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Wednesday, August 18, 1999

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-18-99

Sunday
Fry - worth
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Berger
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8-18-99

insist that careful logs are kept of equipment to enforce that rule, but the logs are not made public.

About 90 percent of U.S. aid is given to the Colombian National Police, because the army's poor human rights record makes most of its units ineligible for assistance.

Increased U.S. involvement in Colombia, said Teofilo Vasquez, a researcher at the Center for Research and Popular Education, a group here in the Colombian capital that studies human rights issues, "is simply adding another factor to the violence so that the war in this country will never be resolved."

Concerns about the U.S. military presence in Colombia center on both the kind of training the United States is providing and the military intelligence the U.S. advisers reviewed nine years ago. Spy missions put Americans near territory controlled by rebels, and they also put the United States in danger of inadvertently supporting some of the least savory elements in Colombia's brutal civil war.

Still, Colombian military leaders insist that they need U.S. help with spying.

"The population is involved with the guerrillas, so we cannot get intelligence from them," said Gen. Fernando Tapias, commander of the Colombian armed forces. In contrast, the rebels seem to have quite a reliable network to tell them when the army and police plan to attack a cocaine laboratory, he said. Often, the laboratories have been moved or no one is there.

U.S. intelligence technology, such as the De Havilland RC-7 or the radar stations, thus becomes crucial. In addition, U.S. tactical analysis teams take the raw data the radar and planes gather, Darley said, "and combine them into something useful in terms of establishing a pattern."

What worries many observers is that the planes may be learning about more than drug crops and narcotics flights. They could be finding out about the movements of the rebels who guard the drug crops.

The concern of many analysts is that the information provided to the Colombian military may be leaked to right-wing private armies. Estimated to have a troop strength of about 5,000, these groups fight the rebels mainly by attacking civilians believed to support the insurgency.

"Members of the armed forces are involved in promoting the actions of the paramilitaries," Vasquez said. Indeed, several high-ranking officers have been relieved of their commands pending investigations into allegations that they had ties to armed right-wing groups.

U.S. training programs for the Colombian armed forces also have caused concern.

Recently declassified documents show that Special Operations Forces, commonly known as Green Berets, conducted training in Colombia last year involving infantry, naval special warfare, helicopters and planes for counter-narcotics purposes.

BROWNSTEIN COMMENT: A Case for Boosting Welfare of Working Poor

by Ronald Brownstein

Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON When the nonpartisan Urban Institute recently released the most detailed study yet of women who have left the welfare rolls, it offered ammunition to both critics and supporters of the landmark 1996 welfare reform law.

Supporters pointed to the findings that 71 percent of the women who had left welfare from 1995 through 1997 were still off the dole

and that 61 percent of them were working, at wages significantly above their welfare benefit, and comparable to the wages for all low-income working families. Critics noted that fewer than one-quarter of the former recipients had health insurance in their new jobs, and that about one-third reported economic strains such as being forced to reduce the size of meals at some point in the last year.

Yet, those economic difficulties were not significantly greater than those reported by other low-income working families who had not been on welfare recently. And that convergence points toward what may be the most important lesson of the Urban Institute study: the need for policies to bolster all working families struggling to stay out of poverty. One of the unanticipated benefits of welfare reform may be to bring that need into clearer focus.

Few issues in Bill Clinton's presidency have generated more anger on the left than his decision to sign the welfare reform bill which ended the federal entitlement to welfare, imposed strict work requirements on recipients and set a five-year lifetime limit for aid. That liberal resistance is flaring again in the Democratic presidential race, with former Sen. Bill Bradley, who voted against the bill in 1996, continuing to criticize it. Yet the irony is that welfare reform, by moving millions welfare recipients into the work force, may strengthen the case for one of the left's top priorities: supporting the working poor.

Before welfare reform, the campaign dialogue about poverty inevitably collapsed into an argument about whether welfare recipients should be compelled to work. But now that work is required, there's more discussion in both parties about ensuring that work is more rewarding than welfare. When liberal Sen. Paul Wellstone, D-Minn., says that "if people work hard, they shouldn't be poor in America," he expresses a sentiment with far more popular support than the idea that no one on welfare should be poor.

That's evident even in the actions of a Republican-controlled Congress usually skeptical of new federal initiatives.

Since 1996, Congress has approved an increase in the minimum wage, a \$24 billion program to provide health insurance for the children of working poor families, and a measure permitting states to use federal Medicaid dollars to cover working poor adults (which six states have now done).

In 2000, Bradley and Democratic opponent Al Gore are looking to do more. Gore has already called for a \$1 hike in the minimum wage, an increase in the earned-income tax credit for married couples and government funding for universal preschool which could ease the day-care crunch for working parents. Bradley is mulling his own proposals to raise incomes, subsidize day care and provide health care to low-income families.

Yet Bradley has taken a long step away from Gore by challenging the welfare reform law itself. Aides say Bradley hasn't decided how, if at all, he'd seek to revise the welfare law. But in an interview, he made clear that his objections to the law are fundamental so much so they would demand basic changes if he acted upon them as president.

Bradley criticizes the decision to end the federal entitlement to welfare, the time limits and the bill's core provision the requirement that recipients accept work within two years. "We know the most important period in a child's life is from birth until age 3, and that's when the bond between the mother and the child is absolutely critical," Bradley says. "What this bill does is break that bond." Asked whether the problem is a shortage of adequate day care or the basic requirement that mothers on welfare leave the home to accept work, Bradley insists: "Both."

8-18-99

"Sometimes I ask myself, is this all about pride?" Honda said.

"No, it's about doing the right thing."

Nakano says he supports reparations but believes there are better ways to push the cause than a measure he sees as inflammatory, divisive and virtually powerless to affect Japan's behavior.

To Nakano and others, it is unfair to single out Japan for special state condemnation when so many nations have committed so many atrocities.

In what he views as a more even-handed approach, Nakano has offered a measure asking the University of California to document genocide throughout history and extract lessons from them for public school curriculums.

Japanese officials argue they already have apologized and point to a Cabinet-approved statement in 1995 by then-prime minister Tomiichi Murayama. It directly apologized for the nation's "mistaken national policy ... (that) caused tremendous suffering to the people of many countries, particularly those of Asian nations." The statement went significantly beyond past expressions of "deep remorse," but victim advocates dismiss it because the parliament did not pass it.

Since then, other prime ministers have issued written apologies to former comfort women who accept \$17,000 "atonement payments" from a Japanese public-private fund, as well as apologies to subsequent South Korean and Chinese leaders. Japanese business executives in the United States fear they will bear the brunt of any backlash.

"Why this? Why now?" said Soichiro Kiyama, executive director of the Japan Business Association in Los Angeles, which opposes the Honda measure along with the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in San Francisco. "Of course we understand the historical facts, but what is the point of rekindling this issue now?"

The victims and their families answer that Japan's efforts so far have not managed to stop the hatred they still feel, the nightmares they still have, the tears they still shed when they recall the horrible events.

Tim Niu, a real-estate investor in the Los Angeles area, grew up hearing terrible stories of Japanese aggression: His father, Niu Sean Ming, narrowly escaped the Nanking Massacre by posing as a monk in a Buddhist temple. Even to his death in 1996, the senior Niu could not recount his memories of thousands of bloated corpses clogging a nearby river without breaking down in tears, his son said.

"We have 80 years of Japanese aggression," Niu said. "Japanese military men made our country and people suffer. So deeply in our hearts, we hate."

For some Asian Americans, the issue is not the merits of the resolution. Rather, they ask if it is wise for Asian Americans to become embroiled in foreign affairs especially at a time when alleged Chinese spying, influence-peddling and other foreign scandals have put them under what they see as an undue cloud of suspicion.

Wary of such a high-profile U.S. presence, Betancur demurred, but he did agree to let the Americans install radar stations for surveillance. By 1990, relations were cordial enough that a group of U.S. military advisers reviewed Colombia's military intelligence organizations and recommended changes.

Hundreds more soldiers, Marines, Coast Guard personnel and CIA and Drug Enforcement Administration agents have since followed them to Colombia.

Today, Americans assist in operating five jungle radar stations, fly drug-eradicating crop dusters and are helping redesign the Colombian army into a more effective drug-fighting force. They even pilot spy planes like the one that crashed into a Colombian mountain last month, killing all seven crew members, including five U.S. Army aviators.

The crash of that plane has raised questions about what exactly 200 or more Department of Defense employees both civilian and military are doing in Colombia. And that's not even counting the unknown number of CIA and DEA agents.

Are they here to combat drugs, or are they harbingers of another U.S. venture into an intractable war with Marxist guerrillas? And what happens to the information gleaned by U.S. spies?

The standard answer from U.S. military officials is that most are involved in training missions and that none are involved in combating the Marxist guerrillas who have been fighting the Colombian government for more than three decades. The numbers are unusually high now 283 on Aug. 10 because of investigations into last month's crash of the De Havilland RC-7, said Lt. Col. Bill Darley, a Pentagon spokesman. On top of that, 1,000 U.S. Marines arrived Thursday for a previously scheduled training exercise on the Pacific coast.

"We do have Americans in the field, probably out fighting, but those guys are not with the Department of Defense," he said. "They are DEA (agents)," he said, and refused to comment further.

"Two hundred people scattered over a country ... is not that much," Darley said. He contrasted that number with the 5,000 U.S. soldiers sent to Central America to help with disaster relief after Hurricane Mitch struck last October.

In a press briefing in Washington on his return Monday from a trip to Colombia, Undersecretary of State Thomas R. Pickering dismissed the possibility that more U.S. troops will be deployed to this country.

"That is not our policy," he said. "It is a crazy idea."

In fact, he added, until Colombia makes significant new progress in fighting the drug threat, the United States is unlikely to increase its counter-narcotics aid.

But those answers do not satisfy many political and human rights analysts, who recall that until 1996, the Pentagon also denied that the U.S. military advisers in El Salvador officially never more than 55 at a time were involved in combat against the country's leftist guerrillas during the 1980s.

Such concerns have been heightened as U.S. officials point to the strong ties between rebels and drug traffickers to justify the growth in U.S. anti-narcotics assistance to Colombia.

Colombia's insurgents get an estimated \$600 million a year in "taxes" on opium poppies and coca the raw material for cocaine grown in territory under their control. Colombia supplies about three-fourths of the cocaine and a growing share of the heroin consumed in the United States.

To curb that supply, the United States has budgeted \$289 million in anti-narcotics aid for Colombia this year, with the restriction that the money is not to be used to fight Colombian rebels. U.S. officials

U.S. Role in Colombia: Anti-Drug or Anti-Rebel?

By Juanita Darling and Ruth Morris
Los Angeles Times

BOGOTA, Colombia Back in 1982, when U.S. leaders feared communism more than cocaine, then-Vice President George Bush attended the inauguration here of President Belisario Betancur and offered him a U.S. military base to keep an eye on his country's leftist insurgents, according to a Colombian official of that era.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Betty —
Enclosed is a
wedding invitation
that was forwarded
through me for
the President from
Steve Gleason
of Iowa.

Barbara
Woollery



STATE OF

IOWA

THOMAS J. VILSACK
GOVERNOR

SALLY J. PEDERSON
LT. GOVERNOR

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH
STEPHEN C. GLEASON, D.O., DIRECTOR

June 30, 1999

*to Dan
for reply*

19 AUG 18 AM 8:08

Barb Wooley
Special Assistant to the President
Room 122
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Barb:

I hope everything is going well for you in the White House. I'm having a great time as Commissioner of the Iowa Department of Public Health in Iowa. Enclosed is a letter announcing my son's wedding. You've met Timothy in the past, as he and his fiancée spent several years working for Senator Rockefeller. If you could, please facilitate a wedding greeting from the President and Mrs. Clinton.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,


Steve Gleason, D.O.
Director

SG:lc

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DEAF RELAY (HEARING OR SPEECH IMPAIRED) 1-800-735-2942 / INTERNET: [HTTP://IDPH.STATE.IA.US/](http://idph.state.ia.us/)

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Neysa Marie Archer

and

Timothy Charles Gleason

request the honor of your presence

at their marriage

on Saturday, the second of October

Nineteen hundred ninety-nine

two o'clock in the afternoon

Wales, United Kingdom

Caerphilly Castle

in

The Great Hall

The favor of a reply is requested

Please return this card in the envelope provided by July 15, 1999.

- ☐ YES! I will attend the wedding. Please rush me my FREE information packet.
- ☐ No, I will not attend the wedding, but thanks for the offer!

Name _____ Guest _____

*Gift preferences
have been
recorded with
Crate and Barrel's
Gift Registry.*

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8-18

To Burkhard &
for Reply

T BOOKSTORE IN BLYTHEVILLE

Blytheville, AR 72315 870-763-3333 bookstbly@missconet.com fax 870-763-1125

Post-It® Fax Note	7671	Date	# of pages 4
To Nanny Hurnreich	From MARY GAY SIPLEY		
Co./Dept.	Co.		
Phone #	Phone #		
Fax # Please give to President Clinton	Fax #		

Dear President Clinton:

99 AUG 17 AM 10:21

It was good to see you in Little Rock at the Gore 2000 party. We spoke briefly about Blytheville's effort to establish a National Park on the former Eaker Air Force Base and you requested information.

Such a park would encourage heritage tourism all along the Delta. It would result in greater awareness of the significance of the history of the Mississippi River Valley. This should make economic investment in the region more appealing.

Goal: The goal is to establish an Archeological Heritage Center in Blytheville, Arkansas as a unit of the National Park Service to interpret the prehistory and early history of the Central and Lower Mississippi River Valley, and the associated New Madrid fault responsible for the strongest earthquakes ever recorded in North America. The Center will have three primary functions: public education and interpretation; the curation of federal archeological collections; and archeological, historical, and geological research.

Background: Located on the former Eaker Air Force Base is one of the largest archeological sites in the Mississippi Valley. The site was listed as a National Historic Landmark by the National Park Service in 1996. The site is in federal ownership and is an excellent location to interpret the archeology of the Mississippi River Valley. The Delta Initiatives Act

(Title XI PL 103-433) passed by Congress in 1994 directs the Secretary of Interior to establish Native American heritage trails and centers in the Lower Mississippi River Valley. The City of Blytheville is centrally located in the Mississippi River Valley and connected to the north and south by Interstate 55. It would be an excellent location for such a center. In 1999 Rep Marion Berry introduced HR 1521 and Senators Lincoln and Hutchinson introduced S 1096.

Vision: We are looking for a national presence - The National Park Service- to interpret the prehistory of the Lower Mississippi Valley and to enhance state and local interpretative parks along the river. There are state archeological parks in Illinois, Missouri, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi and Louisiana, but there are no National Parks interpreting Native American history in the Lower Mississippi Valley. As the Lower Mississippi River Valley is one of the most significant archeological regions in the United States this is a major oversight.

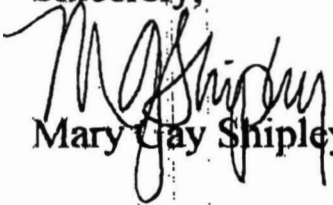
Significance: The Mississippi River Valley is the cradle of civilization in North America. The oldest cemetery in the New World is near Jonesboro. Mississippi Valley Indians domesticated a number of starchy seeds for food. An estimated 50,000 Indians lived between Blytheville and Memphis at the time of contact with De Soto. Recent discoveries by the USGS has shown the New Madrid earthquakes occurred many times in the past and certainly effected the cultural development of the region. Visible earthquake features near Blytheville are among the most significant in the world. The river itself is one of the worlds largest and well known, therefore, early habitation of its valley is important and worthy of National Park status.

Heritage Tourism. The presence of the National Park Service will enhance and compliment the state efforts to interpret the Native American heritage of the Delta and to promote tourism. The possibility for leading edge interpretation is a great opportunity for the NPS. There

is also the opportunity to partner with the schools to develop a web presence that could be the hub of archeological activities. It seems a perfect part of your legacy.

I am co-chairing, with Oscar Fendler, the Chamber of Commerce committee committed to making the vision a reality. The community and our new Mayor, Barrett Harrison is behind this project. We need your help. We need funding to make it happen. Please call if you have any questions.

Sincerely,



Mary Gay Shipley

attachments: What the community is doing
Site timeline
HR 1521
S 1096

What the community is doing---

--worked with the 1999 Arkansas General Assembly to establish a research station of the Arkansas Archeological Survey on the Arkansas Areoplex (former Eaker AFB). The office will be staffed by Dr Claudine Payne and an assistant and opens this week.

--working with local schools pursuing millennium school designation from the National Endowment for the Humanities with emphasis on archeology.

--working with Main Street Blytheville festival committee to convert spring festival to an archeology festival.

--working with Rep. Marion Berry who introduced HR 1521 and Senators Lincoln and Hutchinson who introduced S 1096

--working with Al Hutchings of the Omaha office preparing for the park service's return in October.

THAT BOOKSTORE IN BLYTHEVILLE

316 West Main Blytheville, AR 72315 870-763-3333 bookstbly@missconet.com fax 870-763-1125

August 10, 1999

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-17-99

Dear President Clinton:

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12/73 Eaker Site first recorded - no site description

1974 Eaker Site visited by Arkansas Archeological Survey (AAS)

3/78 Revised-site form filed - Haynes correcting site location

1/80 Visited - AAS - 2 distinct historic periods noted

1982 Recommendation by U.S. Corp of Engineers staff site be nominated to National Reg. of Historic Places

1988 Mid-Continental Research Association - Peacekeeper Rail Garrison 19 sites-3MS105 tested and found eligible for nomination to National Register of Historic Places

1988/89 Mid-Continental Research Association locates 4 sites (AT&T Cable)

2/89 Final Environmental Impact Statement - Peacekeeper Rail Garrison Program historical potential

3/8/89 Determined eligible for National Register

1989 Magnetometer and land excavation demonstrates presence of burials, wall trenches, palisade trenches, trash deposits and as many as 400 or more prehistoric houses buried at site

3/13/90 Tecumseh's Prophecy: Preparing for next New Madrid Earthquake - Blytheville arch cited.

5/14/90 Final Report - Delta Tributaries ; Realizing the Dream ... Fulfilling the Potential - Released by Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission - among recommendations - development of network of parks, museums, and other sites to interpret Native American Collection and Heritage in Delta Region.

1/91 Air Force - Archeological Survey of Undeveloped Portions of Eaker AFB, Mississippi County, Ar - Recommend significant sites to NPHP and further investigation

11/91 Air Force Final Environmental Impact Statement - Protection and Maintenance of Site - Caution in transference of property without protective measures in place

12/6/91 Education and Historic Sites Subcommittee - Concept/Utilization Paper - development as cultural/heritage center

1992 Remaining 150 unsurveyed acres surveyed, 1 site found

2/7/92 Eaker Committee - Education Committee proposes funds be requested for study by National Park Service to determine value of site as park. Hope that National Park Service would then have justification to seek funds to develop and maintain park

6/4/92 Education Committee Minutes - Site visit by National Park Service and SHPO on 6/3/92

8/92 Air Force Social Impact Analysis Study - Archeological component to be incorporated into a cultural / historical component

11/25/92 3MS105 - listed National Register

12/1/92-4/26/93 A.F. Study of 20 sites conducted - Geomorphological Study included

3/93 Publication of Pollution report Chickasawba Cemetery

7/20/93 B-GRAA - Final Report - Strategic Reuse Plan - Possibility of NPS to "receive and operate the historic preservation area"

1/2/94 Articles published AFCEE (Air Force Center for Environmental Excellence) ceremonial reburial Indian remains at site

3/29/94 Letter State Historic Preservation - to Air Force - Agreement with Air Force Study of 1992 - 93. Also expressed doubt that " deed restrictions or restrictive covenant alone will protect" properties. Among recommendations - transfer to another Fed Agency such as National Park Svc.

4/13/94 California Desert Act published in Congressional Record - Lower Mississippi Delta Region Initiatives set forth in Title IX

5/94 Air Force Study of 20 Sites published: Air Force proposes North Sawba - Pemiscot Bayou National Register District be established 14 sites, church/cemetery site. Also Chickasawba Mounds and Manley site. "Believed to be significant on National, Regional and local level."

10/12/94 North Sawba-Pemiscot Bayou Archeological District, Mississippi County, Blytheville, Arkansas officially nominated for National Register of Historic Places.

1/95 B-GRAA - The feasibility of creating and Archeological Heritage Center at Eaker AFB, Blytheville, Ar - Includes material on geological aspects.

12/13/95 Letter - Rick Johnson to Mark Barnes, Sr. Archeologist, National Park Service - copy of 1/95 Feasibility Study and request for review and comment - (None received)

6/19/96 3MS105 National Historic Landmark designation

6/25/96 Letter authority to Congresswoman Lincoln - local desire for site development

12/19/96 Blytheville Representatives present info to Mary Frye, National Park Service, holding public hearing on environmental and heritage tourism opportunities in Mississippi Delta. (In response to 1994 law directing

National Park Svc. to conduct resource study in Lower Mississippi Delta for purposes of preservation, development and/or prevention

- 1996 Use of Archeology to date liquefaction features and seismic events in the New Madrid Seismic Zone, Central United States - Eaker Sites Presented
- 1/10/97 Memorandum Oscar Fendler to M. Frye - National Park Service - explore development opportunities for local resources.
- 5/12/97 Letters to Senator Bumpers stating City/County still interested in establishment of Blytheville Archeological Heritage Center.
- 5/20/97 Blytheville City Council passes Ordinance #1417 relating to the protection and maintenance of archeological properties at the Arkansas Aeroplex, satisfying other responsible agencies that efforts are in place to protect the sites.
- 8/25/97 Joint agreement for protection and maintenance of archeological sites signed by the USAF, Ark. State Historic Preservation Office, City of Blytheville, and National Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.
- 1/6/98 Letter from Tush Tuttle to Al Hatchings, National Park Service- Geological significance/support for Cultural/Natural Heritage Center
- 4/7/98 National Park Service visits Blytheville - conduct study
- 4/10/98 Letter from O. Fendler to M. Frye - continued interest in development of land resources
- 4/10/98 Letter from O. Fendler to Al Hatchings- National Park Service - revisit/ offer additional info
- 7/2/98 Letter fm O. Fendler - Senators and Representative- National Park Service not keeping us informed/ no notification of 2nd visit
- 10/9/98 Aeroplex info to Abby Sue Fisher - National Park Service from Authority

.....
(Original Signature of Member)

106TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. _____

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. BERRY introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee
on _____

A BILL

To preserve and protect archaeological sites and historical resources of the central Mississippi Valley through the establishment of the Mississippi Valley National Historical Park as a unit of the National Park System on former Eaker Air Force Base in Blytheville, Arkansas.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
- 2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

FAMLABERRYAPERRY.02A

H.L.C.

2

1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

2 (a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This Act may be cited as the
3 “Mississippi Valley National Historical Park Act of
4 1999”.

5 (b) **TABLE OF CONTENTS.**—The table of contents of
6 this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

Sec. 2. Findings.

Sec. 3. Mississippi Valley National Historical Park, Blytheville, Arkansas.

Sec. 4. Transfer of jurisdiction, Eaker Air Force Base, for historical park.

Sec. 5. Acquisition of Chickasawba Mound for inclusion in historical park.

Sec. 6. Administration of historical park.

7 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

8 Congress finds the following:

9 (1) The central and lower Mississippi Valley re-
10 gion contained the highest population levels and the
11 most complex Native American societies north of
12 Mexico before the arrival of European peoples in the
13 16th century.

14 (2) In addition, the Mississippi Valley has also
15 hosted Spanish, French, English, and ultimately
16 American societies at different times in the last 450
17 years.

18 (3) Blytheville, Arkansas, is centrally located in
19 the Mississippi Valley region.

20 (4) Former Eaker Air Force Base, which is lo-
21 cated outside of Blytheville, Arkansas, in the central

1 Mississippi Valley region, is the site of 14 archac-
2 ological sites associated with Native Americans.

3 (5) Because of its value in illustrating and in-
4 terpreting the heritage of the United States, the
5 largest of these archaeological sites, was recognized
6 by the National Park Service as a National Historic
7 Landmark in 1996.

8 (6) Another archaeological site outside of
9 Blytheville, Arkansas, the Chickasawba Mound, was
10 placed on the National Register of Historic Places in
11 1984 because of its historic and archaeological re-
12 sources.

13 (7) These previous actions by the Department
14 of the Interior recognize that these archaeological
15 sites are likely to benefit, educate, and inspire
16 present and future generations of Americans, but no
17 unified heritage park for the central Mississippi Val-
18 ley region exists within the National Park Service.

19 (8) Blytheville, Arkansas, also possesses many
20 other regionally and nationally significant natural,
21 seismic, cultural, and recreational resources associ-
22 ated with the heritage of the central Mississippi Val-
23 ley region.

24 (9) The sites and resources associated with the
25 heritage of the central Mississippi Valley region re-

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1 quire recognition through the establishment of a na-
2 tional historical park for the central Mississippi Val-
3 ley region as a unit of the National Park System.

4 (10) As a result of the closing of Eaker Air
5 Force Base in Blytheville, Arkansas, pursuant to the
6 Defense Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1990,
7 Federal land and facilities are readily available for
8 the establishment of a national historical park for
9 the central Mississippi Valley region to protect the
10 archaeological sites located on the former military
11 installation, as well as to preserve, maintain, and in-
12 terpret the natural, seismic, cultural, and rec-
13 reational heritage of the central Mississippi Valley
14 region for the benefit, education, and inspiration of
15 present and future generations of Americans.

16 **SEC. 3. MISSISSIPPI VALLEY NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK,**
17 **BLYTHERVILLE, ARKANSAS.**

18 (a) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—In order to preserve for the
19 benefit and inspiration of the people of the United States
20 as a national historical park certain properties in Blythe-
21 ville, Arkansas, and its vicinity associated with the archae-
22 ological, natural, seismic, cultural, and recreational herit-
23 age of the Mississippi Valley region, there is established
24 as a unit of the National Park System the Mississippi Val-
25 ley National Historical Park in the State of Arkansas.

(b) BOUNDARIES.—The historical park shall consist of approximately 570 acres, including the real property transferred to the National Park Service at former Eaker Air Force Base under section 4 and the parcel of real property containing the archaeological site known as the Chickasawba Mound and authorized for acquisition under section 5. The boundaries of the historical park shall also include all property authorized to be acquired for inclusion in the park by any law enacted after the date of the enactment of this Act.

**SEC. 4. TRANSFER OF JURISDICTION, EAKER AIR FORCE
BASE, FOR HISTORICAL PARK.**

(a) TRANSFER OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES.—The Secretary of Defense shall transfer, without reimbursement, to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior the parcels of real property (including improvements thereon) located at former Eaker Air Force Base, Blytheville, Arkansas, consisting of the archaeological sites depicted on the map entitled "Arkansas Acropolis Archaeological Sites".

(b) VISITOR AND ADMINISTRATIVE SITES.—

(1) TRANSFER REQUIRED.—To preserve the historical character and landscape of the main features of the historical park, the Secretary of Defense also shall transfer, without reimbursement, to the

1 administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary of the
2 Interior an additional parcel of real property at
3 former Eaker Air Force Base for the development of
4 visitor, administrative, museum, curatorial, and
5 maintenance facilities for the historical park.

6 (2) ACREAGE LIMITATION.—The parcel trans-
7 ferred under this subsection may not exceed 15
8 acres.

9 (3) SELECTION.—The parcel to be transferred
10 under this subsection shall be jointly selected by the
11 Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Inte-
12 rior.

13 (c) USE OF LAND.—The Secretary of the Interior
14 shall use the real property transferred under this section
15 as part of the historical park.

16 (d) LEGAL DESCRIPTION.—The exact acreage and
17 legal description of the real property to be transferred
18 under this section shall be determined by a survey satis-
19 factory to the Secretary of Defense. The cost of the survey
20 shall be borne by the Secretary of the Interior.

21 **SEC. 5. ACQUISITION OF CHICKASAWBA MOUND FOR IN-**
22 **CLUSION IN HISTORICAL PARK.**

23 The Secretary of the Interior may acquire for inclu-
24 sion in the historical park, by donation or exchange, the
25 archaeological site known as the Chickasawba Mound,

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1 which was placed on the National Register of Historic
2 Places in 1984.

3 **SEC. 6. ADMINISTRATION OF HISTORICAL PARK.**

4 (a) **APPLICABLE LAWS.**—The Secretary of the Inte-
5 rior shall administer the historical park in accordance with
6 this Act and the laws generally applicable to units of the
7 National Park System, including the Act of August 25,
8 1916 (commonly known as the National Park Service Or-
9 ganic Act; 16 U.S.C. 1 et seq.), and the Act of August
10 21, 1935 (commonly known as the Historic Sites, Build-
11 ings, and Antiquities Act; 16 U.S.C. 461 et seq.).

12 (b) **COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS.**—

13 (1) **AUTHORIZED.**—The Secretary of the Inte-
14 rior may consult and enter into cooperative agree-
15 ments with interested entities and individuals to pro-
16 vide for the preservation, development, interpreta-
17 tion, and use of the historical park.

18 (2) **CONDITIONS.**—Any payment made by the
19 Secretary pursuant to such a cooperative agreement
20 shall be subject to an agreement that conversion,
21 use, or disposal of the project assisted under the co-
22 operative agreement for purposes contrary to the
23 purposes of the historical park, as determined by the
24 Secretary, shall result in a right of the United
25 States to reimbursement of all funds made available

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1 to such project or the proportion of the increased
2 value of the project attributable to such finds as de-
3 termined at the time of such conversion, use, or dis-
4 posal, whichever is greater.

5 (c) ACQUISITION OF REAL PROPERTY.—Subject to
6 sections 4 and 5, the Secretary of the Interior may ac-
7 quire, within the boundaries of the historical park, real
8 property with appropriated or donated funds, by donation,
9 or by exchange for inclusion in the historical park.

106TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1096

II

To preserve and protect archaeological sites and historical resources of the central Mississippi Valley through the establishment of the Mississippi Valley National Historical Park as a unit of the National Park System on former Eaker Air Force Base in Blytheville, Arkansas.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 20, 1999

Mr. HUTCHINSON (for himself and Mrs. LINCOLN) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

A BILL

To preserve and protect archaeological sites and historical resources of the central Mississippi Valley through the establishment of the Mississippi Valley National Historical Park as a unit of the National Park System on former Eaker Air Force Base in Blytheville, Arkansas.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

4 (a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This Act may be cited as the
5 “Mississippi Valley National Historical Park Act of
6 1999”.

1 (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of
2 this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
- Sec. 2. Findings.
- Sec. 3. Mississippi Valley National Historical Park, Blytheville, Arkansas.
- Sec. 4. Transfer of jurisdiction, Eaker Air Force Base, for historical park.
- Sec. 5. Acquisition of Chickasawba Mound for inclusion in historical park.
- Sec. 6. Administration of historical park.

3 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

4 Congress finds the following:

5 (1) The central and lower Mississippi Valley re-
6 gion contained the highest population levels and the
7 most complex Native American societies north of
8 Mexico before the arrival of European peoples in the
9 16th century.

10 (2) In addition, the Mississippi Valley has also
11 hosted Spanish, French, English, and ultimately
12 American societies at different times in the last 450
13 years.

14 (3) Blytheville, Arkansas, is centrally located in
15 the Mississippi Valley region.

16 (4) Former Eaker Air Force Base, which is lo-
17 cated outside of Blytheville, Arkansas, in the central
18 Mississippi Valley region, is the site of 14 archae-
19 ological sites associated with Native Americans.

20 (5) Because of its value in illustrating and in-
21 terpreting the heritage of the United States, the
22 largest of these archaeological sites, was recognized

1 by the National Park Service as a National Historic
2 Landmark in 1996.

3 (6) Another archaeological site outside of
4 Blytheville, Arkansas, the Chickasawba Mound, was
5 placed on the National Register of Historic Places in
6 1984 because of its historic and archaeological re-
7 sources.

8 (7) These previous actions by the Department
9 of the Interior recognize that these archaeological
10 sites are likely to benefit, educate, and inspire
11 present and future generations of Americans, but no
12 unified heritage park for the central Mississippi Val-
13 ley region exists within the National Park Service.

14 (8) Blytheville, Arkansas, also possesses many
15 other regionally and nationally significant natural,
16 seismic, cultural, and recreational resources associ-
17 ated with the heritage of the central Mississippi Val-
18 ley region.

19 (9) The sites and resources associated with the
20 heritage of the central Mississippi Valley region re-
21 quire recognition through the establishment of a na-
22 tional historical park for the central Mississippi Val-
23 ley region as a unit of the National Park System.

24 (10) As a result of the closing of Eaker Air
25 Force Base in Blytheville, Arkansas, pursuant to the

1 Defense Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1990,
2 Federal land and facilities are readily available for
3 the establishment of a national historical park for
4 the central Mississippi Valley region to protect the
5 archaeological sites located on the former military
6 installation, as well as to preserve, maintain, and in-
7 terpret the natural, seismic, cultural, and rec-
8 reational heritage of the central Mississippi Valley
9 region for the benefit, education, and inspiration of
10 present and future generations of Americans.

11 **SEC. 3. MISSISSIPPI VALLEY NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK,**
12 **BLYTHEVILLE, ARKANSAS.**

13 (a) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—In order to preserve for the
14 benefit and inspiration of the people of the United States
15 as a national historical park certain properties in Blythe-
16 ville, Arkansas, and its vicinity associated with the archae-
17 ological, natural, seismic, cultural, and recreational herit-
18 age of the Mississippi Valley region, there is established
19 as a unit of the National Park System the Mississippi Val-
20 ley National Historical Park in the State of Arkansas.

21 (b) **BOUNDARIES.**—The historical park shall consist
22 of approximately 570 acres, including the real property
23 transferred to the National Park Service at former Eaker
24 Air Force Base under section 4 and the parcel of real
25 property containing the archaeological site known as the

1 Chickasawba Mound and authorized for acquisition under
2 section 5. The boundaries of the historical park shall also
3 include all property authorized to be acquired for inclusion
4 in the park by any law enacted after the date of the enact-
5 ment of this Act.

6 **SEC. 4. TRANSFER OF JURISDICTION, EAKER AIR FORCE**
7 **BASE, FOR HISTORICAL PARK.**

8 (a) **TRANSFER OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES.**—The
9 Secretary of Defense shall transfer, without reimburse-
10 ment, to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary
11 of the Interior the parcels of real property (including im-
12 provements thereon) located at former Eaker Air Force
13 Base, Blytheville, Arkansas, consisting of the archae-
14 ological sites depicted on the map entitled "Arkansas
15 Aeroplex Archaeological Sites".

16 (b) **VISITOR AND ADMINISTRATIVE SITES.**—

17 (1) **TRANSFER REQUIRED.**—To preserve the
18 historical character and landscape of the main fea-
19 tures of the historical park, the Secretary of Defense
20 also shall transfer, without reimbursement, to the
21 administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary of the
22 Interior an additional parcel of real property at
23 former Eaker Air Force Base for the development of
24 visitor, administrative, museum, curatorial, and
25 maintenance facilities for the historical park.

1 (2) ACREAGE LIMITATION.—The parcel trans-
2 ferred under this subsection may not exceed 15
3 acres.

4 (3) SELECTION.—The parcel to be transferred
5 under this subsection shall be jointly selected by the
6 Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Inte-
7 rior.

8 (c) USE OF LAND.—The Secretary of the Interior
9 shall use the real property transferred under this section
10 as part of the historical park.

11 (d) LEGAL DESCRIPTION.—The exact acreage and
12 legal description of the real property to be transferred
13 under this section shall be determined by a survey satis-
14 factory to the Secretary of Defense. The cost of the survey
15 shall be borne by the Secretary of the Interior.

16 **SEC. 5. ACQUISITION OF CHICKASAWBA MOUND FOR IN-**
17 **CLUSION IN HISTORICAL PARK.**

18 The Secretary of the Interior may acquire for inclu-
19 sion in the historical park, by donation or exchange, the
20 archaeological site known as the Chickasawba Mound,
21 which was placed on the National Register of Historic
22 Places in 1984.

23 **SEC. 6. ADMINISTRATION OF HISTORICAL PARK.**

24 (a) APPLICABLE LAWS.—The Secretary of the Inte-
25 rior shall administer the historical park in accordance with

1 this Act and the laws generally applicable to units of the
2 National Park System, including the Act of August 25,
3 1916 (commonly known as the National Park Service Or-
4 ganic Act; 16 U.S.C. 1 et seq.), and the Act of August
5 21, 1935 (commonly known as the Historic Sites, Build-
6 ings, and Antiquities Act; 16 U.S.C. 461 et seq.).

7 (b) COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS.—

8 (1) AUTHORIZED.—The Secretary of the Inte-
9 rior may consult and enter into cooperative agree-
10 ments with interested entities and individuals to pro-
11 vide for the preservation, development, interpreta-
12 tion, and use of the historical park.

13 (2) CONDITIONS.—Any payment made by the
14 Secretary pursuant to such a cooperative agreement
15 shall be subject to an agreement that conversion,
16 use, or disposal of the project assisted under the co-
17 operative agreement for purposes contrary to the
18 purposes of the historical park, as determined by the
19 Secretary, shall result in a right of the United
20 States to reimbursement of all funds made available
21 to such project or the proportion of the increased
22 value of the project attributable to such funds as de-
23 termined at the time of such conversion, use, or dis-
24 posal, whichever is greater.

1 (c) ACQUISITION OF REAL PROPERTY.--Subject to
2 sections 4 and 5, the Secretary of the Interior may ac-
3 quire, within the boundaries of the historical park, rea
4 property with appropriated or donated funds, by donation,
5 or by exchange for inclusion in the historical park.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-18-99

Fascinating
and persuasive

TO: The President

FROM: Sandy

SUBJECT: ~~Her~~ Funerals and
democracy

Attached is a provocative
piece by Egypt's leading
sociologist, suggesting that
the surprising outpouring
of popular support upon
the death of Hussein and
Arafat was a result,

in part, of their more
recent conversions to
constitutional ~~democracy~~ monarchy
and limited democracy.

Interesting.

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They also discussed arrangements to convene an emergency session of parliament to enact legislation which the king had wanted introduced previously, including laws relating to planned economic reforms and amendments to the publications law — which had been blocked by a “coalition” hostile to greater press freedom during the last regular session of parliament.

Al-Quds al-Arabi says rumors were circulating among legislators on Wednesday that major changes to the elections and publications laws could be made during the emergency session — with the “one vote” system being scrapped in favor of another that strengthens the political representation of Palestinian forces in Jordan.

There was also talk of MP Ali Aburragheb quitting his seat in parliament to take up an “important post” as one of a series of high-level appointments the palace is poised to make.

Meanwhile, the paper says there is ongoing speculation about the possibility of Kabariti resigning his post as royal court chief amid mounting tensions between him and Rawabdeh.

Al-Quds al-Arabi reported Wednesday that Kabariti had threatened to resign after a row with Prince Hassan, who was the late King Hussein's designated successor until a few days before his death when he sacked him and named Abdallah crown prince instead. The two men had a famous falling out in 1996 when Hassan was crown prince and acting monarch during one of Hussein's absences abroad for medical treatment and Kabariti was prime minister. According to *al-Quds al-Arabi*, their latest row came after

Kabariti cut the budget allocated for Prince Hassan's office and family, prompting a sharp exchange of words between them in the presence of visitors to the royal court. Hassan proceeded to demand that Kabariti be sacked, while the royal court chief threatened to resign if he did not get an apology.

Al-Quds al-Arabi points out that Rawabdeh has said publicly that his government has no plans to change the electoral law, while Majali strongly supports the present legislation, which has enabled him and other representatives of powerful clans to dominate the legislature and kept the Islamists and other opposition groups out of it for the past three years. The Palestinian vote was crucial to the IAF's success in the municipal elections, the paper notes, and reform of the electoral law would enhance Palestinian representation at the national level — currently confined to just 21 mandates in the 80-seat parliament.

Meanwhile, Majali's reported remarks have prompted some MPs to call for a frank, open and calm public debate on the whole Palestinian-East Banker issue and the implications of the peace process on the future of Jordanians of Palestinian origin. Others have urged the state to take a firm line against “the extremist political programs that seek to undermine the representation and political rights of Palestinians in the country which some political elites have adopted.” Majali's supporters for their part warn that Jordan is being targeted by Israeli plans to deprive the Palestinians of their right to repatriation by dumping them on Jordan.

Morocco and Jordan:

The tortuous Kings' Road

By leading Egyptian academic Dr. Saadeddeen Ibrahim,
writing in Cairo's semi-official *al-Ahram*

Morocco witnessed a great outpouring of sorrow at the death July 23 of King Hassan. Moroccans young and old from the four corners of the North African kingdom came out in grief and mourning. Only rarely silent and dignified, the Moroccans' grief was overwhelmingly noisy and even hysterical. But most of all, it was a mass and spontaneous expression of sorrow.

Mourners were oblivious of the countless cameras of the world's media trained upon them. Nor were they impressed by the legions of world leaders coming to pay their respects.

Many Arab intellectuals did not comprehend the depth of feeling of the Moroccans at the loss of their king. They (the intelligentsia) were still affected by the

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impressions they formed in the 1960s of the "beleaguered and unpopular monarch." This is not the first time the intelligentsia proved to be wrong while the masses were right.

The scenes witnessed during King Hassan's funeral in Rabat cannot but make an impression on observers of the region. The outpouring of mass grief was only matched by the sorrow expressed by the leaders of the richest and most powerful of the world's nations as they made their way behind the late king's funeral cortege from the royal palace to Hassan's final resting place next to his late father.

Most of those leaders had only a few months ago attended another impressive send-off: that of King Hussein of Jordan in Amman. The world media covered both events with the same degree of attention.

Before these two funerals, the outside world had not seen a Moslem funeral, nor such mass grief. The leaders taking part in these two events must have pondered long and hard — as did the experts — the significance of these spontaneous expressions of sorrow which cannot but be genuine.

■ **UNDERLYING REASON:** One important underlying reason for the overwhelming feelings of popular grief was undoubtedly the fact that in both the Moroccan and Jordanian cases, most of the people knew no other rulers.

Two thirds of Jordanians and a similar percentage of Moroccans were ruled by Hussein and Hassan all their lives. Hussein ruled Jordan for 46 years, while Hassan ruled Morocco for 38. Familiarity, then, played a large part in both peoples' feelings of loss.

What the two late kings achieved for their peoples — particularly during the final decade of their lives — was another no less important reason for the respect they commanded.

People old enough recall that both monarchs came to their respective thrones in a time of great domestic and external turmoil. The Cold War was at its height. Jordan's Hussein in particular was on the verge of being overthrown several times in the 1950s and 1960s. His situation was at its most critical in September 1970, when his Bedouin army regulars took on the (then) powerful Palestinian resistance. The bloody battles that resulted are still recalled by the Palestinians as "Black September."

Hassan of Morocco too went through similar tribulations, the most critical of which was undoubtedly the coup attempt of 1970. Another was the missile attack on his airplane by disgruntled Moroccan airforce officers. Miraculously, Hassan survived both attempts. These military coups were usually led by people close to the king, such as his interior minister, Gen. Mohammad Oufkir, or his senior army officers. Hassan also had his share of popular uprisings, usually led by the leftist opposition parties and trades unions.

In other words, in the early 1970s Hassan had lost the support of most of the urban masses due to widespread unemployment, maldistribution of wealth and high prices. He also lost the backing of a large part of the ruling elite.

Thus, in the 1960s and 1970s, both Hassan and Hussein were "beleaguered" and "lacked popular support." Arab intellectuals compounded this impression, which remained until both kings passed away.

Yet both kings undoubtedly changed a lot in the 1980s and 1990s. Despite the many differences between the two, and indeed between Jordan and Morocco, there were many points of similarity between them:

1. Both built their legitimacy on the stable religious base of being descended from the Prophet Mohammad's household. Hussein was a Hashemite (the Prophet's family), while Hassan was an Alawite (descended from the Prophet's daughter Fatima and the Imam Ali, the Prophet's nephew).
2. Both were descendants of long-established ruling dynasties. The Hashemites

ruled Mecca since the 10th century, while the Alawites have held sway in Morocco since the 16th century. This longevity imparted upon them, in addition to their religious aura, a deeply ingrained cult of loyalty and a vast accumulated experience of crisis management.

This second point is what helped both Hassan and Hussein learn from the lessons of the 1960s and 1970s. Consequently, they were the first Arab rulers to introduce democratic reforms in their countries.

Whether they actually believed in democracy is neither here nor there. After all, it is extremely rare for an authoritarian ruler to metamorphose spontaneously into a democrat. What was nearer the truth was that both Hassan and Hussein — each in his own way — saw the writing on the wall, and drew the logical conclusions. Each had his own particular “moment of truth” which came about thanks to propitious regional and international circumstances.

■ **MA'AN:** For Jordan, the moment of truth came with the Ma'an bread riots which resulted from austerity measures the government introduced in 1989. These riots shook the very foundations of the Hashemite throne. It was the first time an uprising took place in the Jordanian monarchy's traditional heartland.

Ma'an was no hostile Palestinian refugee camp seething with frustration and longing for revenge. It was a pure “Transjordanian” town with fiercely loyal Bedouin inhabitants. It provided soldiers for the king's Bedouin legion and his special forces that supposedly protected his throne. These units were under the direct command of the king or of one of his sons.

By 1989, Hussein had disengaged himself from the West Bank, and had relinquished his claim to all areas west of the River Jordan to the PLO — “the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.” He was back to where his grandfather, King Abdallah, was in 1948.

When Hussein realized that his economy was not going to improve (Gulf financial support, pledged for 10 years at the the 1978 Arab summit in Baghdad, had come to an end, as well as the bonanza provided by the Iran-Iraq war during which Baghdad used Jordan's Red Sea port of Aqaba for most of its military and civilian imports), he decided, together with most of his family and a few of his advisers, to choose democracy. The Jordanian people were to be made part of the decision-making process. They would take part of the responsibility for tough decisions.

Democratization thus began in Jordan. People's feelings were soothed at first by (temporarily) canceling the austerity measures announced earlier. A national debate resulted in a “National Charter” that laid the ground rules of the political process. The constitution was amended, and political pluralism adopted. Free elections were called for a parliament in which the opposition (the Islamists in particular) won a majority.

Since the Fall of 1989, parliamentary elections have been held regularly. And despite sporadic complaints about government and opposition irregularities, on the whole the democratic experiment has proven successful.

Widespread satisfaction led to stability and the peaceful transition of power to King Abdallah when Hussein finally passed away in February. Long-time Crown Prince Hassan accepted being shunted aside with good grace.

■ **WESTERN SAHARA:** The same broad scenario was played out in Morocco as well. King Hassan found a cause to rally the whole people round: The Western Sahara.

Traditionally loyal parties united with the leftist opposition and Arabs united with Berbers under the banner of reclaiming the Sahara for Morocco.

This territory, which Spain relinquished in 1975, was annexed by Morocco as part of its territory liberated from European colonialism. But Algeria and Mauritania

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nia objected to this annexation. They started to support an indigenous Saharan liberation movement, the Polisario. A prolonged war of attrition ensued.

Yet Moroccan national unity, fired by the issue of the Western Sahara, caused the whole nation to rally around King Hassan.

But this patriotic feeling could not stifle the Moroccan opposition forever. Morocco's long-established political parties and its proliferating — and increasingly unemployed and consequently poor — proletariat. Something had to give.

Morocco too had its share of the "bread riots" that hit Egypt (1977), Tunisia (1983), Algeria (1988), and Jordan (1989). In fact, Morocco was hit twice, in the early 1980s and then again at the end of that decade.

Hassan found it extremely difficult to quell the disturbances in the cities of the north while the bulk of his army had its hands full fighting the Polisario in the Sahara. He thus resolved to talk to the opposition, with which he agreed a "National Charter" that defined the rules of the political process. Constitutional amendments were enacted and new legislation passed to make political participation a tangible reality. All this was achieved in the 1990s.

Barely 18 months before Hassan died, he appointed as prime minister veteran opposition politician Abderrahman al-Youssoufi, leader of the Socialist Union of People's Forces, which emerged as the biggest party in parliament with 57 seats at the November 1997 elections.

And so both Hassan and Hussein passed away barely months apart, leaving both their countries basking in relative liberal democracy for the first time in more than three decades of totalitarian rule.

■ **TRANSITION:** Both felt that they had achieved sufficient domestic stability during the last 25 years of their rule, the last armed insurgency against Hussein being in 1970, against Hassan in 1971.

Other than those two critical events, sporadic uprisings and riots did not entail armed insurrection or a real threat to the legitimacy of both regimes. It was this confidence in the security of their legitimacy that persuaded both Hassan and Hussein to embark on democratic reform — helped along by regional and international considerations.

In the case of Morocco, there was an overwhelming desire for partnership with Europe. Hassan recognized that such a partnership was hard to realize unless Morocco enjoyed a modicum of democracy and human rights.

But the Moroccan monarch also had his eyes open on events in neighboring Algeria. Since the bread riots of 1988, the Algerians had precipitously embraced political pluralism that led to disturbances and bloody riots. Hassan did not want the same to happen in Morocco. He thus chose a gradual transition to democracy, and was largely successful.

Hussein did much the same thing in Jordan. He realized that democracy would not only enhance the Hashemites' legitimacy, but was also a way to win the support of the West on the one hand, and provide conditions favorable for a credible peace with Israel on the other.

Both the Jordanian and Moroccan kings put their countries firmly on the democratic path and began the process of transition into constitutional monarchies.

Both made some headway. And although definitely not on the level of established Western democracies, are at least on the right track.

The long trek to democracy has begun in both countries, and all indications are that the young kings Abdallah II and Mohammad VI will continue on the same path as their fathers.

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Capitalism Cuts Crime

By JAMES Q. WILSON

In all likelihood, most people are safer today than they were a thousand years ago. Safer, that is, from ordinary crime, though probably less safe from genocide and mass terror.

Violence in the Middle Ages appears to have been commonplace. The great historian of medieval society, Marc Bloch, concluded that murder and the abuse of power were inevitable when trade was scarce and difficult. With little chance of enriching themselves through commerce, ambitious men turned instead to plunder or oppression.

The evidence shows that Bloch was right. Though nobody counted murders a thousand years ago, digging through ancient files has led several scholars to conclude that there was a high level of impulsive violence in England, Sweden, the Netherlands and elsewhere. And this held true in many places for centuries to come. Rural France in the 17th century was the scene of endless bloody feuds. China was afflicted by banditry, looting and mass murder well into the present century. Even today, Sicily remains in the grip of routine violence, theft, extortion, ransom and arson.

But by the beginning of the second half of the millennium, crime rates began to fall. In England the murder rate dropped sharply by 1660. Why did this country become more peaceful? Why so few feuds, so little organized banditry?

Handled by Murder

The first reason is that local government and courts based on an evolving common law existed to moderate conflict. People trusted courts to settle differences that in other nations were handled by murder.

A second reason was that national identity became more important than kinship identity. People thought of themselves as English more than as members of the Johnson clan or the Fox clan. (Scotland was a dramatic contrast: Highland clans were for a long time more important than any idea of Scottish nationality, and so feuding and clan warfare persisted much longer than in England.)

Then too, England, through widespread property ownership, entered more quickly and less violently into a commercial society. Individual property ownership meant that people could buy, sell, bequeath and inherit property. This ownership system permitted market economies as each owner sought to buy or sell land and to trade his goods with somebody else, thereby creating a system of mutual dependence. The courts became more important as they sought to manage this dependency and differences of opinion about transactions. And as the courts became more important, respect for the law grew.

As a consequence, England was ready for capitalism long before capitalism had been defined or linked to industrialization. When Adam Smith explained the virtues of markets, he was speaking to a nation that was already largely convinced of the mat-

ter, which is why "The Wealth of Nations" became a bestseller.

Capitalism led to greater differences in personal income, exposed many workers to difficult jobs and facilitated the movement of people into noisy, cramped cities. These things may have helped make crime increase. But capitalism also helped bring crime under control. It required a disciplined urban work force and an impartial court system. It substituted the struggle for money for the struggle for power. The late Ernest Gellner defended the morality of capitalism because it permitted ambition—a natural human instinct—to be fulfilled in the attainment of commercial wealth rather than through conquest and brutality.

The crime-reducing power of capitalism in time offset its crime-increasing power. And this may help us understand an otherwise puzzling fact. As Ted Robert Gurr and others have shown, crime in America and England rose in the first half of the 19th century and then declined in the second half. Just as industrial capitalism was making its greatest headway, bringing more people to the cities and placing them in factory jobs, crime was declining, not increasing. In America this decline in crime was all the more striking because poor immigrants were arriving in large numbers, crowding into tenements in our biggest cities.

There were, of course, other crime-reducing forces at work. During the second half of the 19th century the population was getting older. Young males flooded the cities until about 1850, but then a reduction in birthrates made the population older right up through the 1920s. Fewer youngsters, less crime.

Another reason for the decline in the late 19th century was the result of better criminal justice. London acquired a police force in 1829 that could arrest offenders. England also began using prisons and transportation to Australia as a way of dealing with offenders who in earlier years would have either been hanged or acquitted. Despite the draconian English penal code in the 18th century and earlier, juries

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
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were reluctant to impose the only penalty they could command—namely, hanging—and so many serious offenders were returned to the streets.

America established a prison system that, at the time, was regarded as so en-

justice was to shorten prison sentences, enhance rehabilitation efforts, and broaden the list of mitigating circumstances that could be introduced in a criminal trial.

But then in the 1960s crime rates began a meteoric rise that, though moderated of late, still hold us in its grip. Robbery rates today are lower than they were in 1930, but still more than three times higher than in 1960. Some combination of a younger population, a prison system with a low and declining population, and a culture of individual self-expression caught up with us.

England and America responded very differently to this sudden upsurge. The English political system has relatively few elected officials and places most of its administration—and certainly the management of prosecution and trials—into bureaucratic hands. When crime rates shot up, England maintained and enhanced its policy of relying on "community corrections"—which is to say, no prison except for the most violent persons. Increasingly, juveniles were warned rather than arrested.

America's response was driven by practical politics, not bureaucratic preferences. When crime rates rose, elected prosecutors and state legislators knew they had to do something. What they did was to increase the fraction of convicted offenders going to prison.

Prison Works

As a result, property-crime rates in America fell while they rose in England and in several other European nations, so that by the mid-1980s, property crimes were more common in many European nations than in the U.S. Prison, of course, helped lower America's homicide rate, but it is still the largest in the industrialized world.

The millennium has seen the great power of capitalism and civilization, growing over several generations, to bring down crime rates. The nations of the world that are weak in one or both—Russia comes to mind—must know how far they still must travel. And even Americans and the British know that the old Victorianism that once helped cut crime despite enormous pressures for it to expand can never be recovered. We live in a new world, one that must find—so far, it has not—its own social ethic.

Mr. Wilson is an emeritus professor of management at the University of California at Los Angeles and the author, with Richard J. Herrnstein, of "Crime and Human Nature" (Simon & Schuster, 1985).

lightened that it attracted Alexis de Tocqueville to make his famous trip here. The result was his largely forgotten book about prisons and his classic, and oft-cited, treatise on democracy in America.

The culture changed as well. Throughout England and America, people were deeply worried about the effects of having unmarried young men living in big cities where a saloon could be found on every street corner and a brothel in every neighborhood. To counteract the baleful effects of these conditions, there was an immense—and largely private—effort to create a moralizing influence. The Young Men's Christian Association was founded, temperance movements took root, and the recruitment of men into churches intensified. Children's aid societies and orphanages for children without parents—or with parents who could not afford to care for them—spread. Contrary to what some historians have supposed, these movements were not dominated by an upper class trying to control the working class. Workers themselves were deeply involved as leaders.

It is hard to measure the effect of this moralizing effort—an effort we now call Victorian—but we know some of what happened. Despite urbanization, industrialization and wider inequalities in wealth, not only did the crime rate fall, but so did most other measures of social pathology. The illegitimacy ratio dropped, the amount of alcohol consumed per person declined and the participation of men in churches grew.

These gains were purchased at what many intellectuals regarded as a high cost—namely, the suppression of individual self-expression. Beginning in the 1890s and accelerating during and after the World War I, the movement for personal liberation grew. At the time, this new focus had few obvious costs. Crime rates were low, and so the central effort in criminal



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Treasury bond buyback could have hidden price
by Bill Barnhart
Chicago Tribune
Chests swelled with pride at the Treasury Department earlier this month when Secretary Lawrence Summers announced plans to further reduce the government's debt, possibly including a rare cash purchase of bonds before they mature.
Based on current federal budget surplus projections, Summers predicted a complete elimination of Treasury debt held by the public, currently at \$3.6 trillion, by the year 2015 just in time to frustrate baby boomers looking for supersafe Treasury securities for their retirement years.
Under the Clinton administration, marketable Treasury securities are the safest investment in the world, because they have little credit risk. They have declined as a percentage of the U.S. debt market to 23 percent from 31 percent, an important shift in resources to the private sector. Debt issuance by the Treasury now accounts for 18 percent of total debt issuance, down from 40 percent at the beginning of the decade.
But these worthy achievements, together with the historic decline in interest rates in recent years, come at a curious price: lower interest rates for buyers of debt issues and a reduction in the supply of risk-free Treasury securities, which many investors covet.
"I never thought we'd be having this conversation," said bond market analyst James Bianco of Bianco Research in Barrington, Ill. "If the federal government paid off its debt, there would always be a bond market," Bianco said. "But we would go back to the way it was in the 19th century. We would basically have a corporate bond market. We would find other benchmarks. We would be looking about where the benchmark Ford (Motor) credit is going as compared to the benchmark 30-year Treasury bond."
Such a dramatic transformation of the market for fixed-income securities is unlikely. For one thing, projections of federal budget surpluses become more dubious as they, like Pinocchio's nose, grow longer. For another, the government's ability to manage efficiently its financial affairs would suffer if the Treasury debt market disappeared.
Nonetheless, the application of the budget surplus to paying down federal debt has prompted managers of government-bond funds to review their strategies.
Ashok Bhatia, a bond market analyst at Strong Funds in suburban Milwaukee, explained that in recent years the Treasury's debt-reduction program concentrated on paying off short-term securities. With long-term interest rates considerably higher than short-term rates, the result was a shift to longer-term, higher-cost debt.
Summers' proposal on Aug. 4 of a so-called reverse auction to purchase bonds is a step towards correcting that trend, Bhatia said. "The prevailing view is that they will buy back debt maturing from 2016 to 2023. That tends to be some of the most expensive debt the Treasury."
Bond-fund managers will examine carefully the characteristics of the bonds the Treasury targets for repurchase. "We would only sell to the Treasury if we get a premium," Bhatia said. "Can we get the debt back to the Treasury at a premium and buy an issue with equivalent characteristics for us? That is something we would be inclined to do."
Equivalent characteristics could mean, for example, a Treasury bond maturing in 2020 to replace a repurchased bond maturing in 2015. Or it could mean a comparable security offered by a federally chartered agency, such as Fannie Mae, which issues debt to buy home mortgages.

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the American capitalist system that we can live around the world respect," he said. He also salute the Treasury for paying a price that has produced capital gains. He want to maintain active markets in the two years, five years, 10 years and 30

that the global market for Treasury Chicago Board of Trade, is a vital tool in managing investment risk.

"I would make a case that if the Treasury paydown got severe enough that the liquidity of the market started getting impacted, the next benchmark would be whatever the Board of Trade decides to replace its bond contract with."

In the meantime, the Treasury's current plans should lead to large, if fewer, auctions for Treasury bonds and notes, with proceeds being used in part to redeem more expensive, older securities.

"It's a great idea to them to issue 6 percent bonds and buy back 14 percent bonds, but the reality is there aren't a lot of 14 percent bonds out there," Bianco said. "It will take only a year or two before we've bought back everything over a 10 percent coupon. Then, what does the Treasury do for its next trick?"

Today's unusually wide gap in the yields between current Treasury bonds and other high-quality debt securities should shrink as the Treasury's debt reduction program evolves. But tomorrow's retirees almost certainly will have Treasury bonds to add ballast to their portfolios.

Cutting back diplomatic efforts would cost soldiers' lives, Clinton warns

By Naftali Bendavid
Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON President Clinton took his ongoing battle with Congress over foreign affairs spending to a major veterans' group Monday, seeking to convince the former military men and women that paying for diplomacy is the only way to avoid paying for war.

"Underfunding our arsenal of peace is as risky as underfunding our arsenal of war, for if we continue to underfund diplomacy we will end up overusing our military," Clinton told the Veterans of Foreign Wars. "Problems we might have been able to resolve peacefully will turn into crises that we can only resolve at a cost of life and treasure."

Since the Republicans captured control of Congress in 1994, GOP leaders have sought to cut the foreign affairs budget while Clinton has fought to keep the funding at a higher level.

In bringing his argument to a veterans' group, Clinton put a new twist on the debate, asserting that spending more dollars on diplomacy now would save money and lives later.

"We're cutting the very programs designed to keep our soldiers out of war in the first place," Clinton said.

Treasury bond buyback could have hidden price

By Bill Barnhart

Chicago Tribune

Chests swelled with pride at the Treasury Department earlier this month when Secretary Lawrence Summers announced plans to further reduce the government's debt, possibly including a rare cash repurchase of bonds before they mature.

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"They want to become the new benchmark," Cusser said. While there is a vibrant, liquid market in government agency debt, nothing can take the place of 30-year Treasury bonds in world financial markets, he said.

"It's the hallmark of the American capitalist system that we can have a 30-year bond that people around the world respect," he said.

Bond fund managers generally salute the Treasury for paying down government debt, a process that has produced capital gains for bond investors. But they want to maintain active markets in the key Treasury maturity levels two years, five years, 10 years and 30 years.

Bianco noted, for example, that the global market for Treasury bond futures, centered at the Chicago Board of Trade, is a vital tool in managing investment risk.

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High-tech radar will not track

N. Korea missile Politics seen in Shelton decision

By Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has turned down a U.S. commander's request to use a new missile-defense radar to monitor North Korea's upcoming Taepo Dong missile launch, Pentagon officials said.

Gen. Henry H. Shelton, the chairman, decided on Friday to reject an appeal from the commander of the U.S. Space Command in Colorado because of costs and because using the radar now might slow its development.

The radar system is known as the Theater High Altitude Area Defense, or THAAD.

A senior defense official, speaking on the condition that he not be identified by name, said Gen. Shelton's decision was based on his view that the \$3 million to \$5 million cost of sending the radar to Japan outweighed the benefits.

"By and large, you don't get enough benefit to justify the costs," the defense official said.

But some military officials said monitoring the Taepo Dong with the powerful THAAD radar, which can track missiles over long distances, would have been an important test against a "real world threat."

The monitoring also could have tested the radar's capability of providing early warning of a missile launch against the United States and provided valuable field training for the Army units that will eventually be deployed with the completed THAAD system, the officials said.

Critics said the Pentagon bowed to pressure from Clinton administration arms-control officials who opposed sending the radar because it might upset the Russians. A new round of strategic arms talks is set to begin today in Moscow.

Separately, a confidant of reclusive North Korean leader Kim Jong-il told CNN yesterday in an interview that his country was prepared to respond in kind to U.S. and South Korean efforts to halt a new missile test.

"If the visitor comes and offers us a cake, we'll respond with a cake," said Kim Jong-sun, secretary of North Korea's Workers Party, in a rare interview.

"But if somebody comes with a sword or a knife, we'll respond with a knife," he added.

Earlier, the senior official said arms-control issues were a factor in deciding whether to send the THAAD radar to Japan for tests against North Korea's second test of a long-range missile.

U.S. intelligence agencies are closely monitoring a missile site on North Korea's east coast where the test is anticipated. Ships, spy satellites and aircraft are monitoring the test area, officials said.

The senior official said in an interview that possible violations of U.S.-Russian arms accords were not taken into account by Gen. Shelton, even though a special treaty "compliance review group" discussed the matter during a meeting at the Pentagon Friday.

Other officials said the decision not to test the radar against a real-world missile threat is a sign of the Clinton administration's bias against missile defenses.

Gen. Richard Myers, commander of the U.S. Space Command, made the initial request to send one of the two THAAD radars currently based in the United States to Japan to monitor the test.

The request was backed by the Pentagon's Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, the U.S. Pacific Command and the Army's Space and Missile Defense Command.

The defense official said the compliance-review group "never made a decision" on whether sending the radar was allowed under U.S.-Russian treaties. The cost and other factors were the critical considerations for Gen. Shelton, he said.

Other officials said it was unusual for Gen. Shelton to reject the commander's request and was based more on political sensitivities toward Russia than on costs or operational worries.

"It is pathetic that Gen. Shelton's first impulse is to wring his hands over some convoluted — and unfounded — arms-control concern, instead of embracing this innovative proposal that can do nothing but enhance the nation's security," said one official angered by the decision.

"This administration has enough political hacks willing to sacrifice national security to their political concerns," this official said. "Someone needs to be an advocate for our security interests. It's clear that Gen. Shelton is not up to that task."

U.S. and Russian arms specialists will hold their first round of meetings today in Moscow to discuss new strategic arms reductions and changes to the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty.

President Clinton signed legislation in July that says it is U.S. policy to deploy a national missile defense as soon as "technologically possible." The president said in a statement that the law does not bind him to deploy a system unless arms-control considerations are first taken into account.

Mr. Clinton has said the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty is "the cornerstone" of strategic relations with Russia. The treaty prohibits deployment of nationwide missile defenses and limits signatories to a single site. Russia has deployed its missile defenses around Moscow. The United States has no system capable of hitting a long-range missile.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon announced yesterday that it has completed an agreement with Japan to conduct joint research on a sea-based regional missile-defense system.

The agreement calls for the United States and Japan to conduct joint research and experiments on a system that would use the Standard SM-3 missile. The missile will be used on U.S. and Japanese Aegis-equipped ships that would provide wide-area coverage of medium-range missiles.

On Aug. 31, 1998, North Korea launched a medium-range Taepo Dong missile over Japanese air space and into the Pacific Ocean. Tokyo, Seoul and Washington have been warning North Korea against a follow-up test of a missile suspected of being able to reach Alaska and Guam.

Asked if Mr. Kim's comments on CNN were a possible signal that North Korea may suspend the second test of its medium-range Taepo Dong missile, State Department spokesman James P. Rubin said yesterday: "We hope this statement does mean that."

With North Korea in the midst of a prolonged famine as its economy deteriorates, the United States, Japan and South Korea have threatened to cancel a number of aid programs if Pyongyang proceeds with the missile test.

"We do certainly hope that the North Koreans choose the benefits that would accrue to their people, their country and their relations with the United States from forgoing such testing," Mr. Rubin said. But, he added, "the answer is something I'm not prepared to speculate on at this time."

Scott Snyder, a Korea analyst at the U.S. Institute of Peace in Washington, said the "period of risk" over the missile test is far from passed, despite Mr. Kim's remarks. He noted that North Korea has benefited in the past from military brinkmanship, winning an aid package from the United States when it agreed to drop a secret nuclear weapons program in 1994.

"This could mean North Korea is ready to pursue diplomacy but also still plans to carry out the missile test," Mr. Snyder said. "This is a regime that needs crises, that relies on crises, to carry out its diplomatic strategy."

8-18-99

By H.J. Cummins
MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL STAR TRIBUNE

Big-business ideas changing child care

Remember the "Masters of the Universe"? These days, they prefer family bonds to junk bonds. They have found the intersection of Wall Street and Sesame Street. They are buying into the child care business.

Michael Milken, who was released from prison in 1993 for securities fraud; Kohlberg Kravis & Roberts Co.; and Lazard Capital Partners are among the heavy hitters who in the past couple of years have come to own some of this country's biggest child care chains. They have chosen to step into a business long maligned for low profits — if not downright failure — as it competed with YMCAs and church-basement centers for customers.

They are drawn by new developments, say industry analysts and child advocates, at either end of America's economic spectrum: first, the premium-priced care that parents want after reading about infant-brain research in family magazines and, second, the billions of dollars in child care subsidies in the welfare-to-work push.

The newcomers are bringing to child care the textbook business strategies of scale, "value-added" services, brand-name recognition and customer loyalty — in this case, parent loyalty.

Industry veterans caution that this is still a tough line of work, with constant price pressures and a gaping shortage in staff — both of which could blunt growth plans.

Still, for-profit chains are reinventing themselves in a flurry of activity that is heating up their 10 percent corner of the child care industry, estimated by analysts to run to \$30 billion a year nationwide.

Some of the biggest deals in the past two years include:

■ The 1997 acquisition by Kohlberg Kravis & Roberts Co. of a majority stake in KinderCare Learning Centers, the

nation's biggest child care chain.

■ Chase Capital Partners' purchase of most of La Petite Academy, the nation's second-biggest child care chain, in May 1998.

■ Mr. Milken's Knowledge Universe venture, which has bought Children's Discovery Centers of America and a stake in Nobel Education Dynamics, both big child care and education providers.

■ Lazard Capital Partners' \$16 million equity investment in ChildrenFirst Inc., a fast-growing backup-care company in March.

■ The merger of Bright Horizons and CorporateFamily Solutions in 1998, which created the nation's largest provider of work-site child care services. The Cambridge company manages 284 centers located at the corporate offices of its clients.

One clue to Bright Horizons' growth was provided when GOP presidential hopeful Lamar Alexander disclosed that a \$6,300 investment he had made in 1987 had led to a \$1 million return when the two on-site care companies merged last year.

Those companies and industry analysts see profits ahead and point to two primary sources of new child care spending.

A political appetite exists for more government spending on after-school and summer programs, including \$600 million in President Clinton's February budget proposal.

Also, a bill before Congress sponsored by Sen. Bob Graham, Florida Democrat, could boost on-site care providers by giving companies tax credits toward the cost of setting up, operating or subsidizing on-site child care for their employees. There also is \$22 billion in federal money

over six years to help subsidize child care for welfare mothers who go to work.

From the private side, providers in the new breed see themselves as part of a bigger "education industry" and therefore plan to offer parents everything from infant care to preschool and even affiliated private schools. They find the spreading push for school vouchers encouraging.

The central strategy behind the private-market model is brand-name recognition and customer loyalty. Mr. Milken's Knowledge Universe, for example, already spans child care, with Children's Discovery

Centers; private schools, with Nobel Education; and even educational toys made by its LeapFrog company.

Similarly, Children's World Learning Centers in Golden, Colo., offers everything from neighborhood centers to on-site care to after-school programs to its own private schools, President Duane Larson says.

One twist on that is the diversification other companies are pursuing.

New Horizon Child Care Centers in Plymouth, Minn., operates the upscale Kinderberry Hill centers along with its midpriced New Horizon centers. Vice President Chad Dunkley says. Last fall, the company hired a new staff person to expand its business-based centers, now concentrated in casinos.

Companies also are pumping up old-style "child care" into "early learning." For example, both Tutor Time and KinderCare have taken pains to develop an "age-appropriate curriculum" for youngsters — anything from finger painting to computer time.

"We're finding parents want their children ready for kindergarten," says Trudy Anderson, Midwest regional vice president for KinderCare in Eden Prairie, Minn.

This fall, the centers will emphasize "reading readiness" in their preschool curriculum, she says.

Other companies concentrate on a particular niche. ChildrenFirst, for example, which provides backup care for corporate clients, will grow by eight sites this year, up from 15.

One of the new ChildrenFirst sites will open in Minneapolis this fall for such corporate clients as Dayton Hudson.

Dayton Hudson Vice President Gail Dorn says the company chose backup care over a full-time, on-site center after a survey showed its families generally were happy with the care provided and wanted to keep it close to home. Also, the backup care — to cover emergencies such as school holidays or sick baby sitters — is available to all employees. On-site care would require limited enrollments.

"I am eight months pregnant with my third child, I have two stepdaughters, and my 80-year-old father lives with us," Mrs. Dorn says. "And I'm not so atypical. Work and life issues are very important to families."

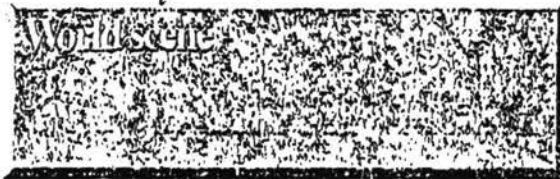
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The Washington Times
TUESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1999

Finally what's been on this?



Rwanda, Uganda troops battle in Congo

KISANGANI, Congo — Rwandan and Ugandan troops, sometimes allies in the fight to topple Congo's president, traded ferocious mortar and artillery barrages yesterday in an effort to control this northern Congolese city and its airport.

The fighting surged despite a heavy afternoon downpour and prompted the leaders of Rwanda and Uganda to rush to southern Uganda for talks on ending the confrontation that imperils their campaign to oust Congolese President Laurent Kabila.

In an effort to find a diplomatic solution to the dispute, Gayle Smith, President Clinton's national security adviser for African affairs, held separate talks yesterday with Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni and Rwandan Vice President Paul Kagame.

Wealthy businessman gunned down in Russia

MOSCOW — A wealthy Russian businessman was gunned down yesterday in downtown St. Petersburg in an apparent contract killing, and one passerby also died in the shooting, a news report said.

Boris Ivanov, identified as one of St. Petersburg's richest men, was the owner of several hotels and nightclubs. The NTV network also said Mr. Ivanov was also known as "Bob the Collector" and reportedly had been convicted of embezzlement and currency scheming in the past.

The attackers waited for Mr. Ivanov in bushes lining a street and riddled his black Mercedes with automatic weapon fire as he drove past. The guns used in the shooting were left at the scene — usually a sign of a contract killing.

Muslim groups warn U.S. over bin Laden

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — Pakistan's Islamic militant groups threatened yesterday to hit U.S. targets if Washington attacked Afghanistan's ruling Taliban movement or its "guest" Osama bin Laden, one of the FBI's most-wanted men.

"This gathering considers Osama bin Laden as a great Muslim hero and the entire 1 billion Muslims of the world would consider it an attack on themselves if he was ... [attacked]," said Maulana Sami-ul-Haq, a Taliban backer and Jamiat-ul-Islami Islamic party leader.

"This gathering condemns the conspiracies against the Muslim Taliban and warns America that any aggression against Afghani-

stan will be considered an attack on Islam and Pakistan."

The declaration was adopted at a conference of Islamic parties and mujahedeen amid speculation that Washington might repeat its Aug. 20, 1998, attack on bin Laden, who is believed to be living in Afghanistan.

Troops kill civilian for pulling down flag

BANDA ACEH, Indonesia — Troops killed a man as he ripped down an Indonesian flag in strife-torn Aceh province, and U.N. officials said yesterday they had received new threats ahead of an independence referendum in East Timor.

North Aceh Police Chief Syaefi Aksal said soldiers killed the civilian on Sunday near the city of Lhokseumawe, about 1,100 miles northwest of Jakarta, the capital.

Indonesian troops are trying to crush a rebellion by separatists who want to declare an Islamic state. Hundreds of persons have been killed in clashes this year and tens of thousands have been displaced across the western province on the northern tip of Sumatra Island.

Swedes charged with hacking into NASA

STOCKHOLM — Two Swedish men were charged yesterday with hacking into the computer systems of NASA and the U.S. military.

Prosecutors said the intent apparently was not to steal anything, though NASA reportedly spent a lot of money to make sure it didn't happen again.

State prosecutor Yagve Rydberg called the crimes "digital graffiti." Trial was set for sometime this fall. Mr. Rydberg said he expected the two suburban Stockholm men would be fined, but not jailed.

Charlie Malm and Joel Soederberg, both 24, were charged with violating Sweden's computer laws and buying stolen equipment.

Strikes hit S. Africa, but some miners settle

JOHANNESBURG — More than 15,000 South African postal and telecommunications workers went on strike yesterday to demand pay hikes as the country prepared for work stoppages by civil servants and more miners.

But an agreement late yesterday between the National Union of Mineworkers and the Chamber of Mines meant many gold mining workers would not strike today.

From wire dispatches and staff reports

Mitchell acts as liaison in dispute over Diana

Al-Fayed wants to see U.S. spy reports

By David Hencke
LONDON GUARDIAN

LONDON — Former U.S. Sen. George Mitchell, the Northern Ireland peace negotiator, is intervening to help end a long-running dispute between Mohamed al-Fayed and U.S. security services over allegations of a plot involving the death of Princess Diana.

Mr. Mitchell is acting as a liaison between the Pentagon and the Harrods department store owner, whose son, Dodi, and the car's driver also died in the crash, over files held by the Defense Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency.

Under the proposed arrangement, Defense Department official Robert Tyrer would review the top-secret files to see if there is any evidence that would help the French authorities still looking at Princess Diana's death in a car crash in Paris two years ago.

Mr. Tyrer would then report back to Mr. Mitchell, who would then disclose whether there was any reference to a plot by the security services or whether such allegations are considered a fabrication.

The aim would be to end suspicions that have surrounded Diana's death, including allegations from Mr. al-Fayed that there was a coverup over the crash.

Details of the proposals are contained in a letter from Mr. Tyrer to Mr. Mitchell. The letter, which the Guardian has seen, follows a series of failed attempts by Mr. al-Fayed to get the documents released under the Freedom of Information Act.

In the letter, Mr. Tyrer says: "I understand the complexities of the case and your concern that the reviewers may have missed information of relevance."

"I am willing to review the relevant documents myself after a thorough briefing on the case by you and your colleagues. I would then meet you to discuss my findings and determine what, if any, additional actions might be taken."

"I am hopeful that my proposal to personally review the relevant documents underscores our willingness to be responsive to the concerns you have raised."

Mr. al-Fayed had pressed Mr. Mitchell's office to act after failing to make progress under the Freedom of Information Act. Mr. al-Fayed is also suing an American lawyer and two former spies who asked for \$32 million to pass on what are now known to be forged CIA documents detailing security service surveillance at the time of the crash.

No one at Mr. Mitchell's office was available to comment on the letter.

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Imported Cigarettes Draw Teens, Criticism

Appealing Flavors, Packaging Belie Bidis' High Levels of Nicotine and Other Substances

By SALLY SQUINZAS
Washington Post Staff Writer

They're sweet. They're cheap. They're small and worst of all, they're trendy. Bidis, tiny flavored cigarettes from India, are luring a new generation of young smokers to tobacco and raising alarms among public health officials and anti-smoking groups.

In a new study scheduled to be published in the *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, Massachusetts state public health researchers will report high rates of bidi use among urban youth there, a pattern of use that experts say likely reflects use elsewhere also.

While the study's results are embargoed until publication, Massachusetts Public Health Commissioner Howard Koh said the findings point to a serious new threat to anti-smoking efforts among youth in grades seven to 12. The study found that the prevalence of bidi use was disturbingly high, Koh said. "This is catching hold."

Bidis are slim, hand-rolled cigarettes that have been sold in the United States for more than 20 years. These unfiltered cigarettes resemble marijuana joints, but instead of paper, they are wrapped in tendu leaves, which are less permeable to air and require the smoker to inhale more deeply. Pronounced *beedies*, these appealing cigarettes are packaged in a variety of colorful boxes or come wrapped in small cone-shaped paper packages. They cost between \$1.50 to \$3.50 per pack and are sold in tobacco shops and so-called "head shops." Even some health food stores have jumped into the market, selling bundles of bidis tied with string as a so-called "natural" form of tobacco.

Numerous studies show that bidis deliver greater amounts of nicotine, tar and carbon monoxide than standard cigarettes. The most recent analysis, released last week by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA), found that 11 out of 12 brands of bidis analyzed contained higher concentrations of nicotine than the unfiltered cigarette American Spirit. The tests, which were conducted for NIDA by Murty Pharmaceuticals of Lexington, Ky., also found that the average nicotine concentration of bidis was about 28 percent higher than that found in American Spirit.

"Studies in the U.S. and in India have found that bidis have three times more carbon monoxide and about five times the amount of tar compared to filtered cigarettes," said epidemiologist Samira Asma at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's Office of Smoking and Health. "They also contain more phenol, ammonia, nitrosamines and hydrogen cyanide."

Teens who smoke bidis often mistakenly consider them to be a safer alternative to cigarettes. "Kids seem to have the impression that bidis are not as addictive and that they are safer than commercial cigarettes," said Wallace Pickworth, a clinical pharmacologist at NIDA. "That is part of their appeal."

Bidis are also smoked differently than standard cigarettes. They don't burn easily and must be re-lit frequently. "They look and are smoked more like a marijuana cigarette," Pickworth said. "It seems like there's a ritual involved with smoking them."

University of Arizona anthropologist Mark Nichter, who has studied bidis in India for 25 years, said that in the United States, bidis are sometimes used as training to teach young smokers how to draw the long, deep "hits," or breaths, favored by marijuana smokers. One student told Nichter that his friends wouldn't smoke marijuana with him until he learned how to smoke bidis first because they

didn't want him to waste the marijuana.

The taste of bidis also seems to draw many young smokers. In India, bidis contain plain tobacco with no flavoring. In the United States, however, they are sold in candy-store flavors such as cinnamon, mango, orange, chocolate, watermelon, raspberry, vanilla and menthol.

"They are flavored so that some of the noxious elements are muted or blunted," said Edward A. Jacobs, chair of the American Academy of Pediatrics' committee on substance abuse. "They are potentially quite harmful and quite alluring because of the flavors."

Where and how the flavoring is being added has not yet been determined. Bidis remain a cottage industry in India, where poor families often survive by rolling them for the manufacturer. But anti-smoking advocacy groups contend that the flavors are added specifically to capture the American teen market. "We strongly believe that these companies are creating flavored bidis to entice children," said Bill Novelli, president of the Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids. "It's not the first time that a tobacco company has done this."

Some tobacco researchers hope that the growing use of bidis among American youth will serve as a wake-up call. "It's almost like a Third World revenge" for the sale of millions of American cigarettes overseas, said Greg Connelly, who studies bidis for the Massachusetts Department of Public Health. "While the U.S. dumps cigarettes into Third World countries, we have India dumping bidis here. It sends a message that we need to protect kids throughout the world" against tobacco.

By law, bidis are not to be sold to anyone under 18 years of age. Each packet is also required to carry the Surgeon General's warning about tobacco as well as a tax stamp. But a 1998 study by the San Francisco Tobacco Free Pro-

ject found that bidis were sold to minors without age identification twice as often as regular cigarettes. Some 41 percent of bidis purchased had no tax stamp and seven out of 10 packs failed to carry the health warning about smoking.

Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) last week asked the Food and Drug Administration and the Federal Trade Commission to crack down on youth access to bidis. "This disturbing trend is further evidence that immediate action is needed to protect our kids from the lies and deception of the tobacco industry both in the U.S. and overseas," Harkin said.

Whether that will be enough to mute the appeal of bidis among youth smokers is not clear. The SmartGirl Web site (<http://www.smartgirl.com>), a site devoted to the concerns of teenage girls, surveyed users in February about smoking cigarettes, marijuana and bidis. Only 20 percent of those polled said that they had ever heard of or seen bidis. But as one 15-year-old noted, "I've never even heard of bidis. But I'll tell you one thing. If the media starts going on about how bad bidis are for you, I guarantee that for every one kid who you stop from smoking, you'll have 10 more wanting to try it."

As the University of Arizona's Nichter warns, there are already exotic, new tobacco products poised to become the next bidis in the U.S. market. On the horizon: pan masala, a potent chewing tobacco laced with araca nut, spices and lime and sold in appealing sachets.

"The Indian government is considering banning it," Nichter said. "It's very carcinogenic and India is the number one country in the world for oral cancer. But it tastes good. It gives you a real kick. It's being marketed very aggressively and no one knows that you are doing it. There are a lot of 12- and 13-year-olds in India already popping it into their mouths."

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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Who Protects the Whistle-Blower?

Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa) has been in the news for placing a hold on Richard Holbrooke's nomination for U.S. ambassador to the United Nations because of the treatment a U.N. employee, Linda Shenwick, received as a result of her providing accurate information to Congress about corruption, mismanagement and waste in the world body. ["Holbrooke Nomination Clears Hurdle," news story, Aug. 5].

Sen. Grassley acted correctly and used about the only resource available to a senator to get fair treatment for an employee whom I would classify as a "whistle-blower" in the most positive sense. When I was in the Senate, I twice was a congressional representative to the General Assembly of the United Nations. Linda Shenwick, a U.N. staffer, was assigned to assist

me—and she had all the numbers on corruption in the United Nations. Ms. Shenwick supplied me with reports on a number of almost unbelievable abuses going on in the U.N. bureaucracy. I am a supporter of the United Nations, but I began to make speeches on the Senate floor with some of this information, and I understand that Ms. Shenwick came under attack from her superiors for giving me some of these numbers—although she probably was caught in a quandary, because I was officially a member of the U.N. staff.

Ms. Shenwick gave me statistical data that other senators and I used to illustrate that the original share of the U.S. contribution to the United Nations was 26 percent. However, if it had been readjusted as agreed, (Europe, the Middle East and Japan became more prosperous), our share today should be about 13 percent. The way the U.N. bureaucrats shuffle the numbers, we pay about 35 percent to 40 percent of real costs of the United Nations today. That fact—plus the waste, fraud and inefficiency—caused Sen. Nancy Kassebaum to lead an effort to delay some of the payments until that formula could be readjusted. I understand that Ms. Shenwick was disciplined for giving me that information.

It is my hope that Sen. Grassley's courageous action will cause Ambassador Holbrooke to be more sensitive to this issue. Sen. Grassley and Linda Shenwick should be lauded for helping the United Nations improve itself. As a result of their efforts, several TV news magazines and The Post have spotlighted the flagrant graft, corruption and waste that occur.

LARRY PRESSLER,
Washington

The writer, a Republican, was a U.S. senator representing South Dakota from 1979 to 1997. In 1980-1983, he was the congressional representative to the United Nations General Assembly.



City-Busting Air Raids

The letters of both Edwin Schmidt (July 28) and E. T. Herndon (Aug. 8) regarding the Allied bombing of Cologne are more than a trifle worrying. Are we, 60 years after the start of World War II, now attempting to explain that Herr Hitler was on the right track when he unleashed "Blitzkrieg" against Poland—and later, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Britain?

Only when the Royal Air Force started to bomb the German homeland in response to the many raids against British civilian homes do we start to read how terrible it all was! Like Mr. Schmidt, I too feel qualified to comment, as I spent the whole of the war in London.

In response to Mr. Herndon, I would point out that the German raid on Coventry took place on the night of Nov. 14, 1940. Four hundred and twenty-two people were killed. All this took place some time before any heavy raids by the RAF on Germany.

I am afraid I cannot agree with Mr. Schmidt's comment that selective strikes in the recent war in the Balkans were humane compared with Europe 60 years ago. If you were in Yugoslavia, I reckon it was no better than London or Cologne for a civilian. War is wrong—no matter how you decide to wage it.

A. J. PULLIN
Herndon

E. T. Herndon's letter on bombing during World War II must have omitted the paragraph that read:

"Also, Hitler showed no compunction about wiping out cities where there was no possibility of retaliation."

Surely Mr. Herndon must remember Warsaw, Rotterdam and Guernica, all well before the air war with Britain.

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Clinton campus will be boon for artists

BY RODNEY BOWERS
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

HOT SPRINGS — Almost two years ago, President Clinton returned to his former hometown for a high school class reunion and a dedication.

On Sept. 27, 1997, about 1,000 people paid \$10 each to attend the dedication of the President Clinton Cultural Campus, which will be in the old Hot Springs High School building from where he graduated in 1964.

Clinton spoke at the project dedication and reveled in the moment, which followed speeches and a pep rally led by five former cheerleaders from the class of 1964. Although he said he was honored by the recognition, the president, then 51, joked, "I really don't think I'm old enough to have anything named after me."

After the dedication, Clinton stepped off the stand and greeted well-wishers for more than a half hour and talked about his fondness for his old high school building.

"I want this to be the people's house," he said.

Two years later, city planners and the arts community are planning to begin work on the campus, which will include a combination



The Sentinel-Record/RICHARD RASMUSSEN

Work is expected to begin Dec. 1 to renovate the 84-year-old Hot Springs High School and annex as part of the President Clinton Cultural Campus. Clinton graduated from the school in 1964.

museum, theater, artists' studios and living quarters.

"We hope to start construction Dec. 1" on the first phase of the project, said local architect David French, who is heading the fund-raising effort. "It'll take 10 months to complete it."

The first phase includes renovation of the old high school an-

nex. The 50,000-square-foot building was constructed in 1925 and vacated in 1969.

The work will include reconfiguration of the building to provide working and living spaces for artists, French said. The cost of the 38 apartment-studios has yet to be determined, he said.

"We're going to do the annex

part pretty much like the Kramer School" in Little Rock, he said. The Vanadis Group of Little Rock, which is working on the Hot Springs project, converted the old Kramer Elementary School into the Kramer School Artist Cooperative in 1997. The 1895-era building in downtown Little Rock, once slated for demolition, now houses 22 residential apartments for artists and their families.

The second phase of the Hot Springs project will include renovation of the 84-year-old high school building, which has about 117,000 square feet of usable space and will be part of a three-site Presidential Center that includes the presidential library in Little Rock and the president's birth home in Hope.

The restored high school off Central and Grand avenues, which has been empty since 1992, will house an interactive museum with remote computer access to the presidential library. The first floor will be converted into commercial space with a coffee shop or cafe, French said. The second and third floors will house studios for performing and visual artists, and the fourth will be a museum featuring displays of Clinton's childhood

See CLINTON, Page 6B

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Clinton

• Continued from Page 18
days in Hot Springs.

The old gymnasium will house a "black box" theater, so called because its interior will not be fixed and can be rearranged for multiple uses.

"We've come up with about \$3.7 million" in contributions, tax credits and bank loans, French said, but "we still need to raise money [about \$4 million] for phase two and the black box theater."

The planners have not set a date for completion of the second phase, French said, noting that cash donations are still being sought as well as items from Clinton's past.

When he visited in 1997, Clinton also praised the school's former teachers and principal, Johnnie Mae Mackey, whom he called a great disciplinarian. Graduates who went on to the Marine Corps, he quipped, experienced "a step-down in discipline and order" after attending Mackey's school.

Former Gov. Sid McMath, a 1931 graduate of Hot Springs High School, also spoke at the 1997 dedication, praising efforts to restore the building. He promised it would one day be "a five-star attraction."

Clinton and McMath weren't the

only prominent people to graduate from the school. Among its alumni are seven military flag officers; two federal judges; the first woman president of Duke University and a former president of Wellesley College; a Clinton classmate who co-wrote "You Needed Me," the 1978 song of the year as voted by the Academy of Country Music; the author of *Women-folks: Growing Up Down South* and *The Bookmaker's Daughter*, a former professional football player; the former No. 2 man in the FBI; a singer for big band leader Tommy Dorsey; the deputy director of the National Institute for Literacy in Washington, D.C.; and a scientist who helped build and activate an atomic bomb.

Lorraine Benini, president of THEARTFOUNDATION of Hot Springs, said she thinks the cultural campus will enhance the city's existing artistic community.

Noting that the city already plays host to several music and art festivals, such as the Celebration of the Arts, the Hot Springs Documentary Film Festival and the Hot Springs Music Festival, Benini said the new facility "will be a tremendous asset, not only for the artistic community" but for everyone in the city.

"What this will do is open a totally different avenue," providing space for artists, she said.

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LEADERS IN BOSNIA ARE SAID TO STEAL UP TO \$1 BILLION

BLOW TO NATION-BUILDING

International Inquiry Charges Rampant Theft of Relief Aid — Embassy Funds Lost

By CHRIS HEDGES

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina — As much as a billion dollars has disappeared from public funds or been stolen from international aid projects through fraud carried out by the Muslim, Croatian and Serbian nationalist leaders who keep Bosnia rigidly partitioned into three ethnic enclaves, according to an exhaustive investigation by an American-led anti-fraud unit.

The anti-fraud unit, set up by the Office of the High Representative, the international agency responsible for carrying out the civilian aspects of the Dayton peace agreement, has exposed so much corruption that relief agencies and embassies are reluctant to publicize the thefts for fear of frightening away international donors.

The report names several officials linked to the governing nationalist parties that it says profited from the fraud. Even though the Office of the High Representative has dismissed 18 officials or prevented them from holding office, most retain authority.

In one incident cited in the report, 10 foreign embassies and international aid agencies lost more than \$20 million deposited in a Bosnian bank, but only the Swiss Embassy has publicly acknowledged its losses.

The anti-fraud unit, which requires special security measures and does not make public who is working for the organization in Bosnia, is now investigating 228 cases of fraud and corruption. It documents the current cases in a 4,000-page report that has not been released to the public. Its contents were made available to The New York Times.

Organizations as diverse as the Office of the High Representative, the United Nations and the United States Agency for International Development, all dedicated to rebuilding the country, have lost tens of millions of dollars, the report says.

The widespread corruption is viewed by many here as a severe blow in the long, frustrating struggle to build a democratic Bosnia, a country that has received \$3.1 billion in international aid since the end of the war in 1995. The corruption has also played a pivotal role in driving away foreign investment, seen as the only way to free Bosnia from dependence on foreign assistance.

The missing funds were supposed to have been used to rebuild Bosnia's roads, buildings and schools, as well as to provide municipal services in towns throughout Bosnia.

Alija Izetbegovic, the Bosnian President, along with other senior nationalist leaders, has dismissed the allegations of official corruption made by the international investigators. While conceding that corruption takes place, the President disputes the scale of the charges, denying that as much as a billion dollars has been misappropriated as stated in the long and detailed report.

Mr. Izetbegovic has repeatedly denied the charges, most recently in a local press interview. "It would be nonsense to claim that there is no

corruption, or that it is irrelevant, in a country that has just come out of the war," he said, adding that Bosnia is a country "which does not have established borders, where joint institutions are still not functioning, and which has at least two armies and two police forces."

The Dayton agreement, which was signed by Muslim, Croatian and Serbian warring factions in 1995, called for the creation of a single state and the return of two million refugees and displaced people to their homes. But Bosnia remains partitioned into three antagonistic ethnic enclaves.

Serb-held Bosnia continues to operate as a separate entity. The internationally created Muslim-Croat Federation has no authority and has been unable to raise revenues. The two million refugees and displaced people have not gone back to their homes. And the Office of the High Representative, the chief civilian international agency in Bosnia, has been reduced to promising money and aid projects to towns and cities that say they will allow some refugees to return, promises that are usually never kept.

"Dayton stopped the violence, but it did not end the war," said Jacques P. Kohn, the chief United Nations representative here, "and the war is still being fought bureaucratically through obfuscation, delay and avoidance by a group of leaders who do not want to lose power. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a patient on life support assistance — political, military and economic."

International donors say the endemic fraud is making it harder to justify continued aid levels. Without the huge infusions of money, it is unlikely that the Muslim, Croatian and Serbian enclaves will be able to continue to pay pensions and salaries and reconstruct the country. The Sarajevo Government, for instance, has asked the World Bank for loans to make pension payments.

"Time is running out," said James Lyon, director of the Crisis Group, an independent research organization. "The international community has no enforcement mechanism. The international administrators beg, plead, cajole and in some case engage in what looks like bribery, promising cities infrastructure projects if they allow some refugees to return. This tactic might work if we continue the present aid levels, about a billion dollars a year, over the next 20 years. But as aid declines, what will make these people even promise to comply?"

Tuzla, a Muslim city, is one case study of widespread corruption that infects many local governments, the report says. The investigators' report charges that \$200 million was missing from this year's budget, in addition to \$300 million missing over the last two years.

Tuzla's schools were painted four times last year alone by the city government, although they were rebuilt and painted by international aid organizations as well. Tuzla officials paid two or three times the normal price for such work and sold many of the cans of paint on the local market, the auditors found. Many of the schools, meanwhile, still lack heat.

In the town of Sanski Most, heavily damaged during the war, municipal funds are being used to build a horse racing track, much to the consternation of aid agencies, the report said.

The report charges the town's Mayor, Mehmed Alagic, with 356 counts of corruption. The charges include the theft of \$450,000 in relief aid from Saudi Arabia. That money was supposed to be used to provide

feed and farm equipment, but the report alleges that the Mayor gave the money instead to his brother to start a bank. The Mayor has denied the charges and accused the Office of the High Representative of mounting a campaign against him.

The most sensitive case under investigation by the anti-fraud unit concerns the Bosnia and Herzegovina Bank, or BiH, in Sarajevo. The bank took in tens of millions of dollars from international agencies and 10 foreign embassies. The money, the investigators say, was lent to fictional businesses or given as personal loans to friends by the two owners.

The bank has now collapsed. The collapse underscores a near-total failure to establish a viable banking industry. Of the some 30 banks in Bosnia, Western diplomats say, only 6 are solvent.

The Agency for International Development, which has not made its losses public, had at least \$4 million in the BiH bank, according to Western diplomats. At least half of the \$20 million lost by international organizations deposited in the bank was to have been used for reconstruction projects, the investigators said.

"Our fear is that once the extent of the theft is known, international donors will get disgusted and walk away," said an official at the Office of the High Representative, who asked not to be identified.

AID has also filed suit in Bosnian courts against 19 Bosnian companies, which have failed to repay loans worth more than \$10 million. The loans, ranging from \$100,000 to \$1 million, are part of a \$278 million revolving credit established in 1996 by AID to help kick-start the econ-

The New York Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1999

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omy. The agency, unable to collect \$1 million in loans from Hidrogradnja, one of Bosnia's largest companies, is trying to seize its assets.

The rampant corruption has discouraged foreign investment. Most foreign companies, including McDonald's, have refused to set up operations after demands by officials to pay bribes and do business exclusively with local party officials. Other companies — like the Italian construction company Aluveneto and Gluck Norm, Germany's largest maker of door and window frames — have pulled out with heavy losses, complaining of interference from the state, an inability to collect debts and demands by officials for kickbacks and bribes to stay in business.

Volkswagen is also considering pulling out of Bosnia, according to European diplomats. Volkswagen officials would not comment. The German Government pushed hard to get the company to reopen its heavily damaged plant in the Sarajevo suburb of Vogosca. Volkswagen did so on condition that the Bosnian Government buy official cars from the plant. Not only has the Government reneged on its promise, forcing Volkswagen to go to court, but the state company in partnership has also refused to pay the \$1 million it promised to invest.

The money-losing Volkswagen plant does only final assembly on car bodies shipped from the Skoda auto works in the Czech Republic. Sixty workers assemble about six cars a day from the kits. Few sell, in part because of the thousands of stolen cars brought into the country from Europe by local gangsters.

The used car market in Stolac, which convenes every Sunday in the Croat-controlled part of Bosnia, has one of the largest collections of stolen vehicles in Europe, according to the international police.

On one recent Sunday, some 400 cars, most with forged registration papers and German, Swiss and Italian license plates, were being sold for large wads of German marks. The gangs that bring the cars into Bosnia oversee the sales.

The Office of the High Representative has outlawed the market. It pressed in January to have the market's organizer, Jozo Peric, arrested. But the local Croatian court released him a few days later and dismissed the charges. Now Mr. Peric is in hiding. When federal tax officials showed up last year to try carry out an audit, they were beaten so badly that they were hospitalized.

Officials of the Office of the High Representative and Western diplomats say one of the wealthiest and most powerful men in Bosnia is Bakir Izetbegovic, the son of President Izetbegovic. He controls The City Development Institute, in charge of determining the occupancy rights of 80,000 publicly owned apartments in Sarajevo. The apartments, many of which belonged to Serbs or Croats before the war, have been given to members of the governing Muslim-led Social Democratic Party. Others who want occupancy rights must pay Mr. Izetbegovic \$2,000, said several Bosnians who have paid the fee.

Mr. Izetbegovic owns 15 percent of Bosnia Air, the state airline, and takes a cut of the extortion money paid out by local shopkeepers to Sarajevo gangsters, the diplomats said. Mr. Izetbegovic has consistently denied any involvement in such activities.

When foreign aid agencies or even

Stories of graft seem to set back hopes for Bosnian democracy.

the Office of the High Representative try to turn to Bosnian courts for redress, they run up against an overwhelmed and corrupt system.

The Agency for International Development is moving against several large state-owned companies. But creditors are rarely able to collect. The Tuzla courts, for instance, have a backlog of more than 30,000 cases, of organized and violent crime. There were 1,050 convictions last year, and in most of the cases, those convicted were released on parole.

Even when laws are passed to try to contain the fraud, politicians have blocked or ignored them. For instance, last year the Bosnian Assembly passed a law to allow the Government to tax the oil and gas trucked in from Croatia. The revenue was expected to be in the hundreds of millions of dollars. But when the law appeared in the official gazette, the articles stipulating the taxation were inexplicably missing. The Croatian mafia that brings in the oil and gas continues to pay no taxes. Although the case is in a Sarajevo court, diplomats say the judges, fearing retribution, are afraid to try it.

The New York Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1999

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Big Lapses Found in Pentagon's Security-Clearance Check

By ELIZABETH BECKER

WASHINGTON, Aug. 16 — The Pentagon is doing an incomplete job in conducting background investigations of its candidates for security clearances and to addition has built up a backlog of more than 500,000 such cases, according to preliminary findings by the General Accounting Office.

The problems, uncovered at the Pentagon's Defense Security Service, which conducts security clearance investigations of 120,000 employees of the Defense Department and military contractors each year, pose a threat to national security, the G.A.O. says in a draft of a report due in October.

The problems have already prompted the Pentagon to remove the head of the security agency, to begin altering the agency's computer system and to institute new procedures.

In a sample of 531 cases, the accounting office, Congress's investigative and auditing arm, found that the Defense Security Service had failed to make critical checks on 92 percent, a Government official familiar with the draft said.

"This has been a troubled agency," said Kenneth H. Bacon, the Pentagon spokesman. "The G.A.O. report acknowledges we are on the road to solving the problem, but it is a big problem."

The accounting office's inquiry was undertaken after the arrest and 1987 conviction of a Pentagon lawyer who had earlier spied for East Germany. Defense Secretary William S. Cohen promised as a result of that case to review the Pentagon's security

At a Defense Dept. agency, a backlog of half a million cases.

ty procedures, but Representative Ike Skelton, Democrat of Missouri, asked for the independent review by the G.A.O., whose preliminary findings were first reported today in USA Today.

Because of budget cuts and then the Clinton Administration's "re-inventing government" initiative, the Defense Security Service has lost nearly half its staff since 1982. The reduction, to 2,466 employees from 4,000, is cited by several Defense Department officials as one reason the agency has failed to conduct thorough background investigations.

But the Pentagon also acknowledges that a new computer system that the security agency bought to streamline the background checks is so poorly designed that it breaks down routinely, contributing to the backlog.

"What the agency did in the name of efficiency," Mr. Bacon said, "instead created great inefficiency."

In June, the Pentagon appointed a retired Air Force officer, Gen. Charles Cunningham, to replace Steven Schacter as head of the security agency. General Cunningham, the Pentagon says, has standardized security-clearance investigations, set up quality checking on those investigations and created an academy to train agents who perform them. He has also brought in computer experts from the Air Force to sort out problems in the agency's system. Mr. Bacon said, and has sought advice from the Government's Office of

Personnel Management to help reduce the backlog, which has grown so serious that the Pentagon is considering asking private security agencies to help undertake the background checks.

While Pentagon officials acknowledge responsibility for some of the problems, Mr. Bacon said that a 1996 Presidential order requiring the review of all low- and mid-level security clearances had helped create the backlog.

Under that directive, all Government departments and agencies are to review the low-level, or "confidential," clearances of their employees every 15 years and the midlevel "secret" clearances every 10. To meet that requirement, the Pentagon is reviewing an additional 5,570 cases this year, a Defense Department official said.

Trial Begins for Woman Tied to Right-to-Die Case

ORLANDO, Fla., Aug. 16 (AP) — A 68-year-old woman went on trial today in the shooting of her daughter, who was left paralyzed and eventually died after winning the right to be taken off life support.

In his opening statement, a lawyer for the woman, Shirley Egan, told the jury that Ms. Egan was "angry, crazy and irrational" from taking Prozac and medication to relieve pain from a bit-and-run accident in 1967.

"Shirley Egan was not responsible for her actions," the lawyer, Bob

Wesley, said in a trial broadcast live on the Internet.

The police said Ms. Egan opened fire on March 8 after overhearing her daughter, Georgeanne Smith, and Ms. Smith's boyfriend, Larry Videlock, talking about pulling her in a nursing home.

Ms. Smith, who was shot in the neck, was left paralyzed from the neck down, barely able to speak and incapable of swallowing. Ms. Smith said she could not bear to live in that condition, and in May she won the

right to be taken off life support. She died shortly after.

Ms. Egan is charged with two counts of attempted murder; the second count says she shot at Mr. Videlock, who was not hurt. After Ms. Smith died, prosecutors decided against filing a murder charge, citing Ms. Egan's failing health and her relationship to the victim.

A prosecutor said Ms. Smith was such a devoted daughter that she denied until the end that her mother intended to shoot her.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1999

The New York Times

THE PRELIMINARY AS SET

8-18-99

Ohio Court Nullifies Damage-Suit Curbs

Ruling Called Blow to U.S. Tort Reform

By DAVID SEGAL
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Ohio Supreme Court yesterday struck down a law that had sharply curtailed the ability of individuals to sue for damages, concluding that the state legislature violated the separation-of-powers doctrine when it passed the provision two years ago.

The 4 to 3 decision was viewed as a bellwether by legal experts and the strongest sign yet that trial lawyers and consumer advocates are winning a decade-old fight to roll back "tort reform" laws designed to limit big jury awards and reduce the number of personal-injury lawsuits.

The Ohio decision means that state tort reform faces major hurdles that are going to be extraordinarily difficult to overcome, said Victor Schwartz, general counsel of the American Tort Reform Association (ATRA), a group backed by business interests and pushing for liability restrictions.

For lawyers, these state-level victories are crucial because the effort to restrict personal-injury and product-liability lawsuits has all but stalled in Washington. Congress is too divided on the topic to pass anything but modest, targeted bills, and President Clinton, a longtime ally of trial lawyers, has promised to veto any broad tort-reform measures.

Meanwhile, states have been quietly overturning their own tort-reform laws, many of them passed by Republican-led legislatures in the past two decades. Through the 1980s and 1990s, corporations successfully lobbied state capitals for relief from what they called "jackpot justice," multimillion-dollar awards occasionally bestowed on plaintiffs by outraged juries.

Business interests have long decried such verdicts, arguing they are typically based on flimsy claims and are reached by jurors swayed by emotions more than facts. In response, dozens of states passed laws that scaled back the chances of a plaintiff winning huge sums in personal-injury lawsuits.

But in the past few years, trial lawyers have been challenging these laws with growing success. Top courts in Kentucky, New

Hampshire, Illinois and Indiana have chipped away or scrapped tort-reform laws. In some states, the laws have withstood judicial scrutiny; the Virginia Supreme Court, for instance, affirmed a rule placing limits on medical malpractice awards. But ATRA estimates that roughly 90 decisions in state and local trial courts across the country have taken aim at laws that limit legal liability.

In Ohio, the fight became a high-profile showdown because in 1997 the state passed the country's most ambitious tort-reform law. The measure placed limits on noneconomic damages and wrongful-death actions, raised standards of proof, and required would-be litigants to obtain an affidavit from a doctor affirming their injuries.

But a slim majority on Ohio's Supreme Court ruled that the legislature had overstepped itself. Judges, not lawmakers, are responsible for making rules about access to the legal system, the judges said. Ceding that power would make the courts a "coconspirator in the abdication of fundamental individual rights and liberties contained in our Constitution," the judges wrote. The opinion also took the lawmakers to task for including elements in the 1997 law that had already been declared unconstitutional.

The ruling has no binding effect outside of Ohio, but legal experts said it would influence the course of debate in other states. If the law had passed judicial muster, they said, it could have inspired other legislatures to pass identical statutes. Attorneys for hospitals, insurers, manufacturers and a handful of corporations submitted 17 legal briefs, urging the judges to uphold the law.

Unlike other challenges to tort laws, this one did not stem from a personal-injury case. Instead, the Ohio Academy of Trial Lawyers filed suit on unusual grounds—that the law was so Draconian it forced lawyers to abandon personal-injury law, causing a precipitous drop in the organization's membership.

"What we're seeing is that these statutes that attempt to cover the waterfront of tort reform don't fly," said Richard Peck, the lawyer who argued the case for the Ohio academy.

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The Washington Post
TUESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1999

Ricci
 Some of our
 answers are pretty
 good

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Reexamining 'Reinventing'

Gore's Claims of Billions in Savings Disputed in GAO Report

By STEPHEN BARR
 Washington Post Staff Writer

When Vice President Gore launched his "reinventing government" project in 1993, he promised billions of dollars in savings. From the start, Gore's claim has been contested and disputed, and yesterday marked the latest round of skirmishing.

The General Accounting Office, in a report focused on case studies of three federal agencies, contends the Gore project double-counted savings, did not tally short-term costs involved in making long-term savings and did not retain enough documents to make a judgment possible on whether some savings were achieved.

The bulk of the GAO's contentions were swiftly rejected by the White House Office of Management and Budget, which calculated the savings estimates for Gore's reinvention program.

Perhaps more importantly, the skirmish seemed to serve as a proxy for an ongoing political fight between the Republican Congress and Gore, who made the reinvention a personal project and is now campaigning for the presidency.

House Government Reform Committee Chairman Dan Burton (R-Ind.), who released the GAO report, said Gore and his staff "were too quick to take credit for saving" taxpayer dollars. "Instead of reinventing government, it looks like they were reinventing accounting rules," Burton said.

OMB spokeswoman Linda Ricci countered: "If we're talking about credit here, let's look at some of the indisputable facts. The government is today smaller than it has been since John Kennedy was president; procurement reforms are cutting administrative costs; and Medicare fraud and abuse has been reduced substantially."

The GAO reviewed recommendations made by Gore's National Performance Review (now called the National Partnership for Reinventing Government) for cost-cutting changes at the Agriculture Department, NASA and the Energy Department.

In its report, GAO contends that:

■ \$21.8 billion in claimed savings by Gore's project could not be documented or substantiated. OMB's Ricci said that even though budget worksheets were not always retained from six years ago, OMB officials could substantially replicate the estimated savings based on how the programs work.

■ Double-counting led to inflated savings in at least two cases. Ricci acknowledged that a budget examiner had "inadvertently" counted the savings from a reduction in agriculture employees twice, but said an internal review did not find any double-counting of savings in NASA programs, as GAO suspected. In the Agriculture Department case, she said, the double-counting "represents 1 percent of the nearly \$55 billion in savings" resulting from cutbacks in federal employment.

■ Estimates of savings did not take into account "offsetting costs," such as the expense of giving numerous civil service employees up to \$25,000 in cash "buyouts" to voluntarily quit their jobs and related downsizing



Vice President Gore, who launched his "reinventing government" initiative in 1993 and promised huge savings, addresses the Global Forum on Reinventing Government at the State Department in January.

costs. Ricci disagreed, saying that OMB discounted the estimated savings by \$14.6 billion.

Most importantly, GAO contends that OMB analysts did not distinguish between Gore's money-saving recommendations and events elsewhere. Congress, for example, mandated an Agriculture Department reorganization in 1994, about the same time Gore sought staff cuts there. NASA faced congressional budget restrictions, not just Gore's plan for management changes, and the Energy Department savings probably would have happened anyway because of the end of the Cold War, GAO suggested.

"The relationship between the [Gore] recommendations we reviewed and the savings claimed was not clear," GAO said. The report, which was first obtained by the Los Angeles Times, concluded, "There was no way to substantiate the savings claimed."

The dispute is not the first involving Gore's promise to make the government "work better and cost less" through his reinvention project. During the 1996 campaign, budget experts said they doubted Gore would ever be able to prove that he achieved the bulk of his projected savings.

The project has gone through several phases since its start and Gore currently estimates it will save about \$137 billion through streamlining of agency procedures, regulations and staff.

"While I wouldn't want to predict anything down to the exact dollar, we have done a careful analysis and we expect at the end of the day that the savings will be comfortably in this range," Ricci said.

The Washington Post
 TUESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1999

U.S. and Japan Agree to Joint Research on Missile Defense

By CALVIN SIMS

TOKYO, Aug. 16 — Japan and the United States agreed today to conduct joint research on a missile defense system that in theory could destroy incoming ballistic missiles like the one North Korea is threatening to launch as a test against the wishes of both the other countries.

Foreign Minister Masahiko Komura and the United States Ambassador to Japan, Thomas Foley, signed an agreement that calls for the two countries to combine their technological know-how to improve the basic abilities of a so-called theater missile defense system.

The system is intended to protect the United States and its allies against incoming missiles flying within a 1,800-mile radius. It uses satellites to detect enemy rockets and to intercept missiles and destroy them before they reach their targets, officials of both Governments said.

The officials declined to disclose the exact cost of the research effort, but they did not contradict local news reports that put the figure at between \$400 million and \$524 million, which would be split equally between the two countries over five to six years.

Asked if the timing of the announcement was related to reports that North Korea is close to a test of a long-range ballistic missile, a spokesman for Japan's Foreign Ministry said, "It would be difficult to say that this agreement has no relation to the very tense situation that is unfolding with North Korea."

Last August, Japan was thrown into a panic after North Korea launched a medium-range Taepodong missile, which flew over the Japanese mainland and into the Pacific Ocean. The Communist country is now poised to test an improved version of Taepodong that is designed for greater accuracy and range.

But the Foreign Ministry spokesman said the results of the joint research effort and possible deployment of a working theater missile defense system are years — if not decades — away. "We expect this joint effort to yield something fruitful and improve our capability," he said, "but we cannot discuss issues of deployment as we are still in the very early stages."

For years, the United States has been trying to persuade Japan to take part in the development of a missile defense system, but Tokyo declined, citing the unproven technology and high cost.

Moreover, Japan did not wish to offend China and Russia. Those countries have opposed the development of antimissile shields, which they cannot afford to develop and which they fear will give the United States and its allies a strategic advantage — if they work.

Some military experts see the agreement between Japan and the United States as the beginning of the spread of international missile defense efforts that could threaten to undermine current nonproliferation and arms-controls agreements.

Taiwan has expressed an interest in acquiring antimissile defenses from the United States, and some promoters of the missile defense system envision it as one day being extended over much of the Pacific, providing protection to United States allies and countries willing to pay for it.

Exactly why the administration of Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi decided to oblige the United States is uncertain. But clearly there is much political utility in signing on to the

research project at a time when the Japanese have been clamoring for their Government to increase its military defenses, especially in the wake of North Korea's missile tests.

For the United States, Japan's part in the development of a missile defense system provides the overall effort with vital financing, technological prestige and an international face that increases the likelihood of continued support at home.

"Having a technological giant like Japan involved makes the project more convincing to the American people," said a Government researcher in military technology. "It will be difficult to terminate the program, no matter how unpromising it is, if other countries have committed so much money to it."

But critics of missile defense systems maintain that they are technologically unfeasible and will not function in real combat situations, although there has been limited success with such systems in early simulations.

"Technologically it can't work, and it has been proved to be a failure," the researcher said. "The reason is that if your opponent launches one missile, the system can destroy it, but only one missile. What happens if you launch 10 or 20 missiles?"

Under the agreement signed today, Japan and the United States will focus on improving four major components of the missile defense system: sensor, advanced kinetic warhead, second stage propulsion, and lightweight nose cone. The missile theater defense will be based on the Aegis radar system used by the navies of both countries.

Deal Spares Kosovo Town New Outbreak Of Violence

MITROVICA, Kosovo, Aug. 16 (AP) — Kosovo Albanians called off a protest today in this tensely divided town, averting a potentially violent confrontation with NATO peacekeepers.

The demonstration was canceled after United Nations and NATO officials reached a deal with the Albanians allowing 25 families to return each day to homes they had lost in the Serb-dominated portion of Mitrovica during the Kosovo conflict, all sides said.

The agreement was a positive development in the town, where Albanians clashed several times last week with French peacekeepers preventing them from crossing the bridge that divides the Albanian and Serbian neighborhoods.

Another event considered favorable was the arrival early today in the town of Kosovo Police of some 200 Serbian railroad workers — the largest group of Serbs known to have returned to Kosovo since the end of the NATO bombing and the departure of Government troops in June.

Most of the 200,000 Serbs in Kosovo had fled to escape the wrath of returning Albanians over killings, expulsions, attacks and burnings of Albanian homes and shops by Serbs during the bombing campaign.

Bajram Rexhepi, mayor of the ethnic Albanian sector in Mitrovica, announced the compromise deal to a crowd of about 150 people who had gathered near the bridge over the Ibar River for a scheduled protest.

The local commander of the rebel Kosovo Liberation Army, Rahman Rama, dressed in a camouflage uniform with the group's badge, waded through the crowd, telling people to go home.

Some would-be demonstrators were confused, others clearly angry at the cancellation.

"I'm sleeping in a front yard with my eight children," said Jashar Osmani, 52. "So how can somebody stop me from going to my home? We shouldn't listen to anybody. We should just cross this bridge and go to our homes."

The Albanians had originally wanted 100 families a day to go back.

Mr. Rexhepi said. About 1,200 families are waiting to go back to the Serb-dominated side, he said.

Mary-Pat Silveira, the deputy United Nations chief in the town, said the informal proposal had received "tacit agreement" from the Serbian side. She said some families could begin returning this week, but it is unclear who will protect them, or what will happen if their homes are now occupied by Serbs.

The New York Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1999

Handwritten notes in the top right corner include: "Sandy", "Nauling", "for", "Mutter", "Mutter", and a signature "RC".

Handwritten notes on the left margin include: "pied", "berger", and "Podesta".

8-18-99

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ask him to
get this right!
pd

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Podesta

Arjun Makhijani

Paducah— Never Again

Joe Harding worked at the Department of Energy's Paducah, Ky., uranium enrichment plant and died in 1980 of cancer at age 58. He was one of a half-million people who processed nuclear and other materials, and turned them into the 70,000 nuclear warheads that the United States produced during the Cold War. He worked in a highly polluted environment and died with uranium in his bones. Yet, the DOE and its contractor Union Carbide denied that radiation might have caused his illness. His case is unusual only in that he wrote a diary and spoke out freely before he died, so that his plight is now well known, thanks to a recent Washington Post story (front page, Aug. 8).

The U.S. government practice of denying overexposure to radiation to workers without proper scientific analysis of available data has resulted in gross injustices for large numbers of people. For instance, workers at DOE's Fernald, Ohio, plant, where uranium was fashioned into metal targets and fuel elements for reactors, were told for years that they were not overexposed and that the plant was safe.

But a 1994 study done by my colleagues who analyzed the raw data files in the context of a class-action lawsuit filed by plant workers showed that during the 1950s and early '60s, more than half the workers were overexposed in every year but one. In 1955, 90 percent of the workers were overexposed by then-prevailing standards. The research also showed that the data were so sparse that it was impossible to reliably calculate individual exposures—only group radiation doses could be estimated with confidence.

The DOE settled the lawsuit on behalf of the contractor for \$15 million and medical monitoring, but admitted no wrongdoing. The government had previously settled a similar suit by the plant's neighbors about off-site contamination for \$78 million.

In 1997 the DOE admitted that, until 1989, it had never calculated the radiation doses to workers resulting from inhalation or ingestion of uranium, plutonium, and other radioactive materials present at any of its nuclear weapons plants, even though the raw data to do so were often available. These data sat unanalyzed in internal files. Moreover, the allegations of the Paducah health physicists reported by The Washington Post indicate that, despite DOE claims to the contrary, the problems leading to flawed dose records may have continued past 1989.

The poor and incomplete state of the dose records, frequently terrible working conditions (uranium air contamination at Fernald, for instance, was often tens or hundreds of times above maximum allowable limits) and the lack of any records for exposures to many toxic non-radioactive materials, point to one stark conclusion. The DOE and its contractors have often made scientifically incorrect and baseless denials of harm.

Given that reality, Energy Secretary Bill Richardson's statement that the DOE will not be a "Department of Excuses" and will actually help workers who have been harmed is laudable but highly inadequate. Many nuclear weapons workers are sick from causes that are not readily identifiable partly because poor and grossly incomplete records mean that it is often impossible for them to prove causation.

All surviving nuclear weapons complex workers should be provided with medical monitoring. In cases where medical benefits are needed, there should be a presumption of causation for a variety of ailments. Where regulations were egregiously violated, contractors should be made to pay. And there should be generous compensation for surviving family members in cases such as Joe Harding's.

Department-wide investigations in the wake of the Paducah scandal should attempt to determine whether there has been fraud in maintenance of data records—for instance, were any of the dose data fabricated? Such inquiries should also be directed toward the reforms that will prevent a recurrence of the lamentable conditions that workers and their families have suffered for decades.

The signs are not reassuring. Current proposals for DOE reorganization are headed in the wrong direction. Past failures arose not from a lack of legal mandate—the DOE and its contractors were and are required to protect health and the environment. The central problem has been DOE self-regulation and secrecy in health and environmental matters.

Despite this record, the Los Alamos National Laboratory spy scandal has led to reorganization proposals that would re-trench self-regulation and downgrade the already weak position of DOE's internal environment, safety and health division. This is a prescription for a tragic repetition of past abuses. Whatever security reorganization results from the spy scandal, it is imperative that the worker health, safety and environmental protection aspects of DOE's nuclear weapons work be externally regulated. Three agencies would be involved: the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the Occupational Health and Safety Administration and the Environmental Protection Agency. Such regulation has been much studied and debated; it is time to put it firmly into place.

The writer is president of the Institute for Energy and Environmental Research in Takoma Park.

The Washington Post
TUESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1999

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

August 7, 1999

Mr. President -

Sandy
generally it's good -
was to say something about how
Kosovo is better than - not to make about
living together *BC*
For the past few weeks, Tom Malinowski and I have been trying to refine the essential enduring principle that derives from our action in Kosovo - the "Clinton Doctrine" you have implicitly set forth in several speeches and which has been the topic of several articles, most recently WSJ (attached).

The trick is striking the right balance. On the one hand, stated too baldly, we only set ourselves up for ridicule and recrimination when we fail to act (arguably, Sudan and Sierra Leone fall within the principle you have articulated). Conversely, as Richard Haas (Bush NSC) says in the WSJ article, if too carefully hedged, it is meaningless.

I must admit that I have some distrust of "doctrines." Vietnam was not Munich, as Dean Rusk said, and Bosnia was not Vietnam, as Colin said.

But if others are defining the Kosovo doctrine for you, should you not do it yourself? And would it not be better to qualify the absolute principle ourselves now rather than explain and distinguish situations where we can't act similarly in the future?

Attached is a draft speech. (It could also be a draft article.) It contains the "doctrine" beginning on page seven, placing it in a larger post-Kosovo context. It is intended to stimulate discussion, not as the "final word."

Sandy

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WW desk
Podesta

Speech Draft – The Meaning and Aftermath of Kosovo

Today in Kosovo, a land that was emptied of people and filled with despair is beginning to come to life again. X hundred thousand Kosovars have returned. That means X hundred thousand new beginnings, but also X hundred thousand new challenges as ruined homes are rebuilt and shattered lives are reclaimed.

For the people of Kosovo, coming home also means coming to terms with the horrors they have seen, the anger they must suppress and the grief that can overwhelm. There is hardly a family in Kosovo that hasn't lost loved ones, or escaped Mr. Milosevic's systematic frenzy of destruction.

After so much suffering, our peacekeeping and police forces will have to work hard to temper the desire of victims to seek justice through fire instead of law. ^{They were not always needed.} A civilian administration will

have to be established, local police trained, the missing accounted for, economic activity revived. ~~We must be patient and realistic about what can be achieved in terms of reconciliation. We will have to help people of every ethnic group understand that they are all victims of the same evil and the same lie. But we must also be aggressive in our determination to establish the rule of law and to give Kosovo the option to build a new positive future.~~

As fast as the international community can move, it will not be fast enough. But for Kosovo, this is a struggle of rebirth, and no longer with death. After all, it is better to deal with the problem of refugees returning too quickly than to anguish over their continuing flight. It is better to help people rebuild their lives on their land, than to struggle to keep them alive in a foreign land. It is better to face the challenge of punishing war crimes than the challenge of having to stop them.

The people of Kosovo have a future again, uncertain in many ways, but on their own land, on their own terms. And there is no future for Mr. Milosevic and his policy of manipulating human differences for inhuman ends. I want to speak to you today about what this means for America, for Europe and for our common cause in the world.

As we look forward, we should seek to draw some wisdom from this conflict. The first lesson to draw from all conflicts is that we should not overlearn their lessons. Foreign policy by analogy is a dangerous temptation: Not every crisis will be like Kosovo; not every tragedy can be overcome by force; not every war will be waged or won from the air. Our response to future crises must be shaped not only by the cumulative experience to which Kosovo has added, but by factors unique to the place and time in which we act.

At the same time, we must resolve that the world cannot be the same today as it was when this conflict began. Surely it can be a better place than it would have been had we turned away.

Kosovo was not like the conflicts of earlier times, when what we knew came to us in dim and long delayed fragments of images and information. In Kosovo, we saw the victims' faces, heard their voices and understood exactly what was happening to them and why. We had no plausible deniability. We could not choose not to know. We would have had to choose not to act.

Think of the judgements we would have borne at the end of this century had we chosen indifference. That innocent men, women and children can be singled out for destruction because of their heritage and faith right in the heart of Europe -- with impunity. That people can be driven from their homes, loaded on train cars, their culture and history erased, and the world will not hear, will not see, will not act. That the world's most powerful alliance is powerless to stop crimes against humanity on its doorstep.

Years from now, people would look back at this time with wonder. We lived through an era of amazing progress for human freedom and prosperity -- with world-wide communications, with the prospect of dramatic improvements in the length and quality of our lives, with the mysteries of the human gene about to be unlocked. But the children of the 21st century would also say that we faced a decisive moral test and we failed; that our inaction imperiled our security; that we had

not learned the lessons of the 20th century.

Now think how the century actually is ending. With a powerful statement by 19 democracies that we will stand up for human life and human dignity. With the path to prosperity and peace finally open to a long troubled region of Europe. With our NATO alliance united, strong, working with Russia to keep the peace. With new hope for a world where people are not brutalized and murdered en masse because of their ethnic heritage or the way they worship God.

In short, we have done more than defeat something evil. We have given ourselves a precious opportunity to build something good. I see several opportunities in the aftermath of Kosovo.

First, the end of this conflict can mark a new dawn for the Balkans, freed of the yoke of communism, freed of the ghosts of its past, perhaps soon to be free of its last remaining dictator, with a chance to be free. That process has already begun in countries like Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia, Macedonia and Albania, countries that see their future in democracy, respect for human rights, and integration with Europe. If we follow through, the last puzzle piece of an undivided, democratic, peaceful Europe will fall into place. And that is good for America, for it means that in the 21st century Europe can finally be an undivided continent that shares our values, strengthens our economy, and helps us meet common aspirations, instead of the divided continent on which young Americans have too often fought to defeat common threats.

That is the Europe America has been working for throughout this century. Remember: We didn't join World War I simply to defeat the Kaiser, or fight World War II only to destroy Hitler, or persevere in the Cold War merely to contain the Soviet Union. In each of these great struggles, we also fought for a positive conception of the peace: Wilson's dream of democratic self determination, Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, Truman's vision of a Europe reunited, with former adversaries transformed into partners and allies. In just the same way, it is not enough

that we have defeated Mr. Milosevic. We have not finished the job until we have built the peace.

We cannot do that one Balkan province, one Balkan country, one Balkan crisis at a time. It is going to require the transformation of the entire region, through deeper democracy, economic development, investment and trade. It will require the nations of the region to take the initiative and plan together for a shared future, just as the beneficiaries of the Marshall Plan did 50 years ago. The European Union must and will take the lead in this effort. Fair burden sharing is only right. But abdicating our responsibility would be wrong. For we have a national interest in the peace and stability of Europe. And the costliest peace is cheaper than the cheapest war. Go look at the American graves at Normandy and Belleau Wood and you'll know exactly what I mean.

Last week, I joined my fellow European leaders in Sarajevo for a conference on the future of the Balkans. It was not like the Balkan conferences of the 19th century, where powerful nations got together to decide the fate of the weak. All the region's democracies were at the table. And we were not there to rearrange the borders of the Balkans, but to promote the integration of the region within a Europe where borders unite rather than divide.

Many people understandably ask if Kosovo can truly remain a part of Serbia after all it's been through. We can resolve that dilemma if we can answer "yes" to a more ambitious question: can a democratic Kosovo and a democratic Serbia become part of something larger – can they become part of the same community that helped France and Germany overcome their hostility after World War II, the same community that is helping Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic rejoin the European mainstream today?

As I have advocated from the beginning of my Presidency, that community, embodied by the European Union and NATO, needs to expand steadily and reliably, so the future of the people in the region is within sight. In the meantime, Kosovo will need to be protected. And the people of

Serbia will need to decide: Do they want Europe to come together with them or without them? Are they ready to rid themselves of a leadership that has ruined their country and of the culture of denial that sustains it?

In the last few weeks, we have seen more and more Serbs – ordinary citizens, former soldiers, political and religious leaders -- start organizing for a better future, as they learn more about the crimes committed in their name, as they see the price they have paid for the folly of their leaders, as they realize that they could have kept Kosovo without inviting a single NATO bomb to fall on their country. We have heard the Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church call for the resignation of Mr. Milosevic – not, as he put it, because Milosevic “lost the war, but because he began the war.” Our vision will remain unfulfilled until the people of Serbia have also won and Mr. Milosevic is gone from power – and better yet, gone to face his accusers in the Hague. I believe the question now is not whether this will happen, but when.

The **second** opportunity before us is to complete the transformation we have begun of NATO into a 21st century alliance that meets the challenges of the next 50 years.

After the Warsaw Pact collapsed, many people wondered if we still needed NATO. I believed we needed it more than ever: to preserve the bond between America and Europe, to unite Europe across its Cold War divide, to deter future threats to our security when possible and to marshal support against them when necessary. The alliance you see in action in Kosovo today is the alliance we envisioned at our NATO summit in 1994: an alliance with new members, new partners, new missions. In Kosovo, the new NATO passed its greatest test.

I was sure we would prevail in Kosovo after the NATO summit in Washington. We came together as individual leaders who had decided NATO must act. We left as an alliance of leaders who knew NATO must not fail. Mr. Milosevic gambled that Balkan strife again would divide

Europe, that he could break our unity and our will, intimidate NATO's partners and open a gap between us and Russia. He lost every bet he made. And that in itself sent a powerful message to our friends and future adversaries in the Balkans, in Europe and around the world.

What is the future of NATO after Kosovo? NATO will of course be heavily engaged in the Balkans, because that is where the greatest current threat to the stability of Europe must be met. But its primary task will remain what it has always been: deterrence. Our planning and that of our allies must continue to reflect that imperative.

In the coming years, NATO must remain the bedrock of transatlantic security. In the wake of the conflict, our European allies wish to assume greater responsibilities within NATO. We think they should. And Kosovo has made Europeans more aware of the need to match those new responsibilities with stronger military capabilities. But if we were ever to delink the security of Europe from the security of America, it would be a triumph for the enemies of freedom. I hope that is a lesson we do not learn in Europe or in this country.

Finally, NATO will remain an expanding alliance. We could not have done what we did in Kosovo without the support of our new allies and partners in central and southeastern Europe. At great risk, they opened their territory to our forces and their skies to our aircraft. They stopped military supplies from moving to Serbia and took heavy economic losses to support NATO. They have responded to the promise of a larger NATO and we must keep that promise.

The third opportunity before us is to repair the strains and build the future of our relationship with Russia. Keeping that opportunity alive was one of our major challenges as we pursued our strategy in Kosovo.

There are those who say our relationship with Russia is so important that we should not have

jeopardized it over a tiny province in the Balkans. But letting ethnic cleansing in Kosovo rage would have done nothing to advance our relations with Russia – on the contrary, it would have left in place a source of continuing tension. Ending the violence and building the basis for lasting peace in the region may have increased that friction in the short run, but has given us an opportunity in the long run to strengthen our ties.

Others say that on the contrary, winning in Kosovo was so important we should not have involved Russia at all. But we are better off for having done so. We achieved our goals more quickly: when Russia's envoy Victor Chernomyrdyn joined Finnish President Ahtisaari in Belgrade, Mr. Milosevic finally understood he had no place to hide. And the presence of Russian troops serving alongside NATO will make our peacekeeping forces more, not less, effective in building a multi-ethnic Kosovo, without undermining our unity of command.

The simple fact is we do not face a choice between pursuing our interest in a constructive partnership with a democratic Russia, and our interest in a peaceful, undivided Europe. Kosovo proves that we must do both – and that we can do both.

Since the conflict ended, we have already begun to refocus on our common interests: promoting Russia's integration with the global mainstream . . . beginning discussions later this year on a START III treaty, even as we work to get START II ratified and preserve the ABM treaty . . . safeguarding Russia's nuclear technology and expertise.

There is a fourth opportunity that I have spoken about several times since NATO prevailed in Kosovo. Our victory has given vitality to a principle I hope will be observed in the future: When governments single out an entire people for destruction or displacement because of their ethnic heritage or religious faith and we can do something about it or help others do so, then we should and we will, in a way that takes both our interests and our values into account. I want to

Speak with you about this in greater detail because I recognize that it raises difficult questions. When and where should America act in these cases? Why? Just as important, how should we act? For as I suggested earlier, not every human tragedy can be resolved the way Kosovo was resolved, and we will often have choices that lie between doing nothing and going to war.

Let me first stress that I am not expressing merely an American value or American hope. In Kosovo, it was embraced by a remarkable international coalition, backed by international institutions. The UN Security Council repeatedly noted that what the Serbian forces were doing in Kosovo was unacceptable, and that the international community had a legitimate interest in seeing it end. UN Secretary-General Annan spoke for us all when he said during the crisis that ethnic cleansers and mass murderers will find no refuge in the United Nations, no source of comfort or justification in its Charter. And nineteen democracies united in NATO stood up to say that some crimes are so great that they threaten our common humanity and our common interests. And when they do, it becomes the business of humanity to oppose them.

What is it that nations are uniting against, and why? As we think about that, we need to keep in mind the distinction between ethnic hatred, ethnic conflict and ethnic cleansing.

Ethnic and religious differences are unfortunately all around us, fueling much of the conflict we see within and among nations today. How such differences are resolved will help decide the future of some of the most important countries and regions in the world. They are therefore of great concern to American foreign policy.

But while these conflicts are often accompanied by brutality, they do not all rise to the level of ethnic cleansing and genocide. We cannot, should not, right every wrong, or resolve every ethnic dispute, or rearrange every border to the satisfaction of aggrieved communities. We do not have the power or right to do that, and neither the American people nor the world's people would

tolerate it if we tried. What we can and must do is promote democracy and human rights, so that peaceful change is possible and minorities have a voice; advance economic development so the forces of integration win their contest with the forces of disintegration; support regional institutions so that nations can come together to find local solutions to local problems.

But in Kosovo, we faced something more than an outbreak of ethnic violence. We acted not just to stop people from hating or killing each other but to stop a government from ridding an entire people from their land, dead or alive. We did it to stop a campaign of mass expulsion that summoned the most savage memories of this bloodiest of all centuries in human history.

In the 20th century, these campaigns have had basically one of two causes. The first has been totalitarianism, a system of tyranny based on terror that labeled whole classes of people political enemies and systematically destroyed them. We saw this happen last during the killing fields in Cambodia. The second cause of genocide has been ethnic and religious hate, manipulated by leaders to expand their power. Ironically, it is this oldest demon of human society that haunts us today, more than the modern totalitarian nightmare George Orwell envisioned when he wrote 1984 – the vision people once thought would dominate our future.

How do we explain the persistence and blindness of this hatred? What could bring young Serbian policemen to force young Albanians to beat their fathers and uncles and grandfathers in prison and then watch them die? What could bring them to videotape their atrocities, as some reportedly did? How could the unthinkable so quickly become so normal? How do we explain neighbors turning on neighbors in the frenzy of killing in Rwanda in 1994? Maybe the name the killers gave to that campaign gives us a clue: they called it “the insecticide.”

Genocide and ethnic cleansing are not natural disasters; they are the product of organized campaigns that follow a pattern: people are taught to look down on others; then they are taught

to dehumanize them; then they are taught to kill them. This can only be accomplished on a massive scale by leaders and by governments, using the tools of propaganda and repression they possess, usually to advance or preserve their power. In these cases, victims and refugees are not just the byproduct of violence; the violence is designed to create victims and refugees. In the course of my administration this happened in Rwanda, where we were not organized to act in time. It happened in Bosnia, where we stopped it, though it took four years. And it happened in Kosovo, where we stopped it in 79 days.

How should a respond to such tragedies in the future?

It is neither possible nor wise for America to have rigid criteria for intervening in such humanitarian crises around the world; the only way to be perfectly consistent is never to act at all. But surely, when we're faced with a deliberate, organized campaign to erase the history, the culture, the very existence of a people from their land and we can stop it, then we ought to work with others to try. We should do so because we don't want our children to grow up in a world where whole peoples can be hauled off to the slaughter or sent into exile just because of who they are. We should do so because left unresolved such tragedies threaten our national interests: They launch cycles of anger and revenge that throw whole regions into chronic turmoil, overwhelm the world's ability to help the innocent and inevitably lead to future wars.

When we do act, military action will not always be the sensible course. We should use whatever means are appropriate to the place and time we act, from economic pressure to force, from direct action to support for the actions of others. The way we act must depend first of all on our capacity to act. For we cannot project our influence and our power in the same way at the same time in every part of the world. It must depend on the willingness of others to act with us. For we cannot bear this burden alone -- and the standards we would like the world to observe will be widely accepted only if they are widely championed. How we act must also depend on the

[other] national interests at stake in each case. We must always weigh the consequences of our actions for our security and that of our friends and allies. In Kosovo, we took each of these considerations into account.

Hopefully, with progress in the Balkans we will not have to confront ethnic cleansing again in Europe. The greatest test may lie in Africa: in the Great Lakes region, where forces responsible for the Rwandan genocide are still active . . . in Sudan, where the government has singled out ethnic opponents for starvation and displacement, and perhaps elsewhere.

Have we applied a double standard in our response to ethnic cleansing in Africa? In retrospect we should have done more and done it sooner in Rwanda. Let's also recognize that there are distinctions. In Kosovo, we had forces forward deployed, an alliance willing and able to act, and a conventional opponent susceptible to massive military pressure from the air. In Africa, our forces are not present in large numbers; Africa's regional institutions are not well developed and NATO is not a global institution. Conflicts there are often waged by small units in isolated terrain where overwhelming force by outsiders is hardly the right response.

But these differences are no excuse for indifference. Ethnic cleansing and genocide in Africa is not merely an African problem, any more than Kosovo was purely a European problem. And even if military action by the United States is not always be the right course, inaction is never right. We can't just turn away, or say "we don't have a dog in those fights" or limit ourselves to the care and feeding of refugees. We need to be willing to help African nations organize themselves to respond, and to provide effective support when they do.

In the last few years, African countries have made it clear that they want to take the lead in quelling violence on their continent. Their efforts have led to the end of the war in Liberia, and to peace agreements in Sierra Leone [and in Congo]. To support them, we launched the African

Crisis Response Initiative, which has trained more than 4,000 troops in peacekeeping battalions from six African countries. We are establishing the International Coalition Against Genocide, which has the potential to bring together governments in Africa and around the world willing to stop the flow of arms and money to those who commit genocide. We have worked to strengthen legal and judicial institutions in Africa's Great Lakes region.

But we can and should do more. We should work with our partners in Africa and around the world to ensure that those who commit genocide and destabilize whole societies cannot sell their natural resources, or purchase arms on the international market, or hide their money in foreign bank accounts, or find sanctuary across borders. If we want the peace agreements in [Congo] and Sierra Leone to endure, we have to provide more resources to regional peacekeeping efforts by African countries, as I have repeatedly asked the Congress to do. We should consider training African forces not just for peacekeeping but for peace enforcement, so they can intervene to stop wars and save lives. And when African forces are willing to act in this way, we should be willing to provide tangible support so they can move quickly and prevail in time.

These are not short term fixes. But they do allow us to avoid both the heartlessness of doing nothing and the callousness of empty promises we cannot keep. If we stay with them, humanity will have a stronger capacity to prevent ethnic cleansing and genocide. And if God forbid another Rwanda happens, the world will be able to move more quickly to end it.

None of this will be easy – not our effort to bring peace to the most troubled regions of the world, or to build a Europe whole and free, or to keep our alliances strong, or to realize the promise of a partnership with a securely democratic Russia. And there are many other challenges to our security we must meet, from the spread of deadly weapons to the potential for dangerous regional wars. But our most enduring interests and values are riding on the choices we make in pursuit of these goals. What kind of country will America be in the coming century?

What role are we going to play in the world? What kind of world are our children going to inherit. What will they say of us, a generation from now?

They will say America did the right thing in Kosovo. I am confident of that. But will they also say we settled for the easy satisfaction of victory, letting the larger prize of a safer, better world slip away? Or will they say that we fought and followed through, so that we would not have to fight again? That is the choice we face now, after Kosovo.

X days ago, I went to a refugee camp in Macedonia. I wish every American could have been there to hear those children chanting USA, USA, knowing that we have given them a chance to reclaim their lives on their native land. These people had been through hell, they had stared in the eye the very worst of what human beings are capable of. But they did not give up hope, because they believed that the world's most powerful country and its greatest alliance would continue to stand for human dignity and human freedom.

I want to make sure that 20 years from now, 50 years from now, 100 years from now, people still say that about America and the nations that share our values and responsibilities in the world. For that is our greatest source of strength. And it is the greatest hope we have of shaping a new century that is better than the last, a century in which our desire to create overwhelms our capacity to destroy, and humanity finally lives up to its name.

Pledging a 'Clinton Doctrine' for Foreign Policy Creates Concerns for Adversaries and Allies Alike

By BOB DAVIS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—During his two recent trips through Europe, President Clinton has propounded a Clinton Doctrine of military intervention that amounts to the following: Tyrants beware.

"If somebody comes after innocent civilians and tries to kill them en masse because of their race, their ethnic background or their religion," Mr. Clinton told North Atlantic Treaty Organization troops in Macedonia in June, "and it's within our power to stop it, we will stop it."

But the Russians and some European allies worry that Mr. Clinton is pledging to deputize the U.S. military as a global cop. Meanwhile, critics at home deride Mr. Clinton's ideas as mushy-headed idealism. "It's foreign policy as social work," says Sen. John McCain, an Arizona Republican running for the Republican presidential nomination.

Now Mr. Clinton's advisers are trying to stifle their swagger. They are preparing a presidential speech for the fall in which Mr. Clinton will more precisely define his views—and make clear the limits to U.S. intervention. National Security Adviser Samuel Berger says that the U.S. generally won't dispatch jets to protect ethnic groups under siege unless it can line up allied support and make sure military action would be effective.

He cautions against thinking that Kosovo will become the paradigm for U.S. action. "One needs to be cautious about proclaiming doctrines," Mr. Berger says. "Foreign policy by metaphor often gets you into trouble."

But others warn that placing too many restrictions on intervention can make a doctrine useless.

Doctrines Are a U.S. Staple

Doctrines have been a staple of U.S. foreign policy since 1823 when President Monroe promised to fight European nations that attempted "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere." Doctrines put adversaries—and allies—on notice as to when the U.S. would use military force. They also help give coherence to U.S. foreign policy, which often seems to lurch in different directions from president to president.

After the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, former Carter National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski says he studied the Truman Doctrine for ideas on how to respond. In 1947, President Truman committed the U.S. to support Greece and Turkey and contain the Soviet Union; in his 1980 State of the Union address, President Carter made a similar commitment to keep the Persian Gulf free of Soviet influence. Subsequent administrations have adopted the Carter Doctrine.

"If doctrines capture the essence of a challenge and formulate a response that is geostrategically coherent, they have a lasting effect," Mr. Brzezinski says.

Similarly, a Clinton Doctrine will have substantial effect on Mr. Clinton's successor. If anything, Vice President Al Gore was more of a hawk on intervening in Bosnia than Mr. Clinton, say his advisers. And if Texas Gov. George W. Bush is

American Doctrines

Presidential foreign-policy principles

■ MONROE DOCTRINE

Oppose European attempts to gain influence in the Americas.

■ TRUMAN DOCTRINE

Defend Greece and Turkey; contain the Soviet Union in Europe.

■ EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

Extend Soviet containment to the Middle East.

■ NIXON DOCTRINE

Use such regional surrogates as Japan, Iran and South Africa to oppose communist influence.

■ CARTER DOCTRINE

U.S. would go to war, if necessary, to protect the Persian Gulf.

■ REAGAN DOCTRINE

Roll back Soviet gains in the Third World.

elected president, he would pay attention, too.

"For the credibility of the United States, we don't simply throw out pronouncements of presidents when we change office," says Stanford University professor Condoleezza Rice, Mr. Bush's top foreign-policy adviser. "A successor isn't necessarily bound by all the details, but it will have an effect."

Not Formally Declared

Mr. Clinton hasn't yet formally declared a Clinton Doctrine. Rather, it has emerged through a series of statements he has made in the flush of victory in Kosovo. The elements include a wide-ranging commitment to multiethnic democracy and a pledge to stop ethnic violence wherever possible.

During his talks in Europe in June and July, Mr. Clinton regretted that the U.S. acted too slowly to stop ethnic slaughter in Bosnia and did nothing to halt genocide in Rwanda. "We should not countenance genocide or ethnic cleansing anywhere in the world if we have the power to stop it," he told a Russian television interviewer at a conference in Cologne, Germany.

The message has come through loud and clear abroad. Thousands of people waited for hours in late June during a downpour to hear Mr. Clinton speak in Ljubljana, Slovenia, which had successfully fought a war to break away from Yugoslavia.

"If Slovenia were in the same position as Kosovo, we'd be glad that NATO would help us," said Irena Pungelcic, a teacher who huddled under an umbrella to greet Mr. Clinton.

But Mr. Clinton's open-ended embrace of humanitarian intervention has worried foreign-policy experts inside the administration and out. "We don't want to give the impression of making empty promises," says Mr. Berger, the Clinton national security adviser.

During an interview, Mr. Berger lays

out some of the conditions that would have to be met for the U.S. to intervene in ethnic bloodshed. Most important, he says, a U.S. national interest must be involved. Kosovo wasn't simply a case of ethnic cleansing, which happens in dozens of countries around the world. It involved bolstering the credibility of NATO and making sure Kosovar refugees didn't overwhelm neighboring countries.

Without U.S. intervention, "would Albania still exist as anything that appears to be a state? Would Macedonia still exist?" Mr. Berger asks. The killings in Kosovo "risked a regional implosion and wider war."

The U.S. also must be able to corral allies willing to intervene, which would necessarily reduce the number of places the U.S. will act militarily. Without allied support, Mr. Berger says, he would have opposed bombing Kosovo. "Moving that [NATO] alliance to act is a Herculean undertaking, which would happen only in the most egregious circumstances."

Lastly, military action must be able to make a difference. "There certainly was mass killings in Cambodia. Lord knows the world should have done more about it," he says. "But I don't think American military force would have been usable."

Applying those criteria—national interest, allied support, military effectiveness—would have ruled out intervening in the civil war in Sierra Leone, he says, and would have suggested only limited action in Rwanda to create safe havens for beleaguered tribes. "The U.S. doesn't have the capability or the consensus, or the responsibility, to come to the aid of every people in trouble," Mr. Berger says—a far different message from Mr. Clinton's triumphal promise to aid people threatened by ethnic warfare.

Qualifiers Can Stall Action

Indeed, Richard Haass, director of foreign-policy studies at the Brookings Institution, warns that the administration may come up with so many qualifiers to the Clinton Doctrine that it will become meaningless. After the U.S. withdrew from Somalia in 1993 when 18 U.S. Rangers were killed, the administration released a policy document to guide future peace-keeping operations. It had so many requirements, says Mr. Haass, that it was a guide for inaction.

"If Clinton articulates a policy with a lot of conditions," he says, "rather than a guide for intervention, it can be a guide for nonintervention."

For now, though, besieged people hear only Mr. Clinton's soaring rhetoric. Two weeks ago, Bishop Artemije of Kosovo, an opponent of Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic, sat in the galleries of a conference hall in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, as President Clinton and European leaders met to discuss the future of the Balkans.

Serbs are being killed, Bishop Artemije said, and the U.S. isn't doing enough to stop it. Doesn't the Clinton Doctrine apply to threatened Serbs as well? "If the international community really wants south-east Europe to be integrated into European organizations," he says, "they must do everything to stop the violence in Kosovo."

Carl Whillock
2905 28th Street NW
Washington, DC 20008

Don Richardson
3507 Springland Lane NW
Washington, DC 20008

August 13, 1999

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

8-18-99

8/18
1. *cancel*
2. *800*
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Dear Mr. President:

As friends and fellow Arkansians, we like to take the opportunity to express our personal attention, but it is very

To Burkhardt for reply?
Yes ☒ *No* ☐
b.

important to us and we would like to have a long-lasting impact on the environment for a few moments of your time.

1. An additional \$300 million for the Conservation Service (NRCS) field-level assistance to:

the Natural Resources Conservation Service represents

- Clean Water Action
- Wetland protection
- Air quality and global climate change

The original vision of President Franklin Roosevelt was that NRCS would work as partners with state and local soil and water conservation agencies. The federal government is not meeting that responsibility with current funding, making implementation of key initiatives difficult. An increase of \$300 million would ensure that the NRCS has the technical tools and resources needed to assist local efforts in every Conservation District in the country and achieve national conservation goals.

2. An additional \$35 million for Resource Conservation and Conservation Development (RC&D) for a total of \$69.5 million. We know you are very familiar with the good work of RC&D councils from when you were Governor. It was through your leadership that Arkansas was the first state to be totally covered by RC&D councils and the rural fire protection program was started. The additional \$35 million will allow for the full funding and authorization of all 450 RC&D councils as originally proposed by President Kennedy to cover the whole United States. There are currently approximately 350 councils authorized. By authorizing the last 100 councils and funding them all at the \$125,000 level you can complete the dream begun by President Kennedy in 1962 and leave an enduring legacy for the Clinton administration across the countryside.
3. Remove the Section 11 cap from the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) Charter Act to assure the availability of CCC funds for transfer and reimbursement of technical assistance including the development of conservation plans and implementation of conservation practices.

These three things will leave an indelible mark on the landscape of the 80% of the nation held in private hands. Should you have questions about any of the items we would be glad to answer them or provide further information.

Sincerely,

Carl Whillock
Carl Whillock

Don Richardson
Don Richardson

P.S. James Jordan of Monticello and Judge Catlett of Monroe County are strong supporters of Item 2 above.
You are doing a great job. Keep it up. Carl

Carl Whillock
2905 28th Street NW
Washington, DC 20008

Don Richardson
3507 Springland Lane NW
Washington, DC 20008

✓ 8/18
1. Carl Whillock
2. Don Richardson

August 13, 1999

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

'99 AUG 18 PM 3:20

Dear Mr. President:

As friends and fellow Arkansans, the legacy of your administration is very important to us and we would like to take the opportunity to tell you of the chance to have a far-reaching, long-lasting impact on the conservation of private lands in this nation. The three items each need only a few moments of your personal attention, but it is very important that they be included in your 2001 budget.

1. An additional \$300 million for the Conservation Operations Account of the Natural Resources Conservation Service (NRCS) for a total of \$941 million. Conservation Operations funding represents field-level assistance to farmers on priority administration issues-

- Clean Water Action Plan
- Wetland protection
- Air quality and global climate change

The original vision of President Franklin Roosevelt was that NRCS would work as partners with state and local soil and water conservation agencies. The federal government is not meeting that responsibility with current funding, making implementation of key initiatives difficult. An increase of \$300 million would ensure that the NRCS has the technical tools and resources needed to assist local efforts in every Conservation District in the country and achieve national conservation goals.

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Sincerely,

Carl Whillock
Carl Whillock

Don Richardson
Don Richardson

P.S. James Jordan of Monticello and Judge Catlett of Monroe County are strong supporters of Item 2 above.
You are doing a great job. Keep it up. C. V.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-18-99

Sandy
Amazing!
I had a thriller
on this very thing
a couple of years ago
PS

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8-18-99

A Breed Apart A Long-Ago Effort To Better the Species Yields Ordinary Folks

Pioneer Fund Tried to Spread
'Natural Endowments'
Of Top Air Force Fliers
'Sound and Desirable Stock'

By DOUGLAS A. BLACKMON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WARE, Mass. — Tomorrow, Ward and Darby Warburton, twin brothers born on Aug. 18, 1940, will celebrate their 59th birthdays with cake and a crowd of grandchildren gathered at the home of their 86-year-old mother near this picturesque New England mill town.

The brothers' shared birthday marks something more than another milestone in the lives of two World War II-era babies. It also marks the start of their involvement in an odd experiment six decades ago of which the Warburton family was a mostly unwitting subject.

Long before cloned sheep, egg donors and sperm banks, a group of wealthy Northeastern conservatives embarked on an experiment with the help of the U.S. Army Air Corps to find a way to improve the human race. The group, formed in 1937, called itself the Pioneer Fund. As is spelled out in hundreds of pages of documents and letters by its founders and their associates, the Pioneer Fund, alarmed by the declining U.S. birth rate and rising immigration, was at the forefront of the eugenics movement. Like many other prominent leaders of the time, the fund's directors were particularly concerned that "superior" Americans were not reproducing enough to pass on their "natural endowments."

So they set out to spur procreation among a group they regarded as superior indeed — military pilots and their crews. With the support of Franklin D. Roosevelt's secretary of war, Harry H. Woodring, the group offered \$4,000, about \$46,000 in today's dollars, for the education of additional children born during the year 1940 to any officer who already had at least three offspring.

The Air Corps — precursor to the U.S. Air Force — promoted the program and provided the fund's psychologists extensive records on its officers, including training, parentage, race and religion, according to various memos and letters written among Pioneer Fund leaders and records of the experiment. By the end of 1940, a dozen qualifying infants — seven boys and five girls, including two sets of twins — had been born. The Pioneer Fund had expected bigger numbers. Looming war clouds seemed to have trumped the fund's financial incentives. The Pioneer Fund quietly made arrangements for the children to receive their scholarships, and never contacted the families again.

The Pioneer Fund, which today remains a controversial funder of research into the roots of intelligence, says the 1940 effort was a legitimate experiment to gauge attitudes toward family size, and nothing more. The Air Force declines to comment.

But how did the kids turn out?

The Wall Street Journal was able to track down eight of the 12 born in 1940.



Darby Warburton



Ward Warburton

One died as an infant. But the other seven grew up to be moderately successful citizens. Some didn't know the background behind the payments received long ago and were vaguely troubled to learn the details. Among the seven children who survived into adulthood, there are no ranking generals and no war heroes. No criminals, either.

"My dad told me they were trying to create more fighting men," jokes Ward Warburton. "Well, I did get into a lot of fights coming up. And I could always take care of myself pretty well."

Today, the Warburton brothers are air-conditioning repairmen, each with his own successful small business here in Ware, a town of 10,000 about 25 miles from Springfield, Mass.

"I doubt we're superior," says John F. Rawlings, an affable Seattle home-builder, whose father became one of the first four-star generals in the Air Force and later the chairman of General Mills Inc. The younger Mr. Rawlings joined the Air Force but was too nearsighted to fly. He says he inherited the bad eyes from his mother.

The stories of the Pioneer Fund children and the largely routine lives they have led underscore the naivete of such a clumsy effort to sculpt the human race. But they also are reminders of sinister racial assumptions prevalent in mainstream America just a generation ago.

All officers in the Air Corps were white; African-Americans were barred from the Air Corps until 1941, and even then were shunted into all-black squadrons. Many early genetic researchers believed that race-mixing would damage the white race's "germ plasma" — a human component that early scientists believed carried a race's hereditary traits. Leaders in Nazi Germany fervently embraced such eugenic theories.

The pilot procreation plan was endorsed by an array of high-ranking military and political leaders, including Mr. Woodring, one of President Roosevelt's top aides. Moreover, many U.S. states had laws in that era authorizing the sterilization of mentally retarded people. Conventional wisdom held that whites almost certainly were born smarter than blacks.

"Hitler thought that, too," says Michael Skeldon, another of the Pioneer Fund children. Now a supervisor at a San Antonio air-conditioner factory, Mr. Skeldon was troubled to learn what was behind the mysterious payments his family received long ago. "I find real odd this Pioneer group trying to mold people."

As it turns out, creating a better race was more complicated than the Pioneer Fund and its allies thought back in 1938. John C. Flanagan, a young researcher who became one of the most famous behavioral psychologists in the U.S. in the ensuing 50 years, supervised the 1940 experiment. (He died in 1996.) Nonetheless, scientists today say the test was fundamentally flawed; subsequent scholarship has shown that highly successful parents don't necessarily give birth to highly successful children. And indeed, counter to the hopes of the Pioneer Fund's directors in 1940, the lives led by the children born that year bear out precisely that idea.

The project was launched in the spring of 1937. Frederick Osborn, secretary of the Pioneer Fund and a leading proponent of racial eugenics, met at least twice with Mr. Woodring; the secretary of war encouraged the project and hooked the fund up with top military leaders, including famed aviation commander Gen. H.H. "Hap" Arnold. "Secretary Woodring is really interested," Mr. Osborn wrote to other fund directors in May 1937. A few months later, Gen. Arnold gave the fund's experiment the green light.

At the time, the fund was new, created just months earlier with a promise of financial support from its principal founder, Wildilfe Preston Draper, heir to a Massachusetts manufacturing fortune. Mr. Draper, who died in 1972, and his support for southern segregationists were the subject of a front-page article in The Wall Street Journal on June 11.

The choice of pilots and their crews was logical enough. Military aviators were the astronauts of their day. Charles Lindbergh's heroic 1927 crossing of the Atlantic was a fresh memory. Moreover, Mr. Draper was a veteran of World War I and an admirer of military officers. He used the title "colonel" most of his adult life. Clearly, avi-

ators were "of sound and desirable stock," a Pioneer Fund memo asserted at the time.

Indeed, many of the fathers of the dozen children born in 1940 were high achievers. Several were among the pioneering military pilots who in the 1920s created what would become the modern U.S. Air Force. During World War II, they rose to distinction as pilots and generals. Later, some excelled as businessmen or teachers. The six who could be identified by the Journal are now dead. None of the parents appear to have known about Mr. Draper's bucking of the Pioneer Fund. Some did know vaguely that the fund sought to breed better humans; they or their children say the parents never shared the fund's racial views. Instead, most appear to have considered the scholarships to be some kind of short-lived government benefit for high-achieving fliers.

To foster replication of such men, the Pioneer Fund first financed a detailed study in 1928 of the attitudes of about 400 Air Corps officers and their wives toward family size. It concluded that financial worry was a major reason why the military men often limited themselves to three children or fewer.

Armed with the results, the Pioneer Fund's board met a few weeks before Christmas 1936 and approved a plan for the scholarship program. The following May, brochures outlining the project were distributed at air bases around the country.

After a qualifying child was born during 1940, the father would fill out a simple application form and mail it in. Once the fund had confirmed the birth of the child and size of its family, an "educational annuity" was established. The families were to begin receiving payments of \$500 a year when the child turned 12 and continue for eight years, for a total of \$4,000.

The whole thing looked dubious to some Air Corps families even then. "We just kind of chuckled about it," says Helen Ryan, an 87-year-old Air Force widow who remembers the program but had no children then and couldn't participate. "We all thought it was kind of a big joke."

Still, a no-strings-attached grant that was bigger than most officers' total annual pay looked good to some. And as winter lifted in 1940, word of new arrivals began trickling into the Pioneer Fund.

Mr. Skeldon was born on March 2, in a military hospital in Panama, where his father was stationed. The son would follow his father's footsteps into the Air Force in the 1960s, but worked as a mechanic, not a pilot. Born to Maj. John J. Morrow was a son named Robert. He's an electrician in Pennsylvania, according to his son. He couldn't be reached.

On Aug. 18, the Warburton boys were delivered at a hospital near Dayton, Ohio. Their father, stationed at a nearby airfield, was one of the Air Corps' most dashing "scout pilots" — the term then used for the men who flew fighter planes.

Two months later, on Oct. 17, came John Rawlings, the fourth child of Edwin Rawlings, a fast-rising officer who had been quietly hoping for a daughter. (He already had three sons.) Less than two weeks later came another set of twins, this time at Barksdale Air Force Base outside Shreveport, La., to John P. Ryan. Mr. Ryan, a future general, developed high-altitude bombing tactics used in the war. A 1943 Pat O'Brien movie, "Bombardier," was based partly on his life. The twins were girls; the first to arrive looked like her mother, Anna, so she was named Anne Marie. Her twin looked like her paternal grandmother, Mary. She became Maryann.

Today, Maryann Russo is a former teacher who for the past 17 years has worked on the factory line in a photo-processing plant in Baltimore, cutting and in-

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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specting thousands of glossy prints. She gave up teaching elementary school because the pupils were too unruly. "The bell doesn't talk back," she notes.

Her sister, now Anne Marie Bricker, is a nurse practitioner in Arizona. His brother, recently divorced, moved this summer from Sedona to Phoenix, abandoning a private practice to work in a clinic. "I want to have more time for doing fun things for myself," she says.

The Warburton babies were certainly good candidates for the Pioneer Fund project. Their father, Ernest K. Warburton, was a young pilot who would soon be Brig. Gen. Warburton and the most famous test pilot of the era, flying more than 400 different allied and captured enemy aircraft. In

1945, he and the airmen under his command were the first U.S. troops to land in Japan after its surrender. Later, he commanded all air operations for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The Warburton family heard about the Pioneer offer after Anna Warburton realized she was carrying twins, her fourth and fifth children, Mrs. Warburton says today. "I remember him coming home all excited about the scholarship, says Mrs. Warburton, now 86. "All we really knew was that it was . . . for the children's education, and it was intended to propagate a superior group."

Ward and Darby grew up in the classic life of military children, moving often between Air Force bases in the U.S. and Europe. Both finished high school and signed up as military reservists, though they never saw active duty.

For more than 30 years, the brothers have kept refrigerators, air conditioners and washing machines running in this bucolic corner of Massachusetts, the family's home territory. Darby works on commercial cooling units. Ward is a jack-of-all appliances repairman. Their other siblings—including two doctors—are scattered from Hawaii to North Carolina.

On a grassy hilltop just outside Ware, Ward lives in a comfortable gray frame house overlooking the small tree-lined lake on which his future wife was skating the first time he saw her. His mother-in-law's home sits across the water from theirs. A collection of used washers and other appliances scavenged for spare parts protrudes from the woods behind the house.

Before venturing out a decade ago to start repairing appliances in his garage, Mr. Warburton was a fix-it man for Sears,

Roebuck & Co. for 28 years. "I loved the job," he says.

Just down the highway lives Ward's last-remaining twin, Darby, in a rambling white farmhouse. Out of a barn behind the home, Darby runs a two-man commercial air-conditioning service business, which he bought in 1962. He wants to retire next year. So in June, his 26-year-old son, Ernest, started working in the family business with plans to take over.

Ward is a member of Ware Lions Club. Darby is a Rotarian. Darby, who attended the University of Michigan but didn't graduate, is financially the more successful brother. He keeps two vintage Corvettes as hobby cars, driving them to Rotary meetings every week and on other special occasions. Over a recent dinner at the Salem Cross Inn—where Darby maintains the walk-in cooler—the brothers banter about

their decades of mostly friendly competition.

"I try to steal as many of Darby's customers as I can," Ward says. "Darby gets mad when I do."

"I do not get mad," huffs Darby, partly serious.

Darby says he doesn't recall ever knowing anything about the Pioneer Fund program before a reporter contacted the family recently, though his brother and mother insist that he was told. For his part, Ward clearly recalls the day more than 40 years ago that his father told him about the Pioneer Fund plan.

"I was the slow one in the family," says Mr. Warburton, recalling his days as an academically frustrated teenager. "Just kidding around one day . . . to cheer me up, he said, 'Ward, come out of it, you're the master race.'"

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