

Chyon

—

Max Cleland Had a Dream. No Nightmare Could End It.

By Laura Blumenfeld
Washington Post Staff Writer

Life turned out the way Max Cleland planned, pretty much. He sits in his senator's chair, behind his senator's desk, looks out his senator's window at the Capitol, and winks at the half-moon dome.

"I am so blessed," Cleland says. He has a round, open face and attaboy eyes. He flashes a thumb up. It is his left thumb, of course; the left hand and wrist and elbow are what

survived the blast. His right shirt-sleeve is rolled to the biceps, revealing a scarred stub. His suit pants end where his thighs once began. His tie, like all his ties, was knotted by his father. Twenty-nine years ago yesterday, Cleland, a young captain in Vietnam, dropped a grenade, bent down to pick it up, and was blown, literally, to pieces.

But if it is possible to lose three limbs and not have it change your life, that is the story of the freshman Democrat from Georgia. Cleland made up his mind in 1963, on a college semester program in

Washington, sitting in the visitors gallery watching the senators below. He wanted to join those men.

"Your dreams can come true if you continue to believe in them long enough and hard enough and never give up on them," Cleland said in January on the day he was sworn in. Then the 54-year-old senator broke down and cried.

It is a truism that tragedy alters people's goals, for better and for worse. Carolyn McCarthy (D-N.Y.) would likely be a housewife still if a gunman hadn't killed her husband in the Long Island Rail Road mas-

sacre. Bob Dole had set his sights on medical school, until German shrapnel wrecked his hands. What is remarkable about Max Cleland, though, is that he wanted to be a politician, was catastrophically wounded, nearly vomited in disgust the first time he saw himself in the hospital mirror, and yet he kept marching toward his goal.

Maury Cralle, the major who sent Cleland on his final mission, remembers how he felt when he heard about Cleland's loss of limbs: "I remember thinking, 'Geez, it's a

See CLELAND, D2, Col 1

CLELAND, From D1

shame he wasn't just killed. Why would God let somebody like that live?"

Cleland rolls into the Senate chamber, his mouth dry, his tongue waxen, his Mickey Mouse wrist-watch ticking him toward the big moment. The new senator is about to deliver his first floor speech. He woke at 5:30 on this March morning, half an hour before the alarm, the lines of his speech snaking through his mind. The subject is campaign finance reform. He reviewed it while doing his morning's 200 push-ups, pumping his 19-inch left biceps.

Inside the Senate chamber, as Cleland shifts his weight from the wheelchair, easing himself into his Senate seat, a thought washes over him:

How in the world did I get here?

Cleland was a typical small-town wonder, an only child, blond and 6-2, bristling with ambition. Everyone in Lithonia, Ga., knew Max, the kid who played trumpet, who dominated in basketball, who placed second in the statewide tennis tournament and who won the outstanding high school senior award.

He attended Stetson University in Florida, and discovered politics on a semester program at American University, inspired by a visit to John Kennedy's Oval Office. He met Richard Russell, the legendary senator from Georgia, was mesmerized, and began mapping out a political future. Cleland interned for a U.S. congressman and earned a master's degree in American studies. Then, to round out his political résumé, he headed off to war.

Four weeks before the end of his tour of duty in Vietnam, Cleland spotted a grenade lying on a helicopter landing pad. It had fallen off his vest, the safety pin undone. He reached for it with his right hand—knucky fingers, an arm carved with muscles, covered with curly blond hair. A noise threw him backward, he says, a noise that sounded like "sitting inside a tub and someone gonged it."

"My ears rang with a deafening reverberation," he wrote in his autobiography, "Strong at the Broken Places." "When my eyes cleared I looked at my right hand. It was gone. Nothing but a splintered white bone protruded from my shredded elbow."

A thought popped into Cleland's mind: "Just like Senator Inouye."

Then he looked down; his legs were gone, too. And with them, his plans, including the job he had lined up in a congressional campaign. Cleland spent months recovering in Walter Reed Army Medical Center in the "snake pit," the ward for the most serious cases.

"I was obsessed with people's feet," Cleland recalls. "I looked at their shoes, I resented their shoes." He played body-part bingo with the other amputees. "I'd say, Well, what's more valuable: How about a knee? How about a thigh? How about an eye?"

At Walter Reed, Cleland met another captain, John "Nasty Jack" Lawton, who had taken 22 rounds of Chinese automatic rifle fire in his arm, leg and shoulder. One night, Cleland remembers, Nasty Jack sneaked a 14th Street stripper past the hospital guards. She performed a bump-and-grind striptease as the men sang "God Bless America."

"You worry—will my scars turn off girls? Will anyone love you?" says Cleland, who has never married.

On Cleland's first trip out of the hospital, an old girlfriend took him on a romantic stroll past the White House. When they reached the curb, Cleland pitched forward, fell out of the wheelchair, into the gutter of Pennsylvania Avenue. "For several moments I lay in the dirt and cigarette butts, frantically scrambling

about, one-armed and legless, like a fish flopping on a riverbank," Cleland recounts. "I looked up into horrified faces of onlookers frozen in shock."

"It was a traumatic sight to see him for the first time, and it still is for people who meet him the first time," says Bill Daniel, a friend who stood on Cleland's front lawn in Lithonia when the soldier returned in the summer of 1968.

The explanation for his success lies in his character, in his core, if you will, which Cleland figures exists "somewhere between my heart and my gut." It's not what he doesn't have that has made him successful, but what he does have.

At 28, Cleland was elected the youngest state senator ever in Georgia. He served as the head of the Veterans Administration under President Carter and as the secretary of state in Georgia. He is not considered a deep thinker, but his reservoir of popular support is deep.

"Running for office with no legs presented a problem," Cleland wrote, recalling his early races. "Normally, in a state legislative race, much of the campaigning is done on foot. Because I still felt undressed without my limbs, I believed that putting my best foot forward meant some kind of foot—even if it was made of rubber and plastic."

For years he struggled, strapped into artificial limbs, hobbling door-to-door, shaking hands on hot Georgia July afternoons until his stumps turned bloody. Finally, Cleland decided to use a wheelchair.

And so on the day of his maiden Senate speech, Cleland delivers his statement from the back of the chamber. The room has no ramp; four steps separate his seat from the well. No matter. Cleland is content just being there, sitting directly below the gallery where, in 1963, he looked down in awe at Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.). A quote from the book of Isaiah is tucked inside his breast pocket: "Do not be afraid."

Cleland clears his throat. With a hint of irony, he says: "Mr. President, I rise to speak on the floor of the U.S. Senate..."

Afterward, he returns to his desk—a massive slab of wood that was Richard Russell's once—and autographs his speech for a visitor: "Thanks for covering the speech! Max Cleland USS." Just like Russell had autographed a picture for the young Cleland: "USS—United States Senator."

"I'm complete just by being able to sign my name, and put USS after

lucky dice. "How many people in the world can do that?"

The major's hair is gray now, his shoulders are stooped. Maury Cralle stands waiting beneath red, white and blue balloons and a sign taped to the wall: "WE'RE GLAD YOU'RE ALIVE."

Cleland's former commander is the first guest to arrive at the "Max Cleland Alive Day" party. Every year, on the anniversary of the grenade accident, Cleland celebrates. This year, his staff planned a surprise.

"What is this—a pirate convention?" Nasty Jack Lawton jokes as two fellow disabled veterans enter the Senate office wearing eye patches. "Get these two one-eyed guys together and we'll make a pair of eyes," Lawton says, as they assemble for the surprise.

"Aw!" Cleland guffaws, as he wheels into the room. "You guys sicked me!"

They trade war stories, and recovery stories, and the story of the loose grenade.

"I thought you were dead," Cralle says.

"A lot of us thought you were dead," someone echoes.

Cralle holds Cleland by both cheeks, leans over and whispers something in his ear.

"Hey! I love you, too!" Cleland booms.

He rolls over to cut his cake, chocolate frosted with green lettered icing that says "Happy Alive Day Max!"

Cleland looses one of his big belly laughs.

"Life is good," he says.

FOR MORE INFORMATION
To read a short biography of Max Cleland from Roll Call Online, click on the above symbol on the front page of The Post's Web site at www.washingtonpost.com

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-10-97

See Do a
mini lobby
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for

JIM DORSKIND:
Chris Walker
Please coordinate
the reply.

Copy sent to
Bowles

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1997

ACTION

'97 APR 9 PM 1:31

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL BERGER
JOHN HILLEY

SUBJECT:

Letters to Senators Coats et al. regarding Romania

Purpose

To respond to a letter from Senator Coats and co-signed by 19 colleagues.

Background

Senator Coats and colleagues recommended that you invite Romanian President Constantinescu to the United States for a visit to show support for Romania's advances in democratic and free-market reform, since Constantinescu's election last fall. Your response is at Tab A.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letters to Senators Coats et al.

Tab B Incoming correspondence

Copied
Berger
Hilley
COS
Scheuch

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

TAB A

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Coats:

Thank you for your letter commending Romania's advances in democratic and free-market reform since the election last fall of President Constantinescu.

I share your view that President Constantinescu and Romania's new government have been both aggressive and courageous in confronting the country's problems. In addition to launching fast-track market reforms and nurturing inter-ethnic relations, Romania has rapidly improved ties with Hungary and is working toward conclusion of a major treaty with Ukraine. This has benefited the people of Romania and contributed considerably to regional harmony and security.

There seems to exist in Romania a strong consensus in support of that country's place in an integrated Europe. In fact, the prospect of entry into the Western democratic family and its institutions has been a powerful incentive for Romania to deepen its reforms and improve ties with its neighbors. President Constantinescu faces a great many challenges, especially in stabilizing and reforming the economy. As Vice President Gore told him during their meeting at the December OSCE Summit in Lisbon, the United States wants to support Romania's efforts in these directions.

Given Romania's recent achievements, I agree with you that it is very appropriate for the United States to openly encourage Romania's continued reform. I have asked my schedulers to keep in mind your suggestion that we invite President Constantinescu to visit Washington as they develop my long-term schedule. I welcome your support for Romania's integration with an undivided and secure Europe, a process that will advance the interests of the United States.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", written in a cursive style.

The Honorable Dan Coats
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-1403

TAB B

2149

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

March 14, 1997

MAR 26 PM12:35

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

On November 17, 1996, 87 percent of the Romanian people went to the polls and elected Emil Constantinescu as their new President with 55.5 percent of the vote. The third presidential election since the overthrow of the brutal communist dictator Ceaucescu revealed a strong desire by the people for real change in Romania. The opposition Democratic Convention, a coalition of center-right parties, showed great appeal among the Romanian people. Not only did they choose their President from this coalition, but they also sent a majority of Democratic Convention members to the Parliament.

President Constantinescu has pledged his commitment to economic reform, privatization, and free market principles critically needed to bring prosperity to Romania. The government needs to adopt policies which will bring greater foreign investment to Romania. President Constantinescu has indicated his intention to follow through on these pledges.

President Constantinescu has also shown a remarkable spirit of cooperation. Even before the election, he reached out to all the citizens of Romania, including ethnic minorities, and has publicly indicated his desire to seek reconciliation among all the people of Romania. He has named several members of the Hungarian party to his cabinet and to other government posts. His actions further bolster relations with Hungary on top of the treaty of cooperation signed last year between Romania and Hungary which specifically raises the rights of ethnic Hungarians.

President William Jefferson Clinton
March 14, 1997
Page two

The changes in Romania are cause for hope. We believe that a strong signal of encouragement should be forthcoming from the United States. Therefore, we urge you to extend an invitation to President Constantinescu to pay a state visit in the near future. Romania is clearly looking to the West for support. A state visit would show our approval of the direction Romania has chosen and encourage that nation along the path of economic reform, development of democratic institutions, and commitment to rule of law and individual liberties.

Sincerely,

Don Coats

Mike Leger

James Hainbuch
John A. Crockett

T. Hutchinson

Beck Kyll

Pat Roberts

John McCain

Jeff Sincars

Carl Bradley Brown

J. L. Linn

John Bremer

Ed Monahan

James Buchanan

Phad Coburn

Richard Shelby

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
Page three

Ed Kennedy

Bob Smith

Bill Frist

Cornie Mack

UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-1403

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

RECEIVED

07 MAR 25 P3:00

37 MAR 25 A10:28

WHITE HOUSE MAIL

37 MAR 25

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500


U.S.S.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 26, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR JOYCE HARMON
ACTING NSC Executive Secretariat

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY }
Legislative Affairs

SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

Attached are copies of letters sent to the President by various Members of Congress. Since these letters address national security issues, we would appreciate your assistance in drafting a response.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please feel free to call Chris Walker at x67500.

The following is a brief description of the letters:

- 1) Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX) and others, concerning conflict resolution in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa;
- 2) Rep. Joe Scarborough (R-FL), concerning international drug trafficking and Mexico;
- 3) Rep. Michael Pappas (R-NJ), concerning conflict resolution in Cyprus;
- 4) Rep. Wayne T. Gilchrest (R-MD), concerning international drug trafficking and Mexico;
- 5) Rep. Nancy L. Johnson (R-CT), concerning NATO expansion; and,
- 6) Sen. Dan Coats (R-IN), concerning President Emil Constantinescu of Romania.

Enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 11, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR LIST

FROM: TODD STERN 

SUBJECT: Presidential Medal of Freedom

Every year around this time my office puts together a list of possible recipients of the Medal of Freedom, which we then submit to the President for his review. We generally submit a list of around 15 names with a view toward ending up with 10 awardees. The awards are made in an East Room ceremony, which has occurred in August or September the past three years, although there is nothing magic about that time; the awards could be made somewhat earlier or later.

This is the highest civilian award the President can bestow and the winners should be people of great distinction. And, of course, who the President chooses says something about his concerns, values, etc. I have attached lists of the Medal winners for the past four years.

If you have any creative ideas for possible awardees, please let me know. I will be getting a brainstorming session together in the near future. Thanks.

To: Don Baer
Sandy Berger
Rahm Emanuel
Jack Gibbons
Elena Kagan
Ron Klain
Ann Lewis
Mike Mccurry
Katie McGinty
Sylvia Mathews
John Podesta
Vicki Radd
Bruce Reed
Chuck Ruff
Doug Sosnik
Gene Sperling
Jim Steinberg
Melanne Verveer
Michael Waldman

cc: Jim Dorskind

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date

4/11/97

To:

Mack McLarty

From:

The Staff Secretary

Any comments / edits?

PAN AMERICAN DAY AND PAN AMERICAN WEEK, 1997

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Each year, we pause to reflect on how the 34 free countries of the Western Hemisphere, through the common thread of democracy, free trade, and mutual respect, are inextricably linked to a shared vision. Dialogue and cooperation will lead to a frontier of new promise that will satisfy the legitimate needs of all our people for a sense of security and progress. This vision can be achieved by continuing our efforts to create a hemispheric free trade area and by working together to uphold democracy, defend human rights, and defeat the scourge of narcotics trafficking.

The citizens of the Americas have made remarkable progress toward the advancement of democratic values and institutions, as well as the creation of integrated markets within which goods may be exchanged freely in a common market of ideas and innovation. Today, every country in our hemisphere -- with one exception -- has made the promise of democracy a reality. These countries have recognized that representative democracy is essential for guaranteeing the basic human rights of their citizens. Through common effort, we can make this gift of freedom a reality for all.

The United States applauds the people of Paraguay for their great accomplishment in resolving last year's constitutional crisis, and we welcome the central role of the Organization of American States in defending democracy in Paraguay. We commend the people and government of Guatemala for their success in forging a comprehensive peace accord, and we encourage the spirit of reconciliation that has firmly taken root throughout Central America. Americans continue to maintain a special consideration for the people of Haiti as they strive to consolidate their new democracy and set the stage for economic

growth. Today, all of us must work together to encourage the one country -- Cuba -- that has not embraced our common purpose to join the community of democracies.

As the united standard bearers of democracy in the Western Hemisphere, we now approach a new century of unprecedented possibilities. Our vision is bold, and our expectations are high. Our cooperative spirit was nurtured through the Summit of the Americas, where we committed ourselves to free trade, representative democracy, relief from poverty, and respect for the environment. We are now collaborating closely with others in the hemisphere to prepare the agenda for the next Summit of the Americas, to be held in Santiago in March 1998. Never before has there been such a window of opportunity to promote a higher standard of living through improved access to quality education and adequate health care. Working together, we can prove that democracy provides the means for improving the daily lives of all the citizens of the Americas.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim Monday, April 14, 1997, as Pan American Day and April 13 through April 19, 1997, as Pan American Week. I urge the Governors of the 50 States, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the officials of other areas under the flag of the United States of America to honor these observances with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this
day of , in the year of our Lord
nineteen hundred and ninety-seven, and of the Independence of
the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-first.

*Andy Burger
The Press. Wash
you to see them
7/8*

Perspective

SUNDAY, MARCH 23, 1997

VIETNAM: An American vet revisits his memories

'DOWNSTAIRS, A TEACHER OPENED THE LOUVERED doors of what we used to call the "war room," where we wrote and edited our daily dispatches. There on the floor lay dozens of tiny

children on mats, having their naps. I took pictures, though I was so moved by the moment that I will be surprised if any of them turn out well.'



Stars and Stripes photo

1969: The war room for Stars and Stripes correspondents...

By Jack Fuller

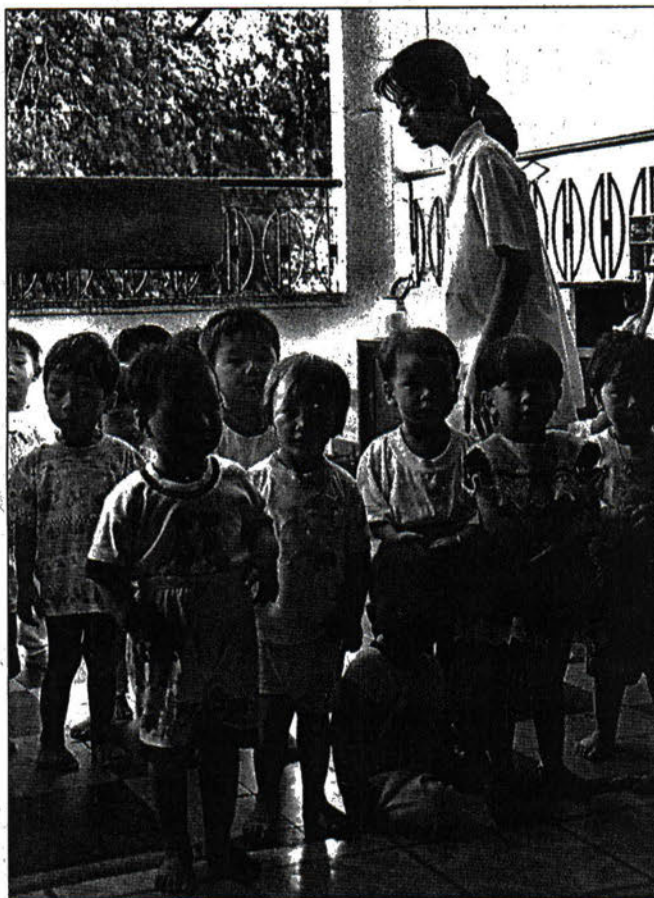
Returning to certain places, no matter how long I once lived there, I feel as though I've only passed through. I spent more than four years working in Washington, for example, but I always return as a tourist. The sights are familiar, but my memories are discrete and factual, like history.

There are other places, though, that hold a deep and personal part of me no matter how briefly I lived there or how long I've been away.

When I recently returned to Saigon—now Ho Chi Minh City—after 27 years, I barely recognized it. History, of course, had intervened forcefully. Amusement parks stood where recollection placed barbed-wired military installations. Tall, modern buildings rose over low, old colonial villas. And yet, though I struggled to orient myself to the city's new, expanding shape, memories rushed back as if I had grown up there. Perhaps because I had.

I arrived in Vietnam in 1969, my first time out of the United States, and left in 1970 after a year as a draftee war correspondent for the GI newspaper, Pacific Stars and Stripes. We had our headquarters in an old stucco villa just outside the Ton Son Nhut airport gate in Saigon, which was convenient because the job took us to all corners of the country.

At the time of my departure the U.S. was slowly withdrawing its troops, having secured an orderly retreat by attacking communist positions in Cambodia and severely disrupting the enemy's supply chain. It was impossible, given what I had seen of the communists' tenacity and the South Vietnamese government's lack of it, to imagine



Tribune photo by Jack Fuller

1997: ... Transformed into a preschool for Vietnamese children.

the war ending without a communist flag over the presidential palace. And upon my return, as I rode down a familiar street, there the flag flew atop the white palace whose sterile design seemed meant to complement the abandoned American Embassy nearby.

Not far away is a military museum full of captured American equipment and dioramas to the glories of communism's victory and the perfidy of its opponents. Yet even under the gruesome photos of the effects of napalm and bombs, everyone at the museum was extremely cordial to me, an American of a certain age, whose eyes undoubtedly gave away the fact

that I remembered the uses of captured grenade launchers, M-16s and artillery pieces now on display.

"Where you from?" people asked. "You here before?" Some told me where they fought—and on which side. The only hostility I felt was when I broke up a sidewalk card game by trying to shoot a photo. An old lady held up her middle finger and said, "Take a picture of this." I had the feeling that she had been a girl among the American soldiers and had reasons other than war to be bitter.

Decades after its reunification, Vietnam still differs dramatically,

SEE VIETNAM, PAGE 4



'In the South, the bustle and clamor overpower any sense of political repression. Yet as I moved northward, I felt subtle changes in the political climate.'

Vietnam

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

south and north. When the sun parches the rice paddies in the South, it rains in the North, and vice versa. The people of the South are more insouciant, those of the North more Spartan. The city that residents continue to call Saigon teems with commerce and invites affection.

The North is more orderly, less economically developed and much less inviting. It is tempting to suggest that though the Americans did not know how to win in Vietnam, the South Vietnamese apparently did.

To come back to Vietnam is to reflect on the last great Cold War paradox. Everywhere on Earth communism is vanquished, except in the countries we fought long wars against to contain it—Vietnam, China and Korea—and in Cuba, where we tried to overcome it by armed invasion.

Yet, though Vietnam is all communist, it has two faces. In the South, I was able to connect my palm-top computer to transmit and receive data by telephone in my hotel. In fact, the hotel directory promised privacy for these transmissions so business could be conducted in confidence.

In Hanoi, the hotel directory explained that the government forbids data transmission. When I tried, the system automatically jammed the signal. In Hanoi's Temple of Literature, a guide explained that several of the better Vietnamese books about the war and the years that followed are banned, but I bought pirated versions easily on the street. In Saigon there is almost no sign of



Tribune photo by Jack Fuller

The former Stars and Stripes office, now a preschool in Saigon: "As I left I found myself closer to tears than I had ever permitted myself to come in a year of war and violence 27 years ago . . ."

police, but police and military are everywhere in the North.

In the South, the bustle and clamor overpower any sense of political repression. I could not help being deeply gladdened to see people apparently doing so well. Yet as I moved northward, I felt subtle changes in the political climate.

Whether because of cultural differences or varying levels of social control, the easy conversation of the South yields to language more ideologically proper. Banners to the glories of social-

ism, almost absent in the South, bloomed in the gray overcast North.

In the fascinating war museum in Hanoi, people seemed a bit more wary about Americans of a certain age. I doubt that the military guides in the North would cheerfully award a sash to an American showing proficiency with the M-16 on a tourist rifle range as they did at the Cu Chi tunnel exhibit near Saigon.

By the time I reached Hanoi, my feeling of reconciliation had begun to fray a bit. Twenty-seven

years ago Hanoi had been an abstraction to me. Now I met it with detached curiosity.

It came as a surprise, for example, to find the lovely French colonial villas and government buildings largely undamaged, despite all the years of U.S. bombing. In fact, a guide told me, the bombing really did not affect any part of the city center because it was concentrated against military and industrial targets on the outskirts. This registered oddly, though I guess I should have known.

I did not have the same strong

feelings in Hanoi that I did in the South. Perhaps it was just because the sky was overcast and the temperature cool and clammy. Or perhaps because I fortunately had no personal war memories to connect with the city.

As much as anything, though, I think the reason Hanoi left me a little numb was my reunion with Hue a few days before.

For centuries the capital of independent Vietnam, Hue stretches along the wide Perfume River. It is well known as the intellectual capital of Vietnam, with one high school along the river numbering as alumni Ho Chi Minh, Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap (who drove out the French and the Americans) and South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem, who was assassinated in 1963.

Hue was always my favorite city in Vietnam. Whenever the news took me close, I found an excuse to go to Hue. The Tet offensive of 1968 had wrought awful damage on Hue, but even broken, the place had grace, the more so now that much of the damage has been repaired: The city is simply beautiful.

At the same time, Hue clearly remembers the horror.

When the Viet Cong took Hue during Tet of 1968, they rounded up intellectuals, police and government officials and assassinated them by the thousands, sometimes burying them alive. Though Hanoi has allowed a memorial to the victims to collapse, it has not stifled Hue's memory. It is easy to find people who will tell you about Tet and the family members and friends who were buried alive by the communists.

Twenty-seven years ago, as the U.S. military began to withdraw, I

was afraid that what had happened in Hue would happen everywhere in Vietnam. It did not. Postwar repression took the form of re-education camps (prisons) and the boat people (mostly Chinese) driven out in a kind of ethnic and political cleansing.

In fact, what happened in Hue only really happened again in Cambodia, with Pol Pot's policy of autogenocide, leaving the country today even more sad than it was 27 years ago, when as we invaded I fell in love with its beauty. Paradoxically it was Vietnam that delivered most of Cambodia from Pol Pot when it mounted an invasion in 1978.

Nonetheless, the atrocities in Hue, like the extraordinary complexes of tunnels in which communist fighters lived and died for years right under the feet of the U.S. Army, like the story of what it took to get war materiel down the Ho Chi Minh trail under the relentless attacks of American bombing, stand as examples of the utterly ruthless will of the North Vietnamese, as well as their guerrilla allies in the South, to reunify the country and have us out. Without question, the communists would have bombed Hanoi if destroying it would have advanced their aims. I confess that, now as before, I am in almost equal measure appalled and impressed.

The return to Southeast Asia left me with strong but mixed feelings: the humbling experience of coming face to face with the failure of a military enterprise in which I was a part; the renewed conviction that no matter how doomed the war, it was not done for evil reasons but on behalf of the ideal of freedom; the recognition that the communists were much more committed than the Americans or their southern allies; the memory of the loneliness I felt, knowing that so many of my contemporaries thought I was stupid to be there—or worse; and the hundred little shocks of recognition upon seeing remembered things transformed.

With the help of a guide and the indulgence of my traveling companions, I managed to find the place where I had lived in Saigon and had had a couple of close brushes with rocket and rifle fire. The van pulled over on the swarming street, and I crossed through traffic the way I had learned 27 years before—simply moving forward without pause as motor scooters, bicycles, cars and trucks maneuvered to avoid me.

The Quonset huts that had served as warehouses for the books and magazines we sold in Stripes bookstores had been torn down, as had the tin huts at the rear of the compound where some correspondents and clerks lived. My room, which had been a kind of enclosed second-floor porch, had been opened up into a veranda. I could not read the signs, but soon I realized that this compound had been turned into a preschool.

The principal and teachers greeted me warmly and led me upstairs to show me my old room, which was filled with curious kids enjoying the arrival of this strange figure from the past. Downstairs, a teacher opened the louvered doors of what we used to call the "war room," where we wrote and edited our daily dispatches. There on the floor lay dozens of tiny children on mats, having their naps.

I took pictures, though I was so moved by the moment that I will be surprised if any of them turn out well. I tried, mostly unsuccessfully, to communicate with the principal and teachers. It didn't make any difference. I think we all understood the basics.

As I left I found myself closer to tears than I had ever permitted myself to come in a year of war and violence 27 years ago. I was glad about the children. I was glad the compound hadn't been turned into some kind of People's Revolutionary Headquarters. And I was glad to have had the chance to unlock the prison of my memory and recognize how much it all still moved me.

At the same time I saw that no matter how deeply I felt about my time in Saigon, the military presence of which I had been a part was just a brief interlude in a public, impersonal history which, like the traffic, gave way but did not change its course.

Jack Fuller is publisher of the Chicago Tribune and author of a number of books, including "Fragments," a novel of the Vietnam War.

~~NSC / Soudy~~
HAC interested in going
a day or two away - dis
number? - Rx

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-11-97

S.E. WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON,
Presidente de los Estados Unidos de América

4-11-97

New York, April, 1997

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President and dear friend,

As you know, accompanied by the Queen, I will spend this week in New York, visiting academic institutions and foundations for the purpose of maintaining our policy of periodic contacts with relevant sectors of American society; towards the end of the week I shall visit the Kennedy Foundation, invited by Senator Kennedy. I have made trips of this kind before and think that the experience has proved to be very useful for keeping up the good relations between our two countries and promoting better mutual knowledge of our societies. Furthermore I can reiterate to you that it is a great satisfaction for the Queen and me to be back in your country, which we are so fond of.

On July 8 and 9, Spain will host the Atlantic Alliance Summit in Madrid, which will be of the utmost importance for the future of the Alliance and to European Security. So we will have an opportunity at that time to see each other in Madrid.

However, these summits have very formal agendas and perhaps it would be a good idea if we were to have more time to exchange impressions or organise some activity.

It would give the Queen and me much pleasure if, accompanied by Mrs. Clinton, you were able to advance the date of your arrival for the time that you consider appropriate. In this way not only could we organise the programme that you consider most interesting, but could also continue the contacts that we have had in recent years and therefore consolidate our friendship.

Yours affectionate.

Juan Carlos R.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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Hilley
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April 10, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

John Hilley
Elena Kagan
Tracey Thornton

SUBJECT:

"Partial-Birth" Abortion

any possibility
we can go any
distance to support
the D&X bill in
its ~~own~~ ^{own} ~~name~~ ^{name} ~~form~~ ^{form}
without pointing out
it would reduce abortion ~~unlawfully~~
partial birth abortions —

ALTERNATIVES TO THIS PROCEDURE

You have asked whether the so-called partial-birth procedure is ever necessary to save the life of a woman or avert serious harm to her health. Considerable medical uncertainty surrounds this question. The doctors of the women you met with believed the procedure was necessary to prevent serious injury, and other doctors have said that the procedure, in certain circumstances, is or may be the safest one to use. Still other doctors have disputed that health considerations ever demand use of the procedure.

Perhaps the most reliable opinion is from the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (ACOG), which issued a statement in January addressing the procedure. (ACOG, like most other medical groups, calls the procedure an intact dilatation and extraction or intact D&X.) According to the statement, "A select panel convened by ACOG could identify no circumstances under which this procedure would be the only option to save the life or preserve the health of the woman." (Emphasis in original.) The statement then went on: "An intact D&X, however, may be the best or most appropriate procedure in a particular circumstance to save the life or preserve the health of a woman, and only the doctor, in consultation with the patient, based upon the woman's particular circumstances can make this decision." In sum, doctors have other options, but those other options may be more risky or otherwise more undesirable from a medical standpoint.

Other groups of doctors, with a greater stake in the abortion controversy, have taken more definitive positions. The Society of Physicians for Reproductive Choice and Health issued a statement last month saying that "in complex obstetrical situations, dilatation and extraction is the safest procedure to use. It carries the least risk of bleeding, perforation, infection or trauma to the birth canal." On the other hand, a group of mostly pro-life physicians called PHACT has written that "there are absolutely no obstetrical situations requiring the destruction of a partially delivered

fetus,” and indeed that the procedure involves serious risks of maternal hemorrhage, uterine rupture, and infection.

A recent article in the “New York Times” noted that the partial-birth procedure is only one of three procedures (all of them “pretty gruesome,” as one doctor quoted in the article said) that can be used to end pregnancies after 20 weeks. The article reported that three of the twelve abortion specialists interviewed generally prefer the procedure on the ground that it poses less risk of uterine perforation. The article also noted that one doctor who does not usually use the procedure has done so on particular occasions because “the woman’s anatomy or the fetus’s size demanded it.”

Given the state of medical evidence on this subject, an exception for women who need the procedure to prevent serious harm is appropriate. Such an exception would enable the attending doctor -- the person with the most relevant knowledge -- to make the complex decision whether the procedure is in fact medically necessary in a given set of circumstances. The uncertainties surrounding this issue, however, caution against your making any estimates of the number of women whose health, without this procedure, would be at risk of serious harm. Any such estimates, however large or small, would be difficult to support.

HOUSE CONSIDERATION

On March 20 the House passed a bill identical to the one you vetoed last year (H.R. 1122) by a vote of 295-136, five (5) votes more than the two-thirds necessary to override a veto when all Members are present and voting. Since the September 1996 veto override vote in the House, only three Members -- all Republicans -- switched their votes from supporting your veto to supporting the legislation (Representatives Shays (R-CT), Freylinghausen (R-NJ) and Sue Kelly (R-NY). They all indicated that an abortion rights advocate’s recent statement that he lied about the number and circumstances of late-term abortions influenced their switch. All 73 Republican freshmen voted for the bill, and 22 of the 42 freshmen Democrats voted against it.

Two different alternatives were offered during the House debate on the floor. The first was a Hoyer (D-MD)/Greenwood (R-PA) substitute which would ban all post-viability abortion procedures with an exception if the woman’s life were in jeopardy or if she faced “serious adverse health consequences” without the procedure. The Hoyer/Greenwood substitute was ruled non-germane by the House parliamentarian and a motion to appeal that ruling failed by a vote of 265-165. A second motion to recommit, offered by Congressman Frank (D-MA), would have amended the underlying bill to provide a health exception where the procedure is performed to spare a woman “serious adverse long-term physical health consequences.” This health exception would have applied to both pre- and post-viability abortions using the “partial birth” method. That motion failed 149-282.

Opponents of these two alternatives argued that both health exceptions were either overly broad, and therefore would not prevent any procedures, or unnecessary, because there is no instance where this specific procedure is medically necessary to protect the health of the mother. House Judiciary Committee Chairman Henry Hyde, one of the leading proponents of the legislation, has gone even further in publicly stating that, while he will trade "a life for a life," he will "never trade life for health." Given Mr. Hyde's position, which has broad support in the Republican caucus, it is extremely unlikely that any late-term abortion measure that contains even a very narrow health exception will pass the House.

SENATE CONSIDERATION

You will recall that last September the Senate failed by nine (9) votes to override your veto of this legislation (57-41). Senator Lott has indicated that "partial birth" will be on the floor when he has the votes to override a veto, but Senator Daschle is preparing for consideration at any time this month.

The Senate dynamic is somewhat different from the House. First, in his leadership role, Senator Daschle has taken a personal interest in trying to find a compromise that will pass and is also consistent with Roe vs. Wade. Both Senators Daschle and Mikulski recently spoke out strongly in a Democratic caucus meeting that Members should not make up their minds about this issue until after they have considered an alternative being crafted by Senator Daschle (discussed below).

To date, only one Senator who voted against the "partial birth" abortion ban last year has publicly announced that he intends to switch his vote to support the ban -- Senator Hollings, who is up for reelection in '98 and whose state of South Carolina recently enacted a "partial birth" ban (March 1997). Other states that have recently enacted similar bans are listed below.

For his part, Senator Daschle thoroughly understands this area and intends to cast a wide net to try to capture what he regards as the center here. He has held a number of meetings with his colleagues on both sides of the aisle and they have encouraged him to continue his efforts. His aim is to try to construct language that gets the votes to pass the Senate and he is talking to Senators personally to see what it will take to secure those votes. Senator Daschle also recognizes, though, that if he is unsuccessful in getting a majority vote, he still must get a strong vote on his alternative in order to keep enough Members voting to sustain the veto.

The Daschle alternative would ban all abortions after fetal viability unless the mother's life or health is truly endangered. The health exception is being drafted to cover three categories of medically diagnosable conditions based on their severity: (1) disease or illness related to the pregnancy itself, such as serious heart damage or severe hypertension; (2) inability to treat aggressive cancers or life-threatening conditions such as non-Hodgkin's lymphoma, breast cancer, leukemia or diabetes complications; and (3) injury or loss of function such as paralysis, uterine rupture or future fertility. These categories set parameters to cover circumstances connected

rupture or future fertility. These categories set parameters to cover circumstances connected directly to continuation of the pregnancy but the ultimate decision of which conditions fit within these categories is left to the physician's best judgement. In terms of the sanctions, like the Republican bill, Daschle's alternative also provides for criminal penalties where the ban is violated. [Daschle one-pager attached]

There may be a series of targeted amendments offered as well that will be designed to focus attention on the health issue. For example, amendments could list specific health conditions that would be excepted like breast cancer or diabetes. Another approach would be an amendment that would require that the procedure most protective of a woman's health be used. These would be constructed as message-type amendments to be used only if necessary.

Basically, there are six (6) pro-choice Republicans very much in play for Daschle to pick-up on his compromise: Campbell, Chafee, Collins (ME), Jeffords, Snowe and Specter. Senator Snowe, who has been working closely with Daschle, has indicated that Hutchison (TX), Roth and Stevens are also possible pick-ups but they are long-shots. Daschle has asked Snowe to continue to work her Republican colleagues. With these Republican numbers, Daschle will have to get almost all 45 Democrats in order for his alternative to pass. During the last Congress, four (4) Democrats currently serving voted against a Boxer amendment (Hoyer/Greenwood-type language) which would have applied the ban post-viability only with a health exception: Breaux, Ford, Reid (NV) all three (3) pro-life and Conrad (mixed voting record on abortion). The pro-life Democrats will be the most difficult for Daschle to convince to vote for his alternative because of the strongly held pro-life view that there should be no exception for a woman's health. Both Reid and Breaux are up for reelection in '98. New Senators Landrieu and Cleland will require some work to get their support. In terms of pro-choice and mixed-voting-record Democrats who supported overriding your veto -- Biden, Conrad, Dorgan, Leahy, and Moynihan -- most, if not all, of them will vote for the Daschle alternative. Biden, Dorgan and Leahy voted for the Boxer amendment and Moynihan was absent the day of the vote.

Much of the outcome here depends on the procedural posture under which this compromise arises. While we do not know what that situation will be when the Senate takes this matter up, we can be sure that if the Republicans believe that the Daschle alternative actually has a chance of passing, they will demand at least a separate up or down vote on the underlying Republican bill and there would also be an up or down vote on Daschle. If both pass, both would go into conference with the House-passed bill that you vetoed last year, and we certainly cannot predict what the outcome would be of this conference which would be under the exclusive control of the Republicans. It is likely that they would simply come back with the bill you previously vetoed since most House Republicans, lead by Messrs. Hyde and Canady, are unlikely to accept any measure which contains a health exception. Another possibility is that they would keep both Daschle and the vetoed bill together but further narrow the health exception in the Daschle alternative. **Keep in mind though that the Daschle health exception only applies to abortions after viability.** This means that, if they combine the Daschle alternative with the Republican bill, the Republican bill would control in cases where the "partial birth"

procedure is performed before viability and therefore, in such instances, there would only be an exception for the life of the mother but not her health.

Procedurally, Daschle's vote count will be higher if Members are able to cast votes on both his alternative and on the underlying Republican bill -- there will be a lot of folks who would vote for both. Members like those who voted for the Boxer amendment and also supported an override would fit into this category. Leahy, Biden, Specter, Campbell and Dorgan are examples. In addition, both Cleland and Landrieu are candidates for voting for both versions. Hollings is obviously in this category now as is freshman Senator Tim Johnson (D-SD) who voted to override your veto when he was in the House. A measure which contained both the Daschle alternative and the underlying Republican bill would probably have the votes to pass the Senate.

Another component of this mix is the strong, unabashed pro-choice wing which includes Members like Boxer, Feinstein and Moseley-Braun. Bolstered by the pro-choice lobby, this group has warned Senator Daschle that they will not support his alternative if the health exception is too narrowly drawn. While this group is not a large one, the vote situation is so tenuous that Daschle does not have a vote to spare on his alternative. For now, he is continuing to canvas other Members and when he has a better idea of his vote count, he will be able to determine the best course of action to take with regard to this group. The language in the alternative is still fairly fluid and changes can be made to accommodate these Members; but in the end, this group will have to come back into the fold. Of course, there is absolutely no danger of any Senators in this group voting to override a veto.

Mention should also be made of Members who are up for re-election in 1998. Senator Harkin has painted for a number of these Democrats -- most notably Senators Murray, Dodd, and Feingold -- a very dire description of how his vote to sustain your veto played in his '96 race. As for Dodd, and to some degree Lieberman, another concern is the fact that moderate House Republican Chris Shays (CT) switched and voted to support the measure. The pro-life community is spending a substantial amount of money running TV ads in certain key states. But countering the Harkin experience is Senator Durbin's '96 race; Durbin has told a number of Members that what matters most is how they talk about this issue.

If the Daschle alternative does not pass, the question becomes which supporters of his alternative will vote for final passage of the Republican bill? As previously pointed out, a strong Daschle vote just shy of passing will likely help in much the same way the Boxer vote happened last year -- 47 Senators voted for her amendment and 41 voted to sustain the veto.

Finally, the ultimate success of Daschle's effort either in passing or getting veto override strength depends a great deal on the rhetorical battle that will become much more intense as this bill goes to the floor. So far, unlike the House, Senate Republicans have not been able to publicly unnerve the Daschle bloc. This is due more than anything to the hard work being put into this effort by Senator Daschle and his team. The fact that the effort has become a Leadership driven initiative is also critical. So the proponents' argument that the recent exposure of the "lies" told by the pro-

choice lobby should cause Senators to reevaluate their position is being countered by the Daschle camp with the fact that, unlike the Daschle alternative, the Republican bill would not stop a single abortion; it would merely result in abortion by other methods, all of which pose a greater risk to the woman's health. By contrast, the alternative would outlaw these late-term abortions entirely no matter what the method and thereby actually reduce the number of abortions in this country without putting women at unacceptable risk. Finally, the Daschle approach permits the argument that even if Congress overrides your veto, the Republican bill will be struck down because its pre-viability restrictions significantly intrude upon the essential holding of the Roe vs. Wade decision. Enactment of the Daschle alternative allows Congress to pass a comprehensive, constitutional ban to stop unnecessary abortions of viable fetuses and is a ban that you would sign.

STATES THAT HAVE RECENTLY ENACTED PROCEDURE SPECIFIC BANS

Georgia : "Partial-Birth" Ban (March 1997)

Michigan: "Partial-Birth" Ban (June 1997); legal challenge filed

Mississippi: "Partial-Birth" Ban (March 1997)

Ohio: "Dilation and Extraction" Ban (August 1995); enjoined by Federal district court and appeal filed with 6th circuit

South Carolina: "Partial-Birth" Ban (March 1997)

South Dakota: "Partial-Birth" Ban (March 1997)

Utah: "Partial-Birth" and "Dilation and Extraction" and "Saline Abortion" Bans (March 1996)

Bipartisan Alternative to S. 6/H.R. 1122

S. 6, the "Partial Birth Abortion Ban", would outlaw the procedure physicians call dilatation and extraction (D&X) at any stage of pregnancy — with no exception for the health of the mother — but allow other, sometimes more dangerous abortion procedures to be used in its place.

The bipartisan alternative to S. 6 would ban all abortions after fetal viability (when the fetus can sustain survivability outside the womb with or without life support) unless the mother's life or health is truly endangered. The health exception to the comprehensive ban is being written to cover only very rare situations that arise from complications of the pregnancy itself, such as serious heart damage (cardiomyopathy), severe hypertension (pre-eclampsia), and, as in the cases of some women carrying severely deformed fetuses, uterine rupture and other injuries; from pre-existing conditions that become very dangerous, such as complications from diabetes (blindness, amputation); or from newly diagnosed diseases, such as aggressive cancers (acute leukemia or breast cancer) that require treatment that cannot be given during pregnancy.

Constitutional Parameters Limiting Government Restriction of Abortion

Right To Terminate Pregnancy Prior To Viability: Roe v. Wade held that the Constitution protects "a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy." This holding was reaffirmed in Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey, in which the Supreme Court held that "it is a constitutional liberty of the woman to have some freedom to terminate her pregnancy."

Viability Defined: According to the Court, "viability is the time at which there is a realistic possibility of maintaining and nourishing a life outside the womb, so that the independent existence of the second life can in reason and all fairness be the object of state protection that now overrides the rights of the woman." Although the actual point of viability varies with each case, it is generally reached between the 23rd and the 28th week.

Government May Ban Abortion After Viability: In Casey, the Supreme Court reiterated Roe's determination that after viability, the State may ban abortion. Many states have done so, and post-viability abortions comprise less than 0.5% of all abortions (99% occur in the first 20 weeks).

Ban Must Have An Exception When A Woman's Life or Health Is At Risk: According to Roe and Casey, although the State has a legitimate interest in preserving potential life, and may promote this interest by prohibiting abortion once the fetus attains viability, it may not do so when preventing an abortion would endanger the life or health of the mother. The Court has consistently held that "maternal health [must] be the physician's paramount consideration."

Would S. 6 prevent abortions? No. S. 6 would not stop a single abortion; it would merely result in abortion by a different method, such as induction, hysterotomy (pre-term c-section), or dilatation and evacuation (D&E) — all of which pose a greater risk to the mother's health in certain cases.

Can S. 6 become permanent law? No. Even if Congress overrides a Presidential veto, S. 6 is clearly unconstitutional, so it will be struck down by the courts and have no ultimate effect.

Can something be done to stop unnecessary abortions of viable fetuses? Yes. Congress can pass a comprehensive post-viability abortion ban with a narrow life and health exception that will outlaw these very late-term abortions. This will actually reduce the number of abortions in this country without putting women at unacceptable risk. This ban would be constitutional, and the President would sign it.