he was willing to go on the record with such confidence and openness about the "search" and hint so broadly and confidently at a happy ending convinced me that without a doubt Everardo was still alive. A number of other human rights people began to congratulate me. A U.S. military staff person kissed me on the cheek and told me he was proud of me. General Enriquez left, murmuring to me that he would be in touch soon through the Embassy. A few days later, at a hearing before the Inter American Commission of Human Rights, one of Mr. Guadamuz's assistants told me not to worry, that the Minister of Defense had said he would take care of things.

I waited until May to hear back from General Enriquez. Instead of word about my husband, however, I heard constant rumors of an imminent coup. There were obvious signs of internal instability. Colonel Merida left the army and ended up in Ministry of Government. General Quilo left the army abruptly. In February, at the U.N. Commission hearings in Geneva, a number of Guatemalan civilians arrived to testify about ongoing human rights violations. All were frightened and had been receiving threats, and all were expecting an imminent lifting of constitutional rights pursuant to a "state of emergency". The state of emergency was not declared, but instead, after much pressure, De Leon Carpio "invited" the army in to help maintain order in the streets. Human rights violations began to escalate alarmingly.

Given this alarming turn of events, I returned to Guatemala in May 1994 and again went to meet with General Enriquez. This time he appeared much less self confident than he had in January. However, we again had a tacit bargaining session. He told me that perhaps Everardo would appear when the international verification team arrived. I pointed out that the verification team would never find him, since the army would move him as soon as the verification team even approached his detention area. The army does, after all, have radar, sentry, and other advanced surveillance and security methods at their disposal. It would be hard to sneak up on a military base in the most militarized country in the world. By the time the international team even drew near, Everardo would be evacuated by either helicopter or vehicle. I stated that this offer was not satisfactory. Enriquez then took my arm in his hand and said that he was not suggesting that the verification team find Everardo. He was suggesting that Everardo might be lost or disconnected from his troops, and when he heard that the verification team was nearby, he would have the necessary trust to turn himself in to them, for protection. Again, I stated that if he turned up alive, I would question nothing, and sign a legal waiver of my rights to file an charges or claims against them. I would also inform Congress and Senate of the happy resolution of the case. He again complimented me on my intelligence and noted that everyone liked me, and that this was why the case was receiving so much attention and support. He again indicated his hopes to see a happy ending to the matter. I asked if the thought it was possible that Everardo would find the verification

team. He looked me in the eye and said, "Yes, it is possible." Then he accompanied me to the door. I left with a sense of unease. He clearly was much less confident than he had been in January, but equally clearly signalling me of the possibility of working things out even yet.

It was during this May trip that I met with my first difficulties with Marilyn MacAfee, the U.S. Ambassador. She had requested in writing that Congresswoman Connie Morella remove my case from the Congressional resolution. Fortunately for me, this request had been refused. MacAfee had not requested the removal of any of the other individual cases. I asked her about this point blank and she assured me that she had always insisted that the case be treated on an equal basis as all the others. I pointed out that her request was in writing and bore her signature. She said she would have to review her files. She then told me I really had no evidence to suggest my husband was still alive. I reviewed the fact that he has a great deal of knowledge and information still valuable to the army, that he is still a good negotiations chip for bargaining with the U.R.N. G., that U.R.N.G intelligence has received confirmation that he is still alive, that several Guatemalans had brought me word of recent sightings of Everardo in the southwest, and of course, General Enriquez' discussions with me. She simply brushed off the confirmation reports and told me that I was putting words in General Enriquez's mouth. She pointed out that Col. Keller had been with him in Washington during the January trip and had not heard the comments I was referring to. Then she stated that she understood my need to keep my hopes up, but again indicated that the general had not made these comments. Pat Davis of the Guatemalan Human Rights Commission/USA was present during this conversation.

Given this discussion, I went to see Col. Keller in office there at the Embassy. I told him that during the January reception I had heard General Enriquez state 1. his respect for me, 2. his recognition of the importance of the case and its urgency for the prestige and credibility of the Guatemalan army 3. his intent to have a thorough search and sweep carried out to find and or capture Everardo 4. how helpful the photo would be in the search and 5. how he looked forward to seeing both Everardo and Jennifer living happily ever after in Texas together. I also mentioned his comment to Deb Hauger that he thought Everardo was probably still alive although of course he didn't know. Then I asked Col. Keller what comments he remembered. He responded that he remembered the same comments. Ms. MacAfee then entered the room and I repeated the entire conversation, again asking Col. Keller what his recollection of the conversation was. He again confirmed that he had the same recollection. Ms. MacAfee had no comment. Pat Davis was also present during this conversation.

I also asked MacAfee during this trip what she had done recently to press the case. She said that she continued to mention it, but that the army insisted they do not have my husband. I asked what consequences would take place if they killed him and the other prisoners in the face of OAS orders, Monica Pinto's clear requirements, and the outcry from Washington and the other international human rights organizations. She stated that there would

18

be no consequences.

I note that U.S. Vice President Al Gore was in the region during this time frame, pushing the interim trade plan and NAFTA for Central America. Guatemala cannot enter NAFTA until a peace agreement is signed and my case is quite embarrassing for this peace process as it shows 1. The army is not negotiating in good faith if they are urging the U.R.N.G. to disarm and return to Guatemala on the basis of trust, even as the army is secretly detaining and abusing some thirty six U.R.N.G. prisoners, including a founder and comandante. 2. The army is already in violation of the Global Human Rights Accord, signed in March 1994 and already legally in effect. It covers treatment of prisoners.

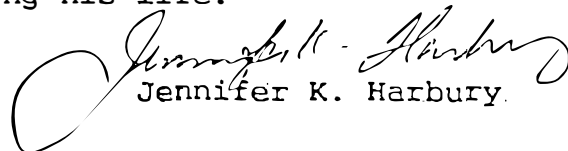
I returned one more time to Guatemala in August of 1994 with the idea of finding out if there was any realistic chance left for negotiating the release of my husband and the other thirty five prisoners. I was not at all hopeful, but did not want to close the door on a potentially peaceful solution to the problem. Unfortunately, things were as I had expected. The army had quite closed the door to any further talks. I went to the Ministry of Defense when I arrived, and spoke with Col. Sandoval as usual to set up an appointment with Enriquez. After a week without any response I went back and asked again for an appointment. He told me the General was in the interior for the week and could not see me. I offered to meet with him anywhere in the interior, or over the weekend. Sandoval said he did not meet over weekends. Enriquez had in fact met with me before on a Saturday. I pressed for a meeting any time or place and offered to stay a few extra days if need be. Sandoval said he would be in touch. A few days later I went to a nearby office to speak with Col. Garcia Sosa about setting up meetings with some of the other Generals. He said that I was required to speak first with Enriquez, adding that "He's right down the hall in the Ministry of Defense". I returned down to the Ministry of Defense but was asked to wait in the hall. Sandoval would not come out to talk to me. Instead he sent out a messenger to tell me to put my request in writing and turn it in at still another office. I asked if Enriquez was there and was told he had just left. I filed my written request as instructed but never received an answer. I also left a long letter at the Casa Crema for Enriquez detailing my offered solutions to the case.

I again spoke with Ms. MacAfee on this trip. She conceded that she had in fact written the letter to Rep. Connie Morella, as I had told her. She justified the request on her belief that funding should never be withheld for an individual case. I told her that this was not an individual case. It was a test case. Was the army going to comply with its human rights agreements or not? Also, she had not asked for the other individual cases to be removed from the resolution. She hesitated, then said that of course this case WAS different as my husband is a combatant. I told her that there was no such difference recognized by international human rights law. She had no response. I had also asked her to accompany me to visit President De Leon Carpio, as she did with Diana Ortiz and others. She told me she had spoken with the President and he stated he was willing to meet with me. I asked her to go with me to show her official support. She was clearly

unhappy about this but agreed to do so. For the rest of the week, the Embassy tried to set up an appointment, but the President never did set up a time for us to meet. Ms. Gorman of Consular services noted that he did not in fact seem truly willing to meet with me.

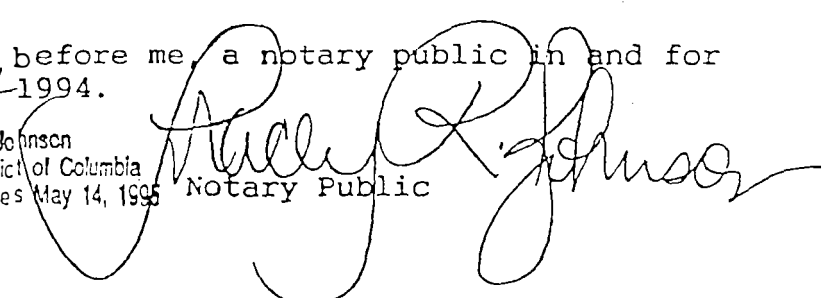
Finally, Ms. MacAfee asked why the U.R.N.G. did not resolve the case at the peace talks. This is a matter we had thoroughly discussed in the past. The issues on the peace talks agenda are all matters of public interest, such as labor rights and equality for the indigenous people. The U.R.N.G. leadership cannot ethically bargain away a matter belonging to the entire people of Guatemala in return for the release of their friend. Moreover, they should not have to bargain with the army for the release of Everardo and the thirty six prisoners to the Guatemalan courts. This is already required by Guatemalan law, as well as international humanitarian law. It is also a matter covered by the Global Human Rights Accord, which as noted above, has already been signed and is now in effect. I have already spoken about this with Mr. Jean Arnault of the U.N. He also sees it as inappropriate for negotiations. We both agreed though, that it could be handled as a separate matter, in a "Gentleman's Agreement." Evidently the army is not interested in this, however. They wish to bargain my husband for more power for themselves.

I am convinced, from General Enriquez' comments in January and June of 1994, that Everardo was alive as of very recently and quite possibly still is. This has been confirmed on several occasions by internal intelligence reports of the U.R.N.G., plus informal reports to me by Guatemalan citizens who tell me they have seen him in the southwest near the army bases. I believe that he is still alive because he still has information which the army needs, and because he is still of value as a negotiating chip. However, I am convinced that time is of the essence is saving his life.


Jennifer K. Harbury

Signed and sworn to before me, a notary public in and for
on this 7th day of at 1994.

Tracey R. Johnson
Notary Public, District of Columbia
My Commission Expires May 14, 1995


Notary Public

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 11, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR MAGGIE WILLIAMS

FROM:

ANDREW D. SENS 

SUBJECT:

Senator Daschle's Letter to the First Lady

Senator Daschle recently wrote to the First Lady to express concern about human rights cases in Guatemala, in particular the disappearance of Jennifer Harbury's husband, Efraim Bamaca. Senator Daschle requested on behalf of constituents that the First Lady meet privately with Ms. Harbury.

As you know, the President has ordered a government-wide review of this and related human rights cases in Guatemala. Until that review is completed we prefer to limit comment.

To avoid involving the First Lady directly in this matter, we recommend that you respond to Senator Daschle on her behalf. A suggested response is at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Proposed Response to Senator Daschle

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

MAY 17 -
2 5.12-1130
Rosen/H

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A

Divider Title: _____

PROPOSED RESPONSE TO SENATOR DASCHLE'S LETTER ON GUATEMALA

DEAR SENATOR DASCHLE:

I AM RESPONDING TO YOUR RECENT LETTER TO THE FIRST LADY IN WHICH YOU EXPRESSED YOUR CONCERNS AND THOSE OF YOUR CONSTITUENTS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN GUATEMALA, INCLUDING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF MS. JENNIFER HARBURY'S HUSBAND, EFRAIN BAMACA.

THE PRESIDENT HAS TAKEN A NUMBER OF MEASURES TO HELP UNCOVER THE TRUTH ABOUT THIS CASE. ON MARCH 30 HE DIRECTED THE INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT BOARD TO CONDUCT A GOVERNMENT-WIDE REVIEW OF THE BAMACA CASE AND RELATED MATTERS, INCLUDING OTHER INCIDENTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE INVOLVING AMERICAN CITIZENS. THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED THE BOARD TO DETERMINE THE FACTS SURROUNDING THESE CASES AND TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON ITS FINDINGS.

WE ARE CONFIDENT THIS REVIEW WILL ANSWER MANY OF THE QUESTIONS YOU, YOUR CONSTITUENTS AND MANY OTHER AMERICANS HAVE RAISED.

MS. HARBURY HAS DISCUSSED THIS CASE WITH ANTHONY LAKE AS WELL AS RICHARD FEINBERG, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS. WE HAVE SUGGESTED TO HER THAT SHE CONTACT MR. FEINBERG WHENEVER SHE REQUIRES INFORMATION OR ASSISTANCE.

I APPRECIATE YOUR BRINGING YOUR CONCERNS AND THOSE OF YOUR CONSTITUENTS TO THE FIRST LADY'S ATTENTION. PLEASE CONVEY MY SINCERE APPRECIATION TO MS. CATHERINE ENYEART FOR SHARING WITH US THE BOOKS BY JENNIFER HARBURY AND RIGOBERTA MENCHU.

SINCERELY,
MAGGIE WILLIAMS

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B

Divider Title: _____

THOMAS DASCHLE
SOUTH DAKOTA

COMMITTEES

AGRICULTURE

ETHICS

FINANCE

INDIAN AFFAIRS

VETERANS' AFFAIRS

(202) 224-2321

TOLL FREE 1-800-424-9094

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4103

March 8, 1995

20 6TH AVENUE, SW
SUITE B
P.O. BOX 1536
ABERDEEN, SD 57402-1536
(605) 225-8823

816 6TH STREET
P.O. BOX 8168
RAPID CITY, SD 57709
(605) 348-7551

810 SOUTH MINNESOTA AVENUE
P.O. BOX 1274
SIOUX FALLS, SD 57101
(605) 334-9596
TDD (605) 334-4632

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The First Lady
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20050

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

I am writing on behalf of David and Catherine Enyeart of Hot Springs and several others in South Dakota who have expressed to me their concern about the disappearance of Mr. Efrain Bamaca Velasquez, a ~~Guatemalan citizen~~ and opponent of the Guatemalan government. On their behalf, I am requesting you meet privately with Mr. Bamaca's wife, Ms. Jennifer Harbury, an American citizen.

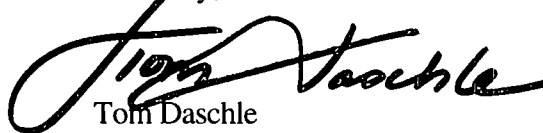
It is my understanding that Mr. Velasquez disappeared under mysterious circumstances, and his fate remains unclear. As a consequence of his vanishing, troubling questions regarding human and civil rights in Guatemala have surfaced. These include, but are not limited to, whether the Guatemalan government maintains clandestine prisons where opponents of the government suffer mistreatment and abuse.

As you know, Ms. Harbury fasted for 32 days in Guatemala City in October and November to get the Guatemalan military to disclose the whereabouts of her husband. Unfortunately, her efforts in this regard failed to reveal any significant information about her husband. Consequently, she will be resuming her hunger strike on March 12 in Lafayette Square. Needless to say, time is of the essence, and we hope you will be able to meet personally with Ms. Harbury as soon as possible.

Finally, enclosed for your review are copies of the latest letter I received from Mrs. Enyeart and petition signed by several South Dakotans that demonstrate their strong feelings about this matter in greater detail. Also enclosed are books written by Ms. Harbury entitled, *Bridge of Courage* and *I, Rigoberta Menchu*, written by Nobel Prize winner Rigoberta Menchu. I hope you will have the opportunity to read these books that describe the struggles of the Guatemalan people.

I appreciate your attention to this matter and look forward to your prompt reply.

Sincerely,



Tom Daschle
United States Senate

Enclosures (4)

ENYEART LAW OFFICE

Catherine R. Enyeart, Lawyer
Glenda K. Reder, Legal Assistant

712 Jennings Avenue, Hot Springs, South Dakota 57747
Telephone (605) 745-6774 • FAX (605) 745-6776, 6755

February 23, 1995

Senator Tom Daschle
Senate Minority Leader
Senate-Hart Office Bldg
Washington, D.C. 20510

Re: Petition to Hillary Rodham-Clinton

Dear Senator Daschle:

We respectfully request your assistance in a matter involving our friend Jennifer Harbury. The coalition represented in the attached petitions is dedicated to bringing about a fundamental shift in United States policy toward Guatemala — from supporting the wealthy minority in Guatemala to advocating respect for the human rights of the poor in that country. As you know, one hundred fifty thousand indigenous Guatemalans have been horribly tortured and martyred in the past three decades, ensuring that land, power, and wealth stay in the hands of approximately three hundred families.

Our country's involvement in supporting the Guatemalan oligarchy and their military and permitting a holocaust against the Mayan majority has been contrary to everything we hold fundamentally true and right regarding the relationship of government to the people. Our State Department's pronouncements regarding its "efforts" in Guatemala are intended to mislead and to cover up the Guatemalan reality and the reality of our role there.

Jennifer Harbury fasted in Guatemala City in October and November to force the Guatemalan military to disclose the whereabouts of her husband, a Mayan commandant who was captured and tortured. This was the personal aspect of her efforts to bring about change in Guatemala. The over-arching effort is toward the establishment of human rights in Guatemala and an end to the incredible injustices there. She suspended her fast with the understanding she would receive assistance from the Administration in Washington, D.C. That didn't happen, and she intends to resume her fast in Washington, D.C. on March 12, 1995. Jennifer has been given an appointment to meet with your staff on March 13. We appreciate your expression of interest and your willingness to hear what she has to say.

We also want Hillary Rodham-Clinton to meet with Jennifer Harbury. We ask for an unpublicized meeting between these two special women – one a graduate of Yale Law School, the other a graduate of Harvard Law School; one a corporate lawyer who is also committed to the legal rights of children, the other a poverty lawyer committed to the human rights of the most longsuffering people in our country's sphere of influence; one married to the most powerful man in the world, the other to a member of one of the most oppressed people in the world – and both of these women deeply committed to human rights.

As you know, women have been a powerful force in countries where "the disappeared" are a grim daily fact. Our petitions are signed by women representing that special force for human rights – South Dakota women, professional women, indigenous women, women from all parts of our nation, and two special women: Jennifer Harbury's mother, Dorothy Harbury; and Guatemalan Nobel Prize winner, Rigoberta Menchu.

Also enclosed, for delivery to Mrs. Clinton along with our petitions, are

- Jennifer Harbury's book about Guatemalans in resistance: *Bridge of Courage*, with Noam Chomsky's introduction;
- Rigoberta Menchu's book, *I, Rigoberta Menchu: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*; and
- A "60 Minutes" tape of an interview with Jennifer Harbury during her hunger strike in Guatemala City in November 1994.

Senator Daschle, will you please deliver the petitions, books and tape to Hillary Rodham-Clinton and will you intervene for all of us in requesting this meeting?

Thank you for all you can do to help.

Sincerely,


Catherine R. Enyeart

PETITION to HILLARY RODHAM-CLINTON

We are:

A a Russian teacher from Brookings, South Dakota; a lawyer from Rapid City, South Dakota; a pediatrician from Chattanooga, Tennessee; a doctor of divinity from Torrance, California; a social studies teacher from Columbus, Nebraska; a songwriter from Rapid City, South Dakota; a lawyer from New Orleans, Louisiana; an audiologist from Bellingham, Washington; a paralegal from Sioux Falls, South Dakota; a former Peace and Justice director from Watertown, South Dakota; a lawyer from Hot Springs, South Dakota; a registered nurse from Manchester, New Hampshire; a certified public accountant from Rapid City, South Dakota; a professor at Chadron, Nebraska; a German teacher from Watertown, South Dakota; a Lakota schoolgirl in Hot Springs, South Dakota; a Lakota woman from Pine Ridge, South Dakota; wife of the State Treasurer from Faith, South Dakota; wife of a Presbyterian minister from Hot Springs; a teaching nun at the Pine Ridge Reservation; a weaver from Rapid City, South Dakota; a college professor at Cambridge, New York; a lawyer from Austin, Texas; wife of a vice president of Mobil Oil from Falls Church, Virginia; a Spanish teacher from Rapid City, South Dakota; an Earth Resources Satellite worker from Sioux Falls, South Dakota; a human rights worker in Washington, D.C; a Nobel Peace Prize recipient, Rigoberta Menchu from Guatemala City; and the mother of Jennifer Harbury, from Etna, New Hampshire.

We are, all women in solidarity with our sister, daughter and best friend, Jennifer Harbury, who graduated from Harvard Law School, was a poverty lawyer in Texas, served refugees fleeing from the Guatemalan holocaust, and married a Guatemalan Mayan resistance force leader, who was captured and tortured by the military, who persist in refusing to reveal where he is kept or buried. To bring about disclosure, Jennifer fasted 32 days in Guatemala City and suspended her fast on November 11, 1994, in the belief she would be heard and helped by the White House in Washington, D.C. Her hopes were defeated; and therefore she will resume her fast, in Washington, D.C., on March 12, 1995.

We petition Hillary Rodham-Clinton to meet privately with Jennifer Harbury before Jennifer resumes her fast.

Signed Linda Lea M. Vikum, 1995.

Feb 12, 1995

—
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2450

3/27/55

Ruby Sene -

As we discussed -

The paperback books have
been retained in the life unit.

Thanks.

Alice

—

White House Gift Record

Presented: 03/22/95
Arrival : 03/22/95
Entered : 03/22/95

Gift ID: 369604^{lkk}~~fra~~

Donor Information

Ms. Catherine R. Enyeart
712 Jennings Avenue
Hot Springs, SD 57747

No Ack.
Acknowledged By: ~~Pending First Lady gift draft~~

Comments:

Sent thru Senator Tom Daschle. Sent to Kyle Baker, PLM, for response.

Gift Information

Intended: First Lady

Disposition: Archives

Description:

Two paperback books. "Bridge of Courage," by Jennifer Harbury; "I, Rigoberta Menchu: An Indian Woman in Guatemala," by Rigoberta Menchu.

Location of Gift:

The gift is in Archives.

Total Gift Value: \$34

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 5, 1995

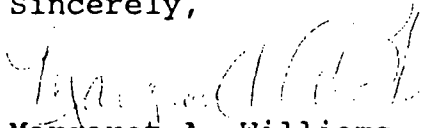
Norbert Hirschhorn, MD
University of Minnesota
Division of Health Management and Policy
Box 97
420 Delaware St., S.E.
Minneapolis, MN 55455

Dear Mr. Hirschhorn:

I wanted to send you this brief note to thank you for sending a second copy of your paper on oral rehydration. We were pleased to have it and to include it in Mrs. Clinton's briefing materials.

Please accept my thanks for your thoughtfulness and on Mrs. Clinton's behalf for your very kind words.

Sincerely,


Margaret A. Williams
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady

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DRAFT

I wanted to send you this brief note to thank you for sending a second copy of your paper on oral rehydration. We were pleased to have it and to include it in Mrs. Clinton's briefing materials.

Please accept my thanks for your thoughtfulness and on Mrs. Clint's behalf for your very kind words.

Sincerely,

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March 15, 1995

Margaret Williams
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The White House

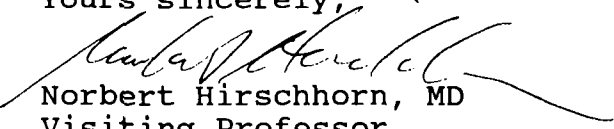
Dear Ms. Williams:

I am pleased to hear that Mrs. Clinton will be traveling to Bangladesh and visiting the International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh (ICDDR,B) where oral rehydration therapy was originated.

I had the honor of meeting Mrs. Clinton at the White House in 1993 as one of six Americans honored by the President for work in child health. At that time I gave her a copy of our paper on oral rehydration therapy published in *Scientific American* - it may be useful for Mrs. Clinton to have another copy on her travels.

We in the public health community are abidingly grateful to Mrs. Clinton for her unstinted advocacy for women, children and families around the world.

Yours sincerely,


Norbert Hirschhorn, MD
Visiting Professor

an Article from

**SCIENTIFIC
AMERICAN**

To Hillary Rodham
Clinton
in appreciation of her
work for children and families.
Barbara L. ...

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Progress in Oral Rehydration Therapy

Each year, the therapy—feeding of a simple electrolyte solution—saves the lives of a million children who become dehydrated from diarrhea. New versions are being developed to improve that number

by Norbert Hirschhorn and William B. Greenough III

When medical research yields new lifesaving therapies, too often they are complex, expensive and inaccessible to many people. Oral rehydration therapy (ORT) is a fine exception to that rule. It is an uncomplicated, low-cost and easily obtainable antidote to a major scourge: the dehydration that accompanies diarrhea. A patient is simply fed an electrolyte solution to replace fluid and vital ions lost through the bowel. In an added boon, recent study has found virtue in a number of different simple formulations,

many of which may offer advantages over the solution now in widest use.

The importance of ORT cannot be overestimated. As a group, diarrhea-inducing agents (such as the cholera bacterium *Vibrio cholera*, rotavirus and *Escherichia coli*) are the leading killer of small children in the developing nations. Although most bouts of diarrhea are not life-threatening, an estimated four million youngsters under age five worldwide succumb to the disorder each year, accounting for more than a quarter of the 14 million annual deaths in that age group.

Before 1978, when the World Health Organization (WHO) and other groups began promoting ORT aggressively, intravenous rehydration therapy was generally the only accepted treatment. Then, as now, it could rescue most diarrhea victims. But it required enormous amounts of sterile solution to be administered by skilled health workers in specialized facilities, an impossibility in many parts of the world.

The oral therapy now saves about a million small children annually. Most recently it has helped keep fatalities surprisingly low in Peru, where a major cholera epidemic—the first to strike the Western Hemisphere in a century—began this past January. Indeed, almost no one, adult or child, would die of diarrhea if only every family in the world knew how to prepare and deliver some form of ORT. Except in times of famine, the ingredients needed for an ade-

quate formulation can be found in virtually every household.

Routine delivery soon after the start of diarrhea could also reduce the malnutrition that commonly accompanies the malady. In the developing nations, a typical child suffers some 10 to 20 bouts of diarrhea before age three (representing up to 13 percent of his or her lifetime spent ill with diarrhea), making the disorder an important cause of undernourishment in the world. Sadly, malnutrition can increase the severity, duration and frequency of future bouts of diarrhea, leading to a vicious cycle of malnutrition and infection.

The goal of routine ORT delivery in every home is not yet within reach, but efforts toward it continue. Scientific inquiry continues as well, with the aim of

NORBERT HIRSCHHORN and WILLIAM B. GREENOUGH III met in 1964 in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). Hirschhorn, an M.D. and a poet, is vice president of John Snow, Inc., a consulting firm in public health. He has been a researcher, teacher and program consultant in child health in many countries. In 1990 he won the Charles A. Dana Award for advancing the development and use of oral rehydration therapy. Greenough, an M.D. and long-distance runner, is professor of medicine and international health at Johns Hopkins University. He has directed the International Center for Diarrheal Disease Research, Bangladesh, in Dhaka, conducting investigations there for 11 of the past 27 years. He is now focusing on improving the health of the elderly in the U.S., who like youngsters in the developing nations are at particular risk of dying from diarrhea, malnutrition or infection.

EGYPTIAN BOY with diarrhea was rescued by oral rehydration therapy, or ORT. This rare photographic sequence shows that at 9 A.M. the baby had to be coaxed to drink by his mother, who held him, and a clinic worker, who fed him. By 10 A.M., having regained some fluid, he accepted the spoonfuls eagerly. He lost interest at noon, once he had taken what he needed. Already the signs of dehydration—limpness, sunken eyes and flattening of the soft spot at the top of the skull—were gone. By 1:15 P.M. he was hungry for breast milk, which along with providing nutrients promotes movement of fluid into the blood and shortens diarrhea.

Most scientists make reluctant revolutionaries. They often do not understand a new paradigm, and they have no objective "rules" by which to judge it. (If such rules existed, computers could do the judging.) In a sense, different paradigms—like Newton's and Aristotle's physics—have no common standard for comparison; they are "incommensurate," to use Kuhn's term. Proponents of different paradigms can argue forever without resolving their differences because they invest basic terms—motion, particle, time, space—with different meanings.

The "conversion" of scientists is thus both a subjective and a political process. It may involve sudden, intuitive understanding—like that finally achieved by Kuhn as he pondered Aristotle. Yet scientists often adopt a paradigm simply because it is backed by others with strong reputations or by a majority of the community.

The new paradigm may solve puzzles better than the old one does, and it may also yield more practical applications. But that does not mean it is a truer reflection of reality, according to Kuhn. He also rejects the notion, promulgated by Karl Popper (perhaps Kuhn's greatest rival in the philosophy of science), of falsification. The real world is unknowable, and propositions are true or false only within the context of a particular paradigm, Kuhn asserts.

The book triggered diverse reactions. Most "hard" scientists shrugged and went about their business. But many in the soft, or social, sciences "loved" the book, Kuhn says, perhaps because it offered hope that they could attain the same level of legitimacy (or illegitimacy) as physicists or chemists. "Some of them even said, 'Wow, now all we have to do is figure what our paradigm is and enforce it,'" Kuhn explains.

Some philosophers, on the other hand, deplored Kuhn's brusque dismissal of empiricism and objective truth. He was accused of claiming that science is nothing more than "power politics" or "mob psychology." "Look, I think that's nonsense, and I'm prepared to argue that," Kuhn says heatedly.

Kuhn has been even more distressed by those who admiringly misinterpret him. "I've often said I'm much fonder of my critics than my fans," he comments. In the 1960s his work was seized on by radicals opposed to science and its offspring, technology, and indeed to any "cognitive authority" that might distort "pure experience." Kuhn recalls students telling him, "Oh, thank you, Mr. Kuhn, for telling us about paradigms. Now that we know about them, we can get rid of them."

Kuhn's protests were to no avail. In one seminar, he notes, the professor and students were discussing "how my book denied the idea of truth and falsity." Kuhn tried to explain that within the context of a paradigm, truth and falsity were perfectly valid and indeed necessary concepts, but the professor cut him off, saying, "'You don't know how radical this book is.'"

Some of these students are now perhaps members of a new school in anthropology that analyzes science from a "post-Kuhnian" perspective. The goal of this "burgeonning" discipline, according to a recent essay in *Current Anthropology*, is "a radical deconstruction of traditionally conceived foundations of scientific knowledge that casts doubt on all fields of scholarship with scientific pretensions." "'Deconstruction' is for me a dirty word," Kuhn says, "although I'm sure that's largely because I don't know what it's about."

Kuhn concedes that he is partly to blame for some of the anti-science interpretations of his book. After all, in *Structure* he does call scientists "addicts" at one point. He compares their adherence to paradigms to religious faith, and likens their education to the brainwashing described by Orwell in his totalitarian novel *1984*. Kuhn also acknowledges that the terms "puzzle" and "mopping up" may sound a bit condescending. "I won't retreat from them for a moment, but maybe I should have said more about the glories of puzzle solving."

Kuhn points out, just for the record, that he is in fact pro-science. He is also pro-paradigms. They provide the secure foundation needed for scientists to organize the chaos of experience and to solve ever more complex puzzles. It is the conservatism of science, its rigid adherence to paradigms, he insists, that enables it to produce "the greatest and most original bursts of creativity" of any human enterprise.

In 1964 Kuhn left Berkeley for the calmer environs of Princeton University. After trying for several years to maintain a dignified silence on *Structure*, he finally wrote several essays attempting to explain what he really meant. In particular, he tried to reclaim "paradigm." Like a virus, the word had spread beyond the history and philosophy of science and infected the intellectual community at large, where it came to mean virtually any dominant idea.

A 1974 *New Yorker* cartoon captured the phenomenon: a woman gushes to a smirking man, "Dynamite, Mr. Gerston! You're the first person I ever heard use 'paradigm' in real life." Again, Kuhn admits the fault is partly his, for making the "dreadful mistake" of letting para-

digm denote not only an archetypal experiment but also "the entire constellation of beliefs, values and techniques" that binds a scientific community together. (One philosopher actually counted 21 different implicit meanings for "paradigm" in *Structure*.)

In one essay, Kuhn introduced the term "exemplar" to replace paradigm in its narrow sense, but it never caught on. Eventually he gave up. "Look, if you've got a bear by the tail," he says, "there comes a point at which you've got to let it go and stand back." (Paradigm abuse continues: last year a White House bureaucrat, James P. Pinkerton, gained the spotlight by calling old Reaganomics "the New Paradigm.")

In 1978 Kuhn published a relatively straightforward history of science: *Black-Body Theory and the Quantum Discontinuity, 1894-1912*. The book argues that the concept of quantum discontinuity was first explicated not by Max Planck, as is commonly believed, but by Einstein and Paul Ehrenfest. Kuhn thinks the book, his fifth and most recent, is "in some ways my finest work." Yet some physicists accused him of unfairly bolstering Einstein's already unparalleled reputation at Planck's expense. And although Kuhn says the book embodies *Structure's* ideas, some readers were disappointed that he did not reexamine those issues explicitly.

Shortly thereafter, Kuhn left Princeton for M.I.T., where he is now toiling over another book. He says it will "probably" take up two issues raised in *Structure*. One is the concept of incommensurability, the breakdown of communication that occurs between adherents of different paradigms. The other issue has to do with the similarity of the evolution of science and the evolution of living organisms.

Kuhn draws this analogy at the very end of *Structure*. He notes that evolution occurs not toward anything—toward the truth in the case of science, or toward that paragon of wisdom and nobility *Homo sapiens* in the case of biological evolution—but only away from something. Moreover, just as species tend to proliferate and to become more specialized over time, Kuhn suggests, so do scientific fields, each committed to its own paradigm.

What do these ideas imply about the future of science? Will it resemble a symphony descending into dissonance, a mirror fracturing into ever smaller shards? Is this the disturbing possibility Kuhn's new work will explore? Wincing, Kuhn declines to discuss the book further. "Look," he says, "I don't want these ideas being abused before they're even published."

—John Horgan

also, to a lesser extent, in the lining of the colon (the large intestine). The villus cells absorb sodium during digestion as well. They take it in through their lumen-facing surface and pump it out into the extracellular spaces, from whence it returns to the circulation. Where sodium goes, water and other ions follow, and so those substances, too, are transferred from the intestine back to the blood.

Detailed studies of cholera (the primary source of information about the development and treatment of diarrhea) and then other diseases revealed that most diarrhea-causing microorganisms disrupt intestinal function and dehydrate the body in similar ways. They increase the chloride-secreting activity of the crypt cells or impair the absorption of sodium by villus cells, or both. Then the fluid that is normally returned to the blood across the intestinal wall is lost in watery stool. The volume of blood declines, and the circulation may become dangerously slow, leading to death in a matter of days or, sometimes, hours.

Research in the 1960s demonstrated that the microorganisms impairing

the villus cells usually shut down one major route of sodium transport, which allows sodium into the cells together with chloride. Strangely, though, the microbes rarely interfere with the action of the carrier system, or pathway, that brings sodium and glucose simultaneously into the cells from the intestinal lumen. This "co-transport" system, which is found throughout the lumen-facing surface, operates only when both sodium and glucose are present, and it remains active during diarrhea.

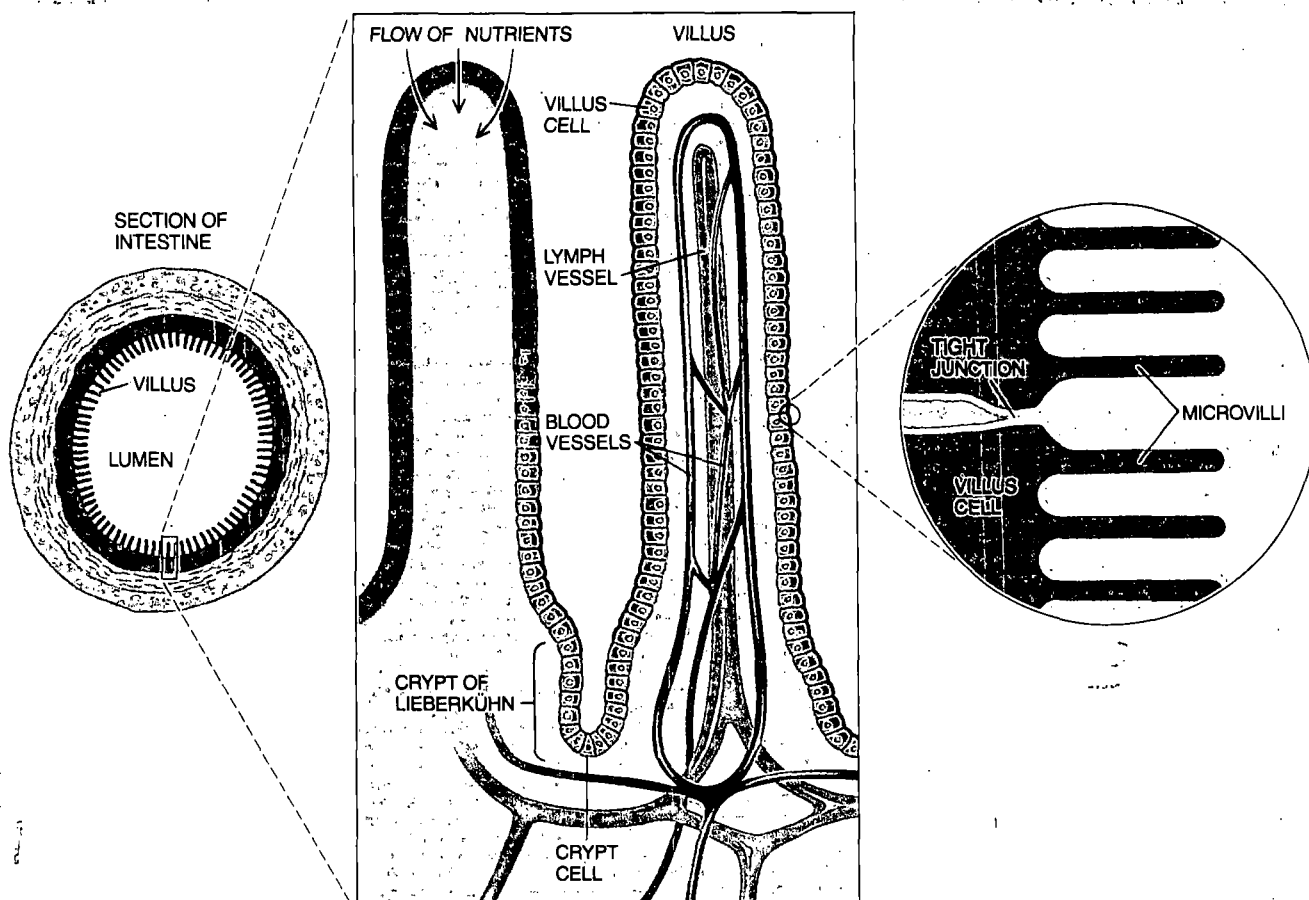
From this last discovery came ORT. The finding suggested that if glucose were mixed into an electrolyte solution, the sugar could in effect substitute for an intravenous needle. By arousing the co-transport carrier, it would deliver electrolytes and then water to the blood across the intestinal wall instead of through a vein.

Although ORT became practical only recently, the idea of orally replacing the fluid lost in diarrhea is not new. Ancient Hindu texts describe solutions for that purpose, and virtually every culture has a heritage of "grandmother solutions," such as chick-

en soup or coconut juice, that contain salt, sugar, starches and proteins.

The first scientific efforts at rehydration focused on intravenous therapy. As long ago as 1832, well before the introduction of the germ theory, an English physician named Thomas Lat-ta proved the approach could replace fluids in cholera patients. Nevertheless, for more than 100 years, physicians made little use of the lesson, both because the method was cumbersome and because patients too often died from the therapy (a consequence of receiving unsterile solutions).

There was also the problem of appropriate ingredients. Only in the 1940s did Daniel C. Darrow of the Johns Hopkins Hospital show definitively that intravenous fluids containing sodium chloride (table salt), potassium and lactate could be lifesaving. Sodium maintains the proper balance of fluids among cells, extracellular compartments and the blood; chloride is important to the secretory actions of many cells; potassium is essential to the functioning of all cells, including the ability of muscle cells to contract; and lactate, which is converted by the body into bicarbon-



VILLI, projections formed by folds in the lining of the small intestine, contain cells that absorb nutrients from the intestinal lumen, or cavity. These villus cells send the nutrients to

the blood or lymph. Other projections (microvilli) on the cells (detail at right) increase the absorptive area. At the base of the villi are crypt cells, which participate in digestion as well.

making therapy more efficient and acceptable and more effective at combating malnutrition.

Oral rehydration therapy is a product of laboratory and clinical research into normal digestion and the processes that lead to diarrhea. Studies of digestion established that each day the body moves many

liters of fluid from the blood into the intestine and back again [see *illustration on page 53*]. After the stomach empties food into the lumen, or cavity, of the small intestine, so-called crypt cells in the intestinal lining secrete chloride ions (Cl^-) into the cavity. This inflow prompts a parallel flow of water and other ions, including sodium (Na^+), from the blood to the gut. The fluid

dilutes the food, facilitating its breakdown into molecules small enough to pass through the bowel lining and into the blood. Starches (complex carbohydrates) are broken into glucose; proteins, into amino acids; and fats, into fatty acids and glycerol.

Then the nutrients are taken up by what are called villus cells, mainly those in the lining of the small intestine but



INGREDIENTS

GRAMS PER LITER OF WATER

SODIUM CHLORIDE

Sodium helps to restore blood volume; chloride is important to the secretory activity of many cells

3.5

TRISODIUM CITRATE

Returns blood pH to normal

2.9

POTASSIUM CHLORIDE

Ensures the normal functioning of cells

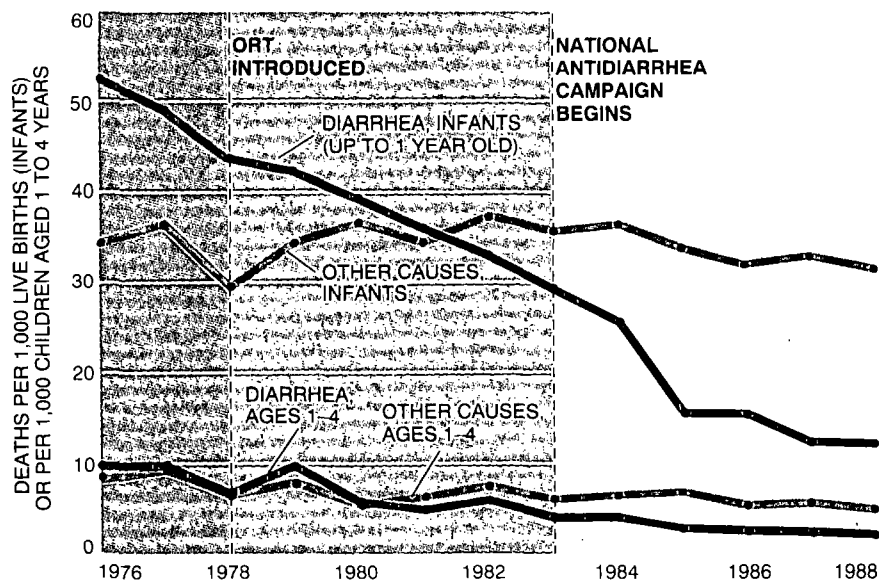
1.5

GLUCOSE

Enhances sodium uptake by the small intestine

20.0

ORT SOLUTION recommended by the World Health Organization (WHO) is the standard treatment for diarrhea in much of the world. Foil packets containing a mixture of the dry ingredients are available in more than 60 countries.



DECLINE IN DEATHS from diarrhea in Egyptian youngsters accelerated after 1983, when a national program to promote ORT began and use of the therapy increased markedly. From 1976 to 1988, death rates from other causes barely changed.

plied could be improved, significant progress has been made. For example, local ministries of health, with technical and financial assistance from WHO, UNICEF and other groups, have taught thousands of health workers and families to give ORT. Moreover, a survey of 28 teaching hospitals in 19 countries indicates that fatalities from diarrhea fell substantially—by as much as 50 percent—after oral rehydration was instituted. In some facilities, admission rates for the condition have been reduced by more than 60 percent, and the cost of treatment has gone down by more than 75 percent.

Of all nations, Egypt has had the

most spectacular success. In 1983 it began the National Control of Diarrheal Diseases Program, which combines local production of standard ORT with training of health workers in its application and with education of the public through the mass media. Before 1983, well over 100,000 Egyptian children died from diarrhea each year; now less than half that number die, even though the incidence of diarrhea has not changed.

Egypt is perhaps unusual in that it has excellent resources. It has an accomplished and committed ministry of health and an extensive network of public and private health centers and

pharmacies. And the roads leading to the centers are good. The health care system is also bringing under control other diseases that weaken children and hence increase the risk of dying from diarrhea. Many countries have not fared as well, because they lack such benefits.

Even though the standard ORT solution has been lifesaving, it is not yet ideal. It rehydrates and helps to restore appetite and thus to counteract malnutrition, but it also demands great perseverance on the part of the caregiver, usually a busy mother.

A child with diarrhea may need to be spoonfed more than half a liter of solution each day, in sessions spaced as little as three minutes apart, for five to seven days. Small, frequent feedings are important because intake of a large volume at once can provoke vomiting. Most mothers are hard-pressed to do the job because, in the developing nations, they typically have other children to care for, food to cook, clothes to wash, water to haul (often from far away) and a garden or fields and animals to tend. In the industrialized nations, parents may be similarly burdened by family and job demands.

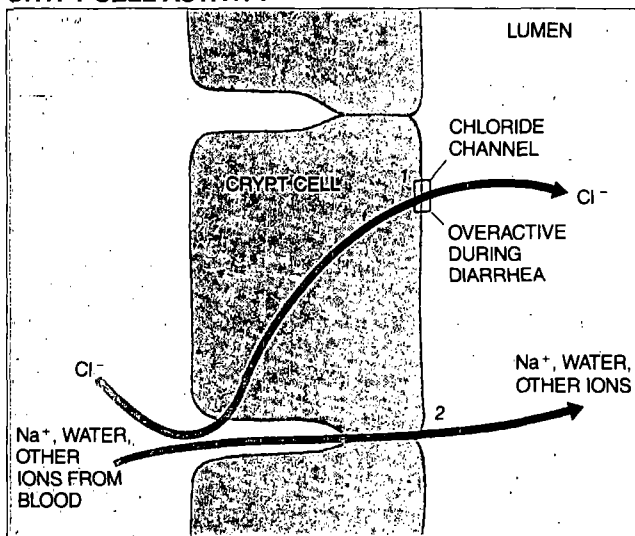
What a parent wants is what health workers want: to have the diarrhea stop as quickly as possible. Yet standard ORT does not reduce the duration or amount of diarrhea; it simply replaces lost fluid and electrolytes.

The failure to slow the diarrhea itself can also increase parents' reluctance to continue the solution. To many of them, putting more fluid in when it is clearly coming out in quantity makes no sense. In addition, the solution's inability to stop the diarrhea often spurs families to try other remedies, such as costly, and usually ineffective, antibiotics that can actually prolong diarrhea by killing helpful bacteria that live in the intestine.

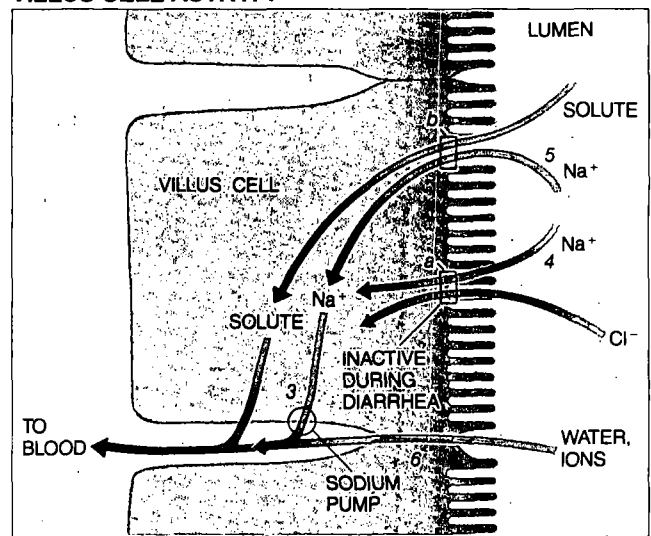
Increasing the amount of glucose in the standard ORT might at first seem a reasonable way to speed fluid uptake and thus possibly to reduce the volume of diarrhea. Yet introducing extra glucose would in fact be dangerous. The reason lies with the phenomenon known as osmosis. When two watery solutions are separated by a semipermeable barrier, the solution with the higher concentration of dissolved molecules (solute) will attract water from the less concentrated solution.

Standard ORT contains approximately as many solute molecules as does normal blood. If more glucose were included, the concentration of the solution would become greater than that of

CRYPT CELL ACTIVITY



VILLUS CELL ACTIVITY



CRYPT AND VILLUS CELLS cooperate during digestion to cycle fluid from the blood to the intestinal lumen and back again. Crypt cells (left) extrude chloride ions (Cl^-) into the lumen (1), triggering a parallel flow of sodium (Na^+) and then water and other ions from the blood into the lumen (2). Later (right), villus cells pump sodium into the space between cells (3), thereby generating a compensatory movement of sodium into the cells from the lumen (4, 5) and, in turn, revers-

ing the direction of water flow (6). Diarrheal microorganisms promote fluid loss by inducing crypt cells to hypersecrete chloride or by blocking villus cells from using their primary sodium-absorbing channel (a), or both (red). ORT compensates for the defects and moves fluid into the blood by increasing the activity of channels (b) that transport sodium into villus cells when specific solutes, such as glucose or particular amino acids or peptides, are present.

ate, prevents the blood from becoming acidic.

Even then, the right concentrations of ingredients remained an open question. It was resolved in 1958, when a team of physicians and scientists led by Robert A. Phillips of the U.S. Naval Medical Research Unit actually determined the composition and measured the volume of fluid lost in the stool of patients with diarrhea.

Further research, which we and several colleagues carried out at the Cholera Research Laboratory in Dacca, East Pakistan (now the International Center for Diarrheal Disease Research, Bangladesh, in Dhaka), showed that when patients were treated early and with enough of the proper fluid (often several gallons), even the most severely dehydrated persons would survive. From then on, more than 99 percent of patients with cholera, who before had a 50 to 60 percent chance of dying, lived—provided they promptly reached a practitioner who had enough of the right intravenous fluids and knew how to give them. Survival rates for most other diarrheal diseases improved to the same level as well.

Meanwhile the phenomenon of glucose and sodium co-transport was being discovered. Then, in 1966, when one of us (Hirschhorn) was chief of clinical research at the Cholera Research Laboratory, he and other American and Bengali scientists found that

glucose and sodium co-transport was preserved in cholera patients.

Subsequently, Hirschhorn and others at the laboratory devised a sodium-containing glucose solution meant for oral delivery and showed that both children and adults with diarrhea could absorb a great deal of the solution from the intestine. Similar results were obtained at about the same time by Nathaniel F. Pierce and his co-workers at the Johns Hopkins International Center for Medical Research and Training in Calcutta, India.

The first proof of ORT's full power came in the field in 1971, the same year in which the two of us cautiously suggested in these pages that ORT might be a viable therapy [see "Cholera"; *SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN*, August 1971]. Even as we wrote, two million refugees were streaming into India to escape the Bangladesh war for independence. Thousands in the refugee camps suffered from cholera and other types of diarrhea. Mortality from the diseases was more than 30 percent, mainly because the fluids and needles used for intravenous therapy, still the prevailing treatment, were scarce.

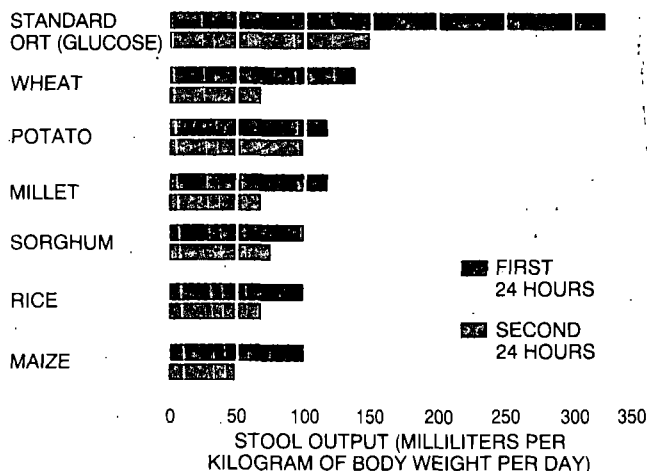
In one camp, however, Dilip Mahalanabis and his colleagues from the Calcutta group gave rehydration fluids by mouth. To be more precise, because medical personnel were few, the families of the victims, who were usual-

ly children, gave the fluids. They were urged to deliver as much liquid as the patient could take until the diarrhea had run its course. Only people who were unable to drink received the scarce intravenous solution. In the end, mortality was reduced to just 3 percent.

On the strength of such evidence, in 1971 WHO settled on a standardized formula that could be delivered to all age groups, including infants. The ingredients of the "standard ORT" are more dilute than the intravenous saline solution and today consist of sodium chloride, potassium chloride, trisodium citrate (replacing the less stable bicarbonate of the 1971 formula), glucose and water.

The dry ingredients are packaged in foil and are manufactured locally in more than 60 countries, where they usually cost the equivalent of between 20 and 60 U.S. cents per liter. WHO estimates that nearly 60 percent of the world's children have access to the formula and that about 30 percent of children who contract diarrhea are treated with that mixture or with a less complete home-prepared formulation. In the U.S. the packets generally are not available, but premixed fluids resembling the standard ORT solution (such as Pedialyte, Lytren and Resol) are sold in pharmacies and supermarkets, generally at \$4 to \$6 per quart.

Although awareness of ORT and the frequency with which the therapy is ap-



COMPARISON of standard ORT and versions that replace its glucose with foods revealed that the alternative solutions reduce stool output in cholera patients (left). In other words, the food-based solutions accelerate absorption of fluid by the intestine. (The data are from the International Center for Diarrheal Disease Research, Bangladesh.) The last four lines of

cost. It can also be cooked, which kills pathogens in the water (but costs fuel). For now, however, use of food-based ORT is limited, mainly because teaching millions of families how to prepare solutions at home is a major challenge for health education systems. Much research is therefore being devoted to creating a packageable formula based on precooked rice powder instead of glucose.

Of course, any packaged ORT mixture must be stable in many climates and inexpensive. No formulation is yet equal in these respects to the current WHO standard. Nevertheless, cereal-based products are being introduced commercially. For instance, a bottled and premixed solution called Ricelyte, which is based on a form of processed rice (rice-syrup solids), has recently entered the U.S. market.

Ultimately one would like to produce an ORT solution that not only rehydrates patients and reduces diarrhea with maximum speed (by exploiting all possible co-transport carriers) but also hastens the replacement of damaged villus cells. The cells can be hurt both by diarrhea-causing agents and fasting. Usually they are replaced every three to five days, but the process can be markedly extended in someone who has had diarrhea.

As malabsorption persists beyond the infection itself, so does the wastage of nutrients, which promotes continued weight loss and prolongs malnutrition. By repairing the intestinal lining and improving absorption rapidly, an optimal ORT solution would not only save lives, it would also improve

the subsequent health of the survivors.

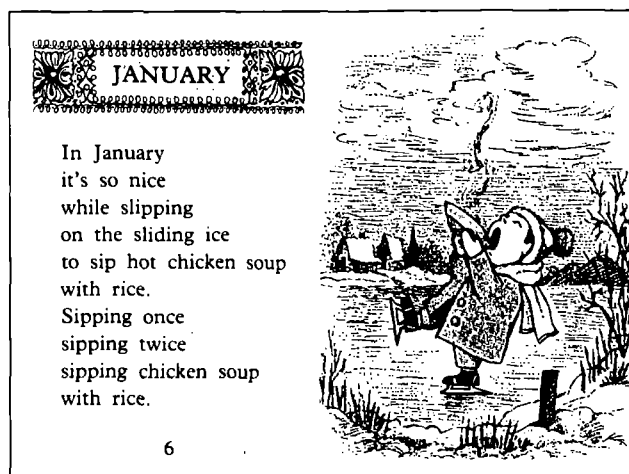
Much evidence in animals suggests that certain amino acids enhance the production of cells in the intestinal lining and that carbohydrates provide energy for those cells. These are important leads, but more research is needed to determine the ideal mixture of proteins and starch.

Other findings suggest that whether standard or food-based ORT is administered, patients should be encouraged to eat during their illness so that they receive crucial nutrients and enough calories (energy). They should be fed starting as soon as they can be coaxed to cooperate. Fortunately, ORT tends to restore the appetite quickly.

Many studies have evaluated the benefit of combining standard ORT with feeding and have found that children treated in that way have reduced stool output and a shorter duration of diarrhea. Moreover, more than a decade ago a series of studies from the Philippines, Iran, Turkey and the U.S. demonstrated that standard ORT supplemented by continued feeding of calorie-dense foods protects children with diarrhea from weight loss.

The studies indicate that the food protects the integrity of the intestine. They also imply that the popular advice to "rest the gut" by withholding food during diarrhea is almost certainly wrong. The foods chosen should contain starch and protein, which are digested easily, along with the fat needed to ensure intake of enough calories. (Fat contains more calories per gram than either protein or starch.) In infants, breast milk is always best.

Of course, the overarching goal is



In January
it's so nice
while slipping
on the sliding ice
to sip hot chicken soup
with rice.
Sipping once
sipping twice
sipping chicken soup
with rice.

6

the verse at the right, from Maurice Sendak's *Chicken Soup with Rice*, could almost be a prescription for a food-based rehydration solution. Indeed, Michael Field, now at Columbia University, quoted the lines in the *New England Journal of Medicine* in 1977, when he suggested substituting starches and proteins for the glucose in standard ORT.

finding ways to prevent diarrhea in the first place. Better sanitation, cleaner water supplies and improved personal hygiene are crucial, especially hand washing with soap and water. At the medical level, vaccines against specific diarrhea-causing organisms are being developed. Yet before families will have confidence in these indirect measures, they need to see that their children, who are sick now, can be made well again. Oral rehydration therapy does this—sometimes spectacularly.

FURTHER READING

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- CEREAL BASED ORAL REHYDRATION THERAPY FOR DIARRHOEA: REPORT OF AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM, NOVEMBER 12-14, 1989. Edited by K. Elliot, K. Attawell, R. Wilson, N. Hirschhorn, W. B. Greenough III and Khin-Maung-U. Geneva, Aga Khan Foundation, and Columbia, Md., International Child Health Foundation, February 1990.

normal blood—which is to say, its osmolarity, or tendency to gain water, would increase. Then water would actually flow from the blood into the intestine, exacerbating any dehydration.

One possible way to increase fluid absorption is to add one or more selected amino acids to the standard ORT formula. It is now known that in addition to the glucose and sodium co-transport carrier, villus cells have many co-transport carriers that simultaneously bring specific amino acids and sodium from the lumen into villus cells. In theory, by activating one or more classes of these carriers, the amino acids would accelerate the transport of sodium, and therefore water, and thus should more than compensate for any osmotic "penalty" introduced by the addition of more small molecules (the amino acids).

Amino acids with a high affinity for their carrier are the best candidates. So far alanine has shown the most promise in both animals and humans. When added to glucose, it substantially increases the absorption of sodium and water and reduces the output of stool.

Michael Field, now at Columbia University, suggested quite another alternative in an editorial he published in the *New England Journal of Medicine* in 1977, along with an epigraph from a children's verse by Maurice Sendak: "Sipping once/sipping twice/sipping chicken soup/with rice." He proposed substituting large chains of glucose (starches) or amino acids (proteins) for simple glucose in the standard ORT mixture.

His recommendation stemmed from the understanding that any such polymer, potentially consisting of hundreds of smaller molecules, has the same osmotic effect as a single small molecule. True, starches and proteins are broken down into glucose or amino acids in the intestine, but the change occurs at the surface of the villus cells, whereupon the end products are instantly taken up by co-transport carriers. Hence, the resulting small molecules would not accumulate in the intestinal cavity to increase osmolarity. On the other hand, the large number of molecules entering the villus cells with sodium should markedly accelerate the movement of water from the lumen into the blood, thereby reducing the fluid lost in stool.

Most research on this second alternative for treating diarrhea has focused on cereals (grains) and legumes (beans and peas), both of which contain starch and protein. In 1982 F. C. Patra and Mahalanabis in Calcutta and, separately, A. Majid Molla and one of us (Gree-

nough) in Dhaka reported that when glucose in the ORT solution was replaced by rice powder, the mixture rehydrated cholera patients. Significantly, the mixture also reduced stool volume by as much as 50 percent. Other studies achieved reductions of 15 to 49 percent in other kinds of diarrhea and also reduced vomiting. Since 1982, replacement of glucose with other grains or

with legumes or roots has proved similarly beneficial. The benefit can certainly be attributed in part to the starches in these foods, but the proteins probably make a contribution as well; their role has not yet been assessed.

Food-based ORT offers advantages beyond its effects on diarrhea. It can be made at home with foods that people both like and can obtain easily at low

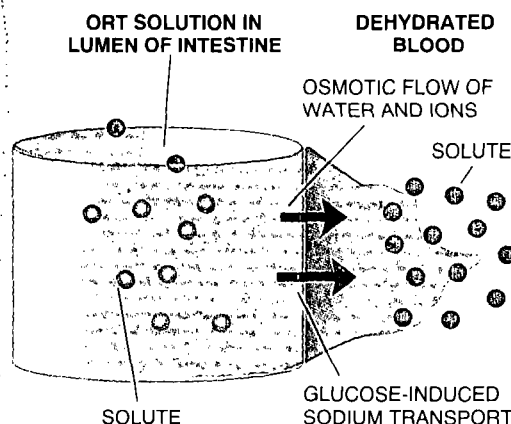
How Osmosis Affects Performance of Rehydration Solutions

If two solutions are separated by a water-permeable membrane, water will flow by osmosis from the solution containing fewer dissolved molecules of solute to the one containing more molecules, thereby balancing the concentrations.

Standard ORT

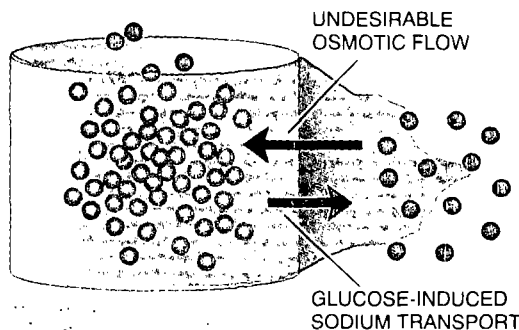
(osmolarity—the concentration of solute molecules in a solution—equals the normal osmolarity of blood)

EFFECT: Co-transport of glucose and sodium induces a bloodward osmotic flow of water, which drags along additional ions. ORT exactly replaces water, sodium and other ions lost from the blood but does not reduce the extent or duration of diarrhea.



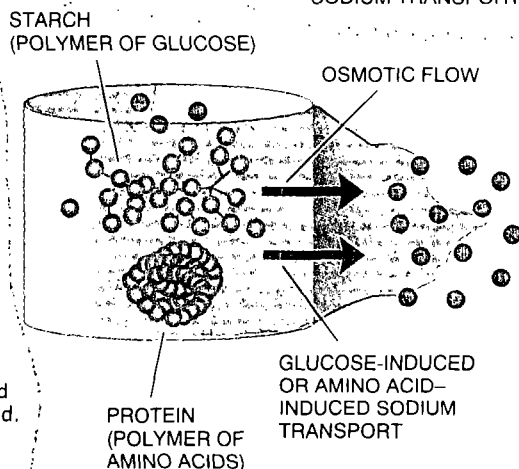
If extra glucose were added (high osmolarity)

EFFECT: Solution is unacceptable because osmotic flow yields a net loss of water and ions from the blood—an osmotic penalty. Dehydration and risk of death increase.



Food-based ORT (low osmolarity)

EFFECT: Each polymer has the same osmotic effect as a single glucose or amino acid molecule but markedly enhances nutrient-induced sodium transport when the polymer is broken apart at the villus cell surface. (Rapid uptake at the surface avoids an osmotic penalty.) Water and ions are returned to the blood quickly, and less of both are lost in the stool. The extent and duration of diarrhea are reduced.



Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. letter	To Denise Hughes from Margaret Williams re: employment (1 page)	03/07/95	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Maggie Williams (Correspondence)
OA/Box Number: 12630

FOLDER TITLE:

[Maggie Williams Mail 1995-1996]: H [2]

2013-0359-S

ry1338

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

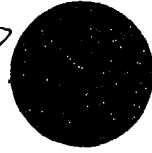
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Is this OK

to send?



- Maggie

3-6

OK. -

CDM - Does this look ok?

B.

Evam -

do all of these
pages go together

Dina

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001b. letter	Draft letter to Denise Holmes from Margaret A. Williams re: employment (1 page)	03/03/95	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Maggie Williams (Correspondence)
OA/Box Number: 12630

FOLDER TITLE:

[Maggie Williams Mail 1995-1996]: H [2]

2013-0359-S
ry1338

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or
financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President
and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of
personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed
of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C.
2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of
an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial
information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement
purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of
financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information
concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001c. memo	To Maggie Williams from Jennifer Klein re: Denise Holmes letter (1 page)	02/25/95	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Maggie Williams (Correspondence)
OA/Box Number: 12630

FOLDER TITLE:

[Maggie Williams Mail 1995-1996]: H [2]

2013-0359-S

ry1338

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 1-7

MEMO FROM MAGGIE WILLIAMS

TO: Sen Klein

Call Dot's
facts.

The attached is for your:

Information _____

Advice _____

Action _____

COMMENTS:

Ms. Williams—
Brigitte Rowson
at the Annenberg
School suggested that
I send this to you.
Denise Holmes
|

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001d. letter	To Hillary Rodham Clinton from Denies E. Holmes re: health insurance (1 page)	12/19/94	b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Maggie Williams (Correspondence)
OA/Box Number: 12630

FOLDER TITLE:

[Maggie Williams Mail 1995-1996]: H [2]

2013-0359-S

ry1338

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001e. letter	To Hillary Rodham Clinton from Denise E. Holmes re: health insurance (1 page)	12/19/94	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Maggie Williams (Correspondence)
OA/Box Number: 12630

FOLDER TITLE:

[Maggie Williams Mail 1995-1996]: H [2]

2013-0359-S
ry1338

RESTRICTION CODES

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GEORGE B. HARTZOG, JR.

1643 CHAIN BRIDGE ROAD

MCLEAN, VIRGINIA 22101

703/356-1566

Maggie
an extra copy if
you think the first
family may be
interested; otherwise
donate to your
favorite library

Best regards
Garry
7/17/95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1995

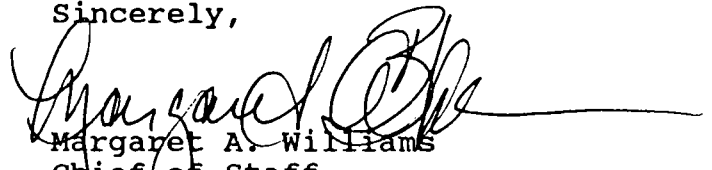
Mr. William Hughes
Hughes Enterprise
3507 Newland Road
Baltimore, MD 21218

Dear Mr. Hughes:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your new book, Creating a New Ireland: A Tribute to the Irish Lobby. The President and Mrs. Clinton appreciate your support in their role to help sustain peace in Ireland.

Please accept my thanks on behalf of the President and Mrs. Clinton and best wishes for the success of your book.

Sincerely,



Margaret A. Williams
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady

Hughes Enterprises

3507 Newland Road

Baltimore, Maryland 21218

Tel: (410) 467-1898

Fax: (410)-467-1898 (Call First)

For HRC —

(ACTS PLAYED
ROLE IN PEACE
PROCESS)

March 5, 1995

Office of the First Lady
Attn: Margaret A. Williams
White House
Room 100
Washington, D.C.
20500

Re: *Creating a New Ireland: A Tribute to
the Irish Lobby*

Dear Ms. Williams:

Please find, for the First Lady, Mrs. Hillary Clinton, a complimentary, autographed copy of my new book, *Creating a New Ireland: A Tribute to the Irish Lobby*.

Creating a New Ireland reveals how the Irish Lobby helped effect the changes that led to the ongoing peace process in the British-occupied north of Ireland.

The President has played a critical role in this important process (See, especially pages 91 and 109).

Thanks so much for your consideration of this matter.

Sincerely,

William Hughes

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1995

Susan Bonfield Herschkowitz
1741 Lanier Place, NW
Suite 24
Washington, NW 20009

Dear Ms. Herschkowitz: *Susan*

I was pleased to receive your letter and portfolio. It is great to hear of your interest in working for the 1996 Democratic National Convention.

I am forwarding your portfolio along with a recommendation to Debra DeLee. I can assure that it will be given all due consideration.

Thank you for writing.

Sincerely, .

Maggie
Margaret A. Williams
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady

It was great to hear from you - I'm not really in the convention loop but will send

863 KFF
Susan Bonfield Herschkowitz

1741 Lanier Place NW * Suite 24 * Washington, DC 20009
202/387-5233

March 8, 1995

*Joan
Niece
nose
say I'll
Send
Resume
with
Recommendation
to Debbie
DeLee*

Margaret Williams
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Maggie:

I hope this note finds you well and happily engaged in your exciting work with the First Lady. I hear through mutual friends that you are working hard and doing a stupendous job (this, of course, is of no surprise to me!).

As you may be aware, I have been consulting for the past several years. With the Presidential election year soon approaching, I would appreciate the opportunity to serve President and Mrs. Clinton as well as the Democratic Party. I especially am interested in working on the staff of the 1996 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, and hope that my organizing, event planning and management skills and experiences would be a welcomed addition to the convention's planning efforts.

Enclosed is my portfolio describing my skills and experiences. Debbie DeLee is aware of my interest in joining the convention staff. I would appreciate greatly any support you may be willing and able to give me.

Thanks for all your time, attention and help. I would be delighted to speak with you further about my interest (and it would be fun to do some catch-up on our lives). I do hope you and I get the chance to work together, and I especially hope I get the opportunity to serve my President and party.

Best regards,

Susan

Susan Bonfield Herschkowitz

444 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. #206
Washington, D.C. 20008



The Hon. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Attn: Ms Margaret Williams



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 23, 1995

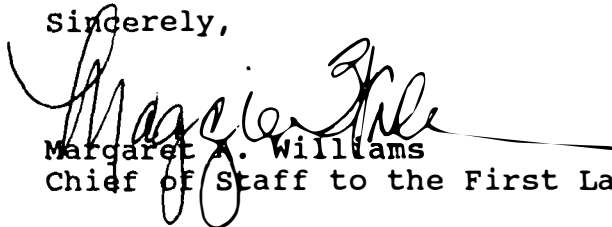
Ms. Lisa Hoebee
USAir
Corporate Relations
1020 16th Street, NW
4th Floor
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Ms. Hoebee:

This letter is to certify that Patricia S. Fleming, the National AIDS Policy Coordinator, was asked by the White House to attend the Pediatrics AIDS PGA Kickoff at the request of the First Lady on May 22, 1995. Due to this commitment, Ms. Fleming was unable to use the ticket purchased for travel on that date. Your assistance in providing a full refund for the enclosed unused ticket is gratefully appreciated.

Please apprise this office of any additional questions or information needed. Again, thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Margaret A. Williams
Chief of Staff to the First Lady

cc: Patsy

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JUN 20 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR MAGGIE WILLIAMS

FROM: Patsy Fleming *PF*

SUBJECT: Air Fare Refund

The attached letter to US Air is self-explanatory. US Air has requested this letter in order to give me a refund for a ticket I didn't use. The letter must be signed by someone in the First Lady's office. Please make any changes you need to and return the signed original to me to be forwarded with the ticket to US Air.

Thanks for your help.

Attachment

*Needs
letter signed
to get air fare
refund.*

Ask Sara or Gabe

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Ms. Lisa Hoebee
USAir
Corporate Relations
1020 16th Street, NW - 4th Floor
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Ms. Hoebee:

This letter is to certify that Patricia S. Fleming was asked by the White House to attend a ~~function~~ at the request of the First Lady on May 22, 1995. Due to this commitment, Ms. Fleming was unable to use the ticket purchased for travel on that date. Your assistance in providing a full refund for the enclosed unused ticket is gratefully appreciated.

Please apprise this office of any additional questions or information needed. Again, thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

Handwritten notes:
Nall Aids Policy Committee
Relatives
Miss Anne
Ecology
APR 1995

Handwritten notes:
Fall - given to
Steve H. Fisher

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 25, 1996

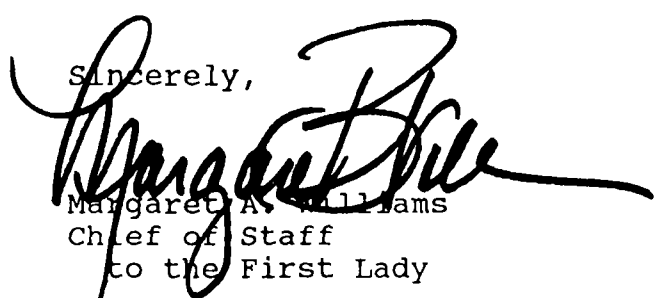
Ms. Barbara G. Haak
1 1/2 Wyeth Road
Hanover, New Hampshire 03755

Dear Ms. Haak:

Your words of support and encouragement meant so much to me during the past weeks. It was very kind of you to take the time to write as you did and I am grateful.

Please accept my thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,



Margaret A. Williams
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

BARBARA G. HAAK
1 1/2 WYETH ROAD
HANOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE 03755

January 10

Dear Ms. Williams,

I offer you sympathy and encouragement in your continuing battle with D'Amato and his committee. I am sure you are, and always have been, telling the truth and I cheered you when you were a trifle "tart" in your responses the second time around. Don't take that bullying and harrassment from those men. Speak up to them, get on a "talk show" maybe. Whatever, keep your courage up, continue to defend Mrs. Clinton, and don't allow yourself to be cast as dishonest by those "crooks" who are on the attack.

The really scary thing going on now is the takeover of newspapers, television, all news sources by huge companies and conglomerates who certainly have a very conservative agenda. Gingrich is right when he says that whoever controls information controls the country. And that battle is being won by the right-wingers.

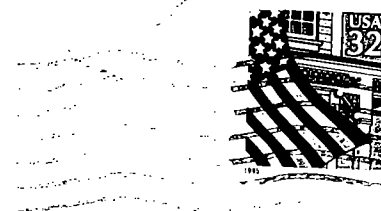
Hang tough. There are a lot of people like me out here who think all of you are doing a great job and who want to see the Clintons in the White House for four more years.

Encouragement

Sincerely,

Evan
Standard
Letter

Barbara Haak



MARGARET WILLIAMS
C/O HILLARY R. CLINTON
1600PENNSYLVANIA AV^U.
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20500



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

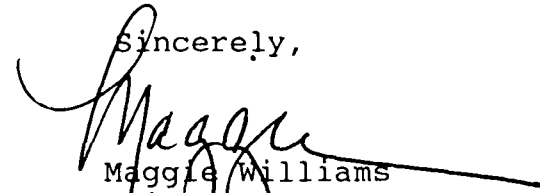
March 25, 1996

Dear Leonard,

It was good to talk to you the other day. I hope you enjoyed your time in Florida.

I am sorry there was a misunderstanding about the sponsorship of the event. Attached is a copy of the usher's bill. Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,


Maggie Williams
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

OFFICIAL RECEIPT

Bill No. 3933-95-0096...

Make Remittance Payable To: **Treasurer of the United States**
(Bureau or Office)

Date **8/2/95**

Mail Payment To: **Gary J. Walters, Chief Usher, The White House, Washington, D. C. 20500**
(Address)

PAYER:

Mr. Leonard Horn
P. O. Box 119
Atlantic City, N.J. 08404

To be issued as official receipt for all cash remittances and for all other remittances when required by applicable procedures.

Amount of Payment \$ _____

Date	DESCRIPTION	Quantity	Unit Price		Amount	
			Cost	Per		
5/22/95	A.M. Refreshments - Miss America Event				\$ 2,290.	95
AMOUNT DUE THIS BILL,					\$2,290.	95

RECEIVED as payment on above bill,

\$ _____

Date _____ Signature _____ Title _____

1 FOR COLECTION

Bill No. **3933-95**

Treasurer of the United States

8/2/95

Make Remittance Payable To:

Date

(Bureau or Office)

Gary J. Walters, Chief Baker, The White House, Washington, D. C. 20500

Mail Remittance To:

(Address)

PAYER:

**Mr. Leonard Morn
P. O. Box 119
Atlantic City, N.J. 08404**

Amount of Payment \$

Date	DESCRIPTION	Quantity	Unit Price		Amount	
			Cost	Per		
5/22/95	A.M. Refreshments - Miss America Event				\$ 2,290.	95
AMOUNT DUE THIS BILL,					\$ 2,290.	95

Amount received, \$

ACCOUNTING CLASSIFICATION (Appropriation Symbol must be shown, other classification optional)

3948-2622-642	\$ 160.48
3948-2621-642	27.10
3948-2608-642	647.73
3948-2508-642	866.00
3948-1106-642	589.64

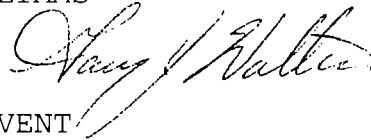
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 21, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR: MARGARET A. WILLIAMS

FROM: GARY J. WALTERS

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Gary J. Walters", written over the printed name.

SUBJECT: MISS. AMERICA EVENT

Attached are copies of the Miss. America event Bill for Collection as you requested.

DOMINGUEZ FAMILY SHELTER

P.O. Box 4943 • Carson, California 90749
Tel (310) 715-6394 • Fax (310) 715-6236

DOMINGUEZ FAMILY SHELTER

PORTIA HARRIS, M.A.
Executive Director

P.O. Box 4943
Carson, CA 90749

Tel: (310) 715-6394
24 Hr. Hotline: (310) 764-4022
Fax: (310) 715-6236

July 3, 1996

Maggie Williams
Chief of Staff for the First Lady
White House
Old Executive Office Building, Room 100
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Williams,

Please find enclosed a hard copy of a letter that was faxed to the Office of the First Lady requesting her presence as KEYNOTE SPEAKER for the Dominguez Family Shelter Fundraising and Award's Banquet.

It is our hope, that as Chief of Staff for the First Lady, you will encourage her to accept our invitation. We know that she receives many such requests.

Thank you for your attention to this matter. I look forward to hearing from you. I may be reached at (310) 715-6394.

Again, thank you.

Sincerely,



Portia Harris, MA
Executive Director

enclosure

PH:jj

Evan -

*letter that
says sending
to scheduling*

DOMINGUEZ FAMILY SHELTER

P.O. Box 4943 • Carson, California 90749
Tel (310) 715-6394 • Fax (310) 715-6236

June 21, 1996

The Honorable Hillary Rodham-Clinton
White House, Office of the First Lady
Old Executive Office Building, Room 185 1/2
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

Dominguez Family Shelter is a non-profit, community-based domestic violence shelter for women and their children, located in a lovely South Bay residential community of Los Angeles, California.

On Friday, **October 4, 1996**, in conjunction with National Domestic Violence Awareness Month, our agency is celebrating its FIRST YEAR ANNIVERSARY FUNDRAISING and AWARDS BANQUET. In recognition of your outstanding achievements and contributions as an advocate for the rights of women and children, we extend an invitation to you to be our **KEYNOTE SPEAKER** at the gala affair.

To further our introduction, Dominguez Family Shelter is organized with an objective to provide vitally needed services to victims of domestic violence and assist them in their efforts to improve the quality of life for themselves and their children. The project site is located in the City of Carson and provides services to victims of domestic violence living in the Second Supervisorial District. In addition, the agency serves clients from throughout the Los Angeles area when domestic violence victims are referred to us from other communities for safety reasons.

The shelter's services are targeted primarily toward minority females with dependent children who are without immediate resources to provide shelter and food for themselves and their children as a result of fleeing from a battering situation. It is this group that has difficulty acquiring housing and is traditionally denied both equal employment opportunities and child support, whether or not it is ordered by the courts.

The current Board of Directors formed the Dominguez Family Shelter to insure continued services to women and children in light of the closure of the Carson Women's Shelter. In an effort to insure broad community support and maintain quality control, Board Members include community activists and representatives from local government and corporations.

The Dominguez Family Shelter program works in conjunction with other shelter service providers, including the Southern California Coalition on Battered Women and the National Coalition on Domestic Violence, in a combined effort to advocate for the rights of domestic violence victims and to ameliorate the social conditions which tend to foster domestic violence in our society.

Women who are victims of domestic violence often feel that they cannot leave the violent relationship because of lack of financial resources. By offering a safe environment, support, referrals, and advocacy for women from abusive relationships, staff and volunteers of the Dominguez Family Shelter assist these women in becoming economically independent. Even more difficult for most women in abusive relationships is the trap created by the continued degradation and humiliation they experience. The staff and volunteers are committed to help break these barriers by providing information and support.

Prior to the establishment of our program, there were no services available in this area for women fleeing an abusive home. Although some women were able to go to other communities, the majority found doing so impossible because of language barriers, lack of financial resources, and/or fear. This was especially true for women who do not find it necessary to leave their homes, but need other services available (e.g., individual counseling, group counseling, and advocacy). By offering support, referrals, and advocacy for women from abusive relationships, staff and volunteers assist these women in becoming economically independent.

The goal of the agency is to provide a wide range of vitally needed services including, but not limited to the following: 15-bed emergency shelter facility in a safe, supportive, residential environment for female victims and their children; 24-hour hotline; crisis intervention; individual and group counseling (including self-esteem, cycle of domestic violence, and substance abuse); emergency food and clothing; housing assistance; psychological support; parenting classes; welfare, legal and social service advocacy; court accompaniment; medical care and legal aid through referrals; arrangements for school-aged children to continue their education during this crisis period; emergency transportation; job training and placement assistance.

In 1992, the United States Surgeon General ranked abuse by husbands and partners as the leading cause of injuries to women between the ages of fifteen and forty-four. Between 22% to 35% of women visiting emergency rooms are there because they have been injured in a domestic violence incident (Journal of the American Medical Association, Volume 264, No. 8, pg. 943, August 22/29, 1990).

Researchers estimate the extent of overlap between wife assault and child physical or sexual abuse to be approximately 30% to 40% (Children of Battered Women, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, CA, 1990). In January 1994, the United States Department of Justice published Violence Against Women, A National Crime Victimization Survey Report. This report by Ronet Backman, PhD, made the following findings:

- * More than 2 1/2 million women experience violence annually.
- * In California, one in every two women is battered.
- * During 1994, there were 241,000 domestic violence calls to law enforcement in California with 70,000 of those calls occurring in Los Angeles County, where nearly one-half of the domestic violence homicides took place in 1994.
- * The rate of victimization by intimates was nearly 10 times greater for females than for males.
- * In Carson, one woman per day is battered.
- * Among women who experienced a violent victimization, injuries occurred almost twice as frequently when the offender was an intimate (59%) than when a stranger (27%). Injured women were also more likely to require medical care if the attacker was an intimate (27%) rather than a stranger (14%).
- * Almost 6 times as many women victimized by intimates (18%) as those victimized by stranger (3%) did not report their violent victimization to police because they feared reprisal from the offender.

Domestic violence is not just a problem affecting any one class or ethnic group. Those most severely impacted by this social evil are minority women with dependent children because so many conditions act against them to keep them in the battering situation. Employment opportunities for this group are limited due to entrenched systematic discriminatory practices on the part of employers. Permanent housing is difficult to secure because of the demand on the part of many landlords for the first and last month's rent plus security deposit.

The effects of domestic violence reach beyond the lives of those individuals directly affected, damaging businesses as well. On January 19, 1995, an article entitled Domestic Abuse Can Damage Businesses as Well as Lives appeared in the Los Angeles Times. The article stated:

According to the National Public Services Research Institute, domestic violence costs American Business more than **\$202 billion** in medical fees, psychological costs and productivity over the lifetime of victims. Tragically, this number is actually much higher because violence is really mentioned by employees as a reason for missing work or seeking medical attention.

In honor of Domestic Violence Awareness Month, I hope that you will accept our invitation to recognize and congratulate those that provide life-saving services to victims of domestic violence. I know that you are the exceptional woman to deliver the message to our community.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Portia Harris", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Portia Harris, M.A.
Executive Director

enclosure

PH:jj

cc: Congresswoman Lucille Roybal-Allard
Congresswoman Juanita McDonald
Congresswoman Maxine Waters
Senator Hilda Solis
Supervisor Yvonne Brathwaite-Burke
Carmen Cruz, President, Board of Directors

I would like to HELP!

Please contact me about:

☐ ***Volunteer Work***

☐ ***Donation***

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____

State: _____ Zip: _____

Phone: _____

Dominguez Family Shelter
P.O. Box 4943
Carson, CA 90749

DOMINGUEZ FAMILY SHELTER

**24-Hour Crisis
Hotline**

(310) 764-4022

***A Social Service Agency
for
Battered Women
and
Their Children***

Dominguez Family Shelter

Dominguez Family Shelter is a nonprofit, community-based social service agency dedicated to providing support services and shelter to women and their children who are victims of domestic violence.

Our Mission

- *To assist women in healing emotional scars left by the experience of domestic violence.*
- *To provide a safe, nonviolent environment for battered women and their children.*
- *To help women rebuild their lives.*
- *To educate the community about the impact of domestic violence on its victims.*

Facts About Domestic Violence

- *Every 15 seconds a woman is battered.*
- *Two to four million women are beaten by their partners annually.*
- *28% of all female murder victims are killed by their husbands or partners.*
- *Spousal abuse is the leading cause of injury to women ages 15 to 44.*

Shelter Programs

- *24 Hour Crisis Hotline.*
- *Individual, group and adolescent therapeutic counseling sessions.*
- *Information and referral services.*
- *Victims assistance service.*
- *Safe temporary shelter for up to 45 days.*
- *Assistance with temporary restraining orders and court accompaniment.*

Dominguez Family Shelter

NEEDS YOUR HELP!

- *Volunteer to work on the Crisis Hotline.*
- *Donate food, clothing and toiletries.*
- *Send financial contributions to:*

Dominguez Family Shelter
P.O. Box 4943
Carson, CA 90749

24 HOUR CRISIS HOTLINE

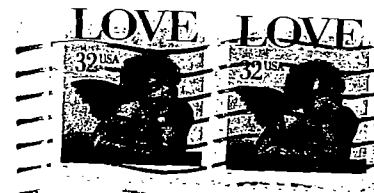
(310) 764-4022

Business Office
(310) 715-6394

Fax
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Maggie Williams
Chief of Staff for the First Lady
White House
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