

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

The Agony of Mines

PRESIDENT CLINTON had before him the opportunity to fashion a strong policy against anti-personnel land mines, and he lost it. That leaves him with a policy that is in rhetoric dedicated to an international ban but that is in practice more likely to undermine a ban. It does this by protecting certain designated American military usages of mines and in that way inviting every other country so minded to protect its own designated usages. The new policy, instead of outlawing mines as a generic weapon, attempts to weave a way between mines that are acceptable and mines that are not and ends up legitimizing mines as a specific weapon.

That's not all. The particular reason that mines have been in the news in recent months is that the time had come for the regular Geneva conference that reviews these things; users and critics alike, realizing it was an important moment to set a post-Cold War compass, weighed in. Ordinarily one would be pleased to see the company of nations turning to such an urgent and heretofore neglected topic. But in this instance, the quest for an international accord became something of an obstacle to the necessary goal of phasing out all uses of mines. Various countries including the United States were able to argue that they could not give up their prized mine options until others had given up theirs too. Thus has the American government allowed the pace of de-mining by the world's armies and guerrilla forces to be set in some instances by the slowest and most cynical among them. Rather than isolating the worst miscreants, the new policy offers them some comfort. To do this and call it disarmament is a joke.

The American debate on land mines has been presented as a struggle between a military determined to preserve certain mine options and a president reluctant to expose himself in a political campaign as a commander in chief inattentive to the prerogatives of his troops. But the military was always divided on the issue of mines; there were responsible military people ready to consider alternative ways to serve the missions that in the prevailing permissive atmosphere had been given over to mines. And a president who wanted to do it, even one who has had his own troubles coming to terms with the military, could have found a political path to a different policy. Instead, Mr. Clinton decided to ban (except in the special case of Korea) the "dumb" mines it stopped producing several years ago anyway and to retain "smart" mines into an indistinct future. Not much.

Let us recall that what in Washington is a fairly interesting policy debate is for many regions and countries nothing less than a matter of their life and death. These are the places where indiscriminately strewn mines, left over from wars others have forgotten, still kill and maim miserable civilians by the tens of thousands every year. The outlawing of these weapons was by itself never going to end the agony of mines, but it would have signaled as nothing else could that people everywhere are finally seeing these instruments of optional military convenience straight as artifacts of permanent civilian tragedy. These are the true terms of the land mine debate, and it is appalling that President Clinton has put the United States on the wrong side.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4502

APPROPRIATIONS
JUDICIARY

April 19, 1996

The Honorable William Perry
Secretary of Defense
Department of Defense
Washington, DC 20301

Dear Bill:

I thoroughly enjoyed our breakfast this morning. Our nation is fortunate to have you where you are.

The idea you proposed for resolving the landmine issue is encouraging. My understanding is that the Korea DMZ would be the only exception to a complete United States ban on anti-personnel landmines by the year 1999, and would require an annual certification by the President.

I know that those who fervently support a total ban will fear an exception for the DMZ in Korea will invite other countries to carve out their own exemptions, and that this would set back efforts for an international ban. I also recognize the difficulties and pressures you are under, and want to try to find a way through this.

I believe we need to explore the Korea issue in more depth, but that a good faith effort on both of our parts will lead to a satisfactory outcome.

Thank you again, Bill.

Sincerely,



PATRICK LEAHY
United States Senator

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Clinton Won't Change Land Mine Policy

President Seeks to Avoid Political Risk in Election Year, Critics Say

By John Mintz
Washington Post Staff Writer

After months of internal debate within the administration about land mines, President Clinton has decided to follow the Pentagon's wishes and to leave largely unchanged the nation's current stance on using the weapons, said government officials and activists briefed on the latest language in the proposal.

Anti-mine activists and members of Congress who favored an immediate, total ban on land mines are disappointed. They said Clinton decided in this election year that siding with peace activists is not worth the political risk. His political advisers feared a repetition of the turmoil following his 1992 support for gays in the military, they said.

But administration officials said Clinton was making a military calculation rather than a political one.

"The president takes his personal responsibility for force protection incredibly seriously," an administration official said. "He's very attentive when Gen. [John] Shalikashvili [chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff] tells him this is the way the military defends itself. . . . This policy puts us on a path to negotiate an end to mines."

In the new policy, Clinton is expected to embrace most or all proposals endorsed recently by the Pentagon. About two weeks ago military officials supported continuing the use of "smart" anti-personnel mines, which self-destruct after a set time period, until a worldwide ban is negotiated. They also backed ending use of "dumb" mines, which remain dangerous indefinitely, after 1999—but with exceptions to allow such weapons to protect against a North Korean invasion of South Korea, and possibly other circumstances.

The Pentagon has said in the past it would limit dumb mine use to those situations anyway, and U.S. companies stopped making dumb mines years ago. The new policy also endorses pursuing a global treaty to rid the world of mines—a position Clinton enunciated in 1994—as well as carrying out more research in mine detection, and developing military alternatives to mines. Any negotiated global ban could take a decade or more, activists say.

Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.), an ally of the anti-mine coalition, said if Clinton endorses the plan officials outlined to him, it amounts to "a fail-



FILE PHOTO

SEN. PATRICK J. LEAHY
... an ally of anti-mine coalition



FILE PHOTO

GEN. JOHN SHALIKASHVILI
... solicited retiree support for plan

ure of U.S. leadership. . . . It simply reaffirms the Pentagon's old policy: they support a ban, but not now, not anytime soon—who knows when? . . . This policy gives a green light to [mines] continued use for years to come."

"We are deeply disappointed," said Robert Muller, president of the anti-mine Vietnam Veterans of American Foundation. "With no Republican opposition arguing to keep [mines] the president deferred to the hollow demand of the Pentagon to maintain this useless weapon."

The activists believe there is little danger Republicans could damage Clinton politically over the issue, since last year Sen. Robert J. Dole (Kan.), the presumptive Republican presidential candidate, helped pass a congressional measure renouncing U.S. use of mines.

Thirty-eight nations have endorsed an immediate mine ban. The approximately 100 million mines in the ground kill or injure 500 people a week worldwide, as more armies resort to them.

The activists tried to provide Clinton with what they called "political cover" by enlisting support for an immediate ban from 15 retired U.S. generals and admirals, including Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf War, and Gen. David Jones, a former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

In the last two weeks, Shalikashvili and other Pentagon officials telephoned the retired officers, asking them to endorse the administration plan and convincing some to attend a

White House ceremony announcing it.

Some of the retired military officials said they understood at the time from a number of the phone calls the policy would be closer to the activists' position—essentially a ban on all mines after 2001 except in Korea. The administration was considering that option as recently as two weeks ago, officials said.

Retired Army Lt. Gen. Henry Emerson, who commanded an infantry division in Korea in the 1970s and who endorsed the ban, said he refused the Pentagon's request to appear at the White House. In any case, he mocked the idea that mines are needed to defend South Korea, and added mines are "a fiendish weapon intended to maim and terrify, which shouldn't exist."

At a recent White House dinner to raise money for a Roosevelt family memorial, the Vietnam veterans group bought a table for \$60,000, and its president, Robert Muller—who has used a wheelchair since 1967 after being shot and paralyzed as a young Marine in Vietnam—cornered Clinton with Gen. Jones for 10 minutes. Clinton, Muller said, expressed support for a ban but concern about causing a rupture with the military.

Last week, the group bought a table at a Democratic Party dinner, where Muller tried to persuade Clinton political consultant Richard Morris there was little peril in Clinton's endorsing a mine ban because Dole and his wife, Elizabeth, chairman of the American Red Cross, are for it, too.

THE FEDERAL DIARY

Downsizing Detours

By Mike Causey
Washington Post Staff Writer

Congress and the Clinton administration want to make it easier for longtime federal workers to depart with dignity, no-shrink pensions and permanent health insurance coverage.

Agencies must get rid of about 8,000 workers (by General Accounting Office estimates) this year, one way or another. If long-timers with veterans preference don't leave voluntarily, short-timers in the 20 to 40 age group will take major hits under last-hired, first-fired layoff rules. The alternative is designer layoffs targeting senior employees and veterans. Many would consider the latter course unfair, illegal and politically stupid.

Some legislative detours being considered to avoid layoffs normally wouldn't even be considered. But in an election year, with downsizing a reality, politicians are more receptive. All the plans would require congressional and White House approval. Hearings already have begun. The action will be before the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee and the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee. Republicans and Democrats from the Washington area are pulling together to keep layoffs to a minimum and provide "soft landings" for the unfortunate.

U.S. agencies have lost about 200,000 jobs, mostly in Defense Department jobs, because of Clinton administration downsizing and reengineering. Congressional budget cuts mean fewer jobs down the road. The White House has focused on cutting Defense jobs and management and "overhead" jobs in budget, procurement, accounting and personnel. Congress wants most of the future cuts to be made in nondefense agencies.

Here's a brief shopping list of proposals that are being studied:

- Recently, the Clinton administration enthusiastically joined the soft-landing derby with a broad-based plan. Among other things, it would authorize front-loaded buyouts (worth \$25,000 this year and next, but diminishing in value to \$10,000

by 2000) as an incentive. Rep. **Frank R. Wolf** (R-Va.) first proposed the front-loaded buyouts in a soft-landing bill he has introduced. The Clinton plan would allow buyouts only in downsizing agencies, not on a government-wide basis.

- Most area members of Congress are backing a bill sponsored by Rep. **James P. Moran Jr.** (D-Va.) that would encourage workers to take deferred retirement—in some cases as early as age 45—with their annuity starting at age 62. Moran would index their future benefits to living costs so that inflation wouldn't erode them.

- The early retirement penalty, which is 2 percent for each year the retiree is under age 55, would be waived temporarily under a bill introduced by Reps. **Constance A. Morella** (R-Md.) and **Albert R. Wynn** (D-Md.). Their plan would encourage workers in downsizing agencies to retire early (at age 50 with 20 years of service, or any age with 25 years) by exempting them from the early-out penalty. Most agencies already have authority to offer workers early retirement through Sept. 30. Many employees have said they would take early retirement, even without a buyout, if the 2 percent penalty were waived.

- Congress also will consider health insurance coverage for otherwise ineligible employees who retire from downsizing agencies. Under current rules, which can be waived in special cases, an individual must have participated in one of the federal health plans for five years before retirement to keep coverage after retirement. That waiver already is available in Defense.

Benefits Freebie

The 1996 edition of the "Ins and Outs of Your Federal Benefits" booklet is available free from the Public Employees Roundtable. The book outlines the benefits available to feds, job rights and information on layoffs, furloughs and career transition. To get a copy, call 1-800-442-6654.

Thursday, May 16, 1996

Clinton to Act On Banning Many Types Of War Mines

By PHILIP SHENON

WASHINGTON, May 15 — President Clinton has decided to impose a ban on American use of a large variety of land mines beginning in 1999, with an exception for their use in Korea, and will commit the United States to the eventual elimination of all mines, Administration officials said today.

The President's decision, which is to be announced at the White House on Thursday, would halt the use of so-called dumb mines, which remain armed indefinitely, except in Korea. They have been seeded there in hopes of discouraging a North Korean invasion of South Korea.

Under the President's decision, smart mines, which self-deactivate or self-detonate over time, would be allowed to remain in the American arsenal until other weapons are developed to replace them, or until an international agreement is reached to eliminate their use. An international conference this month failed to outlaw the use of mines and allowed nations nine more years to use up stocks of dumb mines.

Officials said that the President would portray the new policy as a breakthrough. "This is a significant advance," said an Administration official. But groups leading the campaign for a total moratorium on the use of mines described the President's reported decision — especially its exception for the use of dumb mines in Korea and the use of smart mines elsewhere in the world — as a grave disappointment.

They said it was difficult to see how the new policy was much of an advance over the President's commitment in a September 1994 speech to the United Nations to "the eventual elimination of anti-personnel mines." The United States stopped producing dumb mines several years ago.

Mines kill or maim more than 20,000 people a year, mostly civilians. Senator Patrick Leahy, a Vermont Democrat who has led calls on Capitol Hill for a complete ban on the use of land mines, said the President's reported decision represented "a failure of U.S. leadership."

"It simply reaffirms the Pentagon's old policy," he said. "They support a ban, but not now, not anytime soon — who knows when?"

James F. Hollingsworth, a retired lieutenant general who led American troops in Korea in the 1970's, said in an interview that he believed that electronic surveillance equipment made mines unnecessary in Korea.

"I think that by making an exception for mines in Korea, you open the floodgates for everybody else in the world to find their own exemptions," he said.

Others involved in the campaign for a moratorium on the use of mines welcomed the President's decision.

David Jones, a retired Air Force general who was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the Carter and Reagan Administrations, said that the new policy was "a step in the right direction."

General Jones, who last month signed an open letter to the President calling for a ban on mines, said that an exception for Korea was understandable "because that's obviously a special situation."

A Spy Agency Admits Accumulating \$4 Billion in Secret Money

By TIM WEINER

WASHINGTON, May 15 — In a complete collapse of accountability, the Government agency that builds spy satellites accumulated about \$4 billion in uncounted secret money, nearly twice the amount previously reported to Congress, intelligence officials acknowledged today.

The agency, the highly secretive National Reconnaissance Office, said last year that the surplus money totaled no more than about \$1 billion. Congressional intelligence overseers said in December that the amount was about \$2 billion.

They were misinformed. The secret agency was unaware until very recently exactly how much money it had accumulated in its classified compartments. To put the \$4 billion in perspective, what the National Reconnaissance Office did was to lose track of a sum roughly equal to the annual budgets for the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the State Department, combined.

John Nelson, appointed last year as the reconnaissance office's top financial manager and given the task of cleaning up the problem, said in an interview published today in a special edition of Defense Week that the

secret agency had undergone "a fundamental financial meltdown."

Senior intelligence officials confirmed Mr. Nelson's unusually candid account, and said the meltdown was fueled by excessive secrecy, financial incompetence and a lack of accountability at the agency.

All the money spent by the secret agency, a clandestine branch of the Air Force, is hidden through various false line items that comprise the so-called "black budget," which finances secret intelligence and military programs and is shielded from public scrutiny. The existence of the reconnaissance office was itself a

state secret, though badly kept, until 1992.

The reconnaissance office issues secret Government contracts to build systems and components for space satellites that take pictures, record radar images and eavesdrop on telecommunications. It spends about \$6 billion in secret money a year building the satellites for the Central Intelligence Agency, the Air Force and the Navy.

While technically adept, it was financially inept, senior intelligence officials said. It had 15 different accounting systems in its 15 different program offices, each kept secret

from one another.

"Everybody did it a little different, none of them talked to each other, and it was a mess," Mr. Nelson told Defense Week. "This was literally a house on fire in many ways."

The financial incompetence of the reconnaissance office meant that one of the nation's biggest intelligence agencies misinformed Congress, the Director of Central Intelligence and the Secretary of Defense about how much money it had, Mr. Nelson said.

The agency's secrecy made Congressional oversight next to impossible, intelligence officials said. Thus, the Congressional intelligence committees kept appropriating money for the secret agency, unaware that

it was building up a surplus of billions of dollars.

The reconnaissance office found itself in trouble in 1994 for constructing what several senators called a "stealth building." The Senate Intelligence Committee protested that the agency had built itself a headquarters outside Washington, costing more than \$300 million, without disclosing the building's true cost and size.

The agency's financial managers explained the lapse by saying they had treated the construction project as if it were a covert operation, and had broken the financing for the building into indecipherable fragments to hide the cost.

Cabin in Bomb Case Is Moved 70 Miles To Air Force Base

HELENA, Mont., May 15 (Reuters) — The wooden cabin of Theodore J. Kaczynski, the suspect in the Unabom case, was moved about 70 miles early today from a Montana hillside to an Air Force base for safekeeping, the F.B.I. said.

The one-room, 10- by 12-foot cabin was moved from near Lincoln, Mont., to Malmstrom Air Force Base near Great Falls, said George Grotz, a spokesman for the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Unabom task force in San Francisco.

A Federal court in Helena approved moving the cabin to avoid the risk that curiosity seekers might take pieces of it as souvenirs or in other ways disrupt evidence, law-enforcement sources said.

Mr. Kaczynski, 53, a Harvard-educated mathematician who abruptly gave up an academic life to live as a hermit in the mountains of Montana, was arrested at the cabin on April 3.

The authorities say they believe he is the Unabomber, who killed three people and injured 23 over 17 years. Mr. Kaczynski has not been charged with any Unabom crimes and is being held on a single charge of possessing bomb-making materials.

The F.B.I. has said it seized more than 720 pieces of evidence from the cabin, including a live pipe bomb, a partly completed bomb and a typewriter the F.B.I. believes was used to type the Unabomber's rambling 35,000-word manifesto published late last year by The New York Times and The Washington Post.

The Washington Post reported today that Federal investigators had found a secret number used by the bomber on a letter in Mr. Kaczynski's cabin. It said the nine-digit number, never disclosed before Mr. Kaczynski's arrest, appeared on letters in which the Unabomber took credit for and predicted bombings.

The newspaper said Federal officials hoped that this evidence could help link Mr. Kaczynski with at least one of the fatal bombings.

New Historic Trail Nears

WASHINGTON, May 15 (AP) — Representative John Lewis, a Georgia Democrat who as a young man was clubbed by the police in a milestone civil rights march in 1965, has won House approval of a bill designating the march route from Selma to Montgomery, Ala., a national historic trail.

Calling the 54-mile march "a turning point in the journey to the Voting Rights Act of 1965," Mr. Lewis told the House on Tuesday, "History along this route is precious."

The measure was passed by voice vote. It now goes to the Senate.

Corrections

An article by Reuters on March 30 about a jocular proposal to send British cattle to Cambodia misstated the source. And a correction in this space on May 3 referred incorrectly to the newspaper involved. The suggestion — to send British cattle infected with so-called mad cow disease to Cambodia, where they could be set loose in old minefields, eliminating two problems at once — was made in a letter to the editor published in The Cambodia Daily (not The Cambodia Times). The suggestion was not devised by the newspaper itself.

An article yesterday about the memorial service for William E. Colby, the former Director of Central Intelligence, misstated the source of a reading by his granddaughter. It was from Ecclesiasticus, a book of the Apocrypha that Roman Catholics but not Protestants include in the Old Testament. The reading was not from the Old Testament book of Ecclesiastes.

A chronology on Tuesday with an article about the 150th anniversary of the Trinity Church building referred incorrectly to Trinity School. It is the oldest continuously operating school in New York City. Collegiate School, founded in 1628 but

closed from 1776 to 1783, is the oldest school.

The Key Rates table on the Credit Markets page of Business Day yesterday misstated Tuesday's yield on municipal bonds. It was 6.00 percent, not 6.37.

A book review yesterday about Terry McMillan's new novel, "How Stella Got Her Groove Back," misstated the title of Ms. McMillan's previous book. It is "Waiting to Exhale," not "Learning to Exhale."

An article on May 4 about the scarcity of Hispanic executives in the publishing industry misidentified the publisher of the novel "Mother Tongue," by Demetria Martinez. It is to be published in September by One World, a division of Ballantine, not by Warner Books.

A report in the Food Notes column of The Living Section yesterday about Lioni Latticini, a maker and importer of Italian cheeses, misstated the address of its Brooklyn warehouse, which is opening to retail customers on Fridays and Saturdays from 10 A.M. to 3 P.M. The warehouse is at 7803 15th Avenue, Bensonhurst.

Living With Land Mines: Cambodia's Deadly Toll

By SETH MYDANS

KOMPONG SPEU, Cambodia, May 8 — Here in one of the most heavily mined countries on earth, where farmers are regularly killed and maimed in their fields, some villagers have found creative uses for unexploded land mines.

They set them off in ponds and lakes to stun and catch fish. They plant them outside their homes for protection at night, digging them up again in the morning before they go to work.

Recovered land mines are sometimes stolen from beside the road before disposal teams can destroy them; villagers here say they can fetch a modest price on the black market.

But mostly in this country of roughly 9 million people, where some experts say there is one buried mine for every man, woman and child, villagers are the victims of a weapon that continues to take a toll long after armies have, for the most part, left the battlefield.

The small hospital in this provincial capital 25 miles west of Phnom Penh has a special ward for amputees, along with wards for infectious diseases and maternity care. The patients' stories are similar.

Sam Soa, who is 35, was trying to find his cow in a field behind his home when a land mine shattered his left leg below the knee. "It knocks you down," he said. "I didn't realize what had happened, and I tried to run away. I thought people were shooting at me."

Him Reth, 20, lost her left leg when she was searching for firewood in a forest not far from her village. "Nobody told me to be careful of land mines," she said, reflecting an ignorance about the danger of mines that is surprisingly widespread in Cam-

"As a main victim of land mines, we would have expected more significant results."

Land mines have been one of the most effective weapons in more than 25 years of periodic warfare in Cambodia. Some officials said they were responsible for halting a Government dry-season offensive this year on a jungle headquarters of the Communist Khmer Rouge, which controlled the country in the late 1970's.

All parties in Cambodia's long-running, multi-sided conflicts — including groups backed by the United States — have planted mines over the years. The country's fields and forests remain deadly even though real warfare is now localized in a small area of the northwest.

In the fetid and overcrowded military hospital in Phnom Penh, where soldiers wait for medical care with their families, one administrator said 70 percent of the wounded patients were mine victims.

In the hospital's barren courtyard, legless men lounged in hammocks the other day, cradling their babies, while small children played hopscotch and one-eyed men, some of them also the victims of mine explosions, gazed down from a balcony outside their ward.

The terror of land mines has been illustrated recently by the abduction for ransom by bandits of a British mine-removal expert, Christopher Howes, and his Cambodian interpreter, Houn Hourth, who work for the British-based Mines Advisory Group.

In the six weeks since then, said Archie McCarron, the agency's program director, at least 8 people involved in the search for the two men have been killed and 14 wounded, all by mines.

Mr. McCarron said mines in Cambodia are more difficult to clear — or to avoid — than in other countries because more than anywhere else they have been laid not only in clearly defined mine fields but in diffuse "mined areas."

In addition to their use on battlefields, he said, the Khmer Rouge had scattered mines to acquire mobile, dependent populations by denying people the use of their home villages and fields.

Now up to 5 percent of the nation's arable land is unusable because of land mines, he said. Many of the hundreds of thousands of refugees who returned from Thailand in 1992 have never been able to go back to their homes because of the danger of mines. And because of the vast number of mines scattered around the country, he said, there are some remote areas that may never be free of them.

About 2,000 people work in mine-sweeping teams around the country, Mr. McCarron said. He said many of his agency's workers are one-legged mine victims who would otherwise be mostly unemployable. It has been estimated that 80,000 Cambodians have been killed by land mines since 1970 and that one in every 236 people here has an amputated limb.

In a small, hot room at an American Red Cross prosthetics clinic beside the Kompong Speu hospital, four legless men smoked cigarettes and rocked in green hammocks as they waited for new artificial limbs.

One of them, Sin Thik, a 29-year-old former soldier, said he now spends his days at home, looking after his 3-year-old niece while his parents work in the fields.

In a few years, he said, his niece will be old enough to look after him, fetching food and water and helping him in and out of bed. He said it would be her lifelong employment.

Joint Chiefs Weaken Proposal For Land-Mine Moratorium

By PHILIP SHENON

WASHINGTON, May 10 — The Joint Chiefs of Staff have watered down a proposed American moratorium on land mines, recommending a broad exception that could allow the use of mines anywhere the United States and its allies need protection from an enemy across a demilitarized zone, Clinton Administration officials said today.

The proposal, which was presented to President Clinton in a White House meeting today, would allow the use of mines indefinitely in Korea and in other potential war zones where the United States and its allies patrol a demilitarized area recognized by the United Nations.

The wording of a statement by the Joint Chiefs suggests that the United States could use mines in the Persian Gulf, including the buffer zone between Kuwait and Iraq established after the 1991 war, and in other regions where war is a threat.

Legislators and organizations seeking a complete ban on land mines said they were outraged by the recommendations, which came after a two-year Pentagon study of whether land mines were still needed in the American military arsenal.

More than 20,000 people, mostly civilians, are killed or maimed by mines each year, and several international organizations have joined in a campaign for a worldwide ban on their use. A copy of the recommendations from the Joint Chiefs was made available by individuals critical of the Pentagon's findings.

Anti-mine groups were alarmed earlier this week by reports that President Clinton would approve a moratorium on land mines that would allow their use in Korea. Under today's recommendation, the exceptions appear even broader.

"The Pentagon's recommendation would be a tragic failure of American leadership," said Senator Patrick J. Leahy, a Vermont Democrat who has led Congressional efforts to totally ban the use of land mines. "Instead of encouraging other countries to stop using these weapons, it would give a green light to their continued use for years to come."

Robert O. Muller, president of the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, said that his group and others would seek to persuade President Clinton to reject the recommendation of the Joint Chiefs.

"The proposal would make a mockery of the President's concern and would run a dagger through the heart of our international campaign to ban this weapon," Mr. Muller said.

Kenneth Bacon, the Defense Department's chief spokesman, defended the recommendations, which he described as subject to change.

"We're looking for a formula that will meet the President's promise of eliminating the use of anti-personnel land mines," Mr. Bacon said. "There's a humanitarian imperative to do this, but we have to balance the humanitarian imperative with the need to protect our forces."

Under the Joint Chiefs' proposal, the United States would ban the use of devices known as dumb land mines, which remain active indefinitely, by the end of 1999 except "to defend the U.S. and its allies from armed aggression that crosses a demilitarized zone recognized by the United Nations and incorporated in an armistice agreement."

The United States could also continue to use devices known as smart mines, which self-destruct or deactivate over time, until there is an international agreement banning their use.



The New York Times

The hospital in Kompong Speu has a special ward for amputees.

bodia, despite the "mine awareness teams" that travel from village to village teaching basic precautions.

Mey Chhon, 58, lost her right foot as she was walking home from the fields with a basket of mud crabs on her head. "I heard a loud bang and white smoke went up in the air," she said. "I didn't know what had happened. People walk on that path all the time and nobody had ever been hurt."

The continuing civilian toll of land mines around the world has brought increasing calls for a ban on the weapons. Last week an international conference in Geneva agreed to some restrictions on their use but stopped short of calling for an outright prohibition.

The compromise in Geneva drew protests from some of the 64 countries where an estimated 100 million mines are scattered. Here in Cambodia, where mines kill or wound 300 or more people each month, a Government spokesman, Hor Sothoun, said,

THE NEW YORK TIMES
SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1996

Yeltsin's Desperation: He May Embrace an Old Foe

By MICHAEL SPECTER

MOSCOW, May 10 — Things have suddenly become desperate in the election campaign of President Boris N. Yeltsin.

News Polling is a particularly inexact science in Russia. But the Kremlin has become so spooked by private polls that show Mr. Yeltsin still far behind his

Analysis Communist opponent, Gennadi A. Zyuganov, that it has begun urgent talks with the President's democratic rival, Grigory A. Yavlinsky.

Mr. Yeltsin is not fond of Mr. Yavlinsky, a brash but popular 44-year-old economist. Mr. Yavlinsky has spent much of the last year arguing that Mr. Yeltsin is a man whose time is long gone.

But the President needs him now, and the President is still the most powerful man in Russia.

"He should do whatever he needs to do to buy him off," said Nuzgar I. Betaneli, the director of the Institute of Sociology of Parliamentarism, who runs a highly regarded polling service. "If he has Yavlinsky working for him, it will make a very big difference."

That, no doubt, is why the two men, after months of stony silence, alternating with angry words, met for two hours on Sunday and for two more on Wednesday. Before the second meeting, Mr. Yavlinsky spoke tantalizingly of an anti-Communist coalition.

"The issue we are going to discuss would be a first in Russian history," he said in an interview with the BBC on Wednesday, "a political coalition between the Government and the democratic opposition. We could form a coalition to prevent the victory of Mr. Zyuganov."

Mr. Yavlinsky has flirted often with coalitions this election season. He sees himself as the potential leader of a group called the Third Force, an alliance including a nationalist, Gen. Aleksandr I. Lebed, retired, and

a famous eye surgeon and entrepreneur, Svyatitslav Fyodorov. The group says it is still possible that they will select a single candidate among them, but they have very different political views, and time is running short.

An alliance between Mr. Yavlinsky and Mr. Yeltsin would be different, providing Mr. Yeltsin with great potential to defeat the Communists.

By tonight, however, Mr. Yavlinsky, the founder of the Yabloko faction of Parliament, was acting coy again. He again demanded that Mr. Yeltsin dismiss most of his Cabinet. Mr. Yeltsin has said he would consider his suggestions.

Yet most analysts agree it would be unlike the President to accede to

Looking for a way to stop the Communists.

such demands unless he was convinced that it was the only way for him to regain the presidency. Today Mr. Yavlinsky said that he would be happy to meet again with Mr. Yeltsin; but that he has no intention of withdrawing from the race.

"I have big doubts about it," Mr. Yavlinsky said today about the potential for a coalition with the President. "There are only 30 days left before the elections. Perhaps it is a little too late."

Some of Mr. Yeltsin's aides, however, believe it is too late to do anything else.

Their problems began this week when the President's closest Kremlin aide gave two interviews in which he said Russia was not "civilized" enough to hold elections this June.

Mr. Yeltsin quickly and publicly disagreed. But it would be naïve to view the declarations by the aide, Maj. Gen. Aleksandr V. Korzhakov, as the singular ravings of a man out of touch with his surroundings. It would be more accurate to regard his outburst as an unfortunate public expression of a private fear.

This will be a crucial week in the presidential race. May 15 is the official opening of the media campaign, the period when candidates are permitted to broadcast commercials on television. Once the ads begin, it will be difficult to conclude an agreement between Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Yavlinsky, advisers to both men agree.

That has led to the increasing sense of urgency surrounding the Yeltsin forces. Although there are polls that suggest that the President has pulled even with or passed Mr. Zyuganov, many of the campaign's leaders, stung by false optimism in the past, when Communists and nationalists have performed better than expected, do not believe them.

"We have got to get Yavlinsky to think more about Russia than he does about himself," said Anatoly B. Chubais, who is now a senior adviser to the Yeltsin campaign, but was recently dismissed from his highly visible post as Mr. Yeltsin's chief of privatization. Mr. Chubais said Mr. Yeltsin could not realistically offer Mr. Yavlinsky the one post he appears to want, that of prime minister.

"Even if we were going to be completely cynical," he said in an interview today, "the truth is Viktor Chernomyrdin is the Prime Minister. He is a public figure with his own supporters. The role of the regional governors in this campaign is very important, and they support Chernomyrdin. Most of them hate Yavlinsky even more than they hated me."

In other words, Mr. Yeltsin may need the regional governors, most of whom he appointed and all of whom

carry great power in parts of Russia where the federal government has diminishing power, far more than he needs Mr. Yavlinsky.

For at least one man, the problems evident among the democratic factions provide undiluted pleasure. Mr. Zyuganov has watched these machinations on the part of his opponents with obvious glee. "I expected this all," he said this week about the rumors that Mr. Yeltsin was seeking a way to persuade Mr. Yavlinsky to withdraw from the race. "They are all really the same thing. They may as well be together."

That is a good theme for Mr. Zyuganov to pursue. People who support Mr. Yavlinsky are not often fond of Mr. Yeltsin. They see Mr. Yavlinsky as an alternative who is not a route to the past. If he were to unite with Mr. Yeltsin, many of his supporters would have to wonder what happened to their bold new leader.

"The writing would be on the wall for Yavlinsky's political career," Mr. Zyuganov said. "Trust in him would be zero."

THE NEW YORK TIMES
SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1996

Jessica Mathews

Ban Land Mines Now

Only once before and that 70 years

MAY 06 '96 09:36 FR

FATRICK J. LEAHY
VERMONT

That this can be done without significant risk to security has been evident for some time in the feeble explanations offered as to why these weapons are essential. They are said to be necessary to slow a North Korean attack on Seoul, for example. But if such an attack should happen, it will be led by heavy armor, not infantry, and antipersonnel mines will make little difference.

Any remaining doubt on the matter of,

For the Record

From remarks by President Clinton at a news conference at George Washington Carver Middle School in Miami Monday:

While the drug rate has gone down, drug usage among people under 18 has gone up. While the crime rate has gone down, random violence among people in-

TO 94562215

P.01/03

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION AND
FORESTRY
CHAIRMAN
APPROPRIATIONS
JUDICIARY

9 MAY 8 9:39

TELEFAX TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

TO: ~~Johnnie Todd~~ Todd Sker

OF: _____

FROM: Luke Albee

OF: _____

DATE: 5/6/96

TIME: _____

3 PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET)

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Gas Bags

IN 1993, AS part of his first budget, President Clinton rightly proposed an increase in the federal gasoline tax to help reduce the deficit and encourage energy conservation, both at the same time. If anything, the increase was too small to accomplish either purpose. It nonetheless became a focal point of opposition to the president's entire first-year program. Mr. Clinton had to beg all manner of Democrats to support him, often at great political cost to themselves; his presidency depended on it, he said.

Now, however, gasoline prices are temporarily up a little, having been stable for most of the past 10 years, and the Republicans, led by their presidential nominee-in-waiting, Bob Dole, are calling for repeal of the tax increase, which was 4.3 cents a gallon. Repeal, they say, is the best way to provide the nation's suffering motorists with relief. And what is the administration's response to that? It's about as stout as you have likely come to expect. The administration, too, is "prepared to discuss" repeal, says the president's chief of staff, though only of course in the context of broader budget talks.

So it goes in an election year. It's no accident that the state in which prices have risen most is, for a

variety of mostly local reasons, California, as rich in votes as it is notoriously deficient in public transportation. If Bob Dole is expressing sympathy for the California motorist, you can believe Bill Clinton will not be far behind. Indeed, the president tried to go one up by announcing Monday that he had ordered the sale of some oil from the nation's strategic petroleum reserve, and never mind that (a) the amount was probably too small to have an effect on prices and (b) that he and Congress had already agreed to the sale, not to bring relief to motorists but because they needed the revenue to finance the budget.

While he was at it, the president let it be known yesterday that he was deeply concerned about cattle prices, too—they're too low—and was taking steps to provide some token relief to the nation's livestock producers. Gas prices too high? Beef prices too low? Who knows what's next. NASA said yesterday that one of its spacecraft had encountered the fastest vibrations ever found in the universe—1,130 per second. It thought they were emanations from neutron stars, but in fact they were the response time of the two campaigns to the slightest hint of a problem in any large part of the electorate.

Taking the Pentagon Private

FOLLOWING INDUSTRY'S lead, the Defense Department is seeking to privatize or "outsource" many of its peripheral functions, such as data processing, health care and inventory control. This makes sense, and Deputy Secretary John P. White deserves credit for championing the philosophy in the face of bureaucratic and congressional resistance.

The most contentious proposals relate to the privatization of weapons maintenance. The armed services spend about \$15 billion per year on depot maintenance, which is serious money even for the Pentagon—about 6 percent of its budget. Mr. White argues that the military could spend less if private companies did more of this fixing and upgrading, a shift that would simultaneously bolster a defense industry suffering from post-Cold War shrinkage. The administration therefore is asking Congress to repeal a law that currently limits private participation in this business to 40 percent.

The idea is so inflammatory a Capitol Hill "Depot Caucus" has mobilized to resist it. Its members argue for a robust in-house maintenance capability so that the military will not have to rely on private contractors in wartime. They also say the Pentagon has inflated the likely savings from privatization. As it happens, most caucus members have depots in their districts, and their national security concerns dovetail nicely with their worries about job loss.

Unfortunately, presidential politics have weakened the administration's standing on this issue as well. A

bipartisan base-closing commission urged that two large Air Force depots be closed, so that work could be consolidated at three others, which operate at 50 percent of capacity. One of the two earmarked for closing happened to be in the critical electoral battleground of California (the other is in Texas), and so the administration came up with a hybrid called "privatization-in-place," which could end up costing more than the current arrangement.

Anyone who has seen American troops operating in Bosnia or spent time on an aircraft carrier knows that private contractors already are essential. There's no reason to question their patriotism or their availability in wartime. At the same time, anyone familiar with the history of Pentagon contracting knows that turning to the private sector doesn't necessarily—to put it gently—save money. The key to economy is competition, not privatization per se. In cases of complex weapons systems whose maintenance requires huge investment in equipment, there may be only one qualified contractor. Then, removing the government depot as a competitive agent could actually lead to higher costs.

Certainly, Congress should remove the 40 percent rule, which arbitrarily limits Pentagon flexibility. The Pentagon, if it's serious about cost savings, should shut down those two depots in California and Texas. Then the armed services should proceed with privatization when, and only when, the structure of the private marketplace ensures that competitive pressures will keep prices down.

Link

5.1

①

1999

Iraq & Korea

②

Immed. ban Korea (except'n)
+ US call for global talks
[but no end date for destruction]
But TL said can't get chiefs
to sync off

APR 30 '96 14:47 FR

TO 94562215

P.01/02

PATRICK J. LEAHY
VERMONT

COMMITTEES:
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United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

96 APR 30 P3:24

TELEFAX TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

TO: Tedd Stern

OF: _____

FROM: Luke Albee

OF: _____

DATE: 4/30/96

TIME: _____

2 PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET)

THE BOSTON GLOBE • TUESDAY, APRIL 30, 1996

The Boston Globe

WILLIAM O. TAYLOR, *Chairman of the Board and Publisher*BENJAMIN B. TAYLOR, *President*MATTHEW V. STORIN, *Editor*H.D.S. GREENWAY, *Editor, Editorial Page*STEPHEN E. TAYLOR, *Executive Vice President*HELEN W. DONOVAN, *Executive Editor*WILLIAM B. HUFF, *Executive Vice President*GREGORY L. MOORE, *Managing Editor*

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Leading the ban

Presidents rarely have the chance to make decisions that are equally justifiable on humanitarian grounds and on the basis of the national interest. President Clinton now has such an opportunity.

Because US troops in Bosnia are most endangered by millions of antipersonnel land mines, Clinton can do something concrete to protect all future US peace-keeping missions by deciding to enact a ban on the production, use and export of all antipersonnel land mines — without exceptions.

A clear and forceful US stand against the continued maiming and killing of civilians by land mines might create momentum for an international ban. Already 83 countries have signed on to the campaign to prohibit land mines. Were Clinton to add the United States to this burgeoning movement for sanity, it would become difficult for most countries to resist the trend.

There may always be a few pariah states. Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.), who has led efforts to disassociate America from land mines and their ceaseless slaughtering of civilians, has long argued that the realistic aim of an international ban on land

mines is to save as many lives and limbs as possible, not to convert Saddam Hussein or any other criminal in power into a humanitarian.

Many retired and active US military commanders now favor an end to the use of all land mines, but some civilian officials in the Defense Department continue to hold out for a policy of phasing out mines over a long period of time or retaining mines that self-destroy. These refinements would vitiate America's capability to win other countries over to the campaign for an international ban.

Clinton, who is now considering an American ban that would begin in 1999, must avoid the trap of declaring the Korean demilitarized zone an exception. Antipersonnel mines, as opposed to anti-tank mines, would have little utility in the event of a North Korean assault on the South. And most countries have their own favorite exception to a ban. President Clinton has a rare opportunity to go down in the history books as someone who made a real difference in the effort to reverse the killing and maiming that has become ever more efficient in this century.

PATRICK J. LEAHY
VERMONTUnited States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510COMMITTEES:
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FORESTRY
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96 APR 26 11:24

TELEFAX TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEETTO: Todd Stern
OF: _____
FROM: Whe Albee
OF: _____

DATE: _____

TIME: _____

2 PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET)

Todd -
Please do not
distribute until PJL
gives to The Prez.
Call when you
have a minute.
Whe
14-2593

PATRICK LEAHY
VERMONT

COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND
FORESTRY
APPROPRIATIONS
JUDICIARY

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4502

April 25, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

I know you have been inundated with press reports and other information on anti-personnel landmines. I greatly appreciate the attention you and your administration have given to this.

The April 3 letter in the New York Times signed by 15 senior retired military officers strongly urging you to unilaterally ban these indiscriminate weapons was a milestone, like your speech at the United Nations in September 1994 when you set the goal of an international ban. Support for a ban has grown steadily since then, and in just the past two weeks Germany and Australia added their names to the list of countries that have unilaterally renounced these weapons.

If the negotiations on landmines in Geneva have proven anything, it is that an approach that treats anti-personnel mines as legitimate weapons will fail to solve this problem in our lifetime. Strong U.S. leadership is essential to build pressure on other governments to stop using them.

If it were my choice alone, I would want to see us ban these weapons immediately. However, I know the Pentagon has been reluctant to give them up, and that the Korea DMZ is of particular concern. For this reason, I want to suggest a way for you to make the kind of dramatic announcement that I believe the world needs and anticipates, without ignoring the Pentagon's concern. At a breakfast meeting I had with Secretary Perry on April 19, I believe we made real progress towards bridging the gap with the Pentagon. In line with a proposal raised by Secretary Perry at that time, I suggest that, at the earliest possible time, you announce:

— That the U.S. will end its production and use of anti-personnel landmines beginning in 1999. That is the year the Leahy Amendment takes effect, and you, Mr. President, could make that law permanent beyond 1999. While you are still in office and before the beginning of the next century, we would have renounced these weapons.

-- That because of the unique situation on the Korean peninsula which is divided by a heavily fortified UN-monitored DMZ, during the next three years we will consult with the South Korean Government and review whether we can eliminate our use of anti-personnel mines there.

-- That effective immediately, we will begin to destroy our stockpile of anti-personnel mines.

-- The appointment of a coordinator for mine clearance who will be in charge of U.S. support for international efforts to assist in the removal of landmines around the world.

It is very important how the Korea matter is handled. I strongly advise against an explicit "exception" for Korea, even one that has to be renewed annually, because it would invite other governments to insist on exceptions of their own. This could cause immense problems in the future, as we urge other governments to follow our example. By leaving the Korea matter open, we would be able to assess the matter further and fully explore alternatives.

If you were to make an announcement of a ban in 1999 as I have suggested, I am confident that you would have the support of the generals who signed the New York Times letter, the Catholic bishops, and the more than 90 humanitarian and veterans organizations in this country that are working for a ban. You would also give tremendous momentum to the international effort to put an end to the devastation these inhumane weapons have inflicted on the world.

As always, I would be happy to discuss any of this with you or any member of your administration.

Respectfully,

PATRICK LEAHY
United States Senator

4/24
Todd -
Do you want
copy?

C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: April 24

TO: Tony

FROM: Staff Secretary

By 1 - in case you
haven't seen. As I
mentioned yesterday at
the 7:30, I don't think
Leahy was displeased by
his meeting with Barry.
To the contrary. Paul

April 19, 1996

The Honorable William Perry
Secretary of Defense
Department of Defense
Washington, DC 20301

Dear Bill:

I thoroughly enjoyed our breakfast this morning. Our nation is fortunate to have you where you are.

The idea you proposed for resolving the landmine issue is encouraging. My understanding is that the Korea DMZ would be the only exception to a complete United States ban on anti-personnel landmines by the year 1999, and would require an annual certification by the President.

I know that those who fervently support a total ban will fear an exception for the DMZ in Korea will invite other countries to carve out their own exemptions, and that this would set back efforts for an international ban. I also recognize the difficulties and pressures you are under, and want to try to find a way through this.

I believe we need to explore the Korea issue in more depth, but that a good faith effort on both of our parts will lead to a satisfactory outcome.

Thank you again, Bill.

Sincerely,



PATRICK LEAHY
United States Senator

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PATRICK LEAHY
VERMONT

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JUDICIARY

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4502

April 19, 1996

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Secretary of Defense
Department of Defense
Washington, DC 20301

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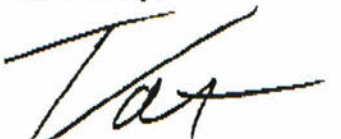
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Sincerely,



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United States Senator

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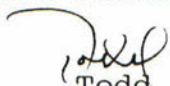
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 19, 1996

MR. PRESIDENT:

I understand that Mary McGrory may be writing a critical column on land mines for Sunday, making reference to the attached letters from the Vietnam Veterans of America and the U.S. Roman Catholic Bishops. I thought you'd want to see the letters before reading about them.


Todd Stern



VIETNAM VETERANS OF AMERICA FOUNDATION
2001 "S" STREET, N.W.
SUITE 740
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

April 16, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

We understand that your administration is considering a proposal that would implement a US ban on antipersonnel landmines sometime after the end of this decade. As the coordinator of both the US and the International Campaign to Ban Landmines – and the sponsor of the full page New York Times letter signed by fifteen senior retired military officers in favor of a ban – I want to make it clear to you that such a proposal would be strongly opposed by Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation.

Our goal is to ban antipersonnel landmines now. We have been working to do so for a number of years, and we will continue our efforts to make certain that such a ban goes into effect. While we welcome any US move to ban these terrible weapons, postponing the effective date of doing so would represent a retreat in US leadership on this critically important and urgent issue.

A number of our nation's allies (Australia, Canada, Belgium, and many others) have already announced a ban on antipersonnel landmines effective immediately. Just today, Germany announced that it will immediately ban the production, transfer and use of antipersonnel landmines. An announcement by you, now, that our nation is unwilling to take a similar step would place the United States on the same side of this issue as Russia and China. This would be a tragic failure of US leadership.

Mr. President, I want to assure you that if you enact an immediate ban, we will make certain that you are given the full credit that you deserve for showing such leadership. We have spent a great deal of time gaining the support of senior retired military officers (including Generals Schwarzkopf, Jones, Moore, Gard, Galvin, Emerson – and others who have called us with their support) for such a position. We, and they, will stand behind you – literally and figuratively – when you announce such a ban.

Cordially,

Robert O. Muller
President
Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation

Department of Social Development and World Peace

3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 FAX (202) 541-3339 E-Mail (SDWP@AOL.COM)



April 17, 1996

The Honorable Anthony Lake
National Security Advisor
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Lake:

Once again, I write to you on behalf of the U.S. Roman Catholic Bishops on land mines. A few weeks ago, you met with a group of Catholic leaders on the vital issue of banning these indiscriminate and deadly weapons. We welcomed the serious and positive tone of that meeting and the subsequent announcement of the Pentagon review of military policy in this area. I enclose a copy of the letter our Bishops' Conference sent to Secretary Perry applauding the review and offering our perspectives on this topic.

I write now to express our hopes and concerns about the important choices now facing the Administration. Given the deep convictions of the Catholic community in the United States and around the world, we hope the Administration will offer strong, unmistakable and convincing leadership in the effort to ban anti-personnel land mines. The United States should move quickly and unambiguously to ban the production, sale and use of anti-personnel land mines. A decision to ban land mines at some date beyond this decade fails to reflect adequately the moral urgency and human stakes in the continued use of land mines. Now is the time to provide leadership in the essential effort to ban these indiscriminate and terrible weapons. To postpone into the next century a U.S. ban on land mines could hurt the cause we share and reduce the credibility of the U.S. in the global struggle to ban land mines. A number of our allies have already banned these weapons. Significant U. S. military leaders have publicly urged a ban. The Congress has adopted a moratorium on strong bi-partisan vote. Now is not the time for delay, but for strong and clear leadership.

We urge the Administration to act boldly on this vital moral and human question. We will not relax our intense and ongoing efforts to ban these indiscriminate weapons. We stand ready to support strong U.S. leadership to end the use and rid the world of these terrible weapons—not in some distant future, but before we begin a new century. With strong leadership and moral

urgency, our nation can approach the millennium with a commitment that anti-personnel land mines will not maim and kill children, scar the earth and threaten our military forces. This requires U.S. action now, not in the next century. We ask you to convey our strong convictions on this issue to the President as he makes these important choices.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Daniel P. Reilly". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Daniel" being the most prominent.

Most Reverend Daniel P. Reilly
Bishop of Worcester
Chairman, International Policy Committee

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 19, 1996

Harold --

Follow-up on land mines discussion at 8:15 meeting yesterday:

- Letters from Vietnam Veterans of America and U.S. Roman Catholic Bishops. I have heard Mary McGrory is going to make reference to these in her Sunday column, and I have thus forwarded them with a note to that effect to the President;
- The earlier open letter to POTUS from Generals Schwarzkopf, Galvin, Jones, et al.

One other note -- I heard yesterday that Tim Connolly, the principal Deputy Assistant Secretary at DOD who was quoted in the March 17, 1996 Raymond Bonner piece in the NYT saying that land mines should be banned, has been fired. I can't vouch for this information, and, even if it is true, it may well have nothing to do with his comments to Ray Bonner. But I thought you might want to know.


Todd



VIETNAM VETERANS OF AMERICA FOUNDATION
2001 "S" STREET, N.W.
SUITE 740
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
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Cordially,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'R O Muller', written over a horizontal line.

Robert O. Muller
President
Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation

Department of Social Development and World Peace

3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 FAX (202) 541-3339 E-Mail (SDWP@AOL.COM)



April 17, 1996

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National Security Advisor
The White House
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Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Lake:

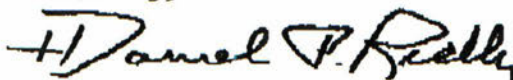
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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Daniel P. Reilly". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "D" and a stylized "P".

Most Reverend Daniel P. Reilly
Bishop of Worcester
Chairman, International Policy Committee

An Open Letter to President Clinton

Dear Mr. President,

We understand that you have announced a United States goal of the eventual elimination of antipersonnel landmines. We take this to mean that you support a permanent and total international ban on the production, stockpiling, sale and use of this weapon.

We view such a ban as not only humane, but also militarily responsible.

The rationale for opposing antipersonnel landmines is that they are in a category similar to poison gas; they are hard to control and often have unintended harmful consequences (sometimes even for those who employ them). In addition, they are insidious in that their indiscriminate effects persist long after hostilities have ceased, continuing to cause casualties among innocent people, especially farmers and children.

We understand that there are 100 million landmines deployed in the world. Their presence makes normal life impossible in scores of nations. It will take decades of slow, dangerous and painstaking work to remove these mines. The cost in dollars and human lives will be immense. Seventy people will be killed or maimed today, 500 this week, more than 2,000 this month, and more than 26,000 this year, because of landmines.

Given the wide range of weaponry available to military forces today, antipersonnel landmines are not essential. Thus, banning them would not undermine the military effectiveness or safety of our forces, nor those of other nations.

The proposed ban on antipersonnel landmines does not affect antitank mines, nor does it ban such normally command-detonated weapons as Claymore "mines," leaving unimpaired the use of those undeniably militarily useful weapons.

Nor is the ban on antipersonnel landmines a slippery slope that would open the way to efforts to ban additional categories of weapons, since these mines are unique in their indiscriminate, harmful residual potential.

We agree with and endorse these views, and conclude that you as Commander-in-Chief could responsibly take the lead in efforts to achieve a total and permanent international ban on the production, stockpiling, sale and use of antipersonnel landmines. We strongly urge that you do so.

General David Jones (USAF ret.)
former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

General John R. Galvin (US Army, ret.)
former Supreme Allied Commander, Europe

General H. Norman Schwarzkopf (US Army, ret.)
Commander, Operation Desert Storm

General William G. T. Tuttle, Jr. (US Army, ret.)
former Commander, US Army Materiel Command

General Volney F. Warner (US Army, ret.)
former Commanding General, US Readiness Command

General Frederick F. Woerner, Jr. (US Army, ret.)
former Commander-in-Chief, US Southern Command

Lieutenant General James Abrahamson (USAF ret.)
former Director, Strategic Defense Initiative Office

Lieutenant General Henry E. Emerson (US Army, ret.)
former Commander, XVIII Airborne Corps

Lieutenant General Robert G. Gard, Jr. (US Army, ret.)
former President, National Defense University
President, Monterey Institute of International Studies

Lieutenant General James F. Hollingsworth (US Army, ret.)
former I Corps (ROK/US Group)

Lieutenant General Harold G. Moore, Jr. (US Army, ret.)
former Commanding General, 7th Infantry Division

Lieutenant General Dave R. Palmer (US Army, ret.)
former Commandant, US Military Academy, West Point

Lieutenant General DeWitt C. Smith, Jr. (US Army, ret.)
former Commandant, US Army War College

Vice Admiral Jack Shanahan (USN, ret.)
former Commander, US Second Fleet

Brigadier General Douglas Kinnard (US Army, ret.)
former Chief of Military History, US Army

This message is brought to you by
Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation
2001 S Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009

Luke Allen

4-9

Lambert

Immediate - ① no mom except defense
US or allies

② no use v/d
length of p

- ③ no transfer v/d Congress

④ v/d 5 years & destroyed
no & exact cover

End all secret 10-14

RLC - before BC leaves, he makes
dec'n
decision re total moratorium against ~~use~~ ^{use}

RLC

give order to '98 re end BL term
stop all lambert [except in
designated omz etc.]

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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March 17, 1996, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 1; Column 3; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1452 words

HEADLINE: PENTAGON WEIGHS ENDING OPPOSITION TO A BAN ON MINES

BYLINE: By RAYMOND BONNER

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, March 16

BODY:

With the daily threat of land mines to American soldiers in Bosnia having brought the issue home, Gen. John Shalikashvili, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has ordered a review of the military's longstanding opposition to banning the use of land mines, which kill or maim more than 20,000 people a year, mostly civilians.

In asking for the review last week during a meeting with the chiefs of the military services, General Shalikashvili said he was "inclined to eliminate all anti-personnel land mines," a senior Pentagon official said.

The Pentagon was prompted to review its policy in part by a strong bipartisan anti-mine sentiment in Congress, led by Senator Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, as well as by a growing international campaign to ban antipersonnel mines, Pentagon officials said.

These separate Congressional and international campaigns against mines gained new momentum after American soldiers began arriving in December in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where an estimated three million land mines have been planted. Three American soldiers have been wounded by the weapons.

Nearly a dozen countries have banned the use of land mines. Senator Leahy and other advocates of a ban argue that if the United States renounced their manufacture, sale and use, many other countries would follow. While they concede that there would still be outlaw states, they counter that an international ban backed by sanctions would result in a substantial overall reduction in the use of land mines.

Pentagon officials say General Shalikashvili acted after he and Defense Secretary William J. Perry received a confidential letter from the American representative to the United Nations, Madeleine K. Albright, who had returned from a trip to Angola. That country has many young men and children whose limbs were ripped off in land-mine explosions.

Ms. Albright wrote that a new policy on land mines was urgently needed, because the Administration's current policy would not achieve their elimination "within our lifetimes."

The New York Times, March 17, 1996

She sent copies to other senior Administration officials; parts of the letter were read to The New York Times by a supporter of the ban who had received a copy.

Two years ago in a speech at the United Nations, President Clinton called for the "eventual elimination" of land mines. Under current policy, the Administration supports an amendment to the 1980 Convention on Conventional Weapons that would allow the use of only "smart" mines, which deactivate or destroy themselves after a few weeks or months.

The United States was barred by Congress in 1993 from exporting land mines for three years. Another law prohibits the United States from using land mines for one year in 1999.

There are an estimated 100 million land mines planted in 62 countries, and an official with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency said last week that the number is increasing by two million a year. The State Department has said 7,200 people a year are killed or wounded by mines; the American Red Cross has estimated that it is twice that many, and other estimates run even higher.

This week, the Dutch Government renounced the use of land mines, joining Canada, Mexico, Belgium, Austria, Norway and five other countries; France recently prohibited the production and export of land mines. Twenty-four countries have called for an international ban, according to the latest tally by Human Rights Watch, the New York-based human rights organization, which has been a leader in an international campaign for a ban.

Last fall the International Committee of the Red Cross opened a campaign to ban antipersonnel land mines. It was a highly unusual step for the Swiss organization, which is not an advocacy organization and only once before has called for a weapons ban -- of chemical weapons, back in the 1920's.

"We've simply seen too much," said Urs Boegli, director of the Red Cross's land-mine campaign, explaining why the organization had acted.

More than any other single organization, the Red Cross works in conflicts around the world, he said. He added that the Red Cross had begun its campaign only after having fought unsuccessfully to strengthen the 1980 treaty on conventional weapons to restrict their use.

China and Russia, which each have stockpiles of more than 100 million mines, have been the major countries blocking an amendment.

In the Pentagon, the Office of Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict has pushed for a complete ban on all antipersonnel mines -- "smart" and "dumb" -- except in limited situations like the border between North and South Korea.

Land mines should be put in the category of chemical weapons, said Timothy Connolly, principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for special operations. Even though they have military utility, chemical weapons have been banned because of their devastating consequences, to soldiers and civilians.

"Some day, and that day has to be sooner rather than later, we are going to

The New York Times, March 17, 1996

reach that same conclusion about antipersonnel land mines," Mr. Connolly, who was an Army captain during the Persian Gulf War, said during an interview this week.

Mr. Connolly's office rejects the "smart" mine compromise.

The basis of the American support for such a compromise is that it is possible to develop a mine that will self-destruct or self-deactivate with 99.7 percent certainty, according to Robert Sherman, director of advanced projects of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and a negotiator in talks on amending the conventional weapons pact.

But Mr. Connolly said, "There is no evidence in the United States that we are capable of building a device capable of working 100 percent or nearly 100 percent of the time."

Until this recent review, Mr. Connolly's voice had been a lonely one in the Pentagon.

Pentagon officials predicted that the Army and Marine Corps would fight the hardest to be allowed to keep at least some land mines, Pentagon officials said. Military doctrine calls for land mines to reduce the number of soldiers needed in certain situations, to channel the enemy and to protect vital installations, like power stations.

In the closed-door meeting last week when General Shalikashvili ordered the review, the chiefs of the Army and Marine Corps said they needed land mines to police the border between North and South Korea, a Pentagon official said.

"The U.S. Army's position is that we use land mines responsibly," said an Army general who spoke on condition of anonymity.

Senator Leahy believes, however, that with American troops in Bosnia, if President Clinton renounced the use of land mines, "he would get very substantial support in the military." Mr. Leahy, who has led a four-year effort in Congress to ban land mines, said he was constantly hearing from servicemen, from sergeants to generals, who urge him on.

Recently he received an E-mail message from an Air Force master sergeant, Dale A. Lamell, on duty in Bosnia, who wrote: "I would like to salute you for your efforts to eliminate the international use of land mines. Bosnia should serve as an example to the rest of the world."

Requesting anonymity, a senior military officer at the Pentagon also said this week that there was considerably more support among officers for getting rid of land mines than emerges publicly.

Freed from the constraints of being in uniform, several prominent retired generals have agreed to sign an open letter to the President calling for an international ban on the production and use of antipersonnel land mines, said Robert Muller, director of the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, which began soliciting signers three weeks ago.

Among them are Gen. Frederick R. Woerner, a former commander of the United States Southern Command in Panama, and Lieut. Gen. Harold Moore, a former

The New York Times, March 17, 1996

commander of the Seventh Infantry Division and author of "We Were Soldiers Once . . . and Young."

"I very much oppose antipersonnel land mines because they are indeed indiscriminate in their killing and maiming," Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf wrote this month in a letter to Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr., who was chairman of the Republican National Committee during the Reagan Presidency and who had written to the general asking him to join the campaign to ban antipersonnel mines.

Though he said he wanted to think a bit longer before deciding whether to sign the letter to the President, General Schwarzkopf said his wish to see land mines "forever eliminated from warfare" was based on his personal experiences of "having seen hundreds of my own troops killed or maimed by them," as well as being "keenly aware of the devastating effects" of land mines on civilians.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 18, 1996

FATRICK J. LEAHY
VERMONT

COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION AND
FORESTRY
CHAIRMAN
APPROPRIATIONS
JUDICIARY

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

9 MAY 8 4 9:39

TELEFAX TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

TO: ~~John Murtha~~ Todd Sker

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FROM: Luke Albee

OF: _____

DATE: 5/6/96

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3 PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET)

WORLD

LAND MINES: CHEAP, DEADLY AND CRUEL

Can a superpower say no to the poor man's weapon? Clinton and the Pentagon agree it can

By KEVIN FEDARKO

IN JANUARY, SENATOR CHARLES ROBB, the Virginia Democrat, was sitting on Air Force One sipping soda with several congressional colleagues. They were flying to Bosnia with President Clinton, and the conversation turned to land mines. Robb related an experience he had as a Marine in Vietnam. His unit was escorting supply convoys passing through Viet Cong-held territory, and the mission included searching for mines by poking bayonets into any disturbed soil. One afternoon, an engineer several yards in front of Robb struck a detonator with his bayonet. "He was literally vaporized right in front of my eyes," Robb remembered. "We searched for 30 minutes. But the only thing we could come up with was one boot with a foot in it."

General John Shalikashvili, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, listened closely. "He was extremely attentive," recalled one lawmaker. Shalikashvili was aware that banning antipersonnel mines had become an important political issue, both in Congress and internationally. A former frontline soldier, he understood the value of mines, but his experience helping the Kurds in Iraq after the Gulf War had shown him how devastating they can be to civilians. As the presidential plane drew nearer to Bosnia, the general well knew that he might soon have to rethink America's land-mine policy.

The subject appears to have been rethought. White House and Pentagon sources say the Clinton Administration is expected to announce soon—perhaps this week—that no later than the year 2001, the U.S. military will unilaterally abandon the use of mines, except to protect South Korea and the Persian Gulf. White House officials even suggest that the ban could begin as early as 1999. "We've all agreed we're going to have to get rid of land mines," says a senior Pentagon policymaker. "We have to lump them together with chemical and biological weapons. Even though we used them more carefully than other nations, we still agreed to scrap them too."

The decision marks the resolution of an important debate within the Pentagon over whether the U.S. can afford to sacrifice its mines. Both the risks and the significance of that outcome were underscored last week when a major U.N. conference on mines ended with minimal achievements. The conference made it clear that the world will be awash in mines for a long time to come, leaving the U.S. at a potential disadvantage; but it was also evident that to push a prohibition forward, a moral gesture by the U.S. may be necessary.

The campaign to bar American use of land mines had its first significant victory in 1992, when George Bush signed a bill sponsored by Vermont's Democratic Senator Patrick Leahy. The legislation outlawed the export of U.S.-made antipersonnel mines for one year. Later, Leahy succeeded in extending the law through 1997. Then in 1995 he won the votes for a one-year ban on the use of all mines, except along international borders and in demilitarized zones, to take effect in 1999. "Mines are the worst of human depravity," Leahy argued.

Some powerful facts support that assertion. Perhaps 110 million mines lurk in 64 nations around the world, and each year they kill or maim about 30,000 people, usually civilians. The heaviest concentrations of mines are in poor countries like Cambodia, Somalia, Bosnia, Mozambique, Afghanistan and Angola that have survived years or even decades of civil war. Five million new mines are laid each year, and only 100,000 are cleared. A new mine costs \$3; uprooting one costs between \$200 and \$1,000.

That vicious, exponential math exacts a human toll long after conflict ends. Still, the notion that the U.S. should forswear the use of mines is unpopular among many at the Pentagon. "There's no easy way to defend a perimeter without land mines," an Army officer says. "But it's just politically incorrect to support the use of land mines right now." The ability to block an enemy's retreat by quickly dropping mines from the air is another advantage that some officials are loath to relinquish. "Mine opponents say it's a matter of morality and not military



WHERE THE MINE MENACE IS WORST

CAMBODIA (above) 10 million mines, one for every person. One in every 236 Cambodians is an amputee, the highest rate of disability in the world.

ANGOLA (right) More than 15 million mines, two for every citizen. "The whole of Angola," says a South African general, "must be considered a mined area."

BOSNIA Between 3 million and 6 million mines. In Sarajevo alone, a mine injures or kills one person each day. Clearance is expected to take from 15 to 20 years. One U.S. soldier has been killed and three have been wounded by mines.

MOZAMBIQUE 2 million mines, which have killed or maimed 15,000 people since 1976.

AFGHANISTAN More than 10 million mines, all of them laid during the country's ongoing 16-year civil war. Fighting has eased recently, so mine casualties are up as people move about more freely.

utility," says the officer. "But is it moral to put your own guys at risk—knowing your adversary isn't going to do that—in order for you to feel good about yourself? That's a very narrow definition of morality."

Top Pentagon officials who support a ban say it is a matter of "military utility." They explain that strategic doctrine has changed in the past generation, and current plans rely far less on mines than did



many in the Pentagon already convinced by the antimine argument, Shalikhshvili and the Joint Chiefs concluded that the U.S. should give up on mines (always excepting protection of South Korea and the Persian Gulf). Only the timing remains an issue. Since the military has accepted Leahy's moratorium for 1999, the White House is pressing that year as the start of a permanent ban.

For Clinton, the decision carries some risk, since he is always in danger of looking weak on military matters. But with people like Schwarzkopf on the side of a ban, Clinton has some cover. Politically, the issue is safe since Bob Dole backs Leahy's measures. Moreover, the International Committee of the Red Cross is an outspoken opponent of mines, and Dole's wife Elizabeth is on leave as president of the American Red Cross. "A lot of the Republicans think this 'Let's ban mines' stuff is stupid, but because of Elizabeth Dole, nobody's willing to take the thing on," says a Republican aide in the House.

Unfortunately, except as an example to the world, a U.S. ban will have scant practical effect. The Geneva conference offered little hope. Because of opposition by countries like Russia and China, which have stockpiled tens of millions of mines, the conference stopped well short of calling for an outright prohibition. "The Chinese have told us flat out that they'll give up nukes before they give up antipersonnel mines," says a senior State Department negotiator. But the conference did establish new guidelines, under which freshly laid mines must contain enough metal to be detected and would eventually self-destruct. There is a nine-year grace period—if grace is the word—before the new restrictions become mandatory.

That won't help the millions of people living in countries polluted by mines. Angola is one such nation, and Jo Fox, a Red Cross official based in South Africa, recently returned from Angola with graphic memories of the damage mines can do. "You see a woman working in the fields," she says, "trying to hoe her crops, and she has no legs. She is up to her waist in mud."

—Reported by Robert Kroon/Geneva, Andrew Purvis/Nairobi and Mark Thompson/Washington, with other bureaus



those appropriate for wars of attrition. The capabilities the U.S. now emphasizes are speed, stealth and surprise. Even the Army's current manual on mines questions their usefulness, given the unpredictability of friendly troop movements. The military's most dramatic show of support for a ban came in April, when several prominent retired officers, including Norman Schwarzkopf, signed a full-page ad that ran

in the *New York Times*. The ad called the prohibition "not only humane, but also militarily responsible."

Shortly after the ad ran, Shalikhshvili began assembling a panel to investigate the value of mines to the U.S. But a new policy began to jell even before committee members could be chosen. With the White House concerned over the humanitarian issue and the brewing controversy, and

Jessica Mathews

Ban Land Mines Now

Only once before, and that 70 years ago, has the fastidiously apolitical International Committee of the Red Cross called for a weapon to be banned. Then it was poison gas. Now it is antipersonnel land mines. "We've simply seen too much," explained a spokesman announcing the move.

What they've seen are weapons that don't just destroy lives, but smash economies; that are intended not just to wound but to terrorize; that do more damage in "peace" than in war.

No longer a sparingly used defensive weapon, land mines are now scattered by helicopter and used offensively over huge areas and against civilians. With 100 million of them on the ground, and more every year, mines have become a global scourge that developing countries cannot live with and developed countries can no longer afford.

It is a matter of time, most people agree, until these weapons are banned. The question Bill Clinton now has the privilege of deciding is how many will die; how many will be crippled, blinded, emasculated; how many will live in poverty they might otherwise have escaped, before that step is taken.

An extraordinary head of steam has built up in support of negotiating an immediate ban. Thirty countries have signed on. A dozen have decided to act on their own, variously banning production and use and destroying stockpiles. Germany joined that group last week. More than 500 nongovernmental organizations are behind an international campaign that is galvanizing public opinion.

With the wave of opposition swelling, and the world waiting to see what the United States will do, the Pentagon and the National Security Council have recommended to the president a policy that would halt this global movement in its tracks. For the next 14 years, proposes the Pentagon, the United States won't use mines—except in Korea, the Persian Gulf, on search-and-rescue operations and in self-defense. Mostly, it will use expensive "smart" mines that can be programmed to self-destruct after a given time. In 2010 we'll support a ban.

In other words, we think these weapons are horrible and we won't use them, except in several places and on certain missions. Eventually, when we've had time to develop alternatives, we'll stop.

It would be better to do nothing. The deadline is too far in the future to be taken seriously as support for a ban. Listing exceptions where we think use of mines is justified drains the policy of its necessary moral force and invites others to name their own. Very quickly, every conflict in the world would be an exception. The proposal deliberately ignores what experience on the ground and the failure of international negotiations has made absolutely clear. Land mines can't be regulated; their use must be outlawed, stigmatized, declared taboo.

That this can be done without significant risk to security has been evident for some time in the feeble explanations offered as to why these weapons are essential. They are said to be necessary to slow a North Korean attack on Seoul, for example. But if such an attack should happen, it will be led by heavy armor, not infantry, and antipersonnel mines will make little difference.

Any remaining doubt on the matter of military risk has been put to rest by a group of 15 distinguished military leaders who recently took the extraordinary step of publicly opposing a Pentagon position. Together they represent more combat experience than any study could draw upon.

In an open letter to the president, former chief American commanders in Korea (Lt. Gen. James Hollingsworth), the Persian Gulf (Gen. Norman H. Schwarzkopf) and Europe (Gen. John Galvin), a former chairman of the Joint Chiefs (Gen. David Jones) and others, conclude without a caveat that banning mines "would not undermine the military effectiveness or safety of our forces." They urge that a "total and permanent" ban be sought "on an urgent basis."

In individual statements, several of them have emphasized the danger to American troops from both enemy mines and from our own. Mines accounted for two-thirds of Marine casualties in Vietnam in 1965, 20 percent of American losses in the Persian Gulf war and 26 percent in Somalia. In Bosnia, they have killed 25 U.N. peacekeepers, and caused 42 NATO casualties, including the first Americans. It is no accident that veterans' groups are leaders of the land mine ban campaign.

As antipersonnel mines have come to be used—selectively killing farmers and children, rendering roads and cropland useless, preventing millions of refugees from returning home, and diverting funds that should be used for development into repairing the damage—their humanitarian costs overwhelmingly outweigh their modest military benefits. Yet, despite Joint Chiefs Chairman John Shalikashvili's hint that he is "inclined to eliminate all antipersonnel land mines," the Pentagon could not bring itself to voluntarily relinquish part of its arsenal.

Clinton should not hesitate to decide otherwise, even in this political season. The generals' letter provides unassailable evidence that a ban would be militarily sound, and the country's best-known disabled veteran (married to the head of the American Red Cross) has consistently supported anti-land mine measures in the Senate.

Even a president doesn't get many chances to do something that can change millions of lives for the better. President Clinton has such an opportunity now. He should seize it.

The writer is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations.

For the Record

From remarks by President Clinton at a news conference at George Washington Carver Middle School in Miami Monday:

While the drug rate has gone down, drug usage among people under 18 has gone up. While the crime rate has gone down, random violence among people under 18 has gone up. . . . They are the people for whom we must fight this great battle. . . .

Very briefly, this strategy has five very concrete goals:

Number one, to get young people to reject drugs. . . .

Number two, to use effective treatment in prevention to break this vicious cycle that links drugs to violent crime.

Third, to stop drugs at the border. . . . [At] the Miami Customs Office . . . technology and street-smarts are catching more drugs with less inconvenience to arriving visitors.

Fourth, to break up the sources of supply, whether they are cocaine farms in Colombia or methamphetamine labs in California.

And finally, to reduce the terrible social and economic cost imposed by drugs on our society—\$69 billion in the last year. . . .

We are also working hard in Washington to try to protect you from new problems before they come to your doorstep. . . . I thank Secretary [Robert] Rubin for getting me early warning on Rohypnol, a powerful and dangerous sedative, to stop it from flooding across our borders.

I thank the attorney general for the work she has done with Gen. [Barry] McCaffrey and the others on the methamphetamine strategy. . . .

In two years, deaths from this drug have doubled. . . . We have to stop it before it becomes the crack of the 1990s.

THE WASHINGTON POST

WEDNESDAY, MAY 1, 1996

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Gas Bags

IN 1993, AS part of his first budget, President Clinton rightly proposed an increase in the federal gasoline tax to help reduce the deficit and encourage energy conservation, both at the same time. If anything, the increase was too small to accomplish either purpose. It nonetheless became a focal point of opposition to the president's entire first-year program. Mr. Clinton had to beg all manner of Democrats to support him, often at great political cost to themselves; his presidency depended on it, he said.

Now, however, gasoline prices are temporarily up a little, having been stable for most of the past 10 years, and the Republicans, led by their presidential nominee-in-waiting, Bob Dole, are calling for repeal of the tax increase, which was 4.3 cents a gallon. Repeal, they say, is the best way to provide the nation's suffering motorists with relief. And what is the administration's response to that? It's about as stout as you have likely come to expect. The administration, too, is "prepared to discuss" repeal, says the president's chief of staff, though only of course in the context of broader budget talks.

So it goes in an election year. It's no accident that the state in which prices have risen most is, for a

variety of mostly local reasons, California, as rich in votes as it is notoriously deficient in public transportation. If Bob Dole is expressing sympathy for the California motorist, you can believe Bill Clinton will not be far behind. Indeed, the president tried to go one up by announcing Monday that he had ordered the sale of some oil from the nation's strategic petroleum reserve, and never mind that (a) the amount was probably too small to have an effect on prices and (b) that he and Congress had already agreed to the sale, not to bring relief to motorists but because they needed the revenue to finance the budget.

While he was at it, the president let it be known yesterday that he was deeply concerned about cattle prices, too—they're too low—and was taking steps to provide some token relief to the nation's livestock producers. Gas prices too high? Beef prices too low? Who knows what's next. NASA said yesterday that one of its spacecraft had encountered the fastest vibrations ever found in the universe—1,130 per second. It thought they were emanations from neutron stars, but in fact they were the response time of the two campaigns to the slightest hint of a problem in any large part of the electorate.

Taking the Pentagon Private

FOLLOWING INDUSTRY'S lead, the Defense Department is seeking to privatize or "outsource" many of its peripheral functions, such as data processing, health care and inventory control. This makes sense, and Deputy Secretary John P. White deserves credit for championing the philosophy in the face of bureaucratic and congressional resistance.

The most contentious proposals relate to the privatization of weapons maintenance. The armed services spend about \$15 billion per year on depot maintenance, which is serious money even for the Pentagon—about 6 percent of its budget. Mr. White argues that the military could spend less if private companies did more of this fixing and upgrading, a shift that would simultaneously bolster a defense industry suffering from post-Cold War shrinkage. The administration therefore is asking Congress to repeal a law that currently limits private participation in this business to 40 percent.

The idea is so inflammatory a Capitol Hill "Depot Caucus" has mobilized to resist it. Its members argue for a robust in-house maintenance capability so that the military will not have to rely on private contractors in wartime. They also say the Pentagon has inflated the likely savings from privatization. As it happens, most caucus members have depots in their districts, and their national security concerns dovetail nicely with their worries about job loss.

Unfortunately, presidential politics have weakened the administration's standing on this issue as well. A

bipartisan base-closing commission urged that two large Air Force depots be closed, so that work could be consolidated at three others, which operate at 50 percent of capacity. One of the two earmarked for closing happened to be in the critical electoral battleground of California (the other is in Texas), and so the administration came up with a hybrid called "privatization-in-place," which could end up costing more than the current arrangement.

Anyone who has seen American troops operating in Bosnia or spent time on an aircraft carrier knows that private contractors already are essential. There's no reason to question their patriotism or their availability in wartime. At the same time, anyone familiar with the history of Pentagon contracting knows that turning to the private sector doesn't necessarily—to put it gently—save money. The key to economy is competition, not privatization per se. In cases of complex weapons systems whose maintenance requires huge investment in equipment, there may be only one qualified contractor. Then, removing the government depot as a competitive agent could actually lead to higher costs.

Certainly, Congress should remove the 40 percent rule, which arbitrarily limits Pentagon flexibility. The Pentagon, if it's serious about cost savings, should shut down those two depots in California and Texas. Then the armed services should proceed with privatization when, and only when, the structure of the private marketplace ensures that competitive pressures will keep prices down.

An Open Letter to President Clinton

Dear Mr. President,

We understand that you have announced a United States goal of the eventual elimination of antipersonnel landmines. We take this to mean that you support a permanent and total international ban on the production, stockpiling, sale and use of this weapon.

We view such a ban as not only humane, but also militarily responsible.

The rationale for opposing antipersonnel landmines is that they are in a category similar to poison gas; they are hard to control and often have unintended harmful consequences (sometimes even for those who employ them). In addition, they are insidious in that their indiscriminate effects persist long after hostilities have ceased, continuing to cause casualties among innocent people, especially farmers and children.

We understand that: there are 100 million landmines deployed in the world. Their presence makes normal life impossible in scores of nations. It will take decades of slow, dangerous and painstaking work to remove these mines. The cost in dollars and human lives will be immense. Seventy people will be killed or maimed today, 500 this week, more than 2,000 this month, and more than 26,000 this year, because of landmines.

Given the wide range of weaponry available to military forces today, antipersonnel landmines are not essential. Thus, banning them would not undermine the military effectiveness or safety of our forces, nor those of other nations.

The proposed ban on antipersonnel landmines does not affect antitank mines, nor does it ban such normally command-detonated weapons as Claymore "mines," leaving unimpaired the use of those undeniably militarily useful weapons.

Nor is the ban on antipersonnel landmines a slippery slope that would open the way to efforts to ban additional categories of weapons, since these mines are unique in their indiscriminate, harmful residual potential.

We agree with and endorse these views, and conclude that you as Commander-in-Chief could responsibly take the lead in efforts to achieve a total and permanent international ban on the production, stockpiling, sale and use of antipersonnel landmines. We strongly urge that you do so.

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We view such a ban as not only humane, but also militarily responsible.

The rationale for opposing antipersonnel landmines is that they are in a category similar to poison gas; they are hard to control and often have unintended harmful consequences (sometimes even for those who employ them). In addition, they are insidious in that their indiscriminate effects persist long after hostilities have ceased, continuing to cause casualties among innocent people, especially farmers and children.

We understand that: there are 100 million landmines deployed in the world. Their presence makes normal life impossible in scores of nations. It will take decades of slow, dangerous and painstaking work to remove these mines. The cost in dollars and human lives will be immense. Seventy people will be killed or maimed today, 500 this week, more than 2,000 this month, and more than 26,000 this year, because of landmines.

Given the wide range of weaponry available to military forces today, antipersonnel landmines are not essential. Thus, banning them would not undermine the military effectiveness or safety of our forces, nor those of other nations.

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s been briefed by administration officials in recent days. "Most of the world, and of Congress, American people are way ahead of the administration on this." NSC-Pentagon proposal is to "dumb" mines—which lack de-activators that can cause them to self-destruct or go dead—in five years. The United States uses hardly any of these mines. Instead, Americans use high-tech "smart" mines—the ones that would be out in 2010 under the current timetable is designed to give officials time to develop new technologies to fill the gap left by officials said.

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SPECIAL REPORT

One Weapon We Don't Need

America's most decorated soldier says land mines cannot win battles

By DAVID H. HACKWORTH

LAST FEBRUARY, SGT. 1/C DONALD A. DUGAN WAS KILLED instantly on a snowy patch of ground in Bosnia. An anti-personnel mine exploded while the veteran U.S. Army reconnaissance sergeant was attempting to disarm it. The explosion drove a piece of the steel disarming tool into his forehead. On a dozen different killing fields around the world in the past 50 years, I've seen thousands of soldiers and civilians blasted apart by land mines. In northern Italy, where I served as a 15-year-old soldier boy at the end of World War II, I saw an army captain's legs ripped off by a land mine. In Bosnia last January, I came within minutes of becoming a casualty myself from a land-mine explosion. But I've never seen a battle in which land mines made a difference to the outcome. They are ugly and ineffective weapons, and they ought to be outlawed.

Land mines are indiscriminate killers. They kill not only during the conflict, but decades after the last shot was fired. The technology has improved: a modern mine can be programmed to blow itself up after a few weeks or months, reducing the postwar threat to civilians. But anti-personnel mines are still not "smart." They can't tell a good guy from a bad guy, a soldier from a civilian, an adult from a child. And some fail to blow themselves up. When millions of mines are scattered across a battlefield by air and artillery, even a tiny "dud rate" will leave a substantial number lying in wait for innocent victims.

Of all the instruments of terror used on the battlefield, mines are the most inhumane. The wartime casualties are young men whose lives are either snuffed out or ruined forever by crippling injuries. Even soldiers who escape from a minefield unscathed are haunted by the experience. Many cases of posttraumatic stress disorder, a serious psychological malady, were caused by the preying fear of mines and booby traps. Years later, a walk across an open field brings back the old dread: What's under those leaves? Do I dare put my foot on that freshly turned earth? Walk through a minefield, and you'll never be young again.

During the Korean War, tens of thousands of soldiers on both sides were felled by land mines. Many of them were killed by their own mines, recklessly thrown down in haste, their location unrecorded. In 1952, as a 21-year-old lieutenant, I was ordered to clear a path through an unmapped minefield—one of our own. I argued with my colonel about the advisability of doing such work on frozen, snow-covered ground. Lieutenants seldom win disputes with colonels, so the mine-clearing detail proceeded as ordered until a fine black sergeant named Simmons tripped the wire on a "Bouncing Betty" mine. It popped up from the ground and blew off

the top of his head, covering me with his blood and brains. Moments later, another noncom went nuts and stomped out into the minefield, screaming: "I'll find the f— mines, I'll find the f— mines!" He was tackled, restrained and led away.

In Vietnam, the U.S. Armed Forces also used land mines irresponsibly, dropping millions of them at random by air. The enemy quickly learned how to disarm these weapons and recycle them for use against us. The Infantry battalion I commanded in the Ninth Division took more than 1,800 casualties in a year and a half, most of them caused by recycled U.S. ordnance. Mines cannot secure a flank or defend a position by themselves. For a minefield to be even

marginally effective, it must be protected by friendly troops, to knock off the bad guys who want to clear a path or use the mines against you.

Mines never stopped any unit of mine from taking its objective—or the enemy from getting inside my wire. Anyone who has ever been in battle, especially in Korea or Vietnam, has seen enemy sappers crawl through mines and barbed wire and get into their positions. I once faced a Chinese "human wave" attack in Korea. My company was dug in on high ground, with plenty of weapons, ammo and artillery support. Out in front of our position we laid a carpet of mines and flares. The enemy attacked in regimental strength, outnumbering us 9 to 1. They walked

through our minefield—and our gunfire—without missing a beat. They cut my company in half and within an hour were two miles to the south, in our rear. The only way out was to move north, so we trudged through our own somewhat depleted minefield to escape, losing two men in the process.

Most serving generals, especially the desk jockeys, are in favor of mines. The real war-fighters usually want to get rid of them. Whatever defensive punch is lost would be more than offset by the new firearms and missiles that give today's infantry platoon more killing power than a Korea-vintage battalion. "Mines are not mission-essential," says one general, "but they are budget-essential." In 1996, the U.S. Army budgeted \$89 million for land-mine warfare. Now the army is fighting to protect every nickel.

Still, some retired generals want to ban mines, and I agree with them. Governments can declare land mines illegal, just as chemical weapons were prohibited. Sure, thugs like Saddam Hussein or Ratko Mladic will continue to use them. But users (along with manufacturers and dealers) can be hunted down and punished by an international court. If that happens just a few times, anti-personnel mines will go the way of mustard gas. I'll drink to that, and so will most veterans of foreign wars.



In an age of 'smart' ordnance, an indiscriminate killer: An honor guard carries the coffin at Sergeant Dugan's funeral in Ohio

Transportation Budget Move Gets One Green Light

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writer

In a sharp rebuff to their tight-money leadership, House Republicans yesterday united with Democrats and voted to free transportation funds from federal budget constraints, opening the way for a wave of home-district spending.

Leading GOP budget hawks warned that moving four transportation trust funds "off budget" could increase the federal deficit by \$30 billion over seven years, making a mockery of the party's year-long crusade to rein in federal spending.

"You wonder whether people who are voting for this are paying attention," Budget Committee Chairman John R. Kasich (R-Ohio) told his colleagues. "One more time we've gone into the piggy bank of our children."

Nevertheless, the House passed the measure easily by a vote 284 to 143, with 162 Republicans in favor and 72 opposed. Democrats supported the measure 121 to 72 and Independent Rep. Bernard Sanders (Vt.) also voted for it.

The vote could be largely symbolic, because the Senate has not announced plans to bring the measure to the floor and President Clinton opposes it. One House GOP member close to the leadership dubbed the exercise "congressional mumbo-jumbo: If this was real, it wouldn't stand a chance."

Still, House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee Chairman Bud Shuster (R-Pa.), the bill's leading supporter, said he was "comfortable" that he could get the necessary 290 votes to override a presidential veto.

Shuster said he planned to contact Senate Minority Whip Trent Lott (R-Miss.), the bill's leading Senate sponsor, to discuss the future. Senate supporters "have said they would carry the ball," Shuster added. "Well, here's the ball."

The transportation trust funds, established in 1956, are the principal source of federal money for building and maintaining the nation's highways, mass transit systems, airports and navigable waterways.

The funds are maintained through taxes on gasoline, airline tickets and other revenue known as "user fees." Under current law, the funds are counted as part of the overall federal budget and subject to the same spending constraints as other domestic programs.

Over the years, the trusts have funded countless home district infrastructure projects, many of which are branded by taxpayer advocacy groups as "pork barrel" items of dubious value.

In the past, the Transportation and Appropriations committees have worked together to authorize and fund special projects, of heightened importance during an election year. "People back home want to know 'what are you doing for us to make our life better?'" Shuster said.

But yesterday, Appropriations Committee Chairman Bob Livingston (R-La.) parted company with his colleague: "Despite all the rhetoric" about fiscal conservatism, "here we are right back at the pork barrel," he said.

The trust funds now contain a \$30 billion surplus, which, under current law, can be counted as an asset in federal budget calculations. Yesterday's bill would remove the trust funds from the federal budget, forcing the government to offset the \$30 billion loss, either by cutting other programs or letting the federal deficit rise.

Shuster and other supporters of the measure argued that money collected for transportation spending should be spent on transportation projects and not held to "mask" the deficit: "There is no justification to use highway money for anything else," said Rep. James A. Traficant Jr. (D-Ohio). "Anything else is hypocrisy."

Under yesterday's bill, Shuster's committee could spend the \$30 billion surplus and any future surplus as long as the trust funds remained solvent.

The result gave Democrats some ammunition in their endless fight to overcome GOP efforts to brand them as indiscriminate spenders: "This is a valuable vote for anybody who wants to question anybody's commitment to a balanced budget," said Appropriations Committee member David R. Obey (D-Wis.).

House Republicans Join Minimum Wage Push

Moderates Press Leaders for Votes on Increase

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Moderate House Republicans yesterday broke with their leaders and called for an increase in the minimum wage, and pressure built on Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) to reverse course and schedule a vote on the issue in the Senate.

"We're looking at maybe some way we can formulate an increase in the minimum wage plus some other features of the amendment the Democrats might not be so crazy about," Dole said on "The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer."

In the House, Majority Leader Richard K. Armey (R-Tex.) reiterated his opposition to an increase. But with Republicans feeling heat from Democratic demands for a vote, many lawmakers said votes in both houses are increasingly likely and that approval of the legislation is possible.

Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) said he did not know whether the issue would be scheduled for a vote but, like Dole, was said by colleagues to be exploring ways to avoid further political damage on the issue.

The break in House GOP ranks came when 14 moderates, mostly from northeastern states, endorsed a \$1 increase in the \$4.25 wage floor in annual increments of 50 cents over two years. President Clinton and Democrats are supporting a 90 cent increase spread over two years.

"All of us believe that people who work a 40-hour work week ought to earn a wage they can live on," said Rep. Jack Quinn (N.Y.), one of the House GOP moderates.

Republicans have thwarted all attempts by Democrats to force a vote in both houses, and on Tuesday Dole abruptly halted work on a bill to curb illegal immigration after Democrats sought to add a proposal to increase the minimum wage and a resolution on Social Security.

Dole, the presumptive GOP presidential nominee, is in a pinch because he cannot bring back the immigration bill—or turn to other bills—without facing Democratic demands for a minimum wage vote. Republicans are split on the issue, with some urging him to hang tough while others want some kind of wage increase.

Several GOP senators said Dole is exploring options, including a one-year, 45-cent increase in the minimum wage, coupled with a variety of GOP proposals, such as work requirements for welfare recipients, repeal of Clinton's ban on permanent striker replacement by federal contractors and legislation to curb unions from using compulsory assessments on non-union workers for political activities.

Armey issued a statement that made no mention of the action of his GOP colleagues. "This whole issue is a sham on the part of the Washington union bosses that fund the Democrat party," he said.

With Republicans holding a majority of 236 to 196 in the House, moderates hold the balance of power and could give Democrats enough votes to prevail. The same is true in the Senate, where Republicans hold a 53 to 47 edge. In a recent non-binding vote, 54 senators, including a handful of Republicans, indicated they wanted a vote on the issue.

THE WASHINGTON POST

THURSDAY, APRIL 18, 1996

U.S. Has Plan to Ban Land Mines, but Not Yet

By NEIL A. LEWIS

WASHINGTON, April 17 — In response to a growing sentiment in Congress and among allied nations to ban the use of land mines, the Clinton Administration is circulating a proposal that would eliminate their use by United States forces, but not until the year 2010.

The Administration plan, which has not yet been approved by the President, could generate opposition in Congress over the length of the phaseout period for the mines as well as over provisions that would allow the Pentagon to make exceptions and

deploy the mines in some regional conflicts after that date.

Under the proposal, the use of so-called "dumb" mines, which stay armed indefinitely, would be largely eliminated in the year 2001. So-called "smart" mines, which automatically deactivate or self-destruct after a specified time, would be banned nine years later.

The proposal, drafted by officials from the White House, Pentagon and the State Department, would also allow land mines to be used after that date in regional conflicts if approved by the President.

Senator Patrick J. Leahy, the Vermont Democrat who has led the effort to outlaw land mines, said he would oppose the proposal and would urge the President to reject it and move in favor of one that flatly banned land mines almost immediately. Senator Leahy said the proposal was clearly written to put off the ban so far in the future that it was meaningless.

The State Department said that an estimated 7,200 people are killed or wounded by land mines each year; the International Committee of the Red Cross estimates the casualties

are twice as high.

Robert O. Muller, the president of the Vietnam Veterans of American Foundation, which has been coordinating an international campaign to outlaw land mines, said that Germany and Australia had, in recent days, banned the use of land mines by their forces, making 28 Western countries that had so far taken that position. The Administration proposal, he said, would put the United States in a position with China.

Mary Ellen Glynn, a White House spokeswoman, declined to comment on whether a proposal has been put forward except to say that President Clinton remains committed to the his 1994 promise to eventually abolish land mines.

Clinton to Allow Arms Transfer to Pakistan

WASHINGTON, April 17 (Reuters) — President Clinton has decided to proceed with the transfer to Pakistan of \$368 million in military equipment that had been held up because of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program, it was disclosed today.

In a letter to Congress, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott also said the Administration had decided to return to Pakistan \$120 million it had paid for military equipment that was never manufactured.

The decision "is based on a continuation of Pakistan's current restraint in its nuclear and missile activities," Mr. Talbott said in the

letter, which was dated April 12 and released today.

The military equipment was blocked by a 1964 law that bars aid to countries seeking to make nuclear weapons. Also held up were 28 F-16 fighters for which Pakistan had paid \$650 million.

Congress relaxed the ban on the equipment, but not on the F-16's. Delivery was still held up because of concerns over China's sale to Pakistan of ring magnets used to enrich uranium for nuclear weapons.

Included in the delivery to Pakistan will be missiles, howitzers and three Orion antisubmarine aircraft.

Yeltsin Promises Voters Chechen War Will End

BUDYONNOVSK, Russia, April 17 (Reuters) — President Boris N. Yeltsin, campaigning today at the site of one of the deadliest incidents of the Chechen conflict, pledged to crush "terrorism" in Chechnya with a mixture of force and negotiation.

Mr. Yeltsin's electioneering took him to Budyonovsk, the southern Russian city where guerrillas took hundreds of hostages last June. He arrived hours after separatist rebels ambushed a Russian troop convoy in Chechnya, killing 26 servicemen and wounding 51.

The Interfax news agency quoted

a Russian military spokesman in Chechnya as saying that the rebels attacked the convoy of 27 tanks, armored vehicles and cars with grenade launchers and mortars in the region of Shatol, about 30 miles south of Grozny, the capital of Chechnya.

The attack underlined the power of the rebels to frustrate Mr. Yeltsin's declared intention of bringing peace to the North Caucasus before the presidential election on June 16.

More than 30,000 people have died since Mr. Yeltsin sent troops into Chechnya in December 1994 to put down a move for independence.

Mr. Yeltsin, at the end of a three-day campaign tour of southern Russia, told voters that the conflict in predominantly Muslim Chechnya could be settled "neither by force alone nor by negotiation alone."

"I promise you order will be restored in the Chechen republic," he told a gathering of Cossacks, whose soldier-farmer ancestors helped lead Imperial Russia's drive into the Caucasus in the 19th century.

Mr. Yeltsin, who has said the war could cost him re-election, launched a peace initiative on March 31, ordering a halt to military operations and

a partial troop withdrawal and offering mediated talks with the separatist leader, Dzhokhar Dudayev.

But the army has continued to strafe, bomb and shell Chechen villages in "special operations" against the rebels, and would-be go-betweens have failed to get talks under way, although the first troops pulled out of the region this week.

In the southern Urals, Mr. Yeltsin's prime rival for the presidency, the Communist Party leader Gennadi A. Zyuganov, accused Mr. Yeltsin of amassing more power than the czars.

"No monarch on the planet is as powerful," Mr. Zyuganov said at a news conference in Chelyabinsk, the center of Russia's weapons industry.

Mr. Yeltsin, whose market reforms have brought hardship to many, and Mr. Zyuganov, who holds a slight lead in opinion polls, have both met mixed receptions on the campaign trail.

Mr. Zyuganov was cold-shouldered in Chelyabinsk today by bankers, despite his attempts to reassure business circles that he will not try to turn back the clock.

Mr. Yeltsin, preparing to play host over the weekend to President Clinton and the six other leaders of the Group of Seven industrialized nations, conceded that times were hard for Russians and that the outlook remained uncertain.

"I am not a wizard, I cannot work wonders," he said.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,
THURSDAY, APRIL 18, 1996

Economies of Europe Eroding Amid Gains Elsewhere

I.M.F. Finds Fastest Growth in 3d World

By RICHARD W. STEVENSON

WASHINGTON, April 17 — While the United States remains on a path of stable if moderate growth, the condition of the big West European economies has significantly deteriorated over the last six months. And Japan is showing increasing signs of strength, the International Monetary Fund reported today.

Developing nations continue to post growth rates about three times as high as industrial nations, with the strongest growth still in Asia, the fund said in its twice-yearly assessment of the world's economies.

Inflation remains low in the industrial world, and is falling rapidly in the third world, the I.M.F. said. And with global financial markets exerting strong discipline, nations everywhere are adopting stricter policies to reduce budget deficits.

Indeed, although its forecasts for the full year reflect the difficulties now being encountered by European nations in particular, the I.M.F. said that by the second half of this year, growth in many nations should begin accelerating.

"We believe the slowdown is largely behind us and that a pickup in the rate of economic expansion should become visible going forward," Michael Mussa, the fund's director of economic research, said at a news conference here.

The report was issued at the start of a weeklong meeting of the I.M.F. and the World Bank, at which representatives of most nations will discuss economic and development issues.

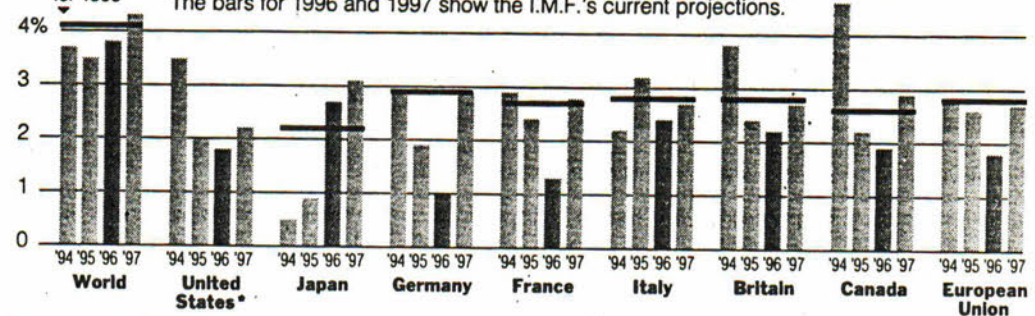
The fund predicted that the American economy would grow 1.8 percent this year, slightly below the consensus of around 2 percent. It said Japan would grow 2.7 percent, three times its rate last year. Among other major trading partners of the United States, Mexico is forecast to grow 3 percent after shrinking 6.9 percent last year, and Canada is projected to grow 1.9 percent, down slightly from last year.

The health of other economies is important to the United States because weakness among big trading

Forecasts Grow Less Rosy

October projection for 1996

In new projections, the International Monetary Fund has forecast lower growth in 1996 than previously projected for many economies. Japan, however, is an exception to the trend. The bars for 1996 and 1997 show the I.M.F.'s current projections.



Source: International Monetary Fund

*Cannot be compared to October projection because of change in G.D.P. methodology.

The New York Times

partners brings a decline in American exports. Mexico's economic woes last year led to a big deficit for the United States in its trade with Mexico. A revival in Japan is good news for American exports, although the renewed strength of the dollar against the yen is likely to diminish the price competitiveness of American goods in Japan.

The most severe downturn in outlook among the biggest economies was in Germany, Europe's industrial powerhouse and the linchpin of efforts to forge a single European currency and monetary policy. The fund cut its estimate of German

growth this year to 1 percent, down from its estimate last October of 2.9 percent growth for 1996.

Germany's currency is strong, relative to those of some other European nations. And upward pressure on wages has hurt the investment climate in Germany, and consumer confidence has sagged as unemployment has risen above 11 percent.

France, which is being battered by many of the same forces afflicting Germany, will grow only 1.3 percent this year, the fund said. In October, it was predicting 1996 growth of 2.7 percent. For the 15-member European Union as a whole, the I.M.F.

projected that 1996 growth would be 1.8 percent, down from its projection in October of 2.8 percent.

The fund put particular weight in its analysis on attempts by governments to keep their deficits under control. "Budgetary problems are a threat to durable and satisfactory growth performance in almost all industrial nations," it said. "The risk of slippages in consolidation efforts is all the more disquieting since the fiscal burden of public health and pension systems as presently structured is projected to increase considerably throughout most of the industrial world in the coming decades."

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1/4/96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 29, 1995

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MEMORANDUM TO PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
LEON PANETTA
LAURA TYSON
CAROL RASCO

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CC: CHRISTOPHER JENNINGS
FROM: IRA C. MAGAZINER jcm
SUBJ: HEALTH CARE "LANDMINES" IN RECONCILIATION

We have fought hard to prevent the Republicans in Congress from hurting tens of millions of vulnerable Americans by destroying the Medicare and Medicaid programs. As the final negotiations unfold, we will be focused on overall budget numbers. We should make sure that structural changes do not "sneak through" which could undermine the Medicare and Medicaid programs to an even greater extent than overzealous budget cuts.

1. Prevent "cherry picking" in Medicare

We must guard against attempts to allow health insurers or providers to risk select within the Medicare program. Denying or discouraging insurance for those who are sick or are likely to become seriously ill, or not covering their necessary treatments, or charging them significantly higher rates, is the easiest way for health plans to make money.

These practices harm tens of millions of non-elderly Americans today. Among the elderly, health plans will be even more motivated to exclude or discourage high risk patients because a small percentage of patients utilize a very high percentage of services each year.

Successful insurance systems require large pools of healthy people who pay more in premiums than the value of services they use each year in order to cover the risk that they might some day need more services than they can afford.

Most countries create very large pools by placing the elderly and disabled in the same group as the general population. We already segregate them. If we allow the pool of elderly to be further fragmented, the Medicare program will eventually fall apart.

There are many subtle ways for health plans to risk select even if it is officially not allowed. Loopholes which allow risk selection often have enticing features to them and regulations to prevent it are often cumbersome and bureaucratic.

The Republican medsave accounts and balance billing provisions encourage risk selection. Allowing health plans to design different benefits packages without a guaranteed comprehensive base of benefits also allows risk selection. Selective marketing practices or facility location or the ability to price differentially to different consumers or groups of consumers also allows risk selection.

The number one priority of the insurance and health provider allies of the Republicans is to have Medicare rules set so that they can risk select. Even if we keep the worst Medsave and balance billing provisions out, they will try to find other more sophisticated ways to set the rules of competition to their benefit.

The inevitable results of introducing risk selection into Medicare will be that the government will maintain most of the costs of the program (because it will pay for the sickest people who the insurers avoid), but with much less revenue (as private insurers capture premiums from the relatively healthy people they insure). The sickest among the elderly will eventually see a severe diminution of services because of increased prices which neither the government nor they can afford.

As you know, I believe that managed competition can create efficiencies, that integrated care can achieve savings and that substantial cuts can be made in the Medicare program. However, we must take great care that we do not agree to structuring the new system in a way which will eventually destroy the program.

2. Preserve the Medicaid Entitlement

The number of uninsured is rising at well over one million people net each year. The pace of insurance loss is accelerating as some employers drop coverage for family members of their employees, and some do not provide insurance to new or temporary workers. In addition, benefits are being cut for millions of others who have insurance. Long term care needs are also increasing faster than services.

Without increases in Medicaid coverage over the past decade, these problems would have been even more severe. While many governors and legislators would not favor a decline in Medicaid coverage even under a general block grant, others who do not believe in the Medicaid entitlement and don't see poor Medicaid recipients as important constituents politically will cut back on coverage.

We have been firm in our support of the entitlement, but must be sure that "back door" methods of erosion are not built into the reconciliation bill.

Even under a per capita cap, loopholes which effectively deny needed services to eligible populations could have perverse effects. Too great an erosion of the guaranteed benefits package, funding formulas which effectively eliminate hospitals and health centers in economically distressed areas and redefined eligibility rules which give too much "wiggle room" for defining currently eligible populations out, all could have this effect.

The result of this erosion could be an acceleration of the number of uninsured people, a decline in public health in medically underserved areas and increased costs as preventive care declines and uncompensated care increases.

3. Keep Overall Cuts Reasonable

I have always felt that the Medicare and Medicaid programs could be and should be cut. You may remember that the biggest disagreements during the formation of the Health Security Act came because the health care team wanted caps on the growth of Medicare and Medicaid which HHS and the economic team thought were too stringent.

Having said this, cuts too far beyond those we have now proposed, in the absence of broader reforms, could have serious adverse effects on the health care system.

Over \$100 billion in "cuts" have already been taken off the baseline over seven years compared to the numbers we looked at two years ago. In addition, in the Health Security Act, we reinvested a significant portion of the savings back into the health system for universal coverage. We also had protections for institutions in underserved areas who disproportionately serve Medicare and Medicaid patients.

The biggest risk is with Medicaid. Without universal coverage and integration of Medicaid into the private system, it is difficult to achieve savings much beyond what we have proposed without doing serious harm to the most vulnerable patients and health providers.

From a policy perspective, if we must find health care cuts beyond those already proposed, we should look to Medicare and we should use a general cap. Nobody can predict the effects of the various cost shifts which will take place over the next few years. A more general capping system would be preferable to specified cuts (beyond the areas we have already specified), because it would allow greater flexibility in the future.

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