

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Chron File - March 1993 #1 [5]

Staff Office-Individual:

Defense Policy-Bell, Robert

Original OA/ID Number:

43

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
31	3	1	2	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Personal [partial] (1 page)	02/04/1993	b(6)
002a. memo	For Samuel Berger from Kent Weidemann. Subject: Presidential Review Paper. Record ID: 9320166. (2 pages)	03/15/1993	P1/b(1)
002b. memo	For Anthony Lake from Marc Grossman. Subject: Decision Paper. (40 pages)	02/24/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
OA/Box Number: 43

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File - March 1993 #1 [5]

2016-0152-F

vz4364

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 11, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY HERNREICH

THROUGH: NANCY SODERBERG

FROM: ROBERT BELL *RAB*

SUBJECT: Call to General Crocker

Per the President's guidance, I called Brigadier General George Crocker, a life-long personal friend of the President's cousin, Gilbert Cornwell. General Crocker was extremely reluctant to consider my suggestion that he might from time to time want to offer us his opinions on the state of the military or individual military issues now under review. General Crocker's concern was that any such communication might be seen as "jumping the chain of command" or as an inappropriate crossing of the line by a military officer into politics.

I assured General Crocker that this was not the President's intent and that we simply would welcome his personal views on any matter that he might want to address as a citizen. I left my phone number with him, but made it clear that any call would be at his discretion.

To Bob Bell -

Clinton asked that
someone other than him
call Crocker.

pls call or have
someone & let BC know
any follow up if
necessary

BC's Comments
"Someone else can call"

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2/11/93

MEMORANDUM

TO: The President
FROM: Nancy Hernreich
RE: BC Memo
DATE: February 8, 1993

forwarded
on to
appropriate
people.

DOWR Date

2-5-93

From

Bob Raymar

Non-Yale Law School Subcabinet Recommendations
(Lists 14 names to be considered).

Just attached -
Bruce gets a copy -

2-4-93

Gilbert Cornwell

Recommends President Clinton call Brig. General
George Allen Crocker (life long personal friend)
for outside beltway opinions on the military.
808-845-8876

2-1-93

Douglas S. Eakeley

He gave speech at NJ Assoc for Prevention and
Treatment of Substance Abuse. Assignment was to
describe Pres C's policy/programs in this area.
Enclosed copy of his speech.

Note: telecon w/ Gen. Crocker 3/10/93. He is
extremely reluctant to ever call or offer any advice
that might be seen as "political" or jump in the chain.

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GILBERT CORNWELL

Beatty

*Be
Memo*

3215 Brown Street
Little Rock, AR 72204
(501) 664-7416

February 4, 1993

President Bill Clinton
White House Office
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

You, on several occasions, have asked that we stay in touch. I will try to do that on personal matters, and on other matters as well. Hillary told me to send things to Nancy so I will until you tell me some other avenue of communication.

Please let me make it very clear, this letter is written without the knowledge or consent of Brigadier General George Crocker. I have not seen nor communicated with George in 6 months. This letter and its attachment is for you, not for George.

George Crocker is a life long personal friend.

(b)(6)

[001]

Now the advice. If you want to hear honest, fresh, outside the beltway opinions from one of Arkansas' best, I suggest you contact, Brigadier General George Allen Crocker, 3 Palm Circle Drive, Fort Shafter, HI. 96819. Phone number at home: 808-845-8876.

Thank you for being accessible.

Sincerely,

Gilbert Cornwell (Pa's cousin)

Gilbert Cornwell

GC/ljs

A BUSINESS GUIDE FOR GETTING TO THE TOP

U.S. News & WORLD REPORT

OCTOBER 9, 1989

\$1.95

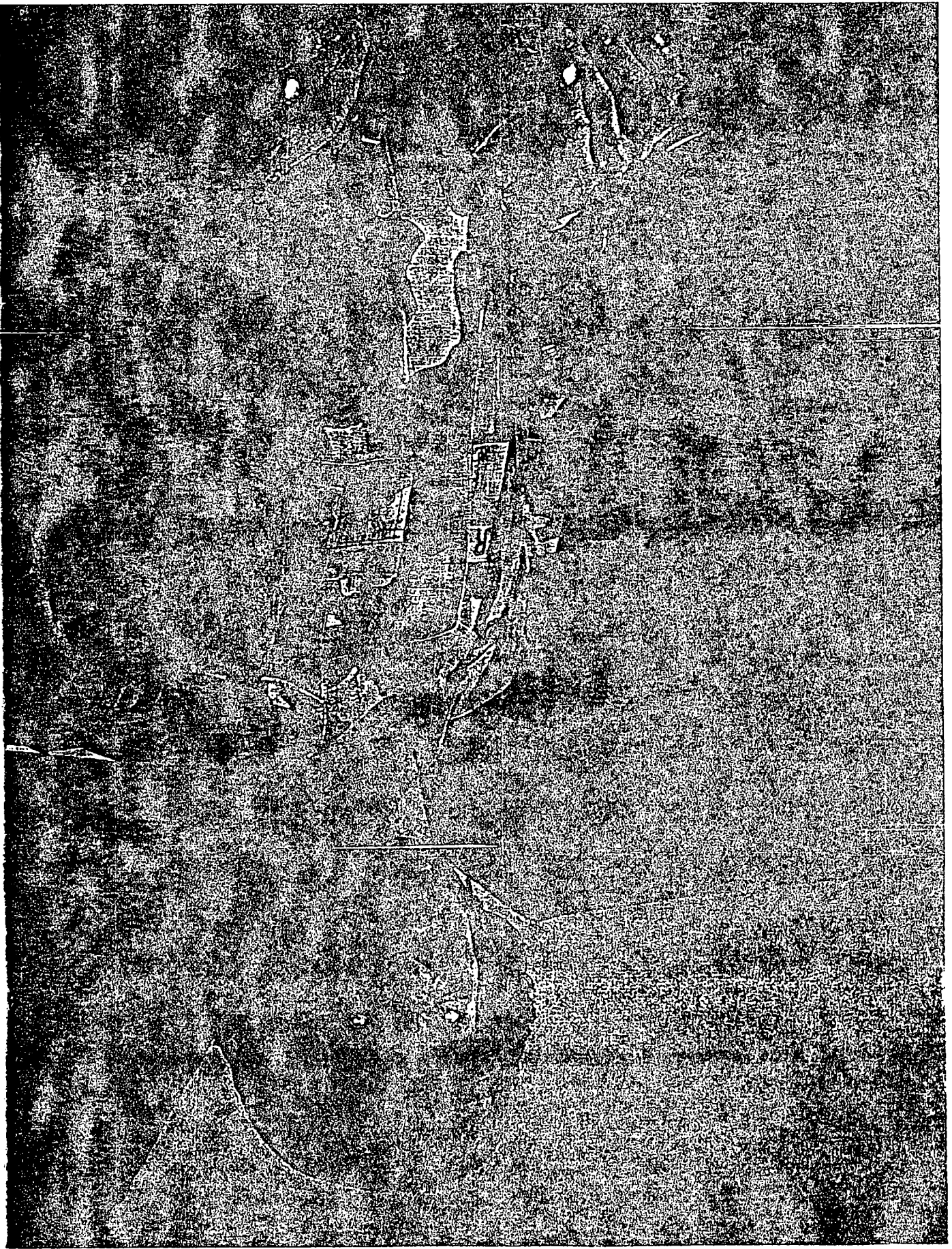
**EXCLUSIVE
BOOK EXCERPT**

WEST POINT STORY

The class of '66,
from Vietnam to
the New Army



Col. George Crocker
West Point class of '66



HORIZONS

THE WEST POINT STORY



The Long Gray Line is the story of a generation's journey. It focuses on an extraordinary group of military officers who graduated from West Point in 1966, some of them going off to lead men into the worst fighting in Vietnam. By the time they returned, some had become disillusioned with the military. These excerpts deal with one of the officers, George Crocker, who struck with his warrior calling, and how he witnessed the Army's upheavals and regeneration since the 1962 summer day when he entered the academy.

BY RICK ATKINSON



THE WEST POINT CLASS OF 1966

Section XXXIV in the northern quadrant of the West Point cemetery is indistinguishable from the rest of the yard except for a long row of stones numbered evenly beginning with 124 and chiseled with a common epitaph: "Class of 1966." Most of the markers are government-issue—bone white, unadorned and 24 inches tall. Partly shaded by a graceful mimosa tree, many of the graves of the 30 men from the class who died in Southeast Asia form two rows, back-to-back like a mutual rear guard. On a Saturday morning in mid-October, 1986, Section XXXIV was crowded with the quick and the dead. The living, 300 strong, who had returned to West Point for their 20th reunion, gathered in a half-moon around the graves and heard a chaplain speak of their dead comrades.

"We stand here in the shadow of death. You hold in your hands a list of your classmates who have died. Look

Excerpted from *The Long Gray Line* by Rick Atkinson, copyright 1989 by Rick Atkinson. To be published by Houghton Mifflin Company; reprinted by permission.

at them for a moment. Familiar names. There's one who was a roommate; that one was a teammate. That one was my friend. These were people who responded to a call. When the country asked them to take a task, they took it. They are people who followed through on their commitment. There comes a nagging question: Does our society somehow recognize their contribution? Does a self-indulgent society like ours somehow make their sacrifice worthwhile? Probably not. Yet it seems that the strong soldier, the superior soldier, is always the one willing to give his life. Any great leader in any society probably gives better than he gets. That's just a fact of life."

The men of '66 had fought the war bravely, and lost. More than a hundred of the 579 men in the class had been wounded. Several remained shattered beyond repair. The survivors had come home to heckles and, in a few instances, spittle. They had heard their profession vilified and seen the Army virtually collapse in chaos during the early 1970s. Scores of them had returned to West Point as instructors, only to witness the devastating cheating scandal of 1976 and the arrival of the first female candidates just months later. In the toughest times many left the Army, disillusioned or unhappy, to pursue other careers.

Those who stayed in the Army, though, watched in subsequent years the regeneration of their service and a mellowing of its relationship with the American people. Healing events like the creation of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and invigorating events like President Reagan's buildup of the military helped bind the wounds. This, then, is the story of a generation, with all its turbulence, pain and growth.

Arriving at the academy

Theirs was the dream of all young men: To become heroes. Inspired by John F. Kennedy's call to serve the nation, the West Point class of 1966 first gathered above the Hudson River on a glorious afternoon in July, 1962. But as the cadets swore their oath of allegiance, they could not begin to imagine the dark journey that lay ahead.

Among those reporting for Beast Barracks—the pre-plebe initiation period—was George Allen Crocker, a slender, raw-boned 19-year-old from Central Arkansas. His nose, broad and flat, had been broken five times playing high-school football. When he spoke, which he did as rarely as possible to avoid drawing fire from the upperclassmen, the words carried a thick drawl.

Beast was a dreadful ordeal, eight weeks of physical and psychological stress intended to weed out the weak and unworthy. George and the 808 other "new cadets" would be treated like vermin by the small cadre of upperclassmen who had been left behind for the summer to supervise Beast. The casualty list began to grow even before the first morning had passed. One lanky teenager reported with a tennis racket and a set of golf clubs over his shoulder; after a 5-minute torrent of abuse from an outraged upperclassman, he executed a smart about-face and walked back to the Thayer Hotel for a ride home.

The abuse never let up for those who couldn't learn the system. That was not George's fate. He was harassed, but it was not intolerable. "Crocker!" the table commandant barked one day, "what are you famous for?"

Answering this standard gibe was always delicate. Plebes

who boasted of their high-school accomplishments invited scornful sarcasm. As usual, George played it safe. "Sir," he replied loudly. "Nothing."

George arrived as the latest levy of a type that had done very well in the American Army—the small-town Southerner. In the South particularly, the values associated with physical prowess, service to the country and social protocol still endured. *Glory* was not a word that made Arkansas citizens blush. And George already had his share of martial attributes. He had learned hunting from his father, Bill, and had gone to West Point in order to fulfill his dad's dream that he be an academy-trained engineer. His parting counsel to young George was typically loving: "If you don't make it, I'll still be proud of you. And if you don't like it, call me and I'll come get you." George never had to make such a call.

The young men of the class of 1966 were not really a representative cross section of America. Nearly two thirds were the sons of military fathers, and they came as close to constituting an American warrior caste as the nation would allow. Two thirds also were Protestants; only 1 percent were Jewish. Only three blacks would graduate with the class. Compared with other new college freshmen with whom they had been surveyed, the new cadets smoked less, prayed more, cribbed less, napped more. Few were from either very rich or very poor homes; half, in fact, came from families with annual incomes of \$10,000 to \$15,000. They inclined to achievement and overachievement: Most had been varsity athletes, student-government or class officers, and members of the National Honor Society. All of them were also sons of the 1950s. Had they been asked, they collectively could have belted out the theme songs to the Mickey Mouse Club or the Davy Crockett

show ("Born on a mountaintop in Tennessee . . ."). They had been nurtured on "Wagon Train" and "Wyatt Earp" and knew that DDT meant "drop dead twice." Most wore butch haircuts or flat-tops, and a few rebels had experimented by rolling their T-shirts above their biceps with cigarette packs secured in the sleeve. They universally admired John Glenn, another military man whose three orbits earlier that year had earned him fame and glory. Finally, they were largely ignorant of many things, including women, failure and evil.

These young men were supposed to be the vanguard of a different breed of soldier. Just weeks before their arrival at West Point, President Kennedy had told the class of 1962 at their commencement that a new type of war threatened freedom lovers, a conflict "new in its intensity, ancient in its origin—war by guerrillas, subversives, insurgents, assassins, war by ambush instead of by combat, by infiltration instead of by aggression, seeking victory by eroding and exhausting the enemy instead of engaging him. These are the kinds of challenges that will be before us in the next decade if freedom is to be saved, a whole new kind of strategy, a wholly different kind of force, and therefore a new and wholly different kind of military training."

At the academy, though, some things never changed. It was not long before George discovered that he was good at being a soldier. He had thrown himself heart and soul into the academy's military training. At Camp Buckner, where the cadets spent the summer of 1963, he found his calling: The Infantry. He loved solving the squad and platoon attack problems,



ACADEMY—CROCKER WITH ROOMMATE MOSLEY, FALL, 1963

'They were ignorant of many things, including women, failure and evil'

which seemed close to being the pure distillation of a warrior's craft. In his eyes, the noncommissioned-officer instructors from the 101st Airborne at Buckner were both energetic and competent, men born to lead other men in the dark of night.

In academic matters, however, he fared poorly. The low point came when he was a junior—known at West Point as cow year. He flunked Electrical Engineering 304 and struggled to pass a last makeup exam. On the lighter side, he became popular with his classmates as one who excelled mostly in the art of mooning. On June 7, 1966, George graduated near the bottom of his class and was one of 98 cadets who volunteered for Vietnam.

In eight or nine months, George calculated, he would be in combat. He believed the war to be a just cause; it also afforded a young soldier the chance to prove himself. Like many of his classmates, he shrugged off the potential danger. At West Point, many viewed the escalation of the war as extraordinarily good fortune. Wars accelerated promotions, enhanced careers and broke the monotony of garrison life. Many tactical officers encouraged the cadets to think of "tracks in two": Because of the increased tempo of promotions during wartime, lieutenants could earn their silver captain's bars—tracks—just two years after graduation. The growing dissent against the war merely fueled the cadets' enthusiasm for the cause.

Enduring Ranger training

For the class of 1966, Ranger training in Georgia and Florida was a required ordeal. As West Point was intended to build character, Ranger was intended to build soldiers—tough, indomitable soldiers who were hard physically and harder psychologically. Ranger revealed the inner man. Hunger, exhaustion and stress quickly stripped away any facade. Classmates who thought they knew one

another after four intimate, exacting years at West Point sometimes discovered a latent frailty—or fortitude. Those who appeared strong sometimes turned out to be surprisingly weak; the seemingly weak could be unexpectedly stalwart.

Sometimes, of course, those who seemed strong were strong. George, who reported to Fort Benning in September, 1966, found that his natural affinity for infantry life served him well in Ranger training. This was play war, to be sure, but in a few months it would be the real thing, with real ammunition and grenades. The imminence of combat imbued the training with a sharp and urgent relevance.

George was happy at last to be part of the real Army, although he felt guilty at abandoning his bride less than two months after their wedding. He and Vonda Jones, a young home-economics teacher he had met at a lake in Russellville, Ark., had been married that summer, and by the time he entered Ranger school, she was expecting their first child. Despite the hardships, Vonda was a trouper. She learned to spit shine George's boots to save him time. To save money, she ironed his fatigues rather than send them to the laundry. Vonda knew that her husband would soon be going to war. She approved, though it was likely the baby would be born just about the time George shipped out to Vietnam. She may not have known much about the military, but she understood duty. It was his duty to fight. It was her duty to support him. They were a team.

No amount of her support, though, could make life easier for George at Ranger school. Six weeks into the course, the men

boarded buses for the 150-mile trip to Eglin Air Force Base in Florida. Near Field 7, after they transferred to deuce-and-a-half trucks for the final few miles, the convoy drove through an ambush scene. A truck was ablaze and soldiers lay on the ground in feigned death. "The enemy," one instructor warned ominously, "is all around us." Oh, damn, the new lieutenants murmured, here we go. That was one thing everyone had heard about the major who commanded the Florida Ranger camp: He was nothing if not theatrical. Shuffling into a dingy, tarpaper shack, they wondered what would happen next.

Ka-BOOM! A deafening explosion rocked the shack. Two hundred drowsy Rangers leaped with fright, their ears ringing violently from the grenade simulator. Several even committed the mortal sin of dropping their M-14s, and rifles clattered on the bleachers like pickup sticks. The door to the shack burst open and the major staggered in. He wore black pajamas, soaked and smeared with mud from a recent wallow in Holly Creek; his boots trailed a tangled clump of swamp weeds, and he carried an

AK-47. Big and brawny, he had a parabolic slash for a mouth and jowls that looked like something from a meat locker. He spoke with the thick drawl of his native Schley County in south Georgia.

"I just came out from the swamp where I was fightin' the guerrillas. The guerrillas are mean and tough. They are not to be taken lightly." A mad glint lit his eyes as he paused, shaking himself like a Labrador retriever. "Here's what they did to me." Ripping open the pajama top, he displayed a fearsome, knotted scar running vertically from navel to clavicle.

"If a man is bloody stupid," he continued, "his mother will get a telegram and it will say, 'Your son is dead because he was stupid.' Let's hope your telegram just says, 'Your son is dead.' Or, with the training

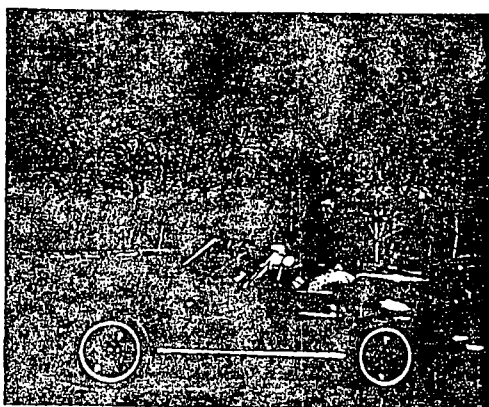
we're going to give you here, maybe your mother won't receive any telegram at all. So pay attention!"

Pay attention! They could not have been more rapt. Maj. Charlie A. Beckwith—also known as Chargin' Charlie—was already a legend. He was shrewd, profane and animated with demonic energy. As he introduced himself to these awestruck men, he declared: "I'm gonna train you for a few days and then send you out to kill guerrillas." He mercilessly drove them through the Florida swamps with a brutal regimen of his own design that included real torture, malnutrition and personal humiliation. Of the 212 who began training on September 12, 162 received the coveted Ranger tab, including George. On November 12, the day they graduated, the men were virtually unrecognizable—as haggard and hollow-eyed as POW's.

For George, though, Ranger training had been more than a tough slog. It had crystallized his notion about what made good soldiers—and what helped them survive. The young man who had been a cutup during his early days at West Point had been transformed into a warrior and a leader. He yearned to command men in battle, and his chance to do so came quickly.

Fighting in Vietnam

Heat whooshed through the rear doors of the C-141, rudely cuffing the hundred soldiers in the cabin. As the pilot cut the four engines, George Crocker peered out at Bien Hoa Air Base through the tiny porthole. It was January, 1967. George hoisted his duffel bag and followed the column across



GRADUATION—CROCKER AND CORVETTE IN SPRING, 1966

'He had thrown himself heart and soul into the academy's military training'

the tarmac into a briefing room. At last I'm finally here, he said to himself. He felt an electric sense of high adventure, of being called to arms. After years of preparing for this moment, George felt ready. More than ready, in fact: He felt invincible. Three hours later, George sat in the back of a truck heading northeast up Route 1 to Cu Chi.

George and several classmates were headed for the 25th Infantry Division, where they would shadow experienced platoon leaders for a fortnight's apprenticeship before joining their permanent units. Gen. William Westmoreland, who had complained in 1966 that Vietnam was bogging down in "a protracted war of attrition," now reported that he had enough troops to "go over to the offensive on a broad and sustained basis in 1967." This first wave of West Pointers from the class of 1966 was part of that critical mass.

Soon after the truck arrived at Cu Chi, a young officer with a clipboard bustled over. "Lieutenant Crocker? See that chopper over there? The one that's landing? Go get on it."

George's eyes widened with surprise. "Me?"

"Now," the officer replied.

The sun was setting when the Huey dropped him off in a jungle clearing. As he ran out from beneath the whirring rotors, he could hear small-arms fire, distant at first and then suddenly much closer. He felt confused, lost. Where the hell was he? Somewhere near the Saigon River in War Zone C, but other than that he wasn't sure. He had been in country for about 6 hours and already he was on the fringe of a firefight.

That night, George lay on a cot listening to the chatter of automatic weapons. Things were clearer now. He was with a company in the 27th Infantry Regiment, which called itself the Wolfhounds. A distinguished outfit with a long history, the 27th's motto was *Nec Aspera Terrant*—frightened by no difficulties.

Pap! Pap! Pap-pap-pap! As George lay on the cot, several rounds punched through the tent, ventilating the canvas with holes the size of a quarter. They sounded like fat raindrops. The sandbags outside had been piled 2 feet high, but the cots stood about 2 feet 6 inches off the ground. George stifled the urge to dive for cover, not wanting to move before the captain in the bunk next to him did. He watched the captain from the corner of his eye. Damn, he thought, why don't we all just get on the floor?

The captain rolled over casually, as though waking from a nap on the beach. He took the handset from his radiotelephone operator, who prudently lay on the ground. "Tell B Company," the captain said slowly, "that we're taking some rounds up here."

Crack! At that instant, with a fearful splintering, a bullet shattered the crosspiece of George's cot, 2 inches from his skull. The canvas collapsed and his head flopped down as though guillotined.

The next few days were among the strangest—and very nearly the last—of George's life. On the afternoon of his first full day in country, he climbed onto a tank that was bulling its way through the jungle toward a suspected enemy position. Every few minutes it stopped long enough to fire the main gun. When a second tank came clanking up on his right, George shifted over to the left side of the turret. As he did so, the other tank's main gun roared. Almost simultaneously

came a second blast. A mine had detonated between the two tanks, apparently triggered by the concussion of the gun. The explosion flung George from the hull, and the spray of shrapnel splattered against the turret, precisely where he had been a moment before. A soldier standing near him was badly wounded, his side shredded with hot metal.

That night, George went on patrol with the platoon leader he was shadowing. Soon, mortar rounds rained around them. The other lieutenant caught a piece of shrapnel in the arm, and a medic knocked him out with a shot of morphine. "Well, Lieutenant Crocker," the platoon sergeant said cheerfully, "I guess you're taking over." They sat motionless in the jungle for the rest of the night. No one slept.

The following day, his third in Vietnam, the company was preparing to board a flock of Hueys for an airborne assault when George had another close call. Three helicopters back, perhaps 50 yards away, there was a gold flash from a soldier accidentally triggering his M-79 grenade launcher. A split second later, the grenade landed at George's feet, close enough to spear with a first baseman's mitt. Nothing happened. The grenade was a dud.

After his apprenticeship, George joined the 9th Infantry Division at Dong Tam, in the Mekong Delta. Within weeks, he had learned how to lead and how to kill. One night George had been out with his platoon for several hours on patrol when he heard a harsh whisper. "Sssst! Sir!" One of his soldiers, flattened against the side of a dike, pointed across the rice paddy. George inched along the dike toward the soldier who had whispered. Taking the GI's sniper rifle, George hoisted the starlight scope to his right eye. The night instantly gave way to an eerie twilight. The scope sucked in

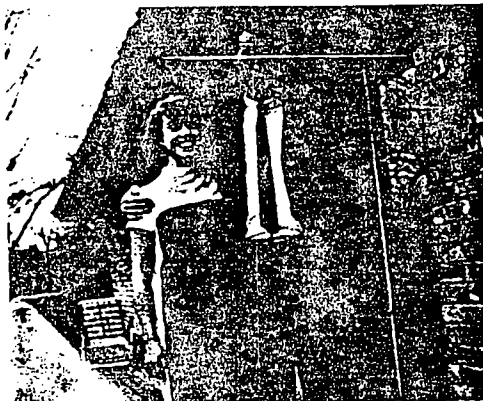
all available moon and starlight and painted the landscape with a pale green illumination.

George saw him instantly. A solitary Viet Cong wearing his *ao baba*—the customary black pajamas—stood on the adjacent dike. George watched for a while through the scope, the hunter stalking his prey. This was a rare opportunity to watch the enemy at work. But he didn't want the soldier to slip away. Easy does it, he told himself. He steadied his breathing, drew a bead on the soldier's heart and gently squeezed the trigger.

BAM! A single red tracer streaked across the paddy and struck the VC in the chest, knocking him over with a small splat sound that carried to the Americans. Got you! George thought. Got you, you little son of a bitch! Adrenaline surged through him, again quickening his pulse and his breathing.

The enemy here was faceless and nameless—except for gook, dink, slope or Charlie—and while George did not exactly hate him, killing him was not difficult.

After a few weeks in Vietnam, he was beginning to realize that war boiled down to a few irreducible truths. No longer did he see it as an adventure; war was brutal, often harrowing. No longer did he imagine that he was invincible; he knew death could claim him at any moment. And it was also true that the killing of the enemy was no longer cloaked in ideology or patriotism. Killing was much more elemental, an accession of animal instincts and soldierly axioms: Survival against a foe who was trying to kill you; revenge for comrades who had died; loyalty unto death to those who shared the fight.



MARRIAGE—GEORGE AND VONDA DURING A LEAVE IN 1968

'She may not have known much about the military, but she understood duty'

and a fierce determination to be better than the enemy. West Point did not—could not—teach these things; what the academy could teach, implicitly, was how to keep the killing within the warrior's code so that combat did not degenerate into blood lust, nor decent men warp into butchers.

Two months later, George won a Silver Star for pulling the platoon through a firefight without casualties, even though his men had been badly outnumbered. After returning to Dong Tam, four soldiers from the platoon suddenly appeared in George's tent. "Sir," one of the sergeants said, "we're a delegation from the platoon and we don't really know how to say it, but we want to just say thanks for being hard on us and making sure we didn't talk or smoke or whatever. We really appreciated that last night. We know that all the things you were trying to do are worth it."

George shook their hands. When they left, he sat on his bunk and smiled. These guys have learned, he thought; they're true soldiers. And that 30-second speech was worth more than all the Silver Stars in the United States Army.

Six months into his tour, George's command stint expired and he moved to a staff position as the S3-air, the officer in charge of air operations for the Third Battalion. The job offered a different view of the war, either above small-arms range at 1,500 feet or "flying contour" at treetop level. On one terrible day in June, 1967, George listened on the radio as his classmate Fred Bertolino died in a rice paddy after an ambush. Enemy forces repulsed all attempts to reinforce the doomed Americans. "We're all gonna bleed to death. We're all finished, including me, if you don't get some help in here," Bertolino pleaded over the radio to no avail. His death hit George hard, further sapping the boyish excitement he had once felt for the great adventure of combat.

In January, 1968, George returned home. Four months later, he flew to West Point to attend the funeral of another classmate killed in action, Tommy Hayes. The trip marked the first time George encountered the growing disillusionment of his West Point classmates toward the war.

"So, George," his old roommate Art Mosley asked Crocker as they stood beneath the tarpaulin after the funeral, "how is it out in the Army? How are things?"

George brightened. "It's really good, Art. It's not chicken-shit. You'll really like it."

Mosley scoffed. "Me? Like the Army? C'mon!"

George blinked with surprise. The cynicism—the venom—in his old roommate's voice startled him. Was this the same guy who had mooned the corps with him five years earlier? Sure, Art had always had a rebellious streak. So had George; that was one reason they got along so famously. But his commitment to the Army had seemed heartfelt, even gung-ho. *Me? Like the Army?* Why that tone of repudiation?

"George, what about the war?" asked another classmate, Jack Wheeler. "What do you think?"

As George turned to reply, Jack saw the muscles in his jaw clench, tightening like slender steel cables. His face darkened, as though abruptly cast in a deep shadow. "This is a bad war," he answered at last. "We can't kill enough of them."

Now it was Art's and Jack's turn to be surprised. Wheeler had never seen such an expression of frustration and disgust.

Crocker's words conveyed a cold fury, made all the more menacing by the low tone in which they were uttered.

When George returned to Vietnam for a second tour in 1970, his good luck almost ran out. One day late in the year, the Vietnamese Ranger battalion he was advising moved through an area as green and flat as a pool table. The plain was bordered on one side by mountains, where the enemy had constructed caves so elaborate that ARVN soldiers could hear cows mooing and chickens clucking from deep within the earth, as though Old MacDonald had gone to hell.

As George watched the troops sweep toward a wood line, a sniper's shot rang out, and he fell like an oak tree. Blood gushed from the side of his head, just above the ear. He reached up with his hand, afraid to feel how deep the wound was. But the bullet had struck a glancing blow, cutting to the bone without penetrating. The battalion medic stanchied the bleeding and wrapped his head in gauze. The next day, George's commanding officer ordered him to seek further

treatment at an aid station; when the Huey arrived, he sprinted toward it through a rice paddy as sniper bullets nipped the water all around him.

Though his luck had held, several signs suggested that fortune was growing weary of the young captain. When the battalion moved to the Central Highlands for training, George contracted typhus. Evacuated to an Air Force hospital at Cam Ranh, he lay unconscious for two days; when the fever broke, he was afflicted so badly with worms that his weight plummeted from 180 pounds to 150. He requisitioned a medical kit, gave himself a massive dose of tetracycline and suffered through the long plane trip home to Arkansas to recuperate.

When George returned to the 42nd two weeks later, the battalion was no longer his. Under Richard Nixon's Vietnamization policy, the ARVN Rangers did not require the services of an American adviser. The time had come for a separate peace. He had done his duty on the line to the best of his ability. He missed his family desperately—he and Vonda now had two daughters—and he was ready to go home. They were all ready. The bloody business had dragged out too long.

He accepted an offer to serve as a general's aide at Long Binh, where he became a "Dial soap." He would sleep in a tatty white trailer behind the plush cabanas that housed the general officers. He would meet the VIP's still swooping in from Washington with their briefcases and perplexed expressions. He would eat surf and turf until he grew tired of it. He would ponder what had gone wrong and what had gone right. He would remember the dead. He would live.

Coping with the demoralized Army

Even before negotiators in Paris stopped bickering over the shape of the conference table and started to bicker over the shape of peace, the United States Army had begun to reap the whirlwind of America's 10-year war. Ironically, the pain and peace were felt most acutely not in the United States but in Europe. A wrecked Army it was, a "bored and ignored" Army that had been bled white to keep the U.S. war machine in Southeast Asia supplied with officers, experienced NCO's, matériel and money. In some re-



VIETNAM—CROCKER AFTER PATROL DUTY IN SPRING, 1967

'While George did not exactly hate the enemy, killing him was not difficult'

spects, the 300,000-man American force in Germany was less an army than an armed, savage mob of New World Visigoths. Standards had collapsed; morale was a farce, and discipline in many units resembled something very close to anarchy. Every week, it seemed, soldiers committed another unspeakable crime. The list included murders, rapes, and muggings and robberies by the thousands. Gangs of soldiers roamed the streets of Munich and Nuremberg while citizens cowered behind locked doors.

Part of the Vietnam bequest was rampant drug addiction. As the war sputtered to a close, an estimated 10 to 15 percent of the American privates and corporals in Vietnam were heroin addicts. A fix that cost \$40 in the United States was only \$1.50 in Saigon. An 8-inch marijuana joint cost a nickel; for pocket change, a soldier could easily remain stoned for a week.

The other cancer eating at the Army's vitals was racial hatred. Black rage, which had exploded in the States during the Watts riot in 1965 and the widespread disturbances after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968, continued to fester in the military. Many black soldiers felt like second-class citizens; although 14 percent of the Army's enlisted troops were black in 1971, the officer corps remained 97 percent white. Blacks and whites often segregated themselves in the barracks, which became tinderboxes of tension. Graffiti were as ubiquitous on Army posts as on New York subway walls: KILL WHITEY; BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL; KKK, GET THE NIGGERS.

All these problems and more greeted Capt. George Crocker on his arrival in Germany in the fall of 1971. George soon saw that his brigade, posted in the pretty Bavarian town of Erlangen, was a true microcosm of the troubled Seventh Army. After a stint as the battalion S3—the operations officer—he took command of C Company's 177 soldiers, of whom one fourth were black. A significant number of both whites and blacks in the company were heroin addicts.

About all he could do was try to command well. At times, George wondered whether that was possible. This was the third company he had commanded, but none of his leadership experience had prepared him for men who were so alienated, so unmotivated, so high. The soldiers often expressed their indifference with the phrase "mox nix," a corruption of the German *machts nicht*, "it doesn't matter."

He routinely ignored an edict prohibiting officers from entering the barracks alone at night. (One first sergeant had been stabbed in his bed by soldiers who kicked in the door and fell on him with flashing knives.) Strong, strapping and not easily intimidated, George figured he could take care of himself. But the state of the barracks never failed to astonish him. Usually, all of the hall lights had been smashed, so the corridors were dark and unnerving. In the typical soldier's room, the door had been removed and laid across two Volkswagen tire rims to fashion a coffee table, invariably laden with several pounds of melted candle wax and incense ash. The windows were painted black. An ultraviolet bulb replaced the ceiling light, the better to highlight Day-Glo wall posters and ones of President Nixon squatting on the commode.

In C Company, George began weeding out the incorrigibles through a new Army discharge procedure known as Chapter 13, which restored some of the commander's authority. He started with a group he sarcastically dubbed the Magnificent Seven, heroin addicts whose arms were peppered with needle tracks from wrist to biceps.

"You guys are getting chaptered out of the Army," George announced to them one morning as they stood before him, slack mouthed and glassy eyed. "I don't really know how to do it yet, but I know it's for the good of the unit and I know it's for your good. Cooperate as much as you can. Be where you're supposed to be when you're supposed to be there. We'll learn together how to do this together."

His plan worked. In a few weeks, the Magnificent Seven were gone. Morale in C Company began to improve, as did discipline, permitting George to devote more time to training his men.

After ousting the Magnificent Seven from his unit, George cashiered an additional 51 soldiers from the Army, nearly all for drug abuse.

"Sir," a lieutenant once asked him after a particularly tiresome day of personnel problems, "why are you staying in the Army? I mean, look around. Is this what you want to do for the rest of your life, with these kinds of troops?"

Yet, he never seriously contemplated quitting, never even discussed the option with Vonda. He was hooked on the Army. In part, this reflected his affection for "doing men things in a manly manner with other men," as one of his subordinates once put it—whether staging mock assaults on German bridges, scouting defensive positions along the Czechoslovak border, or working on marksmanship at Grafenwöhr. He

liked teaching young soldiers the importance of stealth, of avoiding noise and light when on patrol, of fire control—all of the skills that had kept his platoon alive in Vietnam. He found comfort in repetition, in knowing that regard for these eternal verities of soldiering separated the living from the dead when the shooting started.

But an equally important reason for remaining in uniform was his fundamental confidence in the country, in the Army, in the future. "There will be dark days ahead, George," Gen. William McCaffrey had once predicted at Long Binh. "The Army has always had ups and downs, and we're heading for a down, especially the way Vietnam is turning out. But you have to have faith. Things will get better."

George often pondered McCaffrey's words. They made sense; you had to take the long view. He was a good enough student of history to understand that the general knew what he was talking about. The Army—and the Army's relationship to the Republic—might undergo shifts; but it always resumed a delicate balance. If one thing distinguished many of those in the class of 1966 who had stayed in the Army from those who resigned, it was faith in this equilibrium.

Consequently, when George Crocker was asked by his young lieutenant, "Sir, why are you staying in the Army?" he replied with words that echoed those of McCaffrey: "This is the low ebb. You have to have faith. While the Army may be down now, it's just temporary. The Army is one of the great, enduring institutions. It's one of the things that have



TRENDSETTERS—FEMALE PLEBES ENTER THE POINT, JULY, 1976

'You're going to have it harder than every class after you'

held us together as a nation. It will rebound. There are better days ahead."

Returning to turmoil at West Point

The day was warm and humid when George Crocker drove his brown Ford station wagon through Thayer Gate on July 1, 1976. He had to acknowledge a certain pleasure in coming home to his alma mater as a tactical officer (tac) responsible for the discipline and military education of one cadet company. He would join 64 other classmates now assigned to the academy as tacs or instructors. But it was a vastly different place from the West Point he left a decade earlier. The academy was embroiled in the worst scandal in its history: A massive amount of cheating had been uncovered, and it centered on the very electrical-engineering course George had flunked. One hundred seventeen students had been cited for suspected cheating. Of them, 50 had been expelled and two had resigned. Dozens of others were having their cases adjudicated.

Besieged was a word that quickly came to mind as George looked around the academy. More than 80 military attorneys were ensconced in Thayer Hall. A tangle of telephone wires snaked across the floors of classrooms that had been converted into temporary law offices, and a large bulletin board displayed the names of accused cadets, with color-coded markers to show the stages of their respective legal proceedings. George had read and heard a great deal about the EE304 affair, but he was determined to suspend any final judgment. Just because the scandal had been on the cover of *Time*, he thought, didn't necessarily mean the academy was hopelessly compromised. He had resolved to wait and see for himself just how bad things were.

As the newcomer in the tactical department and because he had experience in Germany with what was politely known as an "adverse unit," George was immediately assigned the sole command of a company consisting entirely of accused cheaters. Officially called the Special Processing Detachment, the unit was better known as SPD, or "Speed." Other than getting a little friendly advice and a clap on the back from his superiors, George was on his own. He began by summoning the group for a speech that was half pep talk, half threat.

"I don't know any of you," George said, "and I just got here. I don't know you personally, I don't have any opinion about any of this and I don't know what your individual situations are. But you're supposed to act like cadets and do what I say. We're going to try to behave like good soldiers."

So every morning, Major Crocker led his 200 grumbling charges on training runs through the academy streets. While permitting them ample opportunity to consult with their lawyers, he tried to keep them physically fit, mentally occupied and away from the media. After several months, the unit was turned over to another officer; eventually, the Army allowed all those accused of cheating to re-enter the academy with a clean slate a year later.

George's new assignment was perhaps even more daunting than Speed. In September, 1976, he took over one of a dozen companies that would include the first women cadets in West Point's history. Like most military men, George was opposed to the admission of women. His own misgivings notwithstand-

ing, George was determined that his female cadets would get every chance to succeed; the best guarantee of that, he believed, was to accord them equal treatment. Introducing himself as "a duck hunter from Arkansas," he gathered the women alone for the first and only time in Pershing Barracks shortly after swapping his Speed command for Company A-1.

"I'm not going to protect you," he said. "In my mind, the worst thing I could do is to somehow try to shelter you. That would make it twice as bad. You are trendsetters, the first ones in a new territory. You're going to have it harder than every class after you, because there will only be one group that is the first class of women. But you're going to sink or swim on your own merit. You won't be harassed out of the academy, nor will you be coddled."

Despite Major Crocker's best intentions, they were harassed disgracefully. One of the nine women listening to George that day was Susan Puanani Kellett, a 19-year-old who had been valedictorian and student-body president at

Kamehameha High School in Honolulu. Arriving for Beast Barracks wearing a lei, jumpsuit and high heels, she had encountered the usual shrieking abuse that had greeted tens of thousands before her. ("Man, these guys are really in a bad mood," she thought naively.) But the standard heckling that was a plebe's lot quickly assumed a sexist intensity, particularly when the entire corps returned after Beast in late summer.

"Good morning, sir," Susan greeted an upperclassman while walking across the Area one day.

"It's not going to be a good morning," he replied, "until you goddamn bitches get out of here."

Male cadets anonymously scrawled crude sexual slurs on the barracks walls, scattered condoms on the women's bunks and sent

vibrators to them through the mail. During a lecture in Mahan Hall one evening, when a psychologist made disparaging remarks about women in an effort to provoke a protective reaction from the cadets, the men stood and cheered. When Susan wore perfume to a showing of "The Longest Day" in Eisenhower Hall one night, the cadet next to her sniffed and said, "Miss, when you wear perfume, you should wear it conservatively. You stink." On another occasion, when she wore her uniform skirt, an upperclassman observed, "When I was home there were some *real* women there."

The women in A-1 viewed their Major Crocker as tough, fair and clearly a bit discomfited at times by this squad of females who had so disrupted the masculine homogeneity of his company. One day he walked through the barracks with a roll of masking tape, marking a spot on the floor of each room to show how far the door had to be left open when a woman entertained a gentleman visitor. The women thought that was hilarious.

George's experience in A-1 moderated his views on women at the academy. For one thing, he thought that the chauvinist hysteria was inane. The complaints that "women can't do pull-ups," or "women are brittle" seemed fatuous, and the wild rumors about A-1 and the other integrated companies being cadet brothels were altogether contemptible. He was disgusted to discover that the upperclassmen in his company had even organized a secret contest in which the objec-



GRENADA—AFTER THE AMERICAN INVASION, OCTOBER, 1983

'The American military had waited 10 years for Operation Urgent Fury'

tive was to reduce every woman in A-1 to tears at least once.

George admired the response from one of the physical-education instructors, who would answer complaints about women being "poor runners" with a brief lecture: "O.K., guys, physiologically, the women have 40 percent more body fat, so just to make it even, let's give you a 70-pound weight to carry. They have only 60 percent as much lung capacity, so let's degrade your breathing by making you wear this mask. They have a little mechanical disadvantage in their hip structure, so we'll put a brace between your legs to make you pigeon-toed. Now go run a mile, guys, and see if you can keep up with the women."

Women, without question, would play a crucial role in the volunteer Army. From less than 1 percent of the total force after World War II, they were now on their way to constituting 10 percent; jobs that had once been *omni vir*—all male—such as helicopter pilot and tank mechanic were now capably filled by women. If West Point was going to be the leader of the Army, George reflected, then the academy damned well needed to be the leader in all respects, including the training of women officers.

Rebuilding the Army

Two surprises awaited Lt. Col. George Crocker as he walked down the ramp of the C-141 on the morning of Oct. 26, 1983, at the airport in Grenada. The first was the balmy climate. The second surprise, considerably less pleasant, was that the fighting was both intense and very close. Operation Urgent Fury had been under way for more than 24 hours, yet the Rangers and the first wave of para-

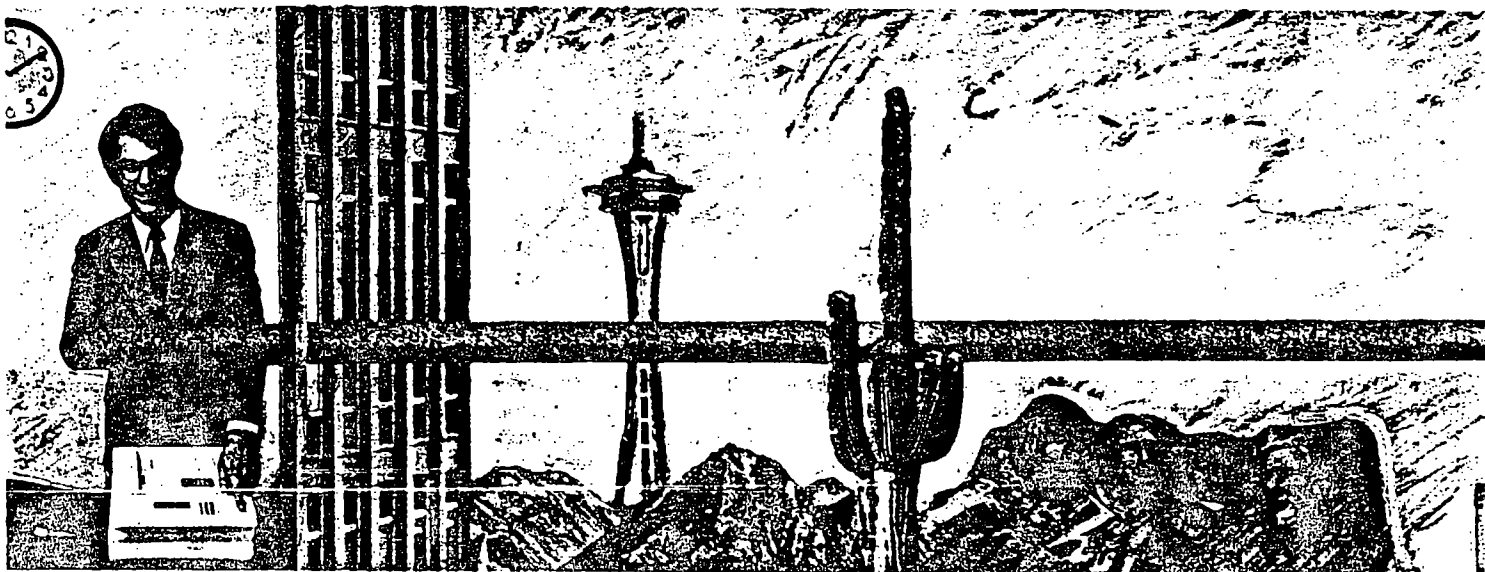
troopers from the 82nd Airborne Division had barely advanced beyond the tarmac at Point Salines.

Grenada seemed an unlikely target for the fury, urgent or otherwise, of American military power. But the politics of this tiny, torpid remnant of the British Empire had become complicated enough to make the U.S. government believe American lives were in jeopardy. Civil strife between two factions seeking to rule the island had turned bloody and unpredictable. American military planners were anxious to prove themselves, especially against the Cuban military advisers on hand to help the Grenadian army.

A decade had passed since George last commanded troops at the casern in Erlangen. He had dutifully marked time as a major and a junior lieutenant colonel. The three years at West Point were followed by tours as a staff officer in the Pentagon and at Fort Bragg until, at last, his name had appeared on the command list. Leading this unit—the First Battalion of the 82nd Airborne's 505th Parachute Infantry Regiment—was the fulfillment of a dream.

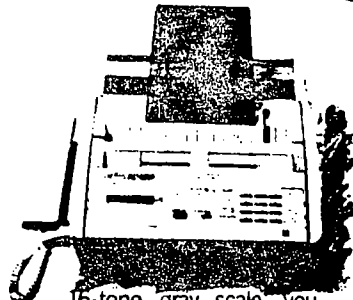
Perhaps unconsciously, the American military had been waiting 10 long years for Operation Urgent Fury. But for professional soldiers, the demons of Vietnam could be fully exorcised only by the passage of time and an opportunity to demonstrate again valorous competence on the battlefield.

Although the invasion was hardly a model of military precision, George was pleased with the performance of his paratroopers. As George had hoped, his men had shown themselves to be physically fit, well disciplined and eager to fight, a far cry from the Magnificent Seven types that he had commanded at Erlangen. They had spent most of the first 48



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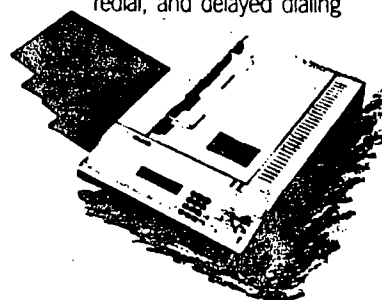


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hours on Grenada patrolling near Point Salines. The only casualty in the battalion was a soldier who broke his foot while kicking in a door.

Now, on Friday, October 28, virtually all that remained before victory could be declared in Urgent Fury was the evacuation of a last group of American students who had been discovered on a small peninsula called Lance aux Epines. The operation went smoothly as George's paratroopers searched the beaches, jetties and inland hills without finding any enemy soldiers. Singly, and in small groups, the American students emerged from the houses where they had been hiding.

At a landing zone at the north end of Lance aux Epines, as the helicopters began to arrive in a boil of dust and noise, George beheld an amazing scene. One hundred eighty-three students, many of them wearing cutoff blue jeans and sandals, mobbed the soldiers—hugging, kissing, weeping. "God bless America!" they shouted. "God bless you!" They were ushered into the Blackhawks for the short hop to the airstrip, where transport planes would ferry them north to the United States.

George watched the helicopters lift the students, cheering and waving, into the overcast sky. His soldiers waved back, some with tears in their eyes. Things have sure changed, he thought. The war was over. And this time he wasn't thinking about Grenada.

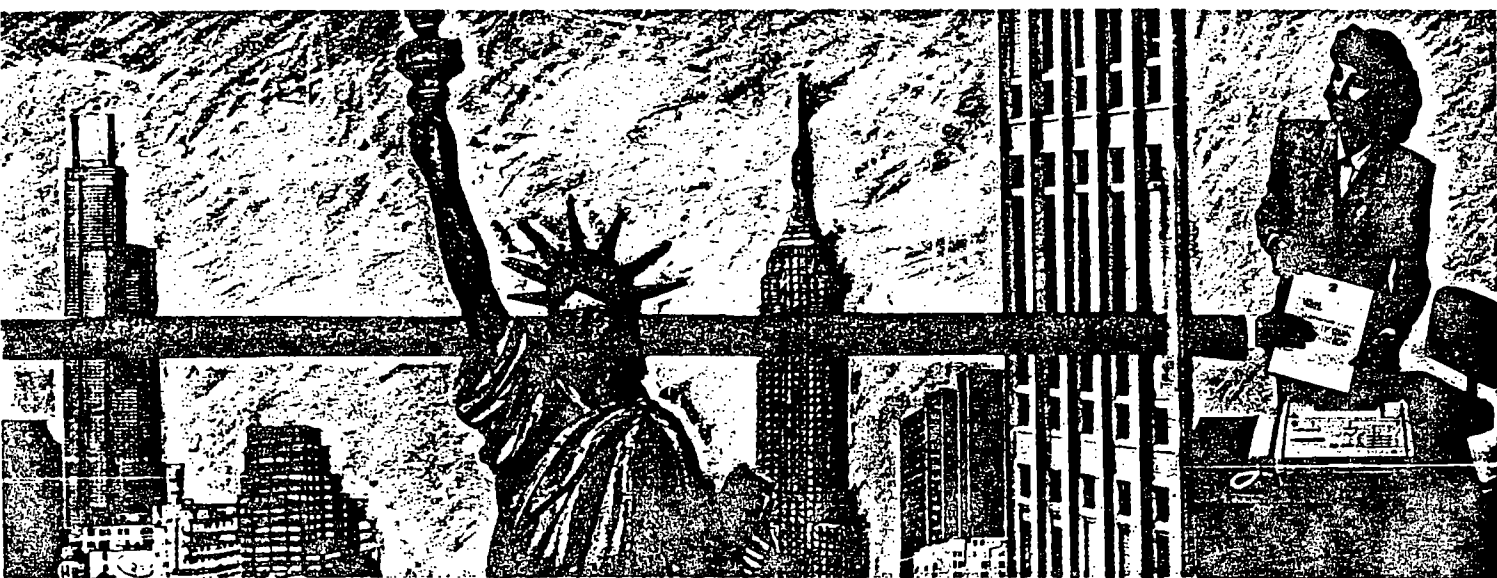
Therein lay the crux of Urgent Fury. For all of its shortcomings, for all of the derisive commentary about the pathetic stature of the enemy against which American power was hurled, the invasion of Grenada was a victory. Armies fight with morale and esprit as much as they fight with tanks and

bullets; after Grenada, soldiers walked a little taller, not because of their battlefield exploits but because of the huzzahs from the rescued students and an appreciative citizenry at home. The United States Army, its self-esteem battered in Southeast Asia, needed to win a war, any war.

The invasion, by chance, coincided with what appeared to be a new era of stability in the Army. For 25 years, since before the class of 1966 reported to Beast Barracks, the Army had been in upheaval. As officers, George Crocker and his classmates had known nothing but war and the confused aftermath of defeat. Now, on the verge of inheriting command of the Army of the 1990s—the class could expect its first general's stars in another five years—they were part of a service that seemed more sure of itself than at any time since the end of World War II. The Army knew how it wanted to fight; it had confidence in the troops now filling the ranks; and it was benefiting from Ronald Reagan's \$2 trillion defense buildup, a windfall that brought pay raises and new weaponry and equipment at a pace unprecedented in American peacetime history. The Army, in short, had made the kind of comeback George had predicted during the bleak days of his tour in Germany.

Fighting war games

In the years since Grenada, George's confidence in his Army grew even stronger and his own role in it grew greater with his promotion to full colonel. He returned to the 82nd Airborne as commander of the 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment in 1987 after a year at the Army War College. That fall, he participated in a typical exercise in a typical war game that has become a staple of Army "war



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fighting" in an era where the Soviet enemy and its proxies are moderating. War games are what the Army does to keep itself ready, and George had participated in his share. This one was a bit different, though, because it taught George something important about himself and his Army.

During the exercise, he found himself in a swampy section of south central Florida during the game. The brigade command post—his brigade command post—lay in a pine thicket about 50 yards from the runway that had been seized the night before by the 82nd Airborne.

This exercise, code-named Sand Eagle, had gone reasonably well thus far. Under the Sand Eagle scenario, Florida had been transformed into two nations. Pinea, a struggling democracy friendly to the United States, occupied the northern half of the peninsula; Marcala, its Marxist southern neighbor, had abruptly mounted a hostile invasion across the Pinean border. Heeding Pinea's plea for help, the Americans decided to parachute behind the Marcalan lines and seize the airfield at Avon Park. B-52s from Texas and Louisiana, along with F-111s from Idaho, had feinted toward Cuba—Marcala's fellow traveler—before simulating bombing runs on central Florida. The bombers had flown more than 100 sorties against Avon Park before George's troopers jumped shortly after sundown. The Marcala defenders—played by soldiers from the 10th Mountain Division, who wore black stocking caps and wrote "82nd SUCKS" with red spray paint wherever they had the opportunity—had been routed. Now, all that remained before packing up and returning to Fort Bragg was a raid on the airport at the nearby town of Sebring. According to G2 intelligence reports, several senior Marcalan commanders would meet in the airport control tower at 2230 hours—10:30 p.m.—for a strategy session.

Planning for the raid began just before noon. Ten Blackhawk helicopters had been assigned to the mission, sufficient to carry one paratrooper company. At 12:40 p.m., with a dozen of his officers gathered around the map table, George scribbled some notes in a small loose-leaf book that he kept in his breast pocket. "Let's concentrate on the tower," he said after listening to another intelligence report. "Easy in, easy out. I'd like us to be on the ground for no more than 10 minutes. If they want to surrender, strip them down to their shorts, handcuff them and sit on them. And there's a case-of-beer bounty for any soldier who can capture the enemy commander."

At 11 that night, the raiders swooped onto the outer runway at Sebring. In the distance, they saw the black silhouettes of the forbidden control tower and hangars. As the Blackhawks touched down, paratroopers spilled from the helicopters and sprinted across the runway apron. Crimson muzzle flashes peppered the night. One platoon veered to the right, hunting—futilely, as it turned out—for the Marcalan communications center. Another platoon raced toward an enemy command tent.

George, whose code name was Devil Six, lingered in the rear. He sprawled in the wet grass, watching the action through his PVS-5 night-vision goggles. The din of shouted commands, curses and automatic-weapons fire built to a frenzied crescendo and then began to ebb. An enemy machine-gun nest to the left fell silent. After 10 minutes, the paratroopers began drifting back across the airport, and the

flock of Blackhawks swooped in to pick them up. Twenty minutes after the first shots were fired, the raid was over.

At best, the operation had been a mixed success. The paratroopers reported "killing" six Marcalan soldiers, including two women, in the command tent, where they also scooped up an armload of maps and documents. But the highest-ranking officer shot was only a major. The intelligence reports had been wildly inaccurate. There had been no meeting of senior commanders, no communications center, no Marcalan general to strip, handcuff and sit on. Had the intense antiaircraft fire been real, George calculated that his raiders would have lost at least two Blackhawks.

Nevertheless, the adventure had been good training for his troops. War, even make-believe war, was an inexact science. Nothing ever went precisely as planned. "Nine tenths of tactics are certain, and taught in books," T. E. Lawrence had written. "But the irrational tenth is like the kingfisher flashing across the pool, and that is the test for generals."

At 1 a.m., George returned to the brigade command post. Twenty-five yards from the communications truck, he scooped together a bed of pine needles, careful to avoid the gray mound of a fire-ant nest. Hollowing out a depression for his hips and shoulders, he spread a tarpaulin on the damp needles and wrapped himself in a blanket.

A few feet away lay the dark fetal forms of a half-dozen sleeping paratroopers. Several of them were born the year George Crocker first went to Vietnam; he had been leading men in the dark of night when these soldiers were still in swaddling clothes. For a quarter of a century, since the class of 1966 marched out to Camp Buckner for its first sustained taste of Army life, he had been bedding down in woods like these. It was

not the way most men, on approaching their 45th birthdays, would choose to make a living. But then that singularity, the sense of being called, had always been one of the attractions of military life for George. Gen. Maxwell Taylor was right: The Army, like the church, was not for everyone.

Through the upper boughs of the pine trees, George could see the Big Dipper, washed pale by the brilliant moon. He had been blessed. Fate had steered him into a profession that perfectly suited his character and his talent. Fate also had spared him when, by all rights, he should have died a dozen deaths in shootings, booby traps, helicopter crashes, parachuting accidents and God only knew how many other assaults on his mortality.

But why? To what end? The answer was easy. To snatch a few hours of sleep in a dark wood; to ponder the "irrational tenth" flashing like the kingfisher across the pool; to rise with the sun for yet another day of soldiering; "to maintain and defend the sovereignty of the United States."

Epilogue

George Crocker served for 23 months as commander of the 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment. In March, 1988, he survived another near fatal mishap when the helicopter in which he was riding slammed into a Honduran hill, knocking him unconscious and leaving a deep gash in his head. Last week, Crocker relinquished command of his brigade to become chief of staff of the 82nd Airborne Division.



COMMANDER—CROCKER AT FORT BRAGG LAST WEEK

'He loves doing men things in a manly manner with other men'

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SUBJECT: BC MEMO - FEBRUARY 8, 1993

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Lindsey

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✓ sent on to
Trey

1/31/93 Lynette Molnar

nothing

undated Carolyn Staley

pulled by
Kelly C.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON D.C. 20506

1370

March 12, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL *RB*

FROM: KEITH HAHN *KH*

SUBJECT: Letter from Senators Exon and Byrd RE: Changes to the 1993 National Defense Authorization Act

At Tab B Senators Exon and Byrd have written the President about their concern that foreign companies are buying critical sectors of America's defense industrial base. They cite the provisions Congress inserted into last year's National Defense Authorization Act which allows the Director of OSTP and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs to sit as members on the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS). They ask that the President use this authority to focus more attention on the interrelation of technology policy, national security, and economic leadership.

The response from the President at Tab A acknowledges the importance of including you and the OSTP Director in the CFIUS process to provide a national security perspective. The letter further points out that he has established a National Economic Council which also is concerned about economic issues that might have national security implications.

Concurrences by: Rose Gottemoeller *RG*, Richard Barth, Bill Primosch, and ~~Don Gross~~ *Rosner* *(E)*
BT (MNF)

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the letters at Tab A to the President for his signature.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for the President
Tab A Letters from the President to Senators Exon and Byrd
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT: Letter from Senators Exon and Byrd on the Use of
the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United
States (CFIUS)

Purpose

To respond to a letter from Senators Exon and Byrd urging you to include the Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs in the CFIUS process.

Background

Senators Exon and Byrd are concerned that foreign companies might buy critical sectors of America's defense industrial base if a national security perspective is not brought to the CFIUS process. To that end, Congress inserted a provision in the 1993 Defense Authorization Act that allows the Director of OSTP and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs to sit as members on this committee.

The response at Tab A acknowledges the importance of maintaining a balance between legitimate foreign investment in the U.S. and the need to protect critical defense industrial capabilities. It also notes that you have established a National Economic Council that brings an interagency perspective to economic issues that have national security implications.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters to Senators Exon and Byrd at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letters to Senators Exon and Byrd
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Exon:

I greatly appreciate your efforts to ensure that critical elements of America's defense industrial base are not sold to foreign companies. By providing the appropriate legislation needed to include the Director of the Office of Science and Technology and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs on the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States, Congress has enabled national security concerns to be brought to the table.

With the establishment of the National Economic Council, the U.S. now has an additional mechanism for coordinating economic policy among government agencies. I hope to use the National Economic Council to provide a long-range vision of how we can balance legitimate investment in the U.S. with the need to protect our vital defense capabilities.

I look forward to working with you in this endeavor.

Sincerely,

The Honorable J. James Exon
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Byrd:

I greatly appreciate your efforts to ensure that critical elements of America's defense industrial base are not sold to foreign companies. By providing the appropriate legislation needed to include the Director of the Office of Science and Technology and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs on the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States, Congress has enabled national security concerns to be brought to the table.

With the establishment of the National Economic Council, the U.S. now has an additional mechanism for coordinating economic policy among government agencies. I hope to use the National Economic Council to provide a long-range vision of how we can balance legitimate investment in the U.S. with the need to protect our vital defense capabilities.

I look forward to working with you in this endeavor.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Robert C. Byrd
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 8, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM ITOH
NSC Executive Secretariat

FROM: HOWARD G. PASTER 

SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

Attached are copies of letters that were sent to the President from various members of Congress.

All of these letters address National Security issues and we would appreciate your assistance in having drafts written. Please return your response to LeeAnn Inadomi (WH-East Wing) within 48 hours. She will then print the letter in final form and get it to the President for signature.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please feel free to call LeeAnn at 456-7500.

The following is a brief description of the letters attached:

- 1) Sam Gejdenson (D-FL), concerning China;
- 2) Jack Murtha (D-PA), concerning Yugoslavia;
- 3) Bob Carr (D-PA), concerning the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency;
- 4) Jim Exon (D-NE) and Robert Byrd (D-WV), concerning Committee on Foreign Investment in the U.S..

Attachments

DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII
ERNEST F. HOLLINGS, SOUTH CAROLINA
J. BENNETT JOHNSTON, LOUISIANA
QUENTIN N. BURDICK, NORTH DAKOTA
PATRICK J. LEAHY, VERMONT
JIM SASSER, TENNESSEE
DENNIS DECONCINI, ARIZONA
DALE BUMPERS, ARKANSAS
FRANK R. LAUTENBERG, NEW JERSEY
TOM HARKIN, IOWA
BARBARA A. MIKULSKI, MARYLAND
HARRY REID, NEVADA
BROCK ADAMS, WASHINGTON
WYCHE FOWLER, JR., GEORGIA
J. ROBERT KERREY, NEBRASKA

MARK O. HATFIELD, OREGON
TED STEVENS, ALASKA
JAKE GARN, UTAH
THAD COCHRAN, MISSISSIPPI
ROBERT W. KASTEN JR., WISCONSIN
ALFONSE M. D'AMATO, NEW YORK
WARREN RUDMAN, NEW HAMPSHIRE
ARLEN SPECTER, PENNSYLVANIA
PETE V. DOMENICI, NEW MEXICO
DON NICKLES, OKLAHOMA
PHIL GRAMM, TEXAS
CHRISTOPHER S. BOND, MISSOURI
SLADE GORTON, WASHINGTON

JAMES H. ENGLISH, STAFF DIRECTOR
J. KEITH KENNEDY, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6025

February 24, 1993

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

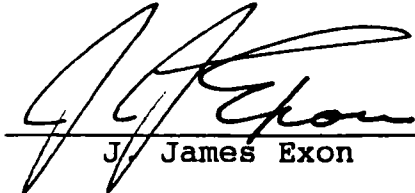
Dear Mr. President:

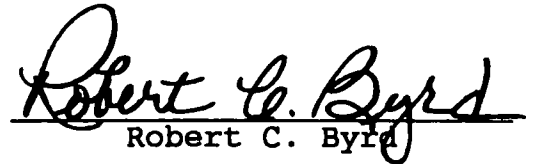
Last fall, we offered an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1993 that made several changes in the Exon-Florio review process used when a proposed foreign acquisition of a U.S. firm might have national security implications. The amendment, cosponsored by Senators Riegle, Sarbanes, Bingaman, and Dixon, was adopted unanimously by the Senate and became Section 837 of Public Law 102-484.

The United States faces the dilemma of how to prevent foreign companies from raiding the U.S. economy and snatching up critical sectors of America's defense industrial base without discouraging legitimate foreign investment in our economy. The changes made by Section 837 affect both the procedures and the scope of the acquisition review process, and we hope that you will find these changes useful as you grapple with this problem.

Section 837 includes a provision (Sec. 837(d)) urging the inclusion of the Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy and the Assistant to the President for National Security as members of the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States. By executive order, this group administers the review of potential foreign acquisitions. These members could serve to focus more attention on the interrelated nature of technology policy, national security, and economic leadership. We encourage you to make these additions to the Committee and we look forward to working with you on these issues.

Sincerely,


J. James Exon


Robert C. Byrd

RCB:mgd

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 11, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY HERNREICH

THROUGH: NANCY SODERBERG

FROM: ROBERT BELL *RAB*

SUBJECT: Call to General Crocker

Per the President's guidance, I called Brigadier General George Crocker, a life-long personal friend of the President's cousin, Gilbert Cornwell. General Crocker was extremely reluctant to consider my suggestion that he might from time to time want to offer us his opinions on the state of the military or individual military issues now under review. General Crocker's concern was that any such communication might be seen as "jumping the chain of command" or as an inappropriate crossing of the line by a military officer into politics.

I assured General Crocker that this was not the President's intent and that we simply would welcome his personal views on any matter that he might want to address as a citizen. I left my phone number with him, but made it clear that any call would be at his discretion.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 11, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT G. BELL *RB*
FROM: STEVEN R. JONES *SJ*
SUBJECT: Letter from Representatives RE: Closure
of Military Facility

Representatives Stearns, Brown and Fowler have written to the President (Tab B) to point out the important contributions of Naval Air Station Cecil Field to our national defense, and that it not be closed in this round of base closures.

The proposed reply (Tab A) emphasizes President Clinton's commitment that this will be a fair process and that this Administration will be aggressive in helping affected communities.

Concurrences by: Keith Hahn, Jeremy Rosner *JR*

RECOMMENDATION

That you send a joint memo with Howard Paster to the President recommending his signature at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Letters to Congressional Representatives
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT: Letter from Representatives RE: Closure
of Military Facility

Purpose

To respond to Representatives Stearns, Brown and Fowler, recognizing the important contributions of Naval Air Station Cecil Field in Florida, but endorsing the on-going non-partisan base closure process that must be allowed to work as legislated.

Background

The reply at Tab A emphasizes that the base closure process will be fair and that the Administration will be aggressive in helping any communities affected by closures or realignments.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letters to Representatives
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Stearns:

Thank you for your recent letter of March 8th regarding Naval Air Station Cecil Field and its status within the ongoing base closure process.

As you know, Secretary Aspin will announce the Department of Defense base closure recommendations by March 15th. These recommendations will be forwarded to the Base Closure and Realignment Commission for an open and independent review.

The reduction in U.S. bases and facilities is difficult, but absolutely necessary to ensure that our military remains strong. I fully endorse this non-partisan process, and will review the Commission's findings when they forward them to me by July 1st.

The Commission is chartered to give military value priority in their considerations, along with other important criteria such as return on investment and the impact that closures might have on a local economy, its environment and infrastructure. I can assure you that we will hold it accountable to this charter. For those bases that are selected for closure, I am committed that we will be aggressive in helping affected communities transition to other productive activities.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Cliff Stearns
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Brown:

Thank you for your recent letter of March 8th regarding Naval Air Station Cecil Field and its status within the ongoing base closure process.

As you know, Secretary Aspin will announce the Department of Defense base closure recommendations by March 15th. These recommendations will be forwarded to the Base Closure and Realignment Commission for an open and independent review.

The reduction in U.S. bases and facilities is difficult, but absolutely necessary to ensure that our military remains strong. I fully endorse this non-partisan process, and will review the Commission's findings when they forward them to me by July 1st.

The Commission is chartered to give military value priority in their considerations, along with other important criteria such as return on investment and the impact that closures might have on a local economy, its environment and infrastructure. I can assure you that we will hold it accountable to this charter. For those bases that are selected for closure, I am committed that we will be aggressive in helping affected communities transition to other productive activities.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Corrine Brown
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Fowler:

Thank you for your recent letter of March 8th regarding Naval Air Station Cecil Field and its status within the ongoing base closure process.

As you know, Secretary Aspin will announce the Department of Defense base closure recommendations by March 15th. These recommendations will be forwarded to the Base Closure and Realignment Commission for an open and independent review.

The reduction in U.S. bases and facilities is difficult, but absolutely necessary to ensure that our military remains strong. I fully endorse this non-partisan process, and will review the Commission's findings when they forward them to me by July 1st.

The Commission is chartered to give military value priority in their considerations, along with other important criteria such as return on investment and the impact that closures might have on a local economy, its environment and infrastructure. I can assure you that we will hold it accountable to this charter. For those bases that are selected for closure, I am committed that we will be aggressive in helping affected communities transition to other productive activities.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Tillie Fowler
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

March 8, 1993

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

When you receive Secretary of Defense Aspin's recommendations for closure of military facilities, Naval Air Station Cecil Field may be among them. We strongly urge that you take a close look at Cecil Field and its vital role in our defense structure before making any final decision.

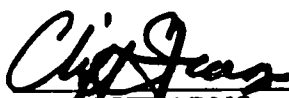
NAS Cecil Field's almost 23,000 acre complex is almost ideally suited to the needs of naval operations, training and maintenance. The facilities already present at the base would cost hundreds of millions of dollars to recreate at other locations. And, Cecil Field possesses the best Naval Air Station AICUZ footprint on the east coast, with no significant noise abatement or civilian construction encroachment problems.

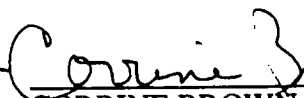
Cecil Field provides our defense forces with unique benefits. Currently, the command based at Cecil Field leases 8,379 acres in the Ocala National Forest for training, including the Navy's only live "ordnance" bombing range on the east coast -- Pinecastle Electronic Warfare Range. It enjoys the best flying weather of all eastern Jet Bases, providing more efficient aviator training with fewer cancellations. In addition, Cecil Field has the only runway in the eastern United States long enough to accommodate landings of NASA Space Shuttles should facilities at Cape Canaveral be unavailable.

Mr. President, the decision to close any military base is not an easy one. We believe that when you study the options, the case for retaining Cecil Field, on its merits, will be a persuasive one.

Thank you for your consideration of Naval Air Station Cecil Field.

Sincerely,


CLIFF STEARNS
Member of Congress


CORRINE BROWN
Member of Congress


TILLIE FOWLER
Member of Congress

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

March 8, 1993

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

When you receive Secretary of Defense Aspin's recommendations for closure of military facilities, Naval Air Station Cecil Field may be among them. We strongly urge that you take a close look at Cecil Field and its vital role in our defense structure before making any final decision.

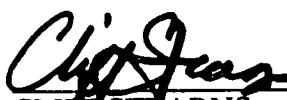
NAS Cecil Field's almost 23,000 acre complex is almost ideally suited to the needs of naval operations, training and maintenance. The facilities already present at the base would cost hundreds of millions of dollars to recreate at other locations. And, Cecil Field possesses the best Naval Air Station AICUZ footprint on the east coast, with no significant noise abatement or civilian construction encroachment problems.

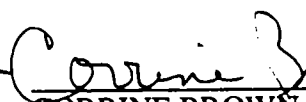
Cecil Field provides our defense forces with unique benefits. Currently, the command based at Cecil Field leases 8,379 acres in the Ocala National Forest for training, including the Navy's only live "ordnance" bombing range on the east coast -- Pinecastle Electronic Warfare Range. It enjoys the best flying weather of all eastern Jet Bases, providing more efficient aviator training with fewer cancellations. In addition, Cecil Field has the only runway in the eastern United States long enough to accommodate landings of NASA Space Shuttles should facilities at Cape Canaveral be unavailable.

Mr. President, the decision to close any military base is not an easy one. We believe that when you study the options, the case for retaining Cecil Field, on its merits, will be a persuasive one.

Thank you for your consideration of Naval Air Station Cecil Field.

Sincerely,


CLIFF STEARNS
Member of Congress


CORRINE BROWN
Member of Congress


TILLIE FOWLER
Member of Congress

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 3/9

NOTE FOR: *Howard, Bob Rubin, Tumbler*

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☐

Action ☒

*Please coordinate a
response*

JDP

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0903

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

*To Bob Rubin
President Tony
Howard Rich B.*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

03.09.93

Carrie Brown

M.C.

Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 15, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH

THROUGH:

ROBERT BELL *Rb*

FROM:

KEITH HAHN *KH*

SUBJECT: Defense Draft Bill RE DoD Military Activities
Authorizations (DoD 103-001)

The sections of the draft Defense bill forwarded for review at Tab II are mainly tax issues. A couple of these were proposed last year, but not adopted because of Pay-Go considerations. Specifically, the excise tax on heavy vehicles was not exempted for DoD vehicles because sufficient offsets were not identified. OMB feels that DoD has provided the needed offsets in this year's package.

An area of more immediate concern is the change to the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to allow tax breaks for service in "contingency operation services" in general, rather than specifically "Operation Desert Shield." With the tax filing deadline approaching, DoD would like an early determination on this issue.

Concurrences by: Jeremy Rosner *3*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I concurring in the sections of the draft bill provided for review at Tab II.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for Signature
Tab II Incoming Correspondence

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES J. JUKES

FROM: WILLIAM H. ITOH

SUBJECT: Defense Draft Bill RE DoD Military Activities
Authorizations (DoD 103-001)

The National Security Council staff concurs in the attached sections of the draft Defense bill.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
Washington, D.C. 20503

March 12, 1993

LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL MEMORANDUM

LRM #D-48
DRAFT #12

TO: Legislative Liaison Officer -

TREASURY - Richard S. Carro - (202)622-1146 - 228
CEA - Francine Obermiller - (202)395-5036 - 242
NSC - William H. Itoh - (202)456-6534 - 249
TRANSPORTATION - Tom Herlihy - (202)366-4687 - 226
NEC - Elizabeth Lindemuth - (202)456-6630 - 429

FROM: JAMES J. JUKES (for) *[Signature]*
Assistant Director for Legislative Reference

OMB CONTACT: Douglas STEIGER (395-3386)
Secretary's line (for simple responses): 395-3454

SUBJECT: DEFENSE Draft Bill DOD Military Activities
Authorizations (DOD 103-001)

DEADLINE: NOON TUESDAY March 16, 1993

COMMENTS: This referral contains a number of tax provisions.
Defense has requested expedited clearance of Section 321,
in particular.

OMB requests the views of your agency on the above subject before
advising on its relationship to the program of the President, in
accordance with OMB Circular A-19.

Please advise us if this item will affect direct spending or
receipts for purposes of the the "Pay-As-You-Go" provisions of
Title XIII of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990.

CC:

Wendell Waites
Tom Lewis
Roger Adkins
Art Stigile
Ed Rea
Randy Lyon
Mary Barth
Bob Rideout
Mike Goud

1448
15 pages
total

at components, subsystems, and subassemblies or realistic replicas or
surrogates, and through the design analyses, modeling and simulation, and
analysis of combat data" after "at the system configured for combat"; and

(4) in subsection (e)(4), by inserting "or, in the case of high value systems,
at components, subsystems, and subassemblies or realistic replicas or
surrogates, and through the design analyses, modeling and simulation, and
analysis of combat data" after "at appropriate targets configured for combat".

SEC. 103. PACIFIC BATTLE MONUMENTS MAINTENANCE.

(a) **AUTHORITY.**—The Commandant of the United States Marine Corps may
provide necessary minor maintenance and repairs to Pacific battle monuments
until such time as the Secretary of the American Battle Monuments
Commission and the Commandant of the Marine Corps agree that the repair
and maintenance will be performed by the American Battle Monuments
Commission.

(b) **FUNDING TO REPAIR AND RELOCATE PACIFIC BATTLE MONUMENTS.**—Of the
amounts made available to the Marine Corps for operation and maintenance in
each fiscal year, not more than \$15,000 each fiscal year shall be available to
repair and maintain Pacific battle monuments. Of the amounts available to
the Marine Corps for operation and maintenance in fiscal year 1993, \$150,000
shall be available to repair and relocate a monument located on Iwo Jima
commemorating the sacrifice of American military personnel during World War

II.

SEC. 104. EXEMPTION FOR DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE FROM FEDERAL EXCISE TAX ON HEAVY VEHICLES.

Section 4053 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(8) Purchases by the Department of Defense.—Any vehicle purchased by the Department of Defense to include vehicles purchased by components of the Department of Defense."

TITLE II—MILITARY PERSONNEL POLICY

Subtitle A—Officer Personnel Policy

SEC. 201. CIVILIAN CLOTHING ALLOWANCE.

Section 419 of title 37, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"§ 419. Civilian Clothing Allowance

"Under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Defense, an officer of an armed force may be paid a civilian clothing allowance in such amount as the Secretary shall determine if such officer is required to wear civilian clothing all or a substantial portion of the time in the performance of the officer's official duties. A clothing allowance under this section is in addition to any uniform allowance to which such officer is otherwise entitled under this title."

SEC. 202. AUTHORITY TO DELETE FROM SELECTION BOARD REPORTS AND PROMOTION LISTS NAMES OF OFFICERS ERRONEOUSLY CONSIDERED BY PROMOTION SELECTION BOARDS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter I of chapter 36 of title 10, United States Code, is amended by inserting after section 618 the following new section:

"§ 618a. Secretarial deletion from promotion selection board report

"(a) The Secretary concerned may delete administratively the name of a

26

of his office, rank or rating because of physical disability incurred while entitled to basic pay, or while not entitled to basic pay because he is authorized by the Secretary concerned under section 502(b) or title 37 to participate in a program leading to appointment, designation, or assignment in an officer category, the member may be separated from his armed force with severance pay computed under section 1212 of this title, if the Secretary also determines that—".

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall be effective on the date of enactment and shall apply to any physical disability that may be incurred by a member who is not entitled to basic pay because he is authorized by the Secretary concerned under section 502(b) of title 37, United States Code, to participate in a program leading to the appointment, designation, or assignment in an officer category on and after such date.

Subtitle C—Federal Income Tax Matters

SEC. 321. EXTENSION OF DESERT SHIELD POSTPONEMENT OF CERTAIN TAX-RELATED ACTS TO OTHER CONTINGENCY OPERATIONS.

Section 7508 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—

(1) in subsection (f), by striking out "DESERT SHIELD services" each place such phrase appears and inserting in lieu thereof "contingency operation services" in each instance;

(2) by amending subsection (f)(2)(A) to read as follows:

"(A) such services are performed in the area designated by the Secretary of Defense pursuant to this subparagraph as a contingency operation area, and";

and

(3) by amending subsection (f)(2)(B) to read as follows:

"(B) such services are performed during the period designated by the Secretary of Defense as the period of contingency operations in the area designated referred to in subparagraph (A).".

**SEC. 322. MODIFICATION OF TREATMENT OF GAIN ON SALE OF
RESIDENCE BY MEMBER OF ARMED FORCES
REQUIRED TO RESIDE IN GOVERNMENT QUARTERS.**

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 1034(h)(2)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking out "after returning from a tour of duty outside the United States and pursuant to a determination by the Secretary of Defense that adequate off-base housing is not available at a remote base site,".

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by this section shall apply to sales of old residences (within the meaning of section 1034 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) after the date of enactment of this Act.

**SEC. 323. MILITARY PERSONNEL STATIONED OUTSIDE THE
UNITED STATES NO LONGER EXCLUDED FROM
EARNED INCOME TAX CREDIT.**

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Subparagraph (E) of section 32(c)(3) (defining qualified child) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the end the following new sentence: "The preceding sentence shall not apply during any period during which the taxpayer is stationed outside the United States while serving on extended active duty (as defined in section 1034(h)(3)) with the Armed Forces of the United States.".

1 (b) REPORTING OF MILITARY EARNED INCOME.—Subsection (a) of section 6051
2 (relating to receipts for employees) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is
3 amended by striking "and" at the end of paragraph (8), by striking the period
4 at the end of paragraph (9) and inserting in lieu thereof ", and", and by
5 inserting after paragraph (9) the following new paragraph:

6 "(10) in the case of an employee who is a member of the Armed Forces of
7 the United States, such employee's earned income as determined for purposes
8 of section 32 (relating to earned income credit).".

9 (c) ADVANCE PAYMENT OF EARNED INCOME CREDIT BASED ON MILITARY EARNED
10 INCOME.—Paragraph (1) of section 3507(c) (defining earned income advance
11 amount) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the
12 end the following new sentence: "In the case of an employee who is a member
13 of the Armed Forces of the United States, the earned income advance amount
14 shall be determined by taking into account such employee's earned income as
15 determined for purposes of section 32.".

16 (d) EFFECTIVE DATES.—(1) SUBSECTION (A).—The amendment made by subsection
17 (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1992.

18 (2) SUBSECTIONS (B) AND (C).—The amendments made by subsections (b) and
19 (c) shall apply to remuneration paid after December 31, 1992.

20 **SEC. 324. DEDUCTION FOR MOVING EXPENSES.**

21 (a) DEDUCTION OF MOVING EXPENSES FOR MEMBERS OF THE ARMED
22 FORCES.—Section 62(a)(2) (relating to certain trade and business expenses of
23 employees) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the
24 end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) Unreimbursed moving expenses of members of the Armed Forces.—The deductions allowed by section 217 for members of the Armed Forces as determined in accordance with subsection (g) of that section.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section of this Act shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1992.

SEC. 325. TAX TREATMENT OF CERTAIN COMBAT PAY.

(a) MONTHLY EXCLUSION OF COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.—(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 112(b) is amended by striking out “\$500” and inserting in lieu thereof “the applicable amount”.

(2) APPLICABLE AMOUNT.—Section 112(c) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) Applicable Amount.—

“(A) In General.—The term ‘applicable amount’ means \$2,000.

“(B) Cost-of-Living Adjustment.—In the case of taxable years beginning after December 31, 1994, the \$2,000 amount under subparagraph (A) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(i) \$2,000, multiplied by

“(ii) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, except that section 1(f)(3)(B) shall be applied for purposes of this clause by substituting ‘calendar year 1993’ for ‘calendar year 1989’.”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to service in a combat zone after December 31, 1993.

(b) EXTENSION OF SPECIAL TAX TREATMENT FOR PRISONERS OF WAR AND MISSING IN

ACTION OF PERSIAN GULF CONFLICT.—(1) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (1) of section 112(d), as amended by subsection (c)(2)(B) herein, is amended by inserting "or the Persian Gulf conflict" after "Vietnam conflict".

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Paragraph (3) of section 112(d) is amended by adding at the end the following new sentence: "For purposes of this subsection, an individual is in missing status as a result of the Persian Gulf conflict if, immediately before such status began, the individual was performing service in the combat zone designated by Executive Order 12744 during the period of combat activities, or the individual was performing service in Southwest Asia and was entitled to special pay for hostile fire or imminent danger under section 310 of title 37, United States Code, by reason of being in direct support of military operations in such combat zone during such period."

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall take effect on January 1, 1991.

(c) CLASSIFICATION OF VIETNAM SERVICE.—(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 112(c)(3) is amended by inserting ", and May 7, 1975 shall be considered the date of termination of combatant activities in the combat zone designated in Executive Order 11216" after "Executive Order 10195".

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—(A) The first sentence of section 112(d)(3) is amended by striking ", and ends on the date designated by the President by Executive order as the date of the termination of combatant activities in Vietnam".

(B) Paragraphs (1) and (2) of section 112(d) are each amended by striking "during the Vietnam conflict as a result of such conflict" and inserting "as a

result of the Vietnam conflict".

(3) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this subsection shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act, except that in the case of the Persian Gulf conflict, the amendment made by paragraph (2)(B) shall apply on and after January 1, 1991.

(d) **EXCLUSION OF COMBAT PAY FROM WITHHOLDING LIMITED TO AMOUNT EXCLUDABLE FROM GROSS INCOME.**—(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Paragraphs (1) of section 3401(a) (defining wages) is amended by inserting before the semicolon the following: "to the extent remuneration for such service is excludable from gross income under such section".

(2) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to remuneration paid after December 31, 1992.

SEC. 326. TREATMENT OF AMOUNTS PAID ON ACCOUNT OF MILITARY BASE CLOSINGS.

(a) **ROLLOVER OF GAIN.**—Section 1034 (relating to rollover of gain on sale of principal residence) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by redesignating subsection (l) as subsection (m) and by inserting after subsection (k) the following new subsection:

"(1) **Treatment of Amounts Paid on Account of Military Base Closings.**—Amounts received under section 1013(c) of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Act of 1966 (42 U.S.C. 3374(c)) shall be treated for purposes of this chapter as part of the amount realized on the sale of the residence and shall not be treated as compensation for services for purposes of this title."

(b) **MORTGAGE INDEBTEDNESS.**—Section 108 (relating to income from discharge

of indebtedness) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(h) Special rules for discharge of mortgage indebtedness in connection with base closings.—In the case of an individual, gross income does not include any amount which (but for this subsection) would be included in gross income by reason of the discharge (in whole or in part) of any mortgage if such discharge was pursuant to section 1013(c) of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 (42 U.S.C. 3374(c)). For purposes of this title, such discharge shall not be considered compensation for services."

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to amounts received in taxable years beginning after December 31, 1989.

Subtitle D—Life Insurance

SEC. 331. AUTHORIZE INSURANCE FOR ACTIVE DUTY SERVICEMEN'S GROUP LIFE INSURANCE PARTICIPANTS ON BEHALF OF A FAMILY MEMBER.

(a) DEFINITION OF FAMILY MEMBER.—Section 1965 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(10XA) The term 'family member', when used with respect to a member who provides family coverage under section 1967(e) means—

"(i) the lawful spouse of the insured member; or

"(ii) an unmarried legitimate dependent child of the member (other than a stillborn child), including an adopted child or a stepchild, as defined in section 1072(2XD) of title 10.

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missile program, or covered product improvement program if the system or program would be unreasonably expensive and impractical. This amendment deletes the phrase, "before the system or program enters full-scale engineering development," to eliminate the need for the Department to seek legislative relief on a case-by-case basis for each weapons system that has gone beyond Milestone II. This is important for high value systems where an alternative approach to full-up live fire testing is required.

Subsection (3) amends subsection (e) (3) of section 2366, which currently defines the term "realistic survivability testing." Section (3) inserts the phrase "or, in the case of high value systems, at components, subsystems, and subassemblies or realistic replicas or surrogates, and through the design analysis, modeling and simulation, and analysis of combat data," after "at the system configured for combat." Section 102 allows the Secretary to evaluate the vulnerability or lethality of a system or program by using possible alternatives to the Live Fire Testing of a full-up, high value system or program for determining the inherent strengths and weaknesses of U.S. weapon systems. It also provides for better long-term management.

Section 103. Pacific Battle Monuments Maintenance.

Section 103 authorizes the United States Marine Corps to expend funds from its operations and maintenance budget for the repair and maintenance of certain existing Pacific battle monuments. Legislation authorizing the proposed expenditures is required due to the restrictions contained in Sections 123 and 125 of Title 36, United States Code, which grant to the American Battle Monuments Commission the sole authority to expend appropriated funds for the erection and maintenance of battle monuments. Section 103 further authorizes appropriations of \$150,000 to repair and relocate a monument on Iwo Jima and \$15,000 each fiscal year to maintain and repair monuments.

Section 104. Exemption for Department of Defense from Federal Excise Tax on Heavy Vehicles.

Section 104 amends section 4053 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (26 U.S.C. 4053) by adding heavy vehicles purchased by a component of the Department of Defense to the list of vehicles presently exempted from the Federal excise tax on heavy vehicles.

funds for facilities repair and maintenance and environmental restoration.

Subtitle B-Retired Pay and Survivor Benefits

Section 311. Forfeiture of Annuity or Retired Pay of Members Convicted of Espionage.

Section 311 corrects an apparent oversight in the original legislation creating Article 106(a), UCMJ. Article 106(a), UCMJ, added on November 8, 1985, is based on section 794 of title 18, United States Code, which already is included in the list of offenses contained in section 8312 of title 5, United States Code. When article 106(a), UCMJ was created, it should have been added to the list of offenses contained in section 8312, title 5, United States Code.

Specifically, section 311 would prohibit an individual, or his or her survivor or beneficiary, from being paid an annuity or retired pay on the basis of the service of the individual creditable toward the annuity or retired pay if the individual was convicted of violating article 106(a) (Espionage) of the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

Section 312. Disability Coverage for Officer Candidates Granted Excess Leave.

Section 312 amends section 1201 of title 10 by including certain members not entitled to basic pay among those who receive physical disability coverage. Section 312 entitles Service Members on active duty for 30 days or more to disability benefits under those sections of law only if disabled while entitled to basic pay. Except as provided in section 502(a) of title 37, an individual who is granted excess leave by the Secretary of the military department concerned under section 502(b) of that title is not entitled to basic pay as long as the member is in that status. If such an individual were to incur any disability while on excess leave, he or she would not be entitled to any of the benefits provided under the provisions of sections 1201, 1202, and 1203 of title 10.

Subtitle C-Federal Income Tax Matters

Section 321. Extension of Desert Shield Postponement of Certain Tax-Related Acts to Other Contingency Operations.

Section 321 amends section 7508 of title 86, United States Code, by extending Desert Shield postponement of tax obligations and other certain acts to personnel overseas supporting a contingency operation. Contingency Operations are designated by the Secretary as an operation in which members of the Armed Forces are or may become involved in military actions, operations, or hostilities against an enemy of the United States or against an opposing military force; or a military operation that results in the call-up of Reserves (including retirees) or in the involuntary retention of members on active duty in connection with a war or national emergency.

Section 322. Modification of Treatment of Gain on Sale of Residence by Member of Armed Forces Required to Reside in Government Quarters.

Section 322 provides servicemembers, who are required to live in Government housing, with an eight-year rollover period following the sale of their residence in order to purchase a new principal residence, without recognizing the gain on the sale of an old principal residence. Section 1034(h) (2) (B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 does not recognize that servicemembers are often prevented from using the benefit of the current extension period for recognizing gain on the sale of an old principal residence since they are often required by their duties to live in Government housing.

Section 323. Military Personnel Stationed Outside the United States No Longer Excluded from Earned Income Tax Credit.

Section 323 permits members of the Armed Forces stationed overseas to be eligible for the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC). The EITC of members of the Armed Forces shall be calculated according to section 32, of the Internal Revenue Code (26 U.S.C. 32). In addition the advance payment of earned income credit based on military earned income shall be calculated according to section 32. Section 32 would become effective December 31, 1992.

Section 324. Deduction for Moving Expenses.

Section 324 amends section 62(a) (2) of the Internal Revenue Code by adding the new paragraph (a) (2) (C). Paragraph (a) (2) (C) allows members of the Armed Forces to deduct unreimbursed moving expenses as an adjustment to income in arriving at Adjusted Gross Income. The effect of the amendment would be to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1992.

Section 325. Tax Treatment of Certain Combat Pay.

Section (a) of 325 amends section 112(b) and (c) of title 26, United States Code, by including in gross income of commissioned officers \$2000 of certain combat pay. Section (a) also provides for a cost of living adjustment in the amount includible in gross income.

Section (b) of 325 extends special tax treatment for prisoners of war and missing in action of Persian Gulf Conflict.

Section (c) clarifies tax treatment for Service in Vietnam by declaring that the Vietnam combatant activities terminated as of May 7, 1975.

Section (d) limits the exclusion of combat pay from withholding, to amounts excludible in gross income.

Section 325 increases the monthly exemption for commissioned officers to \$2,000 for the Persian Gulf conflict and automatically increases the amount of the exemption in the future to preserve this relationship to senior enlisted pay.

Section 326. Treatment of Amounts Paid on Account of Military Base Closing.

Section 327 amends current tax law by permitting an amount received in connection with the sale of a principal residence under the Homeowners Assistance Program (HAP), section 3374 of title 42, to be treated as an amount realized on the sale of a principal residence. Section 327 also exempts income recognized when mortgage indebtedness associated with foreclosure under the HAP is discharged from taxation.

Subtitle D-Life Insurance

Section 331. Authorize Insurance for Active Duty Servicemen's Group Life Insurance Participants on Behalf of a Family Member.

Section 331 amends title 38, United States Code, by providing optional life insurance coverage for active duty Servicemen's Group Life Insurance participants on behalf of a spouse or dependent child.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002a. memo	For Samuel Berger from Kent Weidemann. Subject: Presidential Review Paper. Record ID: 9320166. (2 pages)	03/15/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
OA/Box Number: 43

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File - March 1993 #1 [5]

2016-0152-F
vz4364

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002b. memo	For Anthony Lake from Marc Grossman. Subject: Decision Paper. (40 pages)	02/24/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
OA/Box Number: 43

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File - March 1993 #1 [5]

2016-0152-F

vz4364

RESTRICTION CODES

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