

Should we send a
copy to Melanne
Verveer?

Yes ☒

No ☐

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Chron

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 18, 1997

12-22-97

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PHIL CAPLAN *Phl*

SUBJECT: Medal of Freedom follow-up

*Do 14 - Carol Sagan
He Murie -
Do Murie before
Leave -*

You have selected 9 names for this year's Medal of Freedom: Al Shanker, Robert Coles, Admiral Zumwalt, Arnie Aronson, James Farmer, Mario Obledo, Elliot Richardson, Sol Linowitz and David Rockefeller.

You had several questions regarding the environmental candidates, an Asian-American candidate, additional names of women, and Gene Autry (original memo attached). For ease of reference a new chart is attached. The ceremony is tentatively scheduled for January 15 -- MLK's actual birthday. **No invitations have been issued or awardees contacted pending your review of this memo, but we would like to do so before Christmas -- therefore it would be helpful if you looked at this before you depart for Bosnia.**

1) You asked for the Vice President's opinion on the environmental candidates. He prefers Mardy Murie for this year; maybe Sagan next year.

Margaret "Mardy" Murie, 93.

Mardy Murie is perhaps the last link between the conservationists of the 1930's and today's worldwide environmental movement. A lifetime activist, and the widow of renowned naturalist Olaus Murie, Ms. Murie is the recipient of numerous environmentalist awards including the prestigious Audubon Medal (1980) and the Sierra Club's John Muir Award (1981). She has remained a staunch environmentalist for the past 70 years, gaining appointment to the governing council of the Wilderness Society, founding the Teton Science School, and contributing to the passage of the Alaskan Lands Act of 1974.

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐

Carl Sagan (posthumous).

An eminent author and astronomer, Sagan did more to popularize modern science and make it accessible to the general public than perhaps any other individual of this century. He was a key contributor to the Mariner, Viking, and Voyager space missions and through his research greatly increased our understanding of planetary atmospheres and surfaces. Among his many notable achievements are 12 books, over 600 scientific papers and magazine articles, and the 1980 Emmy award winning PBS series "Cosmos." His lifetime commitment to scientific research, nuclear disarmament, and education garnered him numerous accolades, including the 1978 Pulitzer Prize and two NASA Medals for Distinguished Public Service.

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐

next

2) You asked for an Asian American candidate. Working with OPL, we have identified:

Fred Korematsu, 78. Fred Korematsu's legal challenges to civilian exclusion orders during WWII serve as the underpinning of the redress movement for Japanese Americans. In 1942, he was arrested and convicted for violating the government's exclusion orders, sentenced to five year's probation and sent to an internment camp. Korematsu appealed his conviction to the Supreme Court, where it was upheld in 1944 (*Korematsu v. U.S.*) Forty years later in 1983, Korematsu brought a petition in federal district court for *coram nobis*, which allows a person convicted of a crime to challenge his conviction after his sentence has been served. The court overturned his conviction. It found the government's exclusion and detention actions during the war were legally unsupportable and that the government's defense of the actions was based on fraud and misconduct. The court's opinion served as the foundation for the 1988 Civil Liberties Act, which authorized an apology and reparations for those interned.

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐

3) You asked for additional women candidates. Several WH staff felt that it was not the right timing for Marian Wright Edelman, but we have identified:

Wilma Mankiller, 52. Rising out of poverty and overcoming great personal tragedy, including a near-fatal car accident and suffering from myasthenia gravis, Wilma Mankiller was appointed the principal chief of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma in 1985. In 1987, she became the first elected female leader of a major Indian tribe and was re-elected twice. Known for being an effective leader of the Cherokee's business interests, she has also emphasized reducing Cherokee infant mortality and improving Indian health care and educational systems. An effective advocate and champion of women's rights, she was named Woman of the Year by *Ms. Magazine* in 1987, and installed in the National Women's Hall of Fame. *Ann Lewis notes that the women's community will find this award very compelling. Mankiller is very ill with cancer, but can probably travel.*

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐

Previous women candidates:

Brooke Astor, 95. A New York City philanthropist and author, Brooke Astor has been primarily responsible for allocating funds from the Vincent Astor Foundation since her husband's death 38 years ago. Ms. Astor is a much-respected member of New York society with an interest in funding innovative projects, ranging from outdoor living spaces in public housing projects to the revitalization of the New York Public Library, for which she has served as a trustee since 1959. She is known for her personal visits to the Foundation's many projects and her assistance in obtaining funding for charitable organizations from other New York philanthropists. *The First Lady's office supports this recommendation.*

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐

Frances Hesselbein, 79. Frances Hesselbein is one of the foremost experts on not-for-profit corporations and management in the workplace. As the leader of the Girl Scouts of America from 1976 to 1990, she took a faltering organization and transformed it. By 1990 her policies had produced a record membership of 3 million and had tripled minority participation. She is now President and CEO of the Peter F. Drucker Foundation for Non-Profit Management, which helps non-profit organizations become more effective.

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐

4) *Question about Gene Autry.* You sent down a package of material about Gene Autry that E.A. Gregory, Chairman of "United Shows of America" of Nashville, sent to Tony Rodham in September. The Vice President had also been contacted by Mr. Gregory around the same time. You sent Autry a very nice "Certificate of Appreciation" on his 90th birthday in September. Given the make-up of your list this year, I would recommend that we consider Autry for next year.

He's ill
I recommend
award
him the Citizen Award
Send to him w/ a video
fr. me

1997 Medal of Freedom

Nominee	Approve	Disapprove	Discuss
Al Shanker	✓		
Robert Coles	✓		
Adm Zumwalt	✓		
Arnie Aronson	✓		
James Farmer	✓		
Mario Obledo	✓		
Elliot Richardson	✓		
Sol Linowitz	✓		
David Rockefeller	✓		
Margaret "Mardy" Murie	✓		
Carl Sagan			
Fred Korematsu	✓		
Wilma Mankiller	✓		
Brooke Astor	✓		
Frances Hesselbein	✓		

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-22-97

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 10, 1997

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is the 1997 Medal of Freedom memo.

Erskine mentioned to me that you wanted Vernon Jordan to be considered. We have not included him for this year, but I told Erskine that I would remind you of your discussion.

We have sent a copy of this memo to the First Lady.

Phil Caplan

Phil

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

See notes

11-22-97

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 10, 1997

'97 NOV 10 AM 11:02

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN
PHIL CAPLAN *Phil for all*
SEAN MALONEY
MELANNE VERVEER

SUBJECT: 1997 AWARD OF THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM

We have set forth below a list of nominees for this year's award of the Presidential Medal of Freedom. In keeping with the theme of your past selections, this year's nominees embody the American spirit of service to others.

The group of 18 nominees reflects extensive consultations with, among others, your senior advisers. You should select approximately 10 recipients, but certainly no more than 12. In 1993-96, you selected 10, 9, 12, and 10, respectively. We have tried to group some of the nominees according to similarities in their achievements to help you balance and organize your selections. For ease of reference and tabulation, we have also attached a chart on which you may summarize your selections.

Education/Service:

Albert Shanker (posthumous). Shanker first became known in the 1960s as the aggressive leader of New York City's teachers' union. During his long tenure as President of the AFT and a Vice-President of the AFL-CIO, Shanker worked to change radically how schools and teachers' unions do business. He became a staunch proponent of teacher certification and higher standards for students. He wrote a weekly *New York Times* column, and served on the boards of directors of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the International Rescue Committee, and the Committee for the Free World. Upon his death you noted that, "Al spent his life in pursuit of one of the noblest of causes -- the improvement of our public schools. . . . He challenged teachers to provide every child with the very best education possible."

Approve ☒Disapprove ☐Discuss ☐

Robert Coles, 67. A leader in the call to citizen service, Dr. Robert Coles has had a distinguished and varied career. Early on, he advised President Kennedy on racial and education issues. As Professor of Social Ethics at Harvard, psychiatrist, recipient of a MacArthur Genius Award, and Pulitzer-Prize-winning author of more than 50 books, Coles has explored children's

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relationships with their world, focusing much of his research on how children experience racism and spirituality. *The Washington Monthly* has observed that, "The revitalization of volunteerism and community service in the 1990s springs from roots that Cole's writings have watered during many dry years." (Some have criticized Dr. Coles' work as lacking in scientific precision and organization: his children's oral histories blend poetry and science, deliberately avoiding traditional psychiatric language in favor of a more sociological approach.)

Approve ☒Disapprove ☐Discuss ☐

David Kearns, 66. Kearns stepped down as Chairman of the Xerox Corporation to heed the call of public service. As Under Secretary of Education during the Bush Administration, he strove to improve the nation's schools by supporting parental choice, improved teacher and student standards, appropriations for educational research, and full funding for Head Start. He was selected by President Bush to supervise the immediate federal response to the 1992 Los Angeles Riots. Kearns now pursues educational reform as a member of the faculty at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, having previously served as Chairman and CEO of the New American Schools Development Corporation, a privately funded group that serves to create new kinds of schools as models of reform.

Approve ☐Disapprove ☐Discuss ☐

Military:

Admiral William James Crowe, Jr., 72. (supported by NSC/Sandy Berger)

Four times the recipient of the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, Admiral Crowe recently completed fifty distinguished years of government service. A gifted military leader, he served as commander of the Middle East Force in the Persian Gulf, head of Navy Plans and Policy, Commander in Chief of the United States Pacific Command, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He served this Administration as Chairman of the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (1993-94) and as Ambassador to the Court of St. James.

Approve ☒Disapprove ☐Discuss ☐

Elmo Russell ("Bud") Zumwalt, Jr., 76. A distinguished Naval veteran, Admiral Zumwalt served as Commander of United States Naval Forces in Vietnam and later as Chief of Naval Operations. During Vietnam, he was responsible for ordering the spraying of Agent Orange, but he is most renowned for his actions years after the war. Zumwalt lost his son to cancers that both he and his son believed were due to the young officer's exposure to the chemical defoliant (Zumwalt's grandson has a severe learning disability likely caused by his father's exposure). Zumwalt now devotes much of his time to securing compensation for veterans whose health problems can be linked to their service in Vietnam. He is also widely respected for his progressive policies as CNO. Zumwalt issued tough directives to end discrimination,

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particularly against blacks and women, and his actions were credited with helping to reverse negative trends in Navy enlistment.

Approve ☒ _____

Disapprove _____

Discuss _____

Civil Rights:

Arnold H. Aronson, 86. A civil rights leader for over fifty years, Arnie Aronson co-founded and led the path-breaking Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. As Secretary of the LCCR, Aronson coordinated lobbying campaigns to pass the landmark civil rights legislation of the 1950s and 1960s, and joined Martin Luther King, Jr. as one of the ten leaders of the 1963 March on Washington. A longtime President of the Leadership Conference Education Fund and Program Director for the National Jewish Community Relations Council, he symbolizes positive cooperation between the African American and Jewish communities and among the other communities that make up the LCCR. (Aronson is seriously ill with cancer, but lucid. He has been recommended for the Medal by Vernon Jordan, Sen. Kennedy, and the LCCR.)

Approve ☒ _____

Disapprove _____

Discuss _____

James Farmer, 87. One of our most influential civil rights leaders, Farmer has dedicated his life to solving race and labor problems. In 1942, he formed the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which became a catalyst in the civil rights movement of the sixties. As the director of CORE, Farmer introduced nonviolent resistance against segregation and discrimination through such activities as sit-ins, standing lines, and the famous Freedom Rides. As Assistant Secretary for Administration in HEW President Nixon, he implemented affirmative action programs and helped strengthen Head Start. (Farmer is now quite ill, but lucid; he is blind and has lost both legs to amputation. Rep. John Lewis, along with other members of Congress and the public, support Farmer's nomination.)

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Discuss _____

(It you are inclined to do so, it would be perfectly appropriate to give the award to both Aronson and Farmer.)

Mario G. Obledo, 65. Mario Obledo has been instrumental in helping Hispanic citizens achieve civil rights. As co-founder of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) and the National Hispanic Bar Association, he has become a powerful leader in the Hispanic community. Mr. Obledo served as Chairman of the National Rainbow Coalition from 1988 to 1993, where he fought at the national level for greater racial equality. A distinguished civil servant, he is a veteran of the Korean War and has served as Secretary of Health and Welfare of the State of California and as an Assistant Attorney General of the State of Texas.

Approve ☒ _____

Disapprove _____

Discuss _____

11-22-97

Arts and Letters/History:

Toni Morrison, 66. One of the leading authors of the day, Toni Morrison has been a powerful voice for the African-American community. An acclaimed fiction writer, Ms. Morrison is the recipient of the 1993 Nobel Prize in Literature, as well as the 1977 National Book Critic's Circle Award for her novel *Song of Solomon*, which was the first Book of the Month Club Full Selection by a black author since 1940. She now serves as a visiting lecturer at Yale University and a Senior Editor at Random House Publishing Corporation.

Approve ☐Disapprove ☐Discuss ☐

Daniel J. Boorstin, 82. Daniel Boorstin has served the United States and the world educational and literary community with distinction for the past 50 years. In his varying roles as Librarian of Congress, Director of the National Museum of American History, Senior Historian of the Smithsonian Institution, professor of history, award winning author, renowned lecturer and public servant, Dr. Boorstin has led a remarkable life of dedicated service and achievement. He has been recognized numerous times for his contributions to literature and history and is one of the few to win each of the Pulitzer, Parkman and Bancroft Prizes. Dr. Boorstin has also served the U.S. government in many capacities, from DOJ attorney to member of a NASA task force.

Approve ☐Disapprove ☐Discuss ☐

C. Vann Woodward, 78. One of the preeminent historians of the American South, Professor Woodward has long provided a learned view into the culture and problems of post Civil War America and the origins and inequities of segregation and racism. A longtime advocate of civil rights and the study of black history, this legendary Yale history professor has won both the Pulitzer and Bancroft Prizes. He has long lent his knowledge of history to political activists and was an important consultant to NAACP lawyers as they prepared for the *Brown v. Board* case.

Approve ☐Disapprove ☐Discuss ☐**Business:**

Sol Linowitz, 83. Linowitz, along with David Rockefeller, is a founder and a former chair of the International Executive Service Corps. This organization, a volunteer program that sends American executives to provide managerial and technical expertise to developing countries, has launched more than 10,000 service projects. In addition to a successful career as an international lawyer and as CEO of Xerox International, Linowitz has held numerous diplomatic posts and has dedicated much of his life to international development. He served as United States representative to the OAS and the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, as well as co-negotiator of the Panama Canal treaties and President Carter's Ambassador-at-Large for Middle East negotiations.

Approve ☒Disapprove ☐Discuss ☐

11-22-97

David Rockefeller, 82. Co-founder with Sol Linowitz of the International Executive Service Corps, David Rockefeller, the former longtime chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, has worked tirelessly to better the lives of Americans and people around the globe, promoting both humanitarian efforts and world peace. A renowned philanthropist he has personally and through the various Rockefeller Foundations funded a multitude of projects in fields such as the arts, literacy, food distribution, international family planning efforts, Latin American studies, and clinical treatment of Alzheimer's disease. He was also a co-founder of the Dartmouth Conference and the Trilateral Commission, both of which have opened new pathways of communication for world leaders, helping them transcend conventional boundaries in the quest for solutions to our common problems.

Approve ☒Disapprove ☐Discuss ☐

(The International Executive Service Corps is recommending that both Rockefeller and Linowitz, as IESC co-founders, receive the Medal. Sen. Lieberman among others has seconded that call. But you should not feel obligated to choose both, or either of them.)

Miscellaneous:

Elliot L. Richardson, 77. Elliot Richardson is the only person to serve in four different U.S. cabinet positions. During the administrations of Presidents Nixon and Ford, he served as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; Secretary of Defense; Attorney General; and Secretary of Commerce. In addition, he has held the positions of Undersecretary of State and Ambassador to the Court of St. James. Sometimes referred to as "the man for all positions," Mr. Richardson served with distinction through some of the most difficult times in American Government, resigning as Attorney General rather than fire Archibald Cox on President Nixon's orders. A decorated World War II veteran, Mr. Richardson is the recipient of the Bronze Star and two Purple Hearts.

Approve ☒Disapprove ☐Discuss ☐

Brooke Astor, 95. A New York City philanthropist and author, Brooke Astor has been primarily responsible for allocating funds from the Vincent Astor Foundation since her husband's death 38 years ago. Ms. Astor is a much-respected member of New York society with an interest in funding innovative projects, ranging from outdoor living spaces in public housing projects to the revitalization of the New York Public Library, for which she has served as a trustee since 1959. She is known for her personal visits to the Foundation's many projects and her assistance in obtaining funding for charitable organizations from other New York philanthropists.

Approve ☐Disapprove ☐Discuss ☐

Frances Hesselbein, 79. Frances Hesselbein is one of the foremost experts on not-for-profit corporations and management in the workplace. As the leader of the Girl Scouts of America from 1976 to 1990, she took a faltering organization and transformed it. By 1990 her policies

11-22-97

had produced a record membership of 3 million and had tripled minority participation. She is now President and CEO of the Peter F. Drucker Foundation for Non-Profit Management, which helps non-profit organizations become more effective.

Approve ____

Disapprove ____

Discuss ____

Margaret "Mardy" Murie, 93.

Mardy Murie is perhaps the last link between the conservationist of the 1930's and today's worldwide environmental movement. A lifetime activist, and the widow of renowned naturalist Olaus Murie, Ms. Murie is the recipient of numerous environmentalist awards including the prestigious Audubon Medal (1980) and the Sierra Club's John Muir Award (1981). She has remained a staunch environmentalist for the past 70 years, gaining appointment to the governing council of the Wilderness Society, founding the Teton Science School, and contributing to the passage of the Alaskan Lands Act of 1974.

Approve ____

Disapprove ____

Discuss ____

Carl Sagan (posthumous).

An eminent author and astronomer, Sagan did more to popularize modern science and make it accessible to the general public than perhaps any other individual of this century. He was a key contributor to the Mariner, Viking, and Voyager space missions and through his research greatly increased our understanding of planetary atmospheres and surfaces. Among his many notable achievements are 12 books, over 600 scientific papers and magazine articles, and the 1980 Emmy award winning PBS series 'Cosmos,' which was viewed by over 400 million people in 60 countries. His lifetime commitment to scientific research, nuclear disarmament, and education garnered him numerous accolades, including the 1978 Pulitzer Prize, the National Academy of Science's Public Welfare Medal and two NASA Medals for Distinguished Public Service.

Approve ____

Disapprove ____

Discuss ____

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ANLU

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-22-97

11-22-97

(1) Ask VP
 (2) Write letter
 (3) Submit letter
 (4) ME Review?

After 2 bills
 submitted
 possible?

(3) Is there an
idea of a
candidate?

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-22-97

~~VP~~ Is this a problem? ~~PC~~

~~Copied~~
~~VP~~
~~COS~~

SYSTEM BLACKOUT DISRUPTS FLIGHTS AROUND COUNTRY

BLUNDER IN KANSAS CITY

Traffic Controllers Temporarily Lose Both Radio Contact and Access to Radar

A

By MATTHEW L. WALD

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18 — A brief and supposedly impossible power failure at an air traffic control center near Kansas City, Kan., tore the heart out of the Federal Aviation Administration's national network for several hours this morning, forcing hundreds of planes to be diverted or delayed, and inconveniencing tens of thousands of passengers.

Trans World Airlines said planes bound for its St. Louis hub had to land at airports from Nashville to Denver. Southwest Airlines planes bound for St. Louis had to refuel in Tulsa. The Kansas City Center, in Olathe, Kan., controls the area around St. Louis. College students heading home for Christmas, business executives making late-week flights, and families getting an early start on holiday travel sat in airports into the evening as delays cascaded around the country.

The episode was the latest in an improbable series of air traffic problems in recent months. The New York Terminal Radar Approach Control, or Traccon, which handles lower-altitude traffic, was almost completely shut down on Oct. 15 because of dust from ceiling tiles. A similar incident affected the Jacksonville, Fla., center. The Traccon at Dulles airport near Washington — and another at O'Hare in Elgin, Ill., were closed when fumes were sucked into ventilation systems.

Intermittent power failures have also occurred elsewhere around the country — particularly at National Airport in Washington. The power failures have happened even though the centers are so vital to safe air travel that tens of millions of dollars has been spent to install "uninterruptible" power supplies.

The failure this morning, at 9:03 central time, occurred when a technician was performing maintenance on just such equipment. The proper procedure is to route the power through half of a redundant system and then check the other half. In this case, the technician pulled a circuit board on the wrong half, and

"powered down the system that was on-line," said Ronald E. Morgan, director of air traffic at the F.A.A.

The error bypassed the emergency generators and emergency batteries. It brought down the system that displays radar information, the system that lets controllers and pilots talk by radio, and the special telephone lines that connect controllers in Kansas City with those in distant cities.

Mr. Morgan said that nationwide, the system had previously experienced many failures of individual systems. But "this is more significant, because if you lose both surveillance capability and communications capability, it's very difficult to do your job," he said.

A controller at the center, Howard L. Blankenship, who is also an official in the chapter of the National Air Traffic Controllers Association there, said, "We pretty much had the worst thing that could happen, besides an actual explosion in the building." Mr. Blankenship, who was not on duty this morning, said that controllers who were on duty found themselves suddenly unable to talk to an airplane, or even to a distant air traffic control center.

Power was restored four minutes later but with a surge that damaged four radar screens and a circuit board in the main computer — an old IBM mainframe of a type no longer made. Late today all systems at the center were operating normally. But the only backup for the main computer had been cannibalized for the damaged circuit board. Officials were hoping to find a replacement part on Friday.

Jack Ryan, an air traffic expert at the Air Transport Association, the trade association of the major airlines, said that the single human error that caused the blackout had been made worse by procedural errors at the F.A.A.

"The key to preventing that from happening is, don't do it at a critical time," said Mr. Ryan, a former F.A.A. manager. "If it's routine maintenance, do it at 3 A.M., when you can afford a failure, not at 9 A.M."

In today's failure, limited radio communications were restored after four minutes, and limited radar information after 20 minutes; it took two hours to restore the whole system.

Asked if this was dangerous, Mr. Morgan said, "it certainly doesn't have the margin of safety we're looking for. It's not a situation we'd like to have."

But he said studies had shown that for planes cruising at high altitude "it takes between 10 and 15 minutes to get into an unstable situation," and radio links had been restored in four minutes. Mr. Blankenship pointed out, however, that after radio communication was restored, the radar screens were still out.

"How long does it take for a controller to evaluate where everybody is, without any visual depiction?" he said.

At that hour of the morning, he said, a busy controller could have a dozen planes in his or her sector.

Mr. Blankenship, Mr. Morgan and others said they knew of no case in today's incident in which planes had gotten too close.

The power failure occurred at the

The New York Times

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1997

Kansas City Center, a radar control center in Olathe, Kan., off Interstate 35, southwest of Kansas City.

The center is one of 20 similar centers around the country that handle mostly high-altitude and long-distance flights. Kansas City is near the center of the country and handles more than 5,000 flights a day, accepting traffic from and passing it off to centers in Chicago, Minneapolis, Denver, Albuquerque, N.M., Fort Worth, Memphis and Indianapolis.

Kansas City's center also has jurisdiction over high-altitude flights, and some low-altitude flights, over a slice of western Illinois, all of Missouri and Kansas, and a part of Colorado, plus portions of Oklahoma and Nebraska.

The failure today was especially

The latest in a series of improbable air traffic control problems.

difficult to recover from, Mr. Blankenship said, because among the casualties were the special telephone lines used by controllers as they "hand off" planes from one sector or center to another. The center has some commercial lines, but only one for every eight screens or so.

Controllers used to be able to separate planes without the use of radar by keeping track through the aid of radio beacons. But that system is only effective when planes are at least 20 miles apart. When the power went out, the traffic was already much closer than that, Mr. Blankenship said.

He also said non-radar control has become nearly impossible because Kansas City and other centers have been allowing "free flight," under which planes can fly direct from one point to another without following the designated airways. This saves fuel and time and is safe when radar is in place.

"It's completely unorganized," Mr. Blankenship said. "We're not set up to control in that environment any more."

"For that short period of time, we really had nobody taking care of things," he said of today's power failure. "Safety was obviously com-

promised at that period of time. As soon as we started getting the frequencies back, controllers were out there doing everything they could, to see who is on the frequency, and to get their positions."

Pilots in flight who suddenly realize that there is no controller on their frequency can try to contact controllers with jurisdiction in the area ahead, or the area they have left behind. But even if the pilots succeed, often those controllers have no jurisdiction to rule on a request for a new altitude or heading. Pilots do remain free to make emergency maneuvers to avoid another airplane, just as they do when under a controller's jurisdiction. Asked what a pilot would do if he wanted to land, Mr. Blankenship said, "I don't think there's an Federal air regulation that covers that."

With most airplanes scheduled to make several flights a day with minimum turn-around times, a late-morning flight creates a day of delays. Thus, at 6 this evening, in Indianapolis, Donna Purdom of Bloomington, who was supposed to have taken off at 4:10, was still waiting for a flight to St. Louis, and a connection to San Diego, where her daughter is supposed to graduate from law school at 10 A.M. on Friday. She believed she would still make it, but would be arriving in San Diego at 1 A.M. instead of 9:50 P.M.

Ms. Purdom said that before settling into one of the lounge's few available black plastic chairs, she had waited on line for an hour, but that "there was actually pleasant conversation. I guess people figured they couldn't do anything about it so why sweat it."

Jason Benjestorf, waiting in the same lounge, was sweating. Preparing for his wedding in Indianapolis on Saturday, he was waiting for the arrival of his sister, who was supposed to have been in at 3:22 P.M.

Three and a half hours later, with no sign of the plane, he said: "This is crazy. I'm anxious to get out of here."

Others fell asleep or sat on the floor.

In Kansas City, where Kerri Phillips, 20, of Liberty, Mo., waited for a Southwest flight to Los Angeles, her mother Pat said, "This is the worst possible scenario." Ms. Phillips, on a winter break, was supposed to catch a flight from Los Angeles to New Zealand, to pay a return visit to an exchange student who had lived with them. She was hoping to get a flight on Friday instead of today.

Continued on Page A34

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 22, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE MCCURRY

THROUGH: TODD STERN

FROM:  DAN BURKHARDT

SUBJECT: KWANZAA, 1997

Attached is the President's message for KWANZAA, 1997, which you may want to release to the media. Kwanzaa begins on December 26, 1997.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

KWANZAA 1997

Warm greetings to everyone observing Kwanzaa.

As America embarks on a season of renewal and reconciliation, the principles of Kwanzaa -- unity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative economics, purpose, creativity, and faith -- ring true not only for African Americans, but also for all Americans. By emphasizing the importance of family in our lives and the blessings that come with a true commitment to community, opportunity, and responsibility, the celebration of Kwanzaa can help us to enter the future as a stronger nation and a more compassionate and united people.

The symbols and ceremony of Kwanzaa, evoking the rich history and heritage of African Americans, remind us that our nation draws much of its strength from our diversity. As millions of Americans observe Kwanzaa this year, let us renew our commitment to realizing America's promise as a land where all people are free to pursue our common dreams -- to live in peace, to provide for our families, and to give our children the opportunity for a better life.

Hillary joins me in sending best wishes for a joyous Kwanzaa.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

KWANZAA 1997

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As America embarks on a season of renewal and reconciliation, the principles of Kwanzaa -- unity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative economics, purpose, creativity, and faith -- ring true not only for African Americans, but also for all Americans. By emphasizing the importance of family in our lives and the blessings that come with a true commitment to community, opportunity, and responsibility, the celebration of Kwanzaa can help us to enter the future as a stronger nation and a more compassionate and united people.

The symbols and ceremony of Kwanzaa, evoking the rich history and heritage of African Americans, remind us that our nation draws much of its strength from our diversity. As millions of Americans observe Kwanzaa this year, let us renew our commitment to realizing America's promise as a land where all people are free to pursue our common dreams -- to live in peace, to provide for our families, and to give our children the opportunity for a better life.

Hillary joins me in sending best wishes for a joyous Kwanzaa.

Bar Clinton

3539 Sleepy Hollow Road
Falls Church, Virginia 22041

December 19, 1997

Personal

'97 DEC 22 AM 10:13

Mr. John Podesta
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear John:

To refresh your recollection, I am Marie Cocco's husband. At the Christmas party this week, I promised the President that I would drop him a line with an interesting Greg Norman story, and he said he would love to read it. So here it is, and I hope that you will pass it along to the First Golfer.

Thank you very much. Merry Christmas to you and your family!

Sincerely,

Tom

Tom Burrows

Enclosure

12-22-97

Sara Latham brought this to
us - Do you want me to
prepare to send to President?

Burkhart

Reply,

BC sig,

Todd D. Stern

Yes

No

3539 Sleepy Hollow Road
Falls Church, Virginia 22041

December 19, 1997

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As I promised you at a White House press party on Monday evening, I want to share with you a story about your friend Greg Norman, who happens to be one of my favorite golfers as well.

In October I was in Ireland on a golf junket with an old friend of mine. After five terrific days, we were determined to play a final 9 holes before departing home from Shannon Airport, so we played the Shannon Golf Club. Finally we reached the last hole, the 18th, a par 5 playing to 511 yards. I hit an excellent drive, down the middle and long for a cold, damp day, about 240 yards from the tee. Next I hit a good fairway wood, solid and straight, another 180 and in the middle of the fairway. As I approached my ball, I was thinking that finally, after 5 days of constant play, I had figured out how to play this game! Now I'm only 90 yards from the green and setting up to hit my approach, and a large rock over on the edge of the rough catches my attention. It had writing on it, so I went over to read it.

The message on the rock stated "In the Shannon International Pro-Am on August 16, 1982, Australian Greg Norman's drive on the 18th finished here." As I looked back in amazement, I could barely see the tee, perched at the edge of the Shannon River about 420 yards away in the mist. As I stood in awe of Norman's drive, I realized I hadn't quite mastered the game as well as I had thought.

I hope you'll ask Greg Norman about that drive when you see him. When a player routinely hits the ball 300 yards, does he remember a 420 yard drive 15 years later?

As an aside, you are exceptionally popular in Ireland, and for good reason. You have made peace in the North a priority, and as a descendant of both Ulster and the Republic, I am grateful. Surely, a presidential fact-finding mission is in order, with your clubs in tow and several rounds on the agenda. Golf is a game of the people in Ireland and you would learn a great deal about the "troubles" from playing there and speaking with the people. Indeed, some of Ireland's gems are in Ulster, Royal County Down and Royal Portrush.

The President
Page Two

It was a pleasure to be your guest and that of the First Lady, and to enjoy yet another magnificent White House Christmas party. I hope your future is filled with many superlative rounds of golf, and that someday you get the chance to see that stone marking Greg Norman's drive in 1982. Happy Holidays.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Thomas N. Burrows". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Thomas N. Burrows

H. J. G.

HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL



RONALD E. ELIJAHMAN, MD
Assistant Professor of Pediatrics

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL



Chief, Division of Pediatric
Endocrinology and Nutrition
Co-Director Program in Pediatric
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Assistant Chief, MGH Pediatric
99 Fruit St., VLB 107
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Tel (617) 726-2230
FAX (617) 726-2710

December 12, 1997

'97 DEC 22 PM3:19

William J. Clinton
President of the United States
Hilary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20447

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton:

We are writing to support the Meals for Achievement Act that has recently been proposed in the U.S. Congress.

A recent study by the USDA estimated that 6% of all US children are hungry and that an additional 18% are food insecure. A decade of research in eighteen states by the Community Childhood Hunger Identification Project (CCHIP) had produced estimates of 8% hungry and 21% at risk for hunger. These studies make it clear that hunger and food insecurity are extremely common, involving about one quarter of all US children.

We are in the fifth year of a series of studies, which we recently discussed with Shirley Watkins, Under Secretary of Agriculture for Food, Nutrition, and Consumer Services, that have documented that public school children from Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and Philadelphia who are classified as hungry or at risk by the CCHIP measure perform much more poorly on standardized measures of academic performance and emotional adjustment. Papers describing these findings are scheduled to be published in *Pediatrics* in January and in the *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* in February.

12-22-97

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes _____
No _____

C

There is also clear evidence that an increase in school breakfast participation is associated with significant positive improvements on a number of critical indicators (like school grades, attendance, punctuality, classroom behavior and emotional adjustment). Our study confirming this has recently been submitted to the Archives of Pediatrics.

Finally we have also shown that although in most schools, breakfast participation is only about one quarter of the rate of school lunch participation, it is possible to bring the rate of breakfast participation up to the level of lunch participation. When school breakfast participation goes up, significant improvements are evident in school-wide indicators of success like decreases in the rates of absence, tardiness and disciplinary incidents.

Our results are quite similar to those that have recently been reported from the University of Minnesota about a free breakfast program that was provided in six schools in that state. The fact that the two sets of studies were done completely independently in two different parts of the country by two different research teams and yet came up with such similar results makes both sets of findings even more powerful.

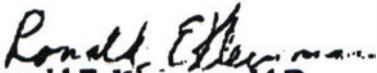
After reviewing our results in Baltimore, Dr. Robert E. Schiller, the Acting Superintendent of Schools, has decided to offer classroom feeding to all of the more than one hundred elementary schools in the district beginning in the Spring of 1998. We have enclosed a letter of support that he has written for the Meals for Achievement Act.

no letter
attached

We believe that school breakfast expansion is one of the most cost-effective ways to boost student performance and that it should have an important place in education's armamentarium for the battle to improve this country's schools.

Thank you for your consideration of this legislation and best wishes for a joyous holiday season.

Sincerely,


Ronald E. Kleinman, M.D.

REK/cgo

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

'97 DEC 22 PM3:

December 22, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
FROM RAHM EMANUEL
SUBJECT JOSEPH CIRINCIONE MEMO

I thought you would find the attached memo on nuclear policy interesting.

12-22-97

✓
To Dan Burkhardt
for reply

BC Sig -

THE HENRY L. STIMSON CENTER

Pragmatic steps toward ideal objectives

December 18, 1997

Mr. Rahm Emanuel
The White House
West Wing
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Emanuel:

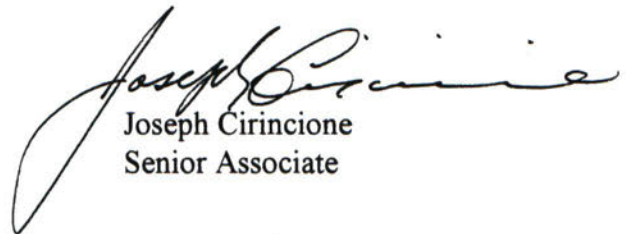
I thought you might find the enclosed memo useful.

The four-page summary I have prepared of recent reports, editorials and polls indicates a general consensus among nuclear weapons experts, knowledgeable journalists and the American public that more can and should be done to protect America from the dangers of accidental or inadvertent launch of nuclear weapons.

I hope you find this useful as you consider modifying current US nuclear weapons policies and procedures. And please forgive me for adding more to your reading list during this busy time.

I wish you all the best over the holidays and in the new year.

Sincerely,



Joseph Cirincione
Senior Associate

MEMORANDUM

To: President Bill Clinton

From: Joseph Cirincione, Executive Director, Committee on Nuclear Policy

Subject: Reducing the Alert Levels of Nuclear Forces

Date: December 18, 1997

CC: Senior Administration Officials

As your Administration considers modernizing United States nuclear weapons policies, please consider the substantial body of independent scientific and expert opinion in favor of reducing the risks in the current nuclear postures. There is also considerable editorial opinion in favor of reducing the risk of accidental or inadvertent launch of nuclear weapons and broad support among the American people for dramatic action in this area.

On behalf of the directors of 18 major research projects on nuclear weapons policy, I am pleased to send you this summary of the reports released to-date. The directors who comprise the Committee on Nuclear Policy all agree with United States policy in favor of the ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons. Recognizing this will be a long and arduous process, these directors urge several immediate steps, including:

“Reduce the danger of nuclear war and the perception that we continue to rely on nuclear weapons by exploring with other nuclear states a series of measures that will immediately remove land and sea-based ballistic missiles from hair-trigger alert, and then progressively extend the time that would be required to return them to rapid response postures.” (Joint Statement, Committee on Nuclear Policy, February 1997)

We hope the summary below helps your appreciation of the broad support that exists for implementing such measures.

Expert Studies Recommend Reduced Alert Rates and Faster Reductions

Over a dozen major reports or studies on nuclear weapons policies were released during the past two years. They show a strong bi-partisan consensus for risk reduction. In 1995, a task force of the **Council on Foreign Relations**, chaired by Stephen Hadley, recommended that:

“The United States should take steps in parallel with Russia to ‘lengthen the nuclear fuse’ by: lowering alert rates on strategic nuclear forces; deactivating,

disabling, and disassembling nuclear deliver systems destined for reduction and elimination; and 'escrowing' nuclear weapons removed from those systems."

Also in 1995, a committee under the auspices of the **Henry L. Stimson Center**, chaired by Gen. Andrew Goodpaster and including Amb. Paul Nitze, Gen. Charles Horner and Amb. Rozanne Ridgway, urged "a lower state of alert for US and Russian forces....to bring operational practices in line with changing political realities." In 1997, these former senior officials urged:

"reciprocal steps to reduce alert levels, and to codify changes in operational practices ... agreement to de-target strategic missiles could be buttressed by joint actions to move toward a 'zero-alert' posture, such as an agreement to remove all ICBMs and bombers from alert."

In 1996, the distinguished **Canberra Commission** recommended "the nuclear weapons states should take all nuclear forces off alert status" noting that:

"The end of the bipolar confrontation has by no means removed the danger of nuclear catastrophe. In some respects the risk of use by accident or miscalculation has actually increase."

The prestigious **National Academy of Sciences** Committee on International Security and Arms Control, chaired by Gen. William Burns and John Holdren, recommended in 1997 that, "elimination of continuous-alert practices should be pursued as a principal goal in parallel with, but not linked to START III." The Committee reasoned:

"It would reduce the perceived danger of short-warning-time attacks; it would make detecting preparations to use nuclear weapons easier and thereby increase the time available for political solutions; it would reduce pressures on command-and-control systems to stand ready to respond quickly and thus would decrease the chance of erroneous launch of nuclear weapons or a launch in response to a spurious or incorrectly interpreted indication of impending attack; it would allow both sides to increase barriers to unauthorized use of nuclear weapons; and it would enhance the political relationship by eliminating the assumption that the other side might launch a surprise attack."

This December, the **Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict**, chaired by David Hamburg and Cyrus Vance, concluded:

"The world would be a safer place, and the risks of deadly conflict would be reduced, if nuclear weapons were not actively deployed. Much of the deterrent effect of these weapons can be sustained without having active forces poised for massive attack at every moment....The Commission endorses the ultimate

objective of elimination long embodied in the Non-Proliferation Treaty and recently elaborated in the reports by the National Academy of Sciences.”

Excerpts from these and other relevant reports and studies are attached for your review.

Editorial Opinion Favors Reducing Arsenals and Alert Rates

The majority of editorials written on the subject over the past few years have endorsed the expert recommendations.

The Christian Science Monitor says, “The risk of not doing anything to shrink the number of missiles that can hit targets half a world away far outweighs the risk of a safe experiment aimed at sharply reducing that number. Take those few minutes to get started, Mr. President.” (November 3, 1997)

The Los Angeles Times observes, “...the more weapons that remain, the greater the chance of an accidental or unauthorized launch or of a weapon falling into terrorist hands. Reaching zero might seem unrealistic or undesirable now. But aiming for the smallest practical number should remain a constant goal.” (June 23, 1997)

The Houston Chronicle says, “The continued existence of such large numbers of missiles, ready to launch within minutes whether by mistake, accident or intention, makes the possibility of worldwide devastation a very real threat....Why shouldn't the United States and Russia commit to even larger cuts, thereby reducing military costs and the odds of a nuclear mishap? And why not achieve the reduction sooner?” (December 8, 1997)

The Washington Post pointedly argues, “Bill Clinton has no more essential task than working with Boris Yeltsin to sharpen their common focus on what is, despite the soothing atmosphere, a continuing peril....the Cold War rhetoric is gone. But the Cold War nuclear ‘posture’ endures...Cuts won't themselves solve this posture problem. It will be necessary to shift weapons away from rapid launch.” (May 30, 1997)

The New York Times says, “The faster Washington and Moscow can move ahead with actual reductions in nuclear arms, the safer both countries will be.” (March 11, 1997)

Aviation Week & Space Technology critically notes, “The complacency in world capitals about weapons of mass destruction defies understanding. None of the great powers has a crash program like the Manhattan Project to deal with what many experts, from many disciplines, agree is the leading international security threat....World leaders are guilty of first-degree political cowardice on WMD.” (November 17, 1997)

The Public Wants and Supports Action to Reduce the Threat

Polls regularly show that across all demographic groups the American people support steps to reduce nuclear dangers. A recent poll by the Mellman Group (September 1997) shows that voters believe that reducing the danger of nuclear war is among the most important accomplishments the President could leave as an historic legacy. While the greatest numbers (34%) say that reforming and improving the education system is one of the most important legacies, a quarter (24%) say the same of reducing the danger of nuclear war. Such an accomplishment would be seen as significant as balancing the budget (23%) and even more significant than improving race relations (19%) or achieving peace in the Middle East (14%).

More than two-thirds (69%) believe that the goal of the United States should be either to eliminate nuclear weapons (36%) or reduce the number of weapons to lower levels (33%). Voters favor de-alerting nuclear forces (66% favor, 29% oppose), so that weapons will no longer be on hair-trigger status.

Conclusion

The broad-based consensus among experts, knowledgeable journalists and the American public provides strong support for major changes in current nuclear weapons policies and practices that would reduce risk and strengthen international security.

Attachment:

Dealerting Excerpts from Major Reports

DEALERTING: EXCERPTS FROM MAJOR REPORTS

Nuclear Proliferation: Confronting the New Challenges: Report of an Independent Task Force on Nuclear Proliferation. (Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations, Stephen J. Hadley, Chairman, Mitchell B. Reiss, Project Director, 1995)

Members of the Task Force:

Susan Lesley Clark, Tyrus W. Cobb, Zachary S. Davis, Lewis A. Dunn, Virginia I. Foran, Alton Frye, Sumit Ganguly, Robert M. Gates, Natalie J. Goldring, Richard N. Haass, Stephen J. Hadley, David Jeremiah, Arnold Kanter, Geoffrey Kemp, Andrew F. Krepinevich, Michael Krepon, Robert A. Manning, Jessica T. Mathews, Charles William Maynes, Patricia Ann McFate, Robert S. McNamara, Roger C. Molander, Julia A. Moore, Janne E. Nolan, Douglas H. Paal, Christopher E. Paine, George Perkovich, Joseph F. Pilat, Mitchell B. Reiss, John B. Rhinelander, Charles O. Rossotti, Stephen J. Solarz, Richard H. Solomon, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Leonard S. Spector, Jeremy J. Stone, Victor A. Utgoff, Debra A. Valentine, Paul D. Wolfowitz.

“In addition to implementing agreed reductions, the United States should take steps in parallel with Russia to ‘lengthen the nuclear fuse’ by: lowering alert rates on strategic nuclear forces; deactivating, disabling, and disassembling nuclear delivery systems destined for reduction and elimination; and ‘escrowing’ nuclear weapons removed from those systems.” (p. xiii)

“An Evolving US Nuclear Posture” The Second Report of the Steering Committee Project on Eliminating Weapons of Mass Destruction (Henry L. Stimson Center, December 1995)

Members of the Steering Committee:

Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster (USA-ret.) — Chair, Representative Howard Berman, Barry M. Blechman, Gen. William F. Burns, Gen. Charles A. Horner, Senator James M. Jeffords, Michael Krepon, Robert S. McNamara, Will Marshall, Amb. Paul H. Nitze, Janne E. Nolan, Philip A. Odeen, Rozanne L. Ridgway, Scott D. Sagan, Gen. W.Y. Smith, John Steinbruner, Victor Utgoff

Phase I conditions providing...

“But much more could be done to bring operational practices in line with changing political realities. An agreement between the two governments to remove at least a portion of their remaining nuclear arsenals from high levels of readiness would provide verifiable testimony as to the waning likelihood of a sudden nuclear attack by either side, and diminish whatever risks are associated with maintaining nuclear forces on a high state of alert. In addition, a lower state of alert for US and Russian forces would underscore the diminishing importance of nuclear weapons in both countries’ policies and send a useful signal to other regions, such as South Asia, where the nuclear competition between India and Pakistan shows signs of heating up.” (p. 18)

Phase II conditions providing...

“Cuts in force levels should be accompanied by additional changes in the operational status of nuclear weapons. Under the right political conditions, for example, participating governments might agree to remove most, if not all of their nuclear weapons from active alert

status. The idea would be to further stabilize relations among the nuclear powers by separating all warheads dedicated to basic deterrence from their delivery vehicles in a way such that the process of uploading nuclear warheads would be time-consuming and transparent. Such an arrangement would preserve each country's deterrent capability, but help to enhance nuclear safety. Actions by a signatory government to restore a higher alert status in preparation for an attack would be detectable, and the benefits of a preemptive attack thereby negated. Under such an arrangement, the five nuclear powers might exempt a very small portion of their arsenals. The small forces continuing on alert would be dedicated solely to deterring nuclear threats by 'rogue' states but would be too small to threaten another nuclear power." (pp. 28-29)

Report of the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons (August 1996)

Members of the Canberra Commission:

Celso Amorim, Lee Butler, Richard Butler, Michael Carver, Jacques-Yves Cousteau, Jayantha Dhanapala, Rolf Ekeus, Nabil Elaraby, Ryukichi Imai, Ronald McCoy, Robert McNamara, Robert O'Neill, Qian Jiadong, Michel Rodard, Joseph Rotblat, Roald Sagdeev, Maj Britt Theorin

"Nuclear weapon states should take all nuclear forces off alert status and so reduce dramatically the chance of an accidental or unauthorised nuclear weapons launch. In the first instance, reductions in alert status could be adopted by the nuclear weapon states unilaterally.

"The physical separation of warheads from delivery vehicles would strongly reinforce the gains achieved by taking nuclear forces off alert. This measure can be implemented to the extent that nuclear forces can be reconstituted to an alert posture only within known or agreed upon timeframes.

"The nuclear weapon states should unilaterally remove all non-strategic nuclear weapons from deployed sites to a limited number of secure storage facilities on their territory." (pp. 11-12)

"The continuing practice of maintaining nuclear weapons systems on high alert also increases the danger of accidental detonation, if only from the handling of nuclear weapons and their components which such postures entail. Servicing complex systems on alert 24 hours a day, year in and year out, requires elaborate planning and organisation. It demands tight discipline and continuous judgements at the margin between the requirements of safety and responsiveness. Certainly, elaborate technologies were developed to try to preclude the accidental or unauthorised launch of a delivery vehicle or the detonation of the warheads it carried. The success of these measures over five decades is a credit to those who managed and maintained the weapons systems. But accidents did occur. During the period from 1945 to 1980, about 100 accidents were reported which damaged nuclear weapons and could have caused unintended detonation. A number of serious accidents involving United States airborne alert forces prompted the termination of this practice although plans permit its reinstatement in a period of acute crisis.

"The US decision in 1991 to terminate entirely the 30 year practice of maintaining a portion of its strategic bomber force on peacetime alert further reduced the exposure of these unsheltered forces to the likelihood of accident or deliberate damage. However salutary these steps to reduce alert levels, and despite the transformation of relations between the United States and Russia, the fact remains that both of these states, and other nuclear weapons states, maintain

thousands of nuclear warheads on continuous alert. This perpetuation of the most overly hostile and risky aspects of the cold War defies logic. It needlessly prolongs an atmosphere of mistrust and the potential for accidents. It is entirely out of keeping with the urgent interest of fully integrating Russian into the institutions and norms of a global community moving rapidly toward democratic government and free and open markets.

"The end of the bipolar confrontation has by no means removed the danger of nuclear catastrophe. In some respects the risk of use by accident or miscalculation has actually increased. Political upheaval or the weakening of state authority in a nuclear weapon state could cripple existing systems for ensuring the safe handling and control of nuclear weapons and weapons material, increasing the odds of a calamity. The same fate could befall other states or sub-state groups with a less developed nuclear weapon capability or those that seek to develop such a capability in the future." (pp. 21-22)

"The continuing practice of maintaining nuclear-tipped missiles on alert, whether on land-based or sea-based platforms, is a highly regrettable perpetuation of Cold War attitudes and assumptions. It needlessly sustains the risk of hair-trigger postures. It retards the critical process of normalising United States-Russian relations. It sends the unmistakable and, from an arms control perspective, severely damaging message that nuclear weapons serve a vital security role. It is entirely inappropriate to the extraordinary transformation in the international security environment achieved at such staggering cost. Taking these missiles off alert is a natural counterpart to the stand-down of bombers from nuclear alert which was implemented in late 1991.

"Terminating nuclear alert would reduce dramatically the chance of an accidental or unauthorised nuclear weapons launch. It would have a most positive influence on the political climate among the nuclear weapon states and help set the stage for intensified cooperation. Taking nuclear forces off alert could be verified by national technical means and nuclear weapon state inspection arrangements. In the first instance, reductions in alert status could be adopted by the nuclear weapon states unilaterally.

"The physical separation of warheads from delivery vehicles would strongly reinforce the gains achieved by taking nuclear forces off alert. This measure can be implemented to the extent that nuclear forces can be reconstituted to an alert posture only within known or agreed upon timeframes, much as is the case with bomber forces today. Adequate response to nuclear threats would remain certain, but the risk of large scale preemptive or surprise nuclear attack and the imperative for instantaneous retaliation would be obviated. Further, the barriers against inadvertent or accidental use would be greatly strengthened. The range of verification procedures which are already in place between the United States and Russia could likely be applied as the basis of a regime to ensure that no state would have a meaningful advantage in terms of the ability to reassemble its nuclear force for a first strike capacity." (pp. 53-54)

Nuclear Weapons Statement by 60 International Generals and Admirals (December 1996)

"It is our deep conviction that the following is urgently needed and must be undertaken now:

"First, present and planned stockpiles of nuclear weapons are exceedingly large and should now be greatly cut back;

"Second, remaining nuclear weapons should be gradually and transparently taken off alert, and their readiness substantially reduced both in nuclear weapons states and in de facto nuclear weapons states..."

An American Legacy: Building a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World. The Final Report of the Steering Committee Project on Eliminating Weapons of Mass Destruction. (Henry L. Stimson Center, March 1997)

Members of the Steering Committee:

Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster (USA-ret.) — Chair, Representative Howard Berman, Barry M. Blechman, Gen. William F. Burns, Gen. Charles A. Horner, Senator James M. Jeffords, Michael Krepon, Robert S. McNamara, Will Marshall, Amb. Paul H. Nitze, Janne E. Nolan, Philip A. Odeen, Rozanne L. Ridgway, Scott D. Sagan, Gen. W.Y. Smith, John Steinbruner, Victor Utgoff

"...the most urgent near-term task is to ensure the further dismantlement of the large nuclear stockpiles accumulated during the cold war, but reviewing operational measures and enhancing nuclear safety should be given high priority in bilateral discussions as well.

"The United States should propose reciprocal steps to reduce alert levels, and to codify changes in operational practices. For example, President Clinton's largely symbolic agreement with Russian President Boris Yeltsin to de-target strategic missiles could be buttressed by joint actions to move toward a 'zero-alert' posture, such as an agreement to remove all ICBMs and bombers from alert." (p. 9)

The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy. Committee on International Security and Arms Control, National Academy of Sciences. (National Academy Press: Washington, D.C., 1997).

Members (CISAC):

John P. Holdren, Chair, John D. Steinbruner, William F. Burns, George Lee Butler, Paul M. Doty, Steve Fetter, Alexander H. Flax, Richard L. Garwin, Rose Gottemoeller, Spurgeon M. Keeny, Jr., Joshua Lederberg, Matthew Meselson, Wolfgang K.H. Panofsky, C. Kumar N. Patel, Jonathan D. Pollack, Robert H. Wertheim

"The basic structure of plans for using nuclear weapons appears largely unchanged from the situation during the cold war, with both sides apparently continuing to early and large counterforce strikes and both remaining capable, despite reductions in numbers and alert levels, of rapidly bringing their nuclear forces to full readiness for use. As a result, the dangers of initiation of nuclear war by error (e.g. based on false warning of attack) or by accident (e.g. by a technical failure) remain unacceptably high." (p. 2)

"In assessing the risks associated with nuclear arsenals, the operational and technical readiness of nuclear weapons for use is at least as important as the number of delivery vehicles or warheads. Elimination of continuous-alert practices should be pursued as a principal goal in parallel with, but not linked to START III. It would reduce the perceived danger of short-warning-tie attacks; it would make detecting preparations to use nuclear weapons easier and

thereby increase the time available for political solutions; it would reduce pressures on command-and-control systems to stand ready to respond quickly and thus would decrease the chance of erroneous launch of nuclear weapons or a launch in response to a spurious or incorrectly interpreted indication of impending attack; it would allow both sides to increase barriers to unauthorized use of nuclear weapons; and it would enhance the political relationship by eliminating the assumption that the other side might launch a surprise attack.”(p. 62)

Ending the Threat of Nuclear Attack. James E. Goodby and Harold Feiveson. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press: May 1997)

“It is critical also that, early in the first stage, the United States and Russia take action to reduce the dangers inherent in their current rapid-launch postures. The deactivation measures described in the Helsinki parameters would be an effective method of accomplishing this, but we foresee a broader application of the method than that laid down in the Clinton-Yeltsin agreement.

“In both countries, strategic bombers are already kept at a low level of combat readiness and without nuclear payload. Additional steps to increase the time and visibility necessary for their regeneration should be taken....

“Silo-based ICBMs could be deactivated using methods agreed in the Helsinki parameters. Warheads could be removed from the missiles and stored separately at monitored sites, paralleling the procedures now followed for bombers....” (p. 11)

Caging the Nuclear Genie: An American Challenge for Global Security. Adm. Stansfield Turner (Boulder, CO: Westview Press: 1997)

“A corresponding initiative with strategic nuclear weapons would be for us to remove perhaps 1,000 warheads from operational strategic launchers and place them in strategic escrow, that is, in designated storage areas some distance from their launchers. We would invite the Russian Federation to place observers at each storage site. Their duties would be limited to counting the number of warheads going into storage, keeping track of whether any were moved, and conducting surprise inventories to ensure none had been clandestinely removed...” (p. 66)

“At the same time, this would be a more meaningful step than the detargeting and de-alerting procedures we and the Russians have instituted in recent years, as reconstitution would take days or weeks, not minutes or hours. And the president would not have to obtain a two-thirds vote in the Senate, as with any treaty. There would be no need to hammer out detailed rules for verification for escrow, as all that would be required would be straightforward counting of numbers of warheads going in and out.”(p. 67)

“Taking Nuclear Weapons off Hair-Trigger Alert,” *Scientific American* (November 1997): 74-81. Bruce Blair, Harold Feiveson, and Frank von Hippel.

“It is time to end the practice of keeping nuclear missiles constantly ready to fire. This change would greatly reduce the possibility of a mistaken launch.”

“Although international relations have changed drastically since the end of the cold war, both Russian and the U.S. continue to keep the bulk of their nuclear missiles on high-level alert.... Why do two countries at peace retain such aggressive postures, ones that perpetuate the danger of a mistaken or unauthorized launch”

“The cuts in nuclear arms set by the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties (START) should lessen the threat of an accidental nuclear exchange, but those changes will come only gradually....The chance of an accidental launch could be reduced much more rapidly by ‘de-alerting’ the missiles — increasing the amount of time needed to prepare them for launch. The U.S. and Russia should move independently down this path to a safer world, preferably taking quick strides in parallel. Two prominent proponents of this approach are former senator Sam Nunn of Georgia and retired general George Lee Butler, commander in chief of the U.S. Strategic Command from 1991-1994.”

“But if the U.S. and Russia aspire to establish the highest possible standard of safety for their nuclear armaments, they should move as rapidly as possible to take all their missiles off alert and then follow with further steps to increase the time required to reactivate these weapons.

“The ultimate goal would be to separate most, if not all, nuclear warheads from their missiles and then, eventually, to eliminate most of the stored warheads and missiles.”

Preventing Deadly Conflict. Final Report of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (Washington, DC: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, December 1997)

Members:

David Hamburg and Cyrus Vance, co-chairs.

Gro Harlem Brundtland, Virendra Dayal, Gareth Evans, Alexander L. George, Flora MacDonald, Donald F. McHenry, Olara A. Otunnu, Shridath Ramphal, Roald Z. Sagdeev, John D. Steinbruner, Brian Urquhart, John C. Whitehead, Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan

“The world would be a safer place, and the risks of deadly conflict would be reduced, if nuclear weapons were not actively deployed. Much of the deterrent effect of these weapons can be sustained without having active forces poised for massive attack at every moment. The countries that maintain these active forces are the ones most threatened by the active forces of other countries, but the entire world is exposed to the consequences of an operational accident or an inadvertent attack. As long as any active deployments are maintained, moreover, the incentive and opportunity for proliferation will remain. The dramatic transformation required to remove all nuclear weapons from active deployment is feasible in technical terms, but substantial changes in political attitudes and managerial practices would be necessary as well. The Commission endorses the ultimate objective of elimination long embodied in the Non-Proliferation Treaty and recently elaborated in the reports by the National Academy of Sciences.” (p. 73)

JOINT STATEMENT

The United States and world security are threatened by the continued existence of nuclear weapons and by the efforts of states to rely on nuclear weapons to meet their security objectives.

Therefore, our ultimate objective must be the elimination of all nuclear weapons by all nations through a verifiable and enforceable international agreement. Keeping in mind this goal and recognizing this will be a long and arduous process, the United States should now:

1. Restate forcefully its commitment to the ultimate goal of eliminating nuclear weapons by verifiable international agreements.
2. State clearly that the United States will no longer plan for the use of nuclear weapons to deter or respond to non-nuclear attacks and that it maintains nuclear weapons only for the purpose of deterring their use as long as they are held by other states.
3. Reduce the danger of nuclear war and the perception that we continue to rely on nuclear weapons by exploring with other nuclear states a series of measures that will immediately remove land and sea-based ballistic missiles from hair-trigger alert, and then progressively extend the time that would be required to return them to rapid response postures.
4. Negotiate and implement deeper reductions in nuclear weapons with Russia and make clear its willingness to do so immediately.
5. Begin discussions with all nuclear-weapon states on measures, such as a comprehensive accounting system for nuclear weapons and materials, that would facilitate agreements to reduce nuclear weapons stockpiles and the enforceable verification of an agreement to eliminate all nuclear weapons in all nations.

We believe these steps merit the support of all those concerned with the dangers of nuclear weapons including those who may not at this time favor the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

COMMITTEE ON NUCLEAR POLICY

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Over a dozen American research institutes and study groups will release reports in 1997 on reducing the threat posed by nuclear weapons and the feasibility of eliminating these weapons entirely. Directors of many of these projects formed the Committee on Nuclear Policy to emphasize and expand the emerging expert consensus on these vital issues.

The Committee includes project directors from the Atlantic Council, the Brookings Institution, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Henry L. Stimson Center, the Progressive Policy Institute, the Natural Resources Defense Council, and other institutes. Members of the Committee join as individuals and their affiliation does not imply formal membership or assent on the part of their institutions.

The Committee facilitates cooperation and discussion among the projects, and makes their findings available to journalists, policy analysts, and policy makers. The Committee conducts activities in support of all projects, including publication of Policy Briefs and Memoranda on near-term steps to reduce the dangers from current nuclear deployment policies; and the organization of a national poll later this year on public attitudes towards nuclear weapons policy.

Joseph Cirincione is the Executive Director of the Committee, which is based at the Henry L. Stimson Center. The project is made possible by the generous support of the W. Alton Jones Foundation, the John Merck Fund, the Ford Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, and the Ploughshares Fund.

THE COMMITTEE IS COMPOSED OF:

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(1991-1994)
Senator Alan Cranston
Jonathan Dean, *Union of Concerned Scientists*
Harold Feiveson, *Princeton University*
Steven Fetter, *CISSM-University of Maryland*
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