

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title:

Chron File - June 1994 #1 [7]

Staff Office-Individual:

Defense Policy-Bell, Robert

Original OA/ID Number:

265

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
31	3	4	3	v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. cover sheet	[CIA Act] [partial] (1 page)	06/10/1994	P3/b(3)
001b. memo	For Lynn Davis, Frank Wisner, Charles Curtis et al. Subject: IWG on START Provisional Application. (1 page)	06/10/1994	P1/b(1)
001c. cable	re: Provisional Application of Selected START Provisions. (5 pages)	05/24/1994	P1/b(1)
001d. briefing paper	Options for Continuous Monitoring at Pavlograd. (5 pages)	05/00/1994	P1/b(1)
001e. memo	[incomplete copy (page 4 only) of unknown memo START monitoring] (1 page)	05/10/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
OA/Box Number: 265

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File - June 1994 #1 [7]

2016-0152-F

vz4582

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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]

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]

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.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 9, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH:

ROBERT BELL *RB*

FROM:

KEITH HAHN *KH*

SUBJECT: Letter to the President from Representative Jacobs
RE Military Action

At Tab II Congressman Andy Jacobs has written the President to encourage him to commit U.S. armed forces to combat only when required for our national security. This letter was originally sent on January 22, 1993, but Congressman Jacobs has forwarded it again because he fears that the President's "detractors are trying to goad (him) into some military action somewhere." The response at Tab A restates the President's views on the need to defend ourselves and our fundamental interests when they are threatened.

Concurrence by:

wes for JR
Jeremy Rosner

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab I to the President.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for the President
Tab A Letter to Representative Jacobs
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
SUSAN BROPHY

SUBJECT: Letter from Representative Jacobs RE Military
Action

Purpose

To respond to a letter from Representative Andy Jacobs (at Tab B) in which he urges that you not be enticed into military action in circumstances where our national interests are not at stake.

Background

Representative Jacobs originally sent this letter at the outset of the Administration (January 22, 1993) and notes in his cover memo that "it was likely lost in the shuffle." In the letter, he provides a lengthy review of situations where post-World War II presidents have used military force in situations where U.S. national interests were not threatened -- in every case with disastrous results. He is concerned that you might be enticed by other than national security concerns to undertake military action in one of today's trouble spots.

The letter at Tab A reaffirms your position that, while there continue to be many situations in the world that require U.S. leadership and attention, we will only use U.S. armed forces unilaterally to defend ourselves and our national interests and multilaterally when we have the full support and commitment of the international community.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Representative Jacobs at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Representative Jacobs
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Andy:

I greatly appreciate your sending again the letter on the use of military force that you originally sent me at the outset of my Administration. Your insights into the dangers associated with the commitment of U.S. Armed Forces in potentially hostile environments are fully consistent with the criteria I established to guide such decisions.

The post-Cold War world will present many situations where we might be tempted to send our forces abroad to deal with ethnic and religious hatreds, environmental and economic devastation, humanitarian disasters and the spread of weapons of mass destruction. You are correct in noting that, even in this new era, we cannot dispatch our troops to solve every problem where our values are offended by human misery.

At the same time, we must make it clear that we are prepared to defend ourselves and our fundamental interests when they are threatened. We will use our armed forces to protect our national interests whenever necessary, and will act with our friends and allies whenever possible and prudent. Finally, we must always remember that millions around the world look to us for strength and leadership.

Thank you again for giving me the benefit of your thoughts and concerns.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Andrew Jacobs, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

ANDY JACOBS, JR., INDIANA, CHAIRMAN
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY

J.J. PICKLE, TEXAS
WILLIAM J. JEFFERSON, LOUISIANA
BILLY R. BREWSTER, OLLANDOMA
MEL REYNOLDS, ILLINOIS

JIM BUNNING, KENTUCKY
PHILIP M. CRANE, ILLINOIS
ARNO HOUGHTON, NEW YORK

Ex OFFICIO
DAN ROSTENKOWSKI, ILLINOIS
BILL ARCHER, TEXAS

165109
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515

SUBCOMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY

May 18, 1994

DAN ROSTENK . ILI CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
JANICE MAYE, CHIEF COUNSEL AND
STAFF DIRECTOR
SANDRA CASBER WISE, SUBCOMMITTEE STAFF DIRECTOR
PHILLIP D. MOSELEY, MINORITY CHIEF OF STAFF
KAREN R. WORTH, SUBCOMMITTEE MINORITY

4545

Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I hope this is not presumptuous.

The enclosed letter was sent to you at the beginning of your Administration when it was likely lost in the shuffle.

I mail it once more only because I note that your detractors are trying to goad you into some military action somewhere. If such an action should take place and go badly, the advocates would be the first to condemn you.

You have spared the lives of young Americans so far. So did President Carter up to a point.

Thanks very much for gracing the Hoosier capital on May 14th. We were delighted to have you with us.

Sincerely,

ANDY JACOBS, JR.

AJ/tr

Enclosure

P.S. President Reagan changed Social Security leaders often - to the detriment of the system. I hope you can see your way clear to continue with Dr. Chater when the reform becomes law. She's doing an outstanding job.

May 17, 1994

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

H 3381

I want to note just some of the expanded provisions that are so important to women and their families:

Comprehensive mammography screening that will ensure women access to this vital service;

Annual PAP smears and pelvic exams with no cost sharing;

Family planning visit with no cost sharing;

Expanded coverage of contraceptive drugs and devices;

And improved benefits for our children.

Madam Speaker, the task before us is great. The potential benefits are tremendous. We must seize this opportunity to ensure health, equity once and for all.

NEA CONTINUES WITH
CONTROVERSIAL GRANTS

(Mr. STEARNS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. STEARNS. Madam Speaker, the new chairwoman of the National Endowment for the Arts, Jane Alexander, has awarded \$78 million in new contracts from the NEA, but, my colleagues, I am concerned about two of the grants that were issued. NEA has granted tax dollars to two artists whose past projects have degraded Christianity and promoted illicit homosexual behavior.

Madam Speaker, I could go into detail of these past works of Holy Hughes and Tim Miller but suffice it to say that they used explicit sexual themes which were obscene.

These two performance artists even sued the NEA for rejecting their applications in the past but they are still receiving thousands of taxpayer dollars for their work.

Madam Speaker, the folks in Washington and New York may laugh and belittle those of us who oppose funding this type of art but the people beyond the Beltway know better and they will make their voices heard as they find out what kind of art our Government continues to fund.

WELCOME TO PRIME MINISTER
RAO OF INDIA

(Mr. HASTINGS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HASTINGS. Madam Speaker, I rise today to welcome to Washington Prime Minister Rao of India. I look forward to attending the joint session which he will address tomorrow and to sharing with him my interest in closer relations between our two countries.

India, the world's largest democracy, has already established a free market economy. Their markets are open to foreign investment and their trade barriers have been slashed. India, with its burgeoning middle-class consumer class, has

outstanding potential for United States products and businesses.

Both the United States and India have, of late, forgotten why our two democracies have traditionally been close allies. I hope that Prime Minister Rao's visit will both remind us why we have been friends and illustrate how a closer future relationship will benefit both countries.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN
POLICY

(Mr. EWING asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EWING. Madam Speaker, the candor of the Clinton administration on foreign policy concerns me.

Whom do we believe? Is the Clinton administration giving us the straight scoop?

Does the President want it both ways? While he supports U.N. control of our troops in foreign military operations, he also wants the American public, or some of them who have lost loved ones in U.N. operations, to think otherwise.

A local newspaper in my district on May 13 carried an Associated Press story which makes me skeptical and should concern every American.

The President, while meeting with relatives of soldiers killed in Somalia said he was surprised and angry that Army Rangers launched the ill-fated raid last fall.

His immediate reaction was, and I quote, "Why did they launch the raid?" But last fall at the time of the raid, the President called it a very successful mission and released a statement supporting U.N. policy and seeking Aidid's arrest.

Now, Madam Speaker, which way is it? My guess is the President wants it both ways.

THE PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN
POLICY

(Mr. JACOBS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. JACOBS. Madam Speaker, there has been a lot of noise from a few frowning experts who find fault with the President's foreign policy. They say he is out of touch with the great bipartisan tradition.

Since that tradition more often than not was to kill our kids for points in the polls, Mr. Clinton can take pride in the criticism.

If his unwillingness to borrow money to borrow trouble in other peoples' wars is bad policy, then, to paraphrase the Lincoln story, we should get cases of that bad policy and send them to all of our Presidents.

THE PRESIDENT'S ROADMAP

(Mr. LINDER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. LINDER. Madam Speaker, the President tried to provide the world a clear road map to his foreign policy during an international townhall meeting.

Unfortunately, according to the latest poll, most Americans believe the President is still lost. Some 53 percent disapprove of the way the President conducts his foreign policy, and an astonishing 48 percent do not trust him to make the right decision.

On the Clinton foreign policy map, there are so many U-turns, dead ends, forked crossings, and wrong ways, the people need more than a map to figure out where this President is going. They need a fortune teller.

Madam Speaker, why is it the President seems to have his map turned upside down when it comes to foreign affairs? Is it because he spends so little of his time and energy on this vital subject?

President Clinton may have a foreign policy road map, but most Americans wish he would pull over and ask for directions.

INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY

(Mr. TRAFICANT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TRAFICANT. Madam Speaker, it may be mid-May but I want to talk about the Grinch that stole Christmas, the IRS.

In 1991, Charles Benjamin, a laid-off plumber in Pennsylvania, took tax exemptions for his 10 children like he is allowed to. The IRS said, "No way, Mr. Benjamin. No one in America these days can afford to have 10 kids. We don't believe it. Prove it."

Mr. Benjamin sent in their proof, Social Security cards, birth certificates, notarized records from the school system and they said, "That is not enough." They went to the bank and took \$4,000 this man had, laid off, which was Christmas money and family money.

□ 1300

Ladies and gentlemen, this is out of control, and Congress should be ashamed of themselves.

When it was pressed, do you know what the IRS said? "Mr. Benjamin, prove it, prove it. We do not believe you."

Discharge petition No. 12 says whenever you go to court, Mr. Archer, for tax fraud or tax evasion, the burden of proof is on the Secretary. If it is good enough for the Son of Sam, it is good enough for Mr. Benjamin and his 10 kids.

Think about it

CONGRESS
of the
United States of America

Ways and Means Committee

Andy Jacobs, Jr.

January 22, 1993

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

At any given time there are 30 or 40 wars raging around the world. And if a U. S. President wants to get us into one of them, he can always find a reason. But, to paraphrase Shakespeare, while Presidents can "rhyme" the people into enthusiasm for such military insinuation, the people, on reflection, "do always reason themselves out again" when the fireworks have stopped and the young bodies are buried.

It is impossible to be a hero without the cooperation of a villain. The Chinese were villains when they marched into Tibet. They are still there. The Syrians were villains when they marched into Lebanon. They are still there. In musical terms, has anybody seen our old fiend, Gaddafi? Mr. Bush's erstwhile friend Hussein is the current billboard villain.

1111 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004

THE ROAD TO PEACE IS PAVED WITH JUSTICE

I have served with six U.S. Presidents. And I believe that each of them sought vicarious, which is to say pseudoheroism by sacrificing the lives of young Americans in unnecessary foreign military action unrelated to our national security or international obligations. In other words, they borrowed money to borrow trouble in other people's wars.

You could do the same. On behalf of your standing in history and in the next Presidential election, I urge you not to. You have already shown enormous strength of character. You do not have to prove anything.

Lord Chesterton said it: "Sometimes it takes less courage to die for one's country than to tell her the truth."

In the campaign last year you suffered and survived primitive, cynical and absurd attacks on your courageous opposition to an American military involvement most Americans now see as foolish, as polls show they retrospectively tend to see most modern Presidential wars.

The courage you showed as a young man by publicly petitioning our government to come to its senses over Vietnam, was the sort of Christ-like courage displayed by Gandhi, King and Sadat - the ultimate courage, the courage to appear to be a coward when one is just the opposite.

Hubert Humphrey said, "It takes courage to be a peacemaker." But sadly he was unable to summon that courage when icy stares from Lyndon Johnson demanded the Vice-President's tergiversation in order to appease boisterous war hawks in the long years of Vietnam. Johnson, who had advised Eisenhower to stay out of Vietnam, later said, "I'm not going to let them do to me over Indochina what they did to Harry Truman over China."

I was there. I heard him say it. And what did it profit him?

Richard Nixon, who had said of World War II that he, "was there when the bombs were falling" and was not, chose to be a "hero on somebody else's time" by

continuing the Vietnam involvement, calling it "our finest hour." And what did it profit him?

Gerald Ford sent forty-two young Marines to their unnecessary deaths on Tang Island after his Secretary of State was informed that the Mayaguez and its crew had been released. Ford saw the raid as an opportunity to show he was as tough as the war movie make-believe hero he faced at the Kansas City Convention. And what did it profit him?

Despite knowing that between one-third and one-half of the otherwise physically safe American hostages in Iran would be slaughtered by a tactically illogical and unnecessary raid into Tehran, Jimmy Carter ordered the misadventure anyway in the hope that it would reverse his slump in the polls. His Secretary of State honorably resigned over the moral lapse. And what did the reckless scheme profit Mr. Carter?

President Reagan "stood tall" while young Marines lay dead in Lebanon. Then he sought to obscure the blunder by sending more young Americans to die in Grenada, the White House mantra at the time being, "We

have to win one somewhere." Eighteen months later a Roper poll showed that the American public considered the invasion of Grenada a mistake. So ultimately, what did it profit Mr. Reagan?

George Bush temporarily improved his sagging poll numbers by changing Desert Shield into a Desert Storm which snuffed out 150 innocent American lives and put a lecherous despot back on a decadent throne. And what did it profit President Bush?

John Adams and Dwight Eisenhower had the political courage to avoid unnecessary war. Adams, in the case of war with France and Eisenhower in the case of Dien Bien Phu, the 1956 Mideast War and Hungary. Eisenhower's wise decisions prompted the John Birch Society to declare this authentic hero of the war in which our security was involved, "a conscious and dedicated agent of the Communist conspiracy." Instead of the carnage and additional debt, Ike built an interstate highway system which is self financing.

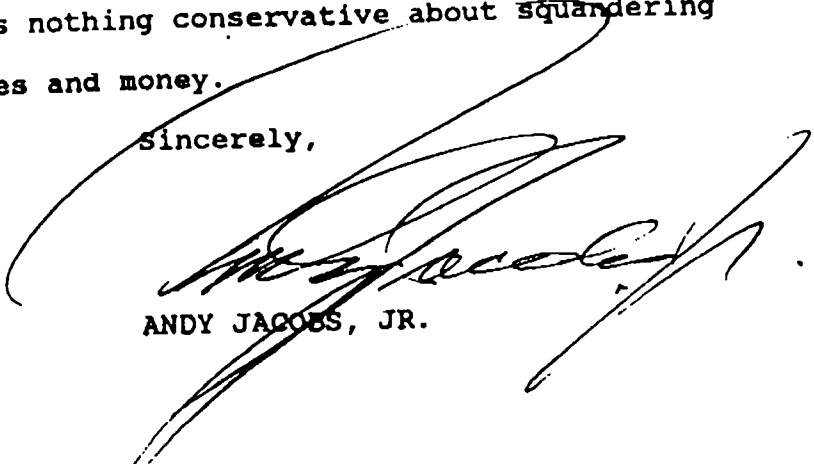
If our country ever goes to war it should be because we have to, not just because we have a chance to.

- 6 -

"Courage," my mother says, "is fear that has said its prayers." The maxim applies to political courage as well as physical courage. In praying for you, which we do, my wife and I also pray for our two little boys and every other American's children too.

There is nothing conservative about squandering American lives and money.

Sincerely,



ANDY JACOBS, JR.

AJ/pc

Ips. STAR

11-11-84

Page 1

Jacobs 'seca s Korea — carnage, fear and horro

By REX REDIFER

Perhaps the least talked about of all veterans are those who served in Korea.

They called it a "conflict," but ask those who served there. It was war.

From June 25, 1950, until July 27, 1953, when an armistice was signed, 50,000 Americans were killed in some of the most fierce battles in military history.

Rep. Andrew Jacobs Jr., D-Ind., was an 18-year-old that summer of 1950.

"I HAD joined the Marine Reserves here in Indianapolis, something like you would join the Boy Scouts," he recalls. "We got to wear these nifty uniforms every Thursday night and it helped to find a girl to take to the movies."

Then one bright August afternoon he walked past a newspaper stand and saw a blazing headline: "16th Marine Division Activated."

"I was just a snot-nosed kid. I couldn't believe it."

★ Continued From Page 1
ing sending teenagers off to places like Lebanon and other troubled places, my nerves go cold."

Marine Pfc. Jacobs was to serve only a year in Korea, and was packing to go home, when the Chinese overran his position and he was involved in the famous Battle of Hill 109. His division suffered 50 percent casualties. His tour of duty was extended for a year.

"I CAN'T begin to express the horror, the ugliness or the carnage of that battle. They carried bodies away in box cars. We were kids. We had no idea of what we had gotten into or what we were doing."

Jacobs picked up some shrapnel. He has a 10 percent veteran's disability, but has never accepted the benefit payments since he has been in Congress.

"I totaled it up the other day and found out it would just about pay for a new car I've got my eye on. I wonder if they'd let me change my mind," he said with a laugh.

THE ONLY thing he can remotely recall that terrified him as much as Korea, he added, was when he was a rookie congressman and "two Marine generals in full uniform came to my home to welcome me to Congress and called me sir."

Wry humor aside, Jacobs recalls his Korean experiences with sadness and loathing.

"We had this one favorite lieutenant, a kind of Steve McQueen type," he recalled. "He was everybody's hero."

"One day a Chinese ripped him across the chest with a burp gun. We couldn't believe our hero could die."

"FOUR OF us grabbed up a stretcher and started carrying

Which leads him now on the Veterans Day, 1984, to contemplation:

"I DOUBT there are more than 20 of us in Congress who have ever faced a man with a rifle who was actually trying to kill you. Few of them have ever the slightest notion of the bone-chilling terror of war."

"When I hear these men, who have never been in such a circumstance, casually contemplat-

him to the aid station, but we didn't know where it was, so the tradition was to take him back to the next company, which would take him back to the next and so on."

"We had gotten about halfway through this rice paddy, and some of our guys were supposed to come out and meet us and take the stretcher on. But they wouldn't move. One of them called out. 'They've got you zeroed!'"

"I looked over my shoulder, and there were two Chinese not 50 yards away with a recoilless rifle trained right on us. One touch of the trigger and we were all blown away on the spot."

"SPEAK OF sheer terror. But then a strange thing happened. The one lowered the rifle, and the other waved us on. They spared us because we were carrying the stretcher. Well, we went on, and fast."

Years later, as a congressman, Jacobs had the occasion to tell this story to a visiting Chinese ambassador during a reception in Washington, D.C.

The ambassador said something to the effect that "sometimes simple humanity overrides even the ugliness of war."

"I thanked him," Jacobs said. "I thanked him for his two countrymen who spared our lives."

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

Coy - Kelly

June 10, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR: LYNN DAVIS
Department of State

FRANK WISNER
Department of Defense

CHARLES CURTIS
Department of Energy

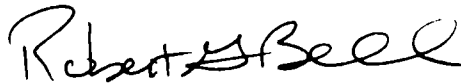
JOHN LAUDER
Central Intelligence Agency

GENERAL MICHAEL RYAN
Joint Chiefs of Staff

JOHN HOLUM
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

SUBJECT: IWG on DOE Openness Initiative (S)

The IWG will meet Friday, June 17, from 1:30 - 2:30 in Room 208 to consider implementation of the next phase of the DOE Openness initiative. Agencies should review the material proposed for declassification (attached) in advance of DOE's briefing to the IWG on Friday. (S)



Robert G. Bell
Special Assistant to the President
and Senior Director for Defense
Policy and Arms Control

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By VZ NARA, Date 10/2/06
104-0157-4

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 10, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR: LYNN DAVIS
Department of State

FRANK WISNER
Department of Defense

CHARLES CURTIS
Department of Energy

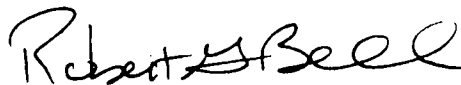
JOHN LAUDER
Central Intelligence Agency

GENERAL MICHAEL RYAN
Joint Chiefs of Staff

JOHN HOLUM
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

SUBJECT: IWG on DOE Openness Initiative ~~(S)~~

The IWG will meet Friday, June 17, from 1:30 - 2:30 in Room 208 to consider implementation of the next phase of the DOE Openness initiative. Agencies should review the material proposed for declassification (attached) in advance of DOE's briefing to the IWG on Friday. ~~(S)~~



Robert G. Bell
Special Assistant to the President
and Senior Director for Defense
Policy and Arms Control

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By W NARA, Date 01/2/06
2016-057-f

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. cover sheet	[CIA Act] [partial] (1 page)	06/10/1994	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
OA/Box Number: 265

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File - June 1994 #1 [7]

2016-0152-F

vz4582

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]

TO: SITUATION ROOM

PLEASE LDX THE ATTACHED **SECRET** [REDACTED] DOCUMENT FOR ROBERT BELL TO
THE FOLLOWING

Lynn Davis
State/T
Room 7510
647-1049

[REDACTED] CHARLES CURTIS
Department of Energy
Room 7B222
Forrestal Building
586-0645

Frank Wisner
OSD/ISP
Room 4E830
Pentagon
703-697-7200

(b)(3)

[001]

Michael Ryan
JCS
Room 2E868
Pentagon
703-695-4605

John Holum
ACDA
Room 5930
647-9610

7
Thanks

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001b. memo	For Lynn Davis, Frank Wisner, Charles Curtis et al. Subject: IWG on START Provisional Application. (1 page)	06/10/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
OA/Box Number: 265

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File - June 1994 #1 [7]

2016-0152-F

vz4582

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]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001c. cable	re: Provisional Application of Selected START Provisions. (5 pages)	05/24/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
OA/Box Number: 265

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File - June 1994 #1 [7]

2016-0152-F
vz4582

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]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001d. briefing paper	Options for Continuous Monitoring at Pavlograd. (5 pages)	05/00/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
OA/Box Number: 265

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File - June 1994 #1 [7]

2016-0152-F

vz4582

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]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001e. memo	[incomplete copy (page 4 only) of unknown memo START monitoring] (1 page)	05/10/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
OA/Box Number: 265

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File - June 1994 #1 [7]

2016-0152-F
vz4582

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]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

4209 Add-on

June 10, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH:

~~ROBERT G. BELL~~ RGB

FROM:

STEVEN R. JONES

SUBJECT:

Monday Meeting to Discuss President's Nomination
of BRAC 95 Commissioners

I. Introduction:

As a result of Deputy Secretary of Defense John Deutch's request for White House input regarding the nomination of BRAC 95 Commissioners and our background memo at Tab I, you have scheduled a meeting Monday at 11:30 am in your office with Deutch and top White House advisers to discuss this issue. You concurred with our view that a brief group discussion would be preferable to our sending Deutch a list of nominees.

Participants invited to attend: Deutch, Panetta, Rubin, Stephanopoulos, Gergen, Griffin, Berger and Bell.

II. Background:

The previous memo at Tab I summarizes the legal requirements and history associated with the BRAC Commissioners' selection. Some key points are:

- The President, after consultation with specified members of Congress, must submit his eight nominees NLT January 3, 1995, or else the BRAC 95 process terminates. DoD wants to get an early start on the nomination process.
- The choice of a strong, committed Chairman is critical. Courter has done an outstanding job in the BRAC 91/93 rounds, but Deutch reportedly wants a new chairman.
- The final list must balance Congressional recommendations with our own choices, while maintaining some breadth of experience in areas such as military force structure, defense policy, business, economic and perhaps environmental issues.
- While we strive to maintain distance between the White House and the BRAC process, law requires the President to submit nominations for the Commissioners and Chairman.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By VL NARA, Date 1/4/2017

751B-D162-F

With regard to a related issue, you hosted a similar meeting on Monday, May 9 to discuss BRAC 95 vs. BRAC 97. Two days later DoD issued the press release at Tab II which promises a robust 1995 round of base closures, but leaves the door open if we need additional rounds. At that meeting DoD agreed to provide the NSC, NEC and OMB staff further analysis of the need for BRAC 97; that analysis was just provided this afternoon and is attached as Tab III.

III. Issues for Discussion:

- What should be our overall strategy and process for nominating the BRAC 95 Chairman and Commissioners?
- Should Chairman Courter be renominated or should a new chairman be selected?
- Which Commissioners should be retained to provide continuity with previous BRAC rounds?
- How should the mandatory consultation with Congress be handled--Pat Griffin's lead? Timing?
- What is our target date for providing our BRAC Commissioner nominations to Congress?
- How do these nominations interact, if at all, with any future consideration of a BRAC 97 round?

IV. Recommended Approach:

- In your introduction, you should frame the issue to insure senior staff understand the legislative requirements and the importance of these nominations. Points to make include:
 - John Deutch has raised the importance of starting early on the nominations for BRAC Commissioners and Chairmen.
 - This is of particular importance, given the scope and impacts of BRAC 95.
 - In order for John to finalize his recommendations, we need to reach some consensus on the type of Chairman and Commissioners we need for BRAC 95.
 - We also need to understand the requirement by law that the President consult and solicit recommendations from the Senate Majority and Minority leaders, House Speaker and House Minority Leader for Commissioner nominees.
 - It will be tough to balance these recommendations with our need to assemble a BRAC commission with expertise in all the necessary areas.

- Solicit Deutch's views. Since Deutch raised this issue, we need to understand his needs, views and recommendations concerning the nominations.
- You should insure the group addresses both (1) potential candidates for Commissioners/Chairman and criteria for selecting them, and (2) the process by which we will determine our nominees and transmit them to the Senate.
- Concerning potential candidates for Chairman, you should flesh out views on continuing with Courter or selecting someone new.

-- Courter's renomination, which Gergen reportedly supports, would likely be viewed as a continuation of the ongoing BRAC process. The appointment of a new chairman might become labeled as "Clinton's Chairman" and threaten the distance we have tried to maintain with the BRAC process. Deutch reportedly wants a new Chairman. Potential nominees as Chairman that we have heard mentioned include former Senators Alan Dixon (D-IL) and Warren Rudman (R-VT), former Representatives Tom Downey (D-NY) and Phil Sharp (D-IN), and former DoD Assistant Secretary Larry Korb. Bob has a high opinion of Dixon but is skeptical of Downey, since many on the Hill viewed him as excessively anti-military. Bob thinks Korb would be a disastrous choice. Rudman is an interesting option--competent, objective, a champion of deficit reduction and, of course, a Republican.

-- You should also seek DoD's views on which Commissioners should be retained to provide continuity with past BRAC rounds. Our own view is that McPhearson, Johnson and Bowman performed well in '93 (Bios at the back of Tab I), although Johnson was controversial in reversing DoD recommendations by closing Plattsburgh AFB rather than McGuire AFB. Bowman's expertise is focused mainly on naval shipyards.

- Concerning "process," you should (1) seek a date for DoD recommended nominees to be submitted to the White House for consideration, and (2) establish Pat Griffin (rather than DoD) as the POC for the required consultations with Senate Majority and Minority Leaders and the House Speaker and House Minority Leader. In the past, individual Commissioners have been labeled as "Mitchell's Commissioner" or "Foley's Commissioner," and there may be some artful negotiation required to satisfy Congressional desires while at the same time insuring the proper balance of expertise on the 8-person Commission. We believe this is properly a White House role, done in close coordination with DoD.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4

Finally, you should select a target date for submitting our BRAC 95 nominees to the Senate, in advance of the January 3, 1995, deadline. The fall elections and the changeover in the Senate Majority Leader position could also complicate the nomination process, and force it beyond November.

- If time permits, you may want to ask Deputy Secretary Deutch about his BRAC 97 analysis (Tab III), which we are now reviewing. I have also attached a recent package of press clippings (Tab IV) assembled and circulated by Gordon Adams of OMB which supports continuing with a robust BRAC 95 round.

Concurrences by: *WLD for JR*
Jeremy Rosner

Attachments

Tab I NSC May 26 Background Memo
Tab II DoD May 11 Press Release on BRAC 95/97
Tab III DoD June 10 BRAC 97 Analysis
Tab IV OMB May 25 BRAC News Clippings

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

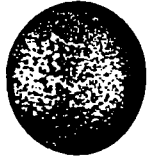
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

4209



May 26, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT G. BELL *RGB*

FROM: STEVEN R. JONES *SJR*

SUBJECT: President's Nomination of BRAC 95 Commissioners

Deputy Secretary of Defense John Deutch has contacted White House Personnel about the President's nomination of a new BRAC (Base Realignment and Closure) Chairman and Commissioners before Congress goes out of session in October. Deutch says he wants to move quickly on this and hopes to receive a "White House list" before you depart next week for D-Day events.

Background

According to the 1990 BRAC public law (Tab A), each Commission shall be composed of eight members appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate. The President must transmit nominees to the Senate not later than January 3, 1995 or else the BRAC 95 process terminates. In selecting these individuals, the law says the President should consult with the Speaker of the House concerning the appointment of two members, the Senate Majority Leader regarding two members, the House Minority Leader and the Senate Minority Leader concerning one member each. The President is to designate one of the eight nominees to serve as Chairman of the Commission. The Commissioners serve until the adjournment of Congress for the session during which they are appointed. The Chairman serves until confirmation of a successor and is supported by a small BRAC staff that is retained in the "off year."

Although the President's nominations do not have to be submitted until January 3, 1995, we assume DoD is trying to get consent on the BRAC 95 Commissioners early to eliminate the possibility that nominations might get entangled in future debate over legislation we might possibly submit to create a 1997 BRAC round. Also, sufficient time must be allotted for background checks of the proposed Commissioners. Several nominees in past rounds have withdrawn during this process due to conflicts of interest.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By *VL* NARA, Date *1/4/2017*
2016-0152-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The 1993 Commissioners' biographies are at Tab B. Former Representative (R-NJ) Jim Courter chaired the 1991 and 1993 BRAC rounds and is widely recognized as having performed well in this role. Other commissioners included retired Navy Captain and former Naval shipyard Commander Peter Bowman, former U.S. Representative Beverly Byron, former Transportation Assistant Secretary Rebecca Cox (wife of Congressman Chris Cox, Republican from California), retired General and TRANSCOM CINC Hansford T. Johnson, lawyer and former Army Deputy Under Secretary Harry McPherson and former CEO and Ambassador Robert D. Stuart. Courter, Stuart and Arthur Levitt were reappointed from the BRAC 91 Commission to provide continuity for BRAC 93 (Levitt, however, left BRAC 93 early after appointment to the Security and Exchange Commission and was not replaced).

In regard to DoD guidance regarding the nomination process, Secretary Perry included the following in his January 7, 1993, BRAC 95 guidance to DoD and the Services:

"Public Law 101-510, as amended, requires that commissioners be nominated by the President no later than January 3, 1995, or the 1995 base closure process will be terminated. The Counselor to the Secretary of Defense and Deputy Secretary of Defense will coordinate all matters relating to the Secretary's recommendations to the President for appointments to the 1995 Commission. All inquiries from individuals interested in serving on the Commission should be referred to the Counselor." (Note: It is uncertain who will pick-up this function from former DoD Counselor Larry Smith)

Considerations for Chairman

The first and perhaps most important question is whether Jim Courter should be retained as Chairman (assuming he will accept the position again if offered). Courter is generally recognized for fair, non-partisan and effective leadership during the BRAC 91 and 93 rounds. During 1993, however, his renomination as Chairman was initially opposed by Senator Mitchell. Courter's renomination for BRAC 95, which David Gergen reportedly supports, would likely be viewed as a continuation of the ongoing BRAC process. The scope and importance of the BRAC 95 round also could argue for experience and continuity. The appointment of a new chairman could become more closely associated with the current Administration or as "President Clinton's Chairman" and threaten the distance we have tried to maintain with the BRAC process. On the other hand, a new Chairman would provide a fresh start and hopefully closely conform to the Administration's views on BRAC 95.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Other names mentioned for BRAC Chairman include that of former Senator Alan Dixon (D-IL), former Representatives Tom Downey (D-NY) and Phil Sharp (D-IN), and former DoD Assistant Secretary Larry Korb. Dixon, who has support from Senator Nunn, served on the SASC for a number of years, was MILCON Subcommittee Chairman with responsibility for military bases and experienced first-hand the impact of bases closing in his state (Chanute AFB, Fort Sheridan and Glenview NAS).

The choice of Commission chairman is potentially the most important input the President will have in the entire BRAC process.

Other Considerations for Commissioners

Reviews on other BRAC 93 Commissioners are mixed. Peter Bowman's area of expertise on naval bases and shipyards was very narrow, but at the same time very important to the Commission's 1993 work which had a strong Navy shipyard focus. Gen Johnson's views were controversial in reversing DoD recommendations to close McGuire AFB. With Johnson in the lead, BRAC 93 voted to instead close Plattsburgh AFB. Harry McPherson was well respected as an "elder statesman" capable of resolving tough issues facing the Commission. We are continuing to discreetly inquire as to which BRAC 93 Commissioners might serve well in BRAC 95 and provide valuable continuity with past BRAC debates and decisions.

Previous Commissioners have usually been former members of Congress, former military or government officials, or former business leaders. In putting forth our own recommendations and in consulting with Congress, it is not only important that the final list of Commissioners have continuity with BRAC 91/93 but also possess some breadth of experience in areas including military force structure, defense policy, business and perhaps environmental issues. The business and economic aspects may become increasingly important to judge data relating to the BRAC criteria of cost-effectiveness and cumulative economic impact.

Issues

- What should be our overall strategy and process for nominating the BRAC 95 Chairman and Commissioners?
- Should the White House send a preliminary list of BRAC Chairmen/Commissioners to DoD?
- Should Chairman Courter be renominated or should the White House push for a new chairman?
- Which Commissioners should be retained, if any, to provide continuity with previous BRAC rounds?
- Should the White House (Pat Griffin) or DoD make inquiries to the Congressional leadership regarding nominees? Timing for these inquiries?

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Concurrences by: Jeremy Rosner, David Lane (NEC)

RECOMMENDATION

That you schedule an early meeting (if possible, before the D-Day trip) with Bob Rubin, Leon Panetta, David Gergen, George Stephanopoulos, Pat Griffin and John Deutch to discuss potential BRAC 95 Commissioners and Chairman, as well as the nomination and selection process. We think a group discussion approach is preferable to our sending Deutch a list.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab A Excerpt from 1990 BRAC Law
Tab B Biographies of 1993 BRAC Commissioners

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

What follows is a copy of the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1990 (Public Law 101-510). In italics are the subsequent changes made by Congress in the Fiscal Years 1992/1993 Department of Defense Authorization Bill (P.L. 102-311) and the Fiscal Year 1993 Department of Defense Authorization Bill (P.L. 102-484).

TITLE XXIX - DEFENSE BASE CLOSURES AND REALIGNMENTS

Defense Base
Closure and
Realignment
Act of 1990.
10 USC 2687
note.

PART A—Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission

SEC. 2901. SHORT TITLE AND PURPOSE

(a) Short Title. - This part may be cited as the "Defense Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1990".

(b) Purpose. - The purpose of this part is to provide a fair process that will result in the timely closure and realignment of military installations inside the United States.

10 USC 2687
note.

SEC. 2902. THE COMMISSION

(a) Establishment. - There is established an independent commission to be known as the "Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission".

(b) Duties. - The Commission shall carry out the duties specified for it in this part.

(c) Appointment. - (1)(A) The Commission shall be composed of eight members appointed by the President, by and with the advise and consent of the Senate.

President.

(B) The President shall transmit to the Senate the nominations for appointment to the Commission —

(i) by no later than January 3, 1991, in the case of members of the Commission whose terms will expire at the end of the first session of the 102nd Congress;

(ii) by no later than January 25, 1993, in the case of members of the Commission whose terms will expire at the end of the first session of the 103rd Congress; and

(iii) by no later than January 3, 1995, in the case of members of the Commission whose terms will expire at the end of the first session of the 104th Congress.

"(C) If the President does not transmit to Congress the nominations for appointment to the Commission on or before the date specified for 1993 in clause (ii) of subparagraph (B) or for 1995 in clause (iii) of such subparagraph, the process by which military installations may be selected for closure or realignment under this part with respect to that year shall be terminated".

(2) In selecting individuals for nominations for appointments to the Commission, the President should consult with —

(A) the Speaker of the House of Representatives concerning the appointment of two members;

(B) the majority leader of the Senate concerning the appointment of two members;

(C) the minority leader of the House of Representatives concerning the appointment of one member; and

(D) the minority leader of the Senate concerning the appointment of one member.

(3) At the time the President nominates individuals for appointment to the Commission for each session of Congress referred to in paragraph (1)(B), the President shall designate one such individual who shall serve as Chairman of the Commission.

(d) Terms. - (1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), each member of the Commission shall serve until the adjournment of Congress sine die for the session during which the member was appointed to the Commission.

(2) The Chairman of the Commission shall serve until the confirmation of a successor.

(e) Meetings. - (1) The Commission shall meet only during calendar years 1991, 1993, and 1995.

Public
Information.

(2)(A) Each meeting of the Commission, other than meetings in which classified information is to be discussed, shall be open to the public.

(B) All the proceedings, information, and deliberations of the Commission shall be open, upon request, to the following:

(i) The Chairman and the ranking minority party member of the Subcommittee on Readiness, Sustainability, and Support of the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate, or such other members of the Subcommittee designated by such Chairman or ranking minority party member.

(ii) The Chairman and the ranking minority party member of the Subcommittee on Military Installations and Facilities of the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives, or such other members of the Subcommittee designated by such Chairman or ranking minority party member.

(iii) The Chairmen and ranking minority party members of the Subcommittees on Military Construction of the Committees on Appropriations of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, or such other members of the Subcommittees designated by such Chairmen or ranking minority party members.

(f) Vacancies. - A vacancy in the Commission shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment, but the individual appointed to fill the vacancy shall serve only for the unexpired portion of the term for which the individual's predecessor was appointed.

(g) Pay and Travel Expenses. - (1)(A) Each member, other than the Chairman, shall be paid at a rate equal to the daily equivalent of the minimum annual rate of basic pay payable for level IV of the Executive Schedule under section 5315 of title 5, United States Code, for each day (including travel time) during which the member is engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Commission.

(B) The Chairman shall be paid for each day referred to in subparagraph (A) at a rate equal to the daily equivalent of the minimum annual rate of basic pay payable for level III of the Executive Schedule under section 5314 of title 5, United States Code.

(2) Members shall receive travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in accordance with sections 5702 and 5703 of title 5, United States Code.

(h) Director of Staff. - (1) The Commission shall, without regard to section 5311(b) of title 5, United States Code, appoint a Director who has not served on active duty in the Armed Forces or as a civilian employee of the Department of Defense during the one-year period preceding the date of such appointment.

(2) The Director shall be paid at the rate of basic pay payable for level IV of the Executive Schedule under section 5315 of title 5, United States Code.

(i) Staff. - (1) Subject to paragraphs (2) and (3), the Director, with the approval of the Commission, may appoint and fix the pay of additional personnel.

(2) The Director may make such appointments without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and any personnel so appointed may be paid without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of that title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, except that an individual so appointed may not receive pay in

COMMISSION BIOGRAPHIES

Jim Courter has been Chairman of the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission since 1991. Prior to that, he represented the 12th district of New Jersey in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1979 until 1991. While in Congress, Congressman Courter chaired the House Military Reform Caucus and served on the following subcommittees of the House Armed Services Committee: Military Installations and Facilities, Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems, and Research and Development. In 1987, he was appointed to the joint select committee charged with investigating the diversion of funds to the Nicaraguan democratic opposition in the "Iran-Contra Affair." Chairman Courter is senior partner of the law firm he founded, Courter, Kobert, Laufer, Purcell, and Cohen, in Hackettstown, New Jersey.

Peter B. Bowman is Vice President for Quality Assurance for Gould, Inc., a diversified manufacturing company in Newburyport, Massachusetts. A career naval officer, Mr. Bowman attended the U.S. Naval Nuclear Power School and the Naval Submarine School. He served aboard three separate nuclear submarines and later at Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard. After tours at the Naval Sea Systems Command and Mare Island Naval Shipyard and 30 years service, he retired in 1990 as the Shipyard Commander at Portsmouth Naval Shipyard. Mr. Bowman was an instructor for the Center for Naval Analysis at the Naval Postgraduate School from 1990 through 1991.

Beverly B. Byron was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives representing the 6th District of Maryland from 1979 until January 1993. While in Congress, she served as Chairman of the Military Personnel and Compensation Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee. In this capacity, Congresswoman Byron directed Congressional oversight for 42 percent of the U.S. defense budget and played a key role in overseeing the drawdown of U.S. forces overseas. She also served on the Research and Development Subcommittee. From

1983 until 1986, Mrs. Byron chaired the House Special Panel on Arms Control and Disarmament and served from 1980 until 1987 on the U.S. Air Force Academy Board of Visitors.

Rebecca G. Cox is Vice President for Government Affairs for Continental Airlines. Mrs. Cox formerly served as Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Public Liaison for President Ronald Reagan. Concurrently, she served as Chairman of the Interagency Committee for Women's Business Enterprise. Prior to her service in The White House, Mrs. Cox was Assistant Secretary for Government Affairs at the Department of Transportation. She had previously served at the Department of Transportation as Counselor to the Secretary. Mrs. Cox began her career in the U.S. Senate, where she was Chief of Staff to Senator Ted Stevens.

General Hansford T. Johnson, U.S. Air Force (Retired) served in the Air Force for 33 years and was Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Transportation Command and of the Air Mobility Command, leading these commands in Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm. During his career, he served in South Vietnam, commanded the 22nd Bombardment Wing, was Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations of the Strategic Air Command, Vice Commander-in-Chief of Pacific Air Forces, Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Central Command and Director of the Joint Staff of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. General Johnson is now Chief of Staff of the United Services Automobile Association.

Harry C. McPherson, Jr., is a partner in the law firm of Verner, Lipfert, Bernhard, McPherson and Hand in Washington, D.C. He served Deputy Under Secretary of the Army for International Affairs and later as Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs. He then served as Special Counsel to President Lyndon B. Johnson. Mr. McPherson served in the U.S. Air Force and was President of the Federal City Council. He was General Counsel for the John F. Kennedy Center for the

Performing Arts from 1977 until 1991 and is currently Vice Chairman of the U.S. International Trade and Cultural Center Commission.

Robert D. Stuart, Jr., was U.S. Ambassador to Norway from 1984 to 1989 after serving as President, Chief Executive Officer, and Chairman of The Quaker Oats Company. Ambassador Stuart is President of Conway Farms, a real estate development company. He is also a Director of the Atlantic Council, the Washington Center and the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Previously, he was President of the Council of American Ambassadors and Vice Chairman of the Illinois Commission on the Future of Public Service. He served in the U.S. Army in Europe during World War II. He also served as a Commissioner on the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission in 1991.

Secretary of Defense William Perry and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. John Shalikashvili jointly today issued the following statement on 1995 base closures:

We will conduct a robust 1995 round of base closures. The prudent management of our resources demands it. As in the past, the number and types of facilities recommended for closure will depend on our force structure needs. We shall also consider the cumulative economic impact on communities as well as our capacity to responsibly manage re-use of closed facilities. We must proceed to close bases in order to save money, managing the process in a way that recognizes that base closing costs money before it saves money. Too much, too soon jeopardizes our current program; too little too late jeopardizes our future program. These are the considerations that will determine the size and shape of the closings we will recommend to the Base Closing and Realignment Commission for 1995. If closures beyond the amount we can responsibly accomplish in 1995 are required, we will seek authority for future BRAC rounds.

DRAFT

DOD BASE CLOSING PROCEDURES

Background

The realities of the post-Cold War world have resulted in a significant drawdown of the U.S. military force structure. By the end of this decade our military forces will have been reduced by nearly 30 percent from the 1985 peak. But the drawdown of the infrastructure built to support those forces -- military bases -- has lagged behind the personnel drawdowns (see attachment 1). Even after three rounds of base realignment and closures (BRAC), only about 15 percent¹ of US base capacity has been selected for closure, and the majority of these bases has yet to be fully closed (see attachment 2). Once closed, the 70 selected bases will save approximately \$4 to \$5 billion annually.

As a result, declining defense budgets continue to support unneeded bases at the expense of readiness and modernization.

From start to finish, actually closing a military base generally takes 2 to 4 years or more. This period is a costly one, especially during the first 3 years (see attachment 3). DoD must often invest in new construction at receiving bases, and fund personnel transition, equipment relocation, and environmental clean-up expenses at closing bases. For the 70 bases already selected, total expenditures are estimated at \$15 billion.² These funds have been included in the Bottom Up Review and in the President's budget submission. However, recent congressional support for appropriation of the necessary funds has been mixed and it has not reached the level of DoD requests (see attachment 4).

Since the bases already selected for closure represent only 15 percent of DoD's infrastructure, another 15 percent, or about another 70 bases, need to be closed if the infrastructure is to be brought in line with the force structure. There is a consensus among the Military Services and the Pentagon leadership that we must press ahead with the difficult task of right-sizing our infrastructure with our much smaller force structure. It is also critical that we maintain the integrity of the process that has worked so well in past closure rounds.

DoD Strategy

DoD, after long discussions between the Secretary and Deputy Secretary and the JCS, has concluded that the most effective approach would be:

¹ There are no general measures of infrastructure capacity. This figure uses estimated plant replacement cost.

² It should be noted that the Department expects to realize \$16 billion in savings by the end of the implementation years -- fully offsetting the costs.

1. To plan on as aggressive a BRAC 95 package as practicable, using current force structure and budgetary limitations.
2. To use the excess capacity reduction targets that will be developed this summer to assess the probable size of the eventual package of recommendations.
3. If the BRAC 95 round ultimately is judged to be inadequate to meet DoD's long term needs, request legislation authorizing further BRAC rounds in future years.

BRAC 95 Process

The Department of Defense has begun the analysis process for the 1995 round of base realignments and closures (BRAC 95). DoD's BRAC 95 process will continue through January 1995, when the Military Departments and Defense Agencies submit their recommendations to the Secretary of Defense, to March 1995, when the Secretary of Defense presents the Department's final BRAC 95 recommendations to the independent Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission.

Overview of the BRAC Process

The BRAC 95 process is being carried out in accordance with Public Law 101-510, as amended by Public Law 102-190 and 103-160. The BRAC 95 process applies only to military bases in the United States. BRAC 95 follows BRAC rounds in 1988, 1991, and 1993. No further BRAC rounds are authorized under current legislation.

Under the law, the Secretary of Defense recommends bases for closure and realignment to the independent Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission. The Secretary must develop recommendations based on consistent application of final selection criteria and a force structure plan, which projects the size of the military in the coming years. The Commission reviews the Secretary of Defense's recommendations and may change them only when it finds that the Department deviated substantially from the final selection criteria or the force structure plan.

In July 1995, the Commission will submit its recommended closures and realignments to the President, who can accept or reject them in their entirety, but can not add or delete individual bases. The President has 15 days to complete his review. Alternatively, the President can return the recommendations to the Commission for more analysis. The Commission would then have 30 days to revise its recommendations to the President. If the President approves the Commission's recommendations, they are sent to the Congress, which can vote to reject them in their entirety, but can not add or delete individual bases. A joint resolution by both houses of the Congress is required to reject recommendations sent by the President. If no such resolution is passed, then the recommendations are implemented over a period of six years.

Department of Defense Organizations and Responsibilities

For BRAC 95, the Department has significantly increased efforts to examine its infrastructure needs, and therefore base closure and realignment needs, from the perspective of the Department as a whole, rather than from the perspectives of three separate Military Departments and many Defense Agencies. The BRAC 95 process will enhance opportunities for consideration of trade-offs among the Military Departments and for enhanced cross-service use of the remaining infrastructure. These efforts are critical to balancing the DoD base and force structures and to preserving readiness through the elimination of unnecessary infrastructure. The Department established new organizations and new procedures to ensure greater attention is paid to issues that cut across traditional boundaries.

The *BRAC 95 Review Group* is chaired by the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology. The members of the review group include a senior representative from the Military Departments, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Defense Agencies, organizations within the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and others. The Review Group's authorities include, but are not limited to: reviewing BRAC 95 analysis policies and procedures; reviewing analyses of excess capacity in different functional areas; establishing closure or realignment alternatives and numerical excess capacity reduction targets for consideration by DoD Components; reviewing BRAC 95 work products of DoD Components and BRAC 95 Joint Cross-Service Groups; and making recommendations to the Secretary of Defense, including those involving cross-service trade-offs.

The *BRAC 95 Steering Group* is chaired by the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Economic Security. Like the Review Group, the Steering Group has representation from relevant organizations throughout the Department of Defense. The purpose of the Steering Group is to assist the Review Group in exercising its authorities and to review BRAC 95 guidance issued to DoD Components.

Six *BRAC 95 Joint Cross-Service Groups* have been established in areas with significant potential for cross-service cooperation: Depot Maintenance; Test and Evaluation; Laboratories; Military Treatment Facilities; Undergraduate Pilot Training; and Economic Impact. Among other things, the Joint Cross-Service Groups will establish procedures for cross-service analyses and analyze cross-service trade-offs.

The *Military Departments and Defense Agencies* will develop recommendations to the Secretary of Defense and submit them in January 1995. Recommendations will be developed consistent with the final selection criteria, the force structure plan, and guidance issued by senior DoD officials, the BRAC 95 Review Group, the BRAC 95 Steering Group, and the Joint Cross-Service Groups.

DRAFT

The Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Economic Security is the focal point for BRAC activities within the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

Improvements in BRAC 95 Procedures

DoD procedures have been improved in several respects for BRAC 95:

Excess Capacity Reduction Targets

In the previous base closure rounds, the military services were not provided targets for reduction. In BRAC 95, the Department will attempt to establish excess capacity reduction targets for the military services and defense agencies based on data collected as part of the process. Different targets will be established for each category of facility.

Analysis of Cross-Service Activities

In previous rounds, closure recommendations were developed within the individual Military Services with little, if any, coordination among them. In BRAC 95, DoD is developing methods and examining seriously the savings that would result from the sharing of common support activities. The Department has undertaken a rigorous cross-service review of activities such as depots, laboratories, medical and training facilities, and test and evaluation facilities.

Analysis of Cumulative Economic Effects

Congress has asked the Department to consider ways to take into account the cumulative effect of multiple closures upon communities and geographic areas. Previously DoD had considered economic effects as a criterion (secondary to military value) in deciding individual closures, but its attempts to review the cumulative effects were ad hoc at best. In BRAC 95, the Department has created an inter-service working group to develop a sound methodology systematically to review the cumulative effect of a series of closures on local economies (see attachment 5).

Impediments to Achieving Full Implementation in 1995

There are important reasons why the BRAC 95 round -- the last one authorized by law -- may be insufficient. We now face three practical impediments to achieving the ambitious goal of closing up to 70 major bases in one last round -- more than twice the number of bases that has been accomplished in any previous round. They are:

Changes in Force Structure & Doctrine

The JCS, the Secretary, the President, and the Congress have already directed substantial changes in our force structure in the Bottom Up Review (BUR) and accompanying budget. Implementation of the BUR and related changes in doctrine are being developed and analyzed by the JCS and Services, but this is itself a process that will take several years. Unfortunately, the analysis for BRAC 95 closure recommendations must be conducted during the summer and fall of this year and it must be based on current projections of force structure and current deployment/employment doctrine. As a result, base closing recommendations, will to some extent, be based upon force structures and doctrine that are themselves undergoing revisions.

Funding

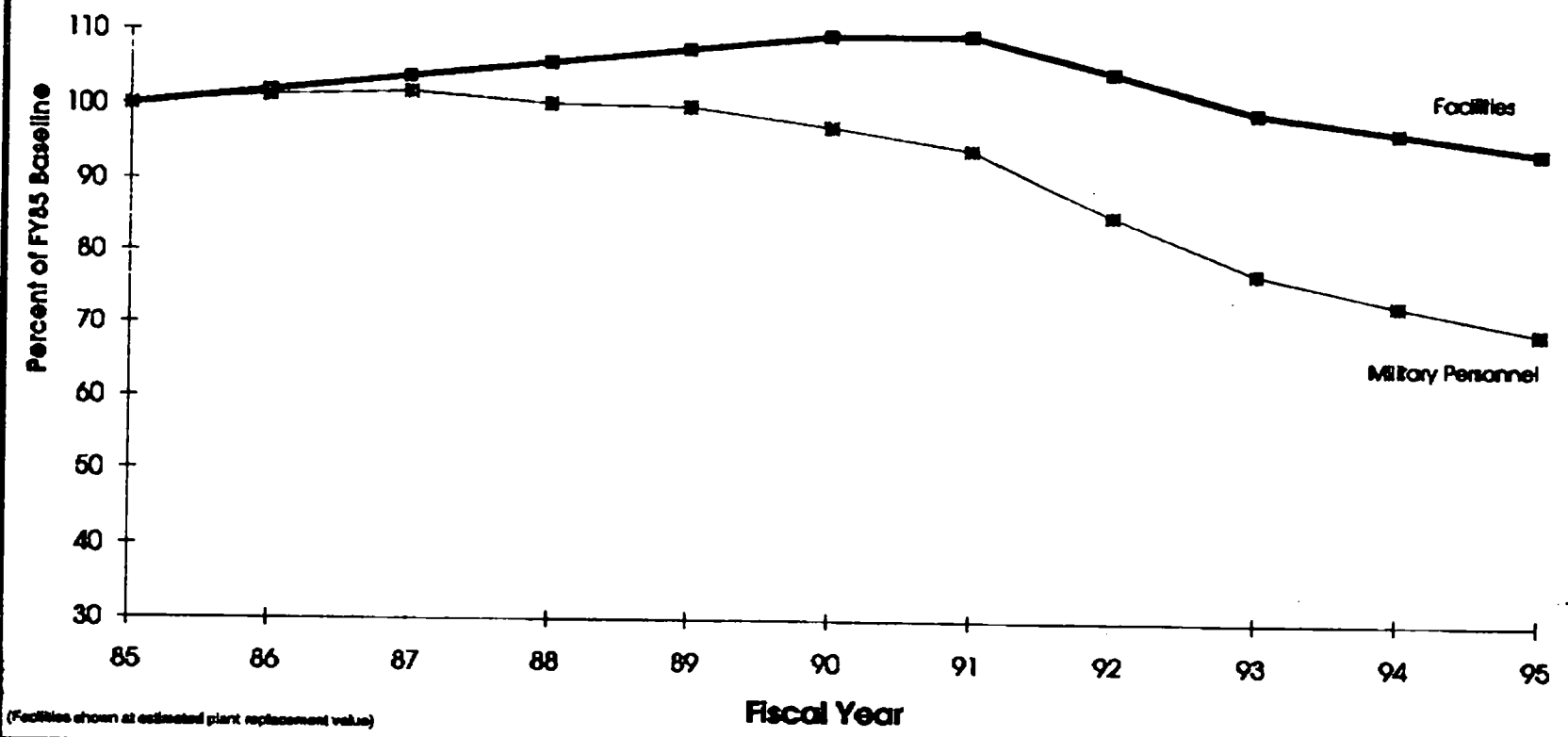
We are already facing a problem with affording the short term cost of closure. Despite the fact that Congress "approved" the BRAC 93 closing list by "overwhelming majority," Congress then rescinded \$507 million in FY94 BRAC funds for those closures, a 42 percent reduction in the original budget request. The result of this cut will be to push closure actions into later years, thus delaying the savings.

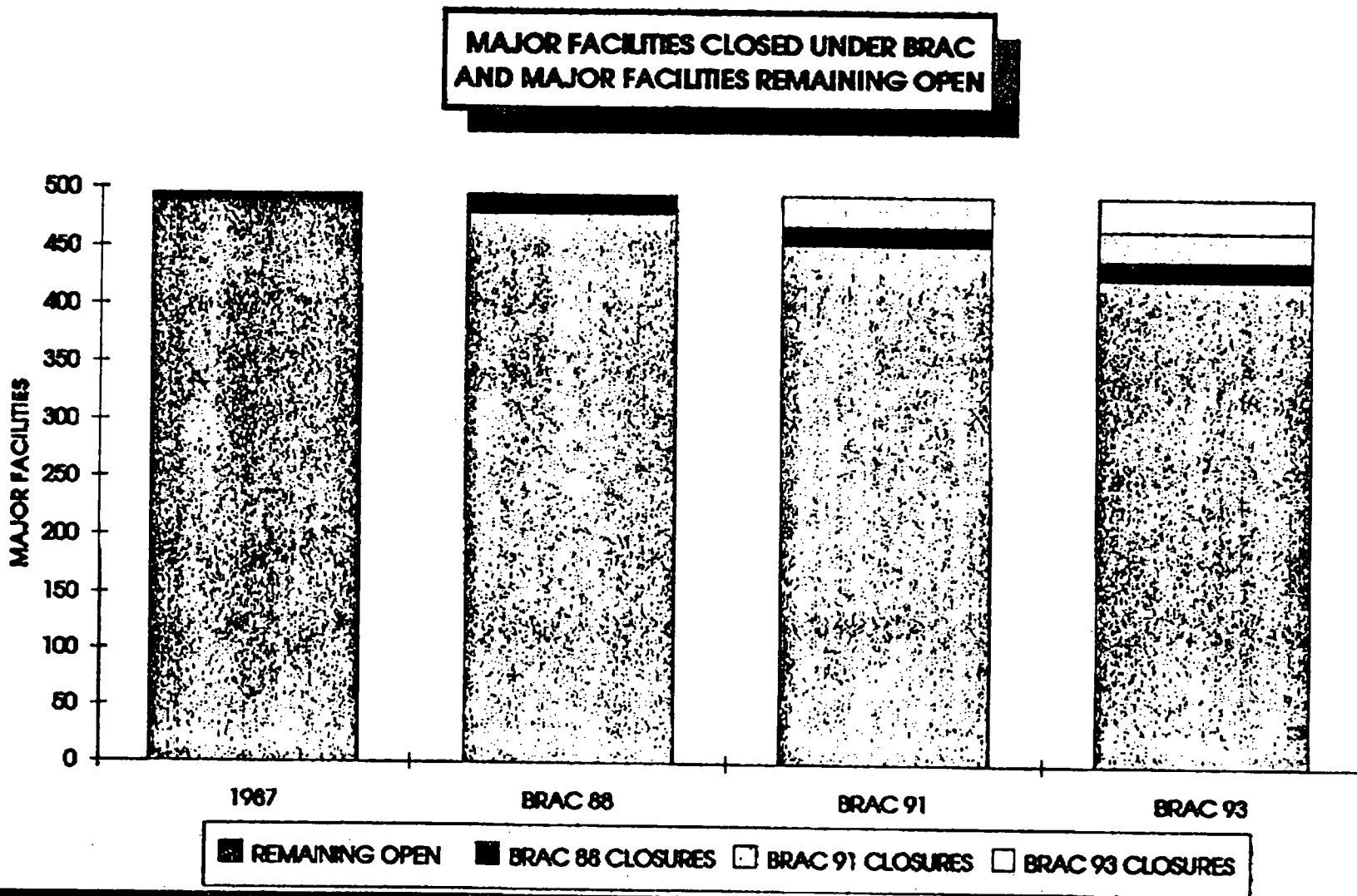
The Department must manage the process in a way that recognizes that closing bases costs money before it saves money (see attachments 6 and 7). Too much, too soon would jeopardize the current program; too little, too late would jeopardize the future program. Another option is splitting the final BRAC round into two separate rounds (1995 and 1997). This would moderate near term costs, but delay realization of long term savings (see attachment 8).

Economic & Social Strains

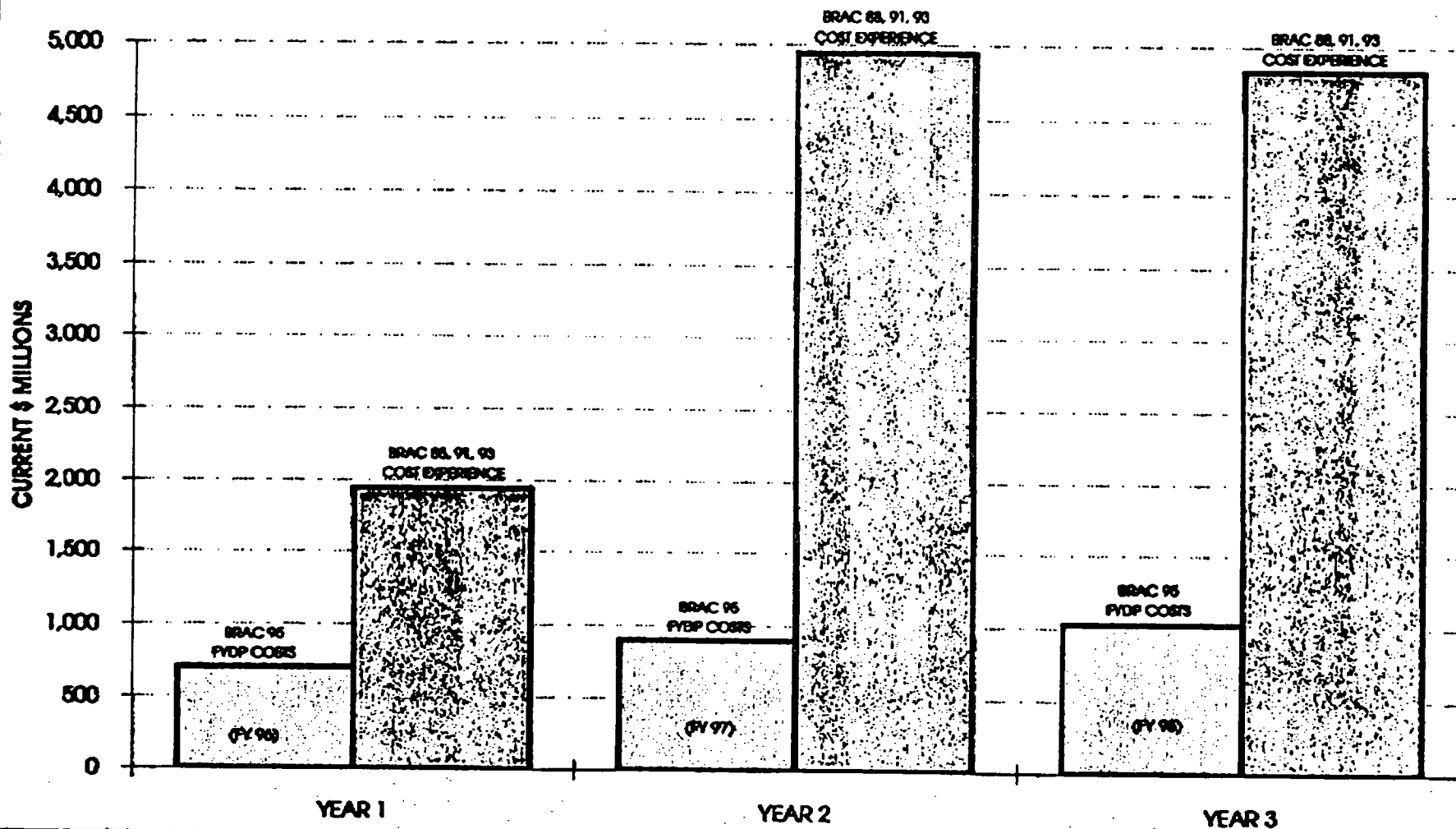
The other impacts of closure not directly associated with DoD need to be considered. Any closing results in pressures on local labor markets (see attachment 9), tax rolls, and infrastructure. Many areas that have already been affected by past BRAC actions could be candidates for future closures. Even with vigorous implementation of the President's Five Part Plan for Revitalizing Base Closure Communities, some areas could use additional time to recover before being forced to absorb more closures (see attachments 10 and 11).

**Infrastructure Drawdown
has lagged
Personnel Reductions**

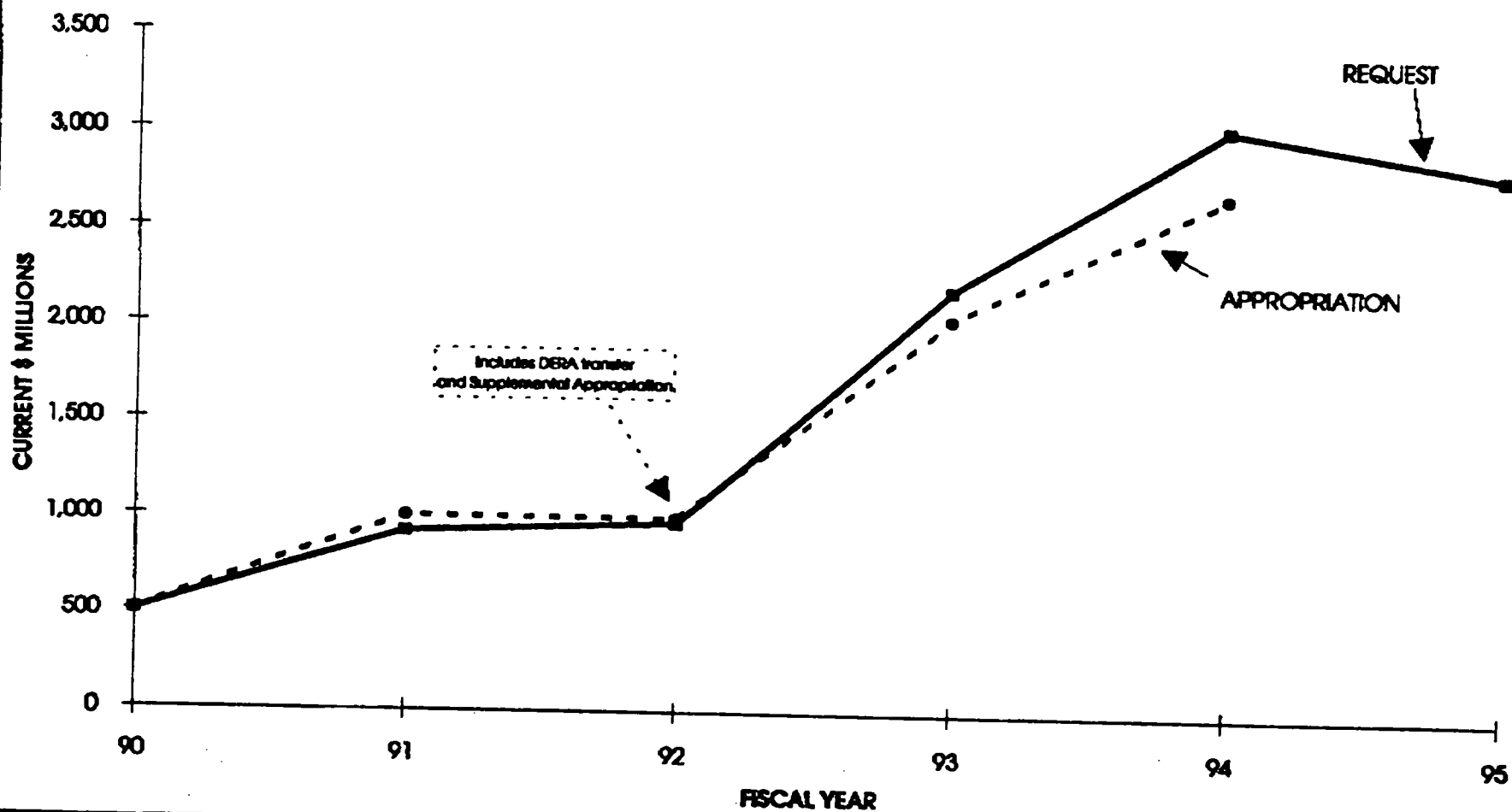




COMPARISON OF BRAC 95 PROGRAMMED COSTS TO PREVIOUS BRAC THREE-YEAR COST EXPERIENCE



BRAC BUDGET REQUESTS VS APPROPRIATIONS



CUMULATIVE ECONOMIC IMPACT ANALYSIS FOR BRAC 95

Cumulative economic impact can arise from two sources. First, BRAC 95 actions may be recommended in economic areas (defined below) that have base closure actions arising from BRAC 88, 91, or 93 (hereafter, "prior BRAC rounds"). Second, multiple BRAC 95 actions may be recommended in the same economic area. DoD's economic impact analyses and procedures for BRAC 95 will address both sources.

Perspective

Cumulative economic impact will be considered as part of Selection Criterion 6, "The economic impact of communities." Cumulative economic impact will be considered only as part of the economic impact criterion, which in turn will be considered only in the context of the other seven base closure selection criteria. Military value will remain the primary criterion.

DoD components will consider cumulative economic impact as a relative measure when comparing alternatives. No threshold values will be established, above which, for example, bases in a particular economic area would be removed from consideration.

Cumulative Economic Impacts from Prior BRAC Rounds

DoD Components will take into account the cumulative economic impact of prior BRAC rounds (DoD-wide) as they develop recommendations for BRAC 95. DoD Components will do so through analysis of two different time frames: (1) 1994 through 2001 and (2) from before the BRAC process began through 1993.

With respect to impacts from 1994 through 2001, DoD Components will sum the total potential job change (defined below) arising from BRAC 95 actions and the job changes from prior BRAC rounds that are estimated to occur from 1994 to 2001. Together, job changes from all rounds will be considered in absolute terms and as a percent of 1993 employment in the affected economic area.

With respect to impacts through 1993, DoD Components will examine historic economic information (1984 to 1993) on every economic area in the country with a military installation. This information will include the level and rate of growth of civilian employment, the level and rate of growth of personal income per capita, unemployment rates, and population levels. This information will put the impacts from 1994 through 2001 in context, describe recent economic conditions in each economic area, and capture the economic effects, through 1993, of prior-round BRAC actions and other factors that have affected those economies.

Cumulative Economic Impacts from Multiple BRAC 95 Actions

The Joint Cross-Service Group on Economic Impact will review the BRAC 95 recommendations submitted by the Secretaries of the Military Departments and the Directors of the Defense Agencies to the Secretary of Defense in January 1995. During this review, the Joint Cross-Service Group will identify economic areas with multiple proposed BRAC 95 recommendations. DoD Components will review their recommendations when there are multiple BRAC 95 recommendations in the same economic area that were not considered in the development of those recommendations.

DoD Components will reassess their BRAC 95 recommendations by taking into account the cumulative economic impact of these multiple BRAC 95 recommendations by ensuring that the measures for economic impact (the total potential job change in the economic area, both absolute and as a percent of total economic area employment) include the cumulative economic impact of multiple BRAC 95 recommendations, as well as the cumulative economic impact of prior BRAC rounds.

Such a review will be conducted so that the cumulative economic impact of multiple BRAC 95 recommendations will be considered as part of the economic impact criterion, which will in turn be considered as part of the eight selection criteria. DoD Components could consider alternative closures and realignments, or mitigating actions, during this review. After the review is complete, DoD Components will report back with a recommendation as to whether or not to change their initial recommendations.

Assignment of Installations to Economic Areas

As in prior BRAC rounds, installations will be assigned to economic areas based on estimated labor markets and expenditure patterns. Installations located in non-metropolitan areas will be placed in a single county economic area based on the location of the headquarters of the base. Installations located in metropolitan areas will be placed in the economic area of the metropolitan area. Installations will be assigned to multi-county economic areas where that is more appropriate based on estimates of labor market areas or expenditure pattern information. By defining economic areas in relatively small geographic units, this approach tends to overstate, rather than understate, the economic impact on communities.

Total Potential Job Change

Total potential job change will be defined as the sum of direct and indirect job changes estimated to result from each BRAC closure or realignment alternative or recommendation.

Direct job changes will be defined as the sum of the estimated net addition or loss of jobs for each of the following categories of personnel:

DRAFT

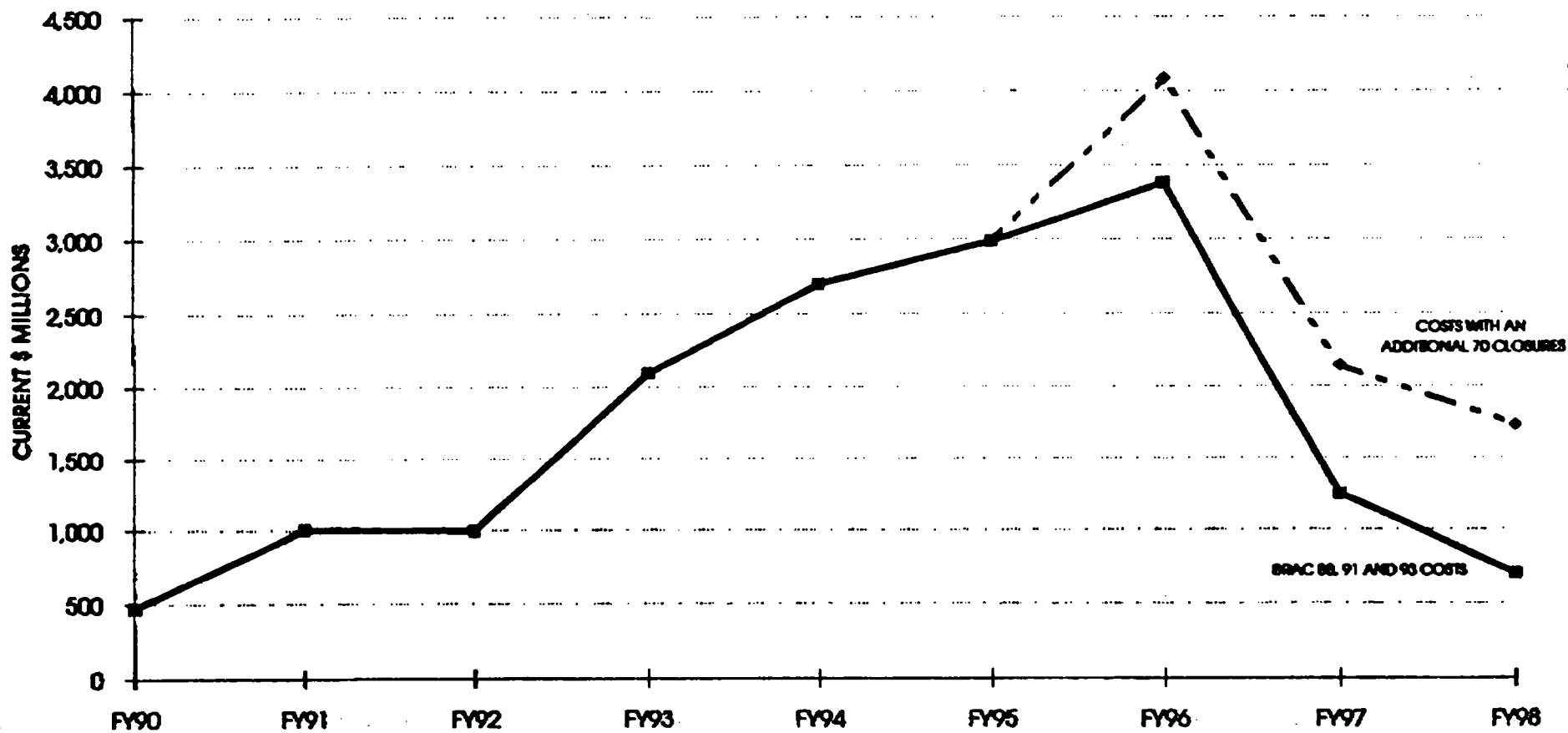
Military Personnel. Permanent authorizations for officer and enlisted personnel. Trainees will be included on an annual average basis.

DoD civilian employees. Permanent authorizations for appropriated fund DoD civilian employees. Employees of non-appropriated fund activities will be treated under indirect jobs.

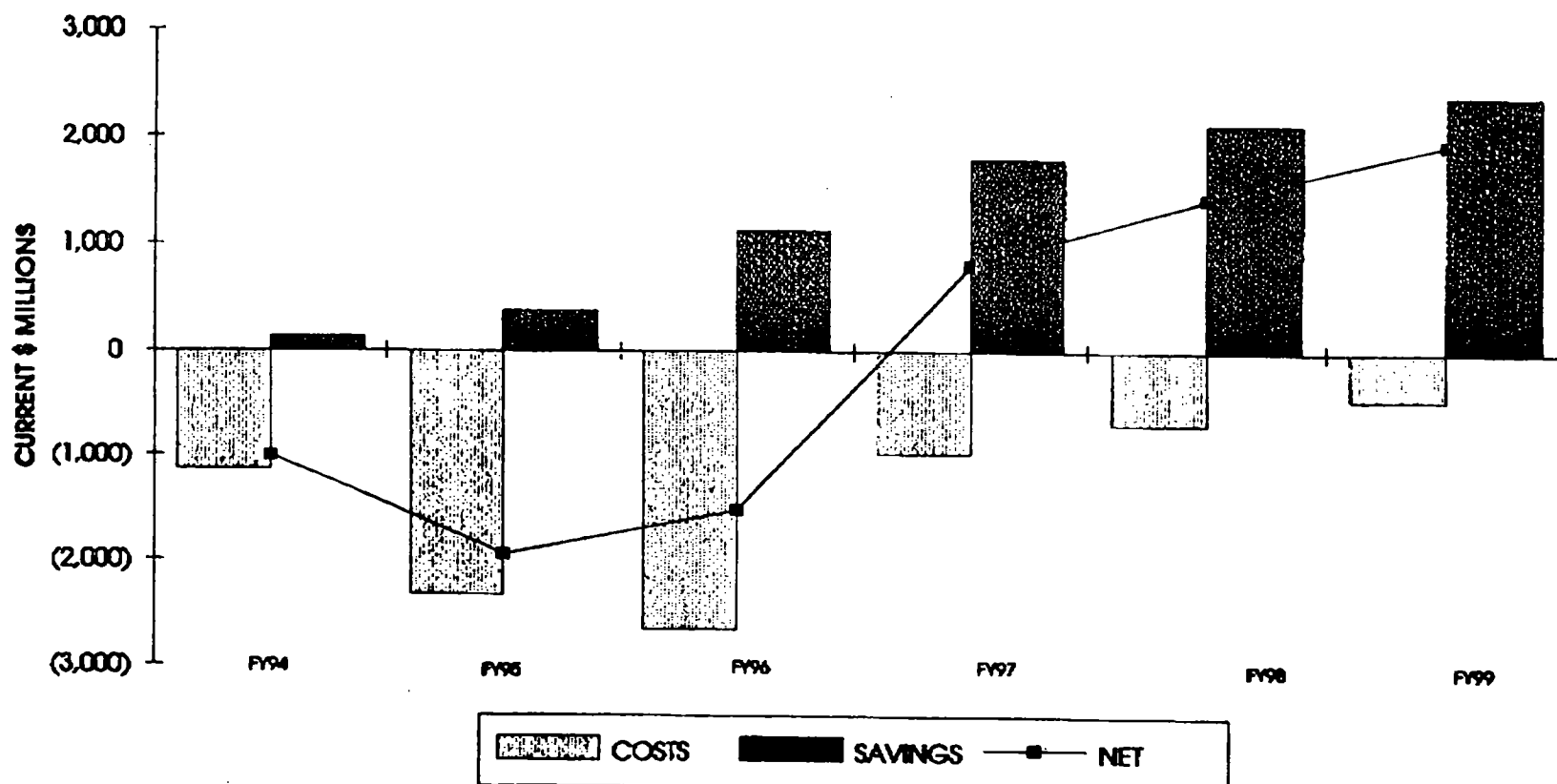
On-Base Contractors. Contractors that work on the installation in direct support of the installation's key military missions. These estimates will reflect an annual estimate on a full-time equivalency basis.

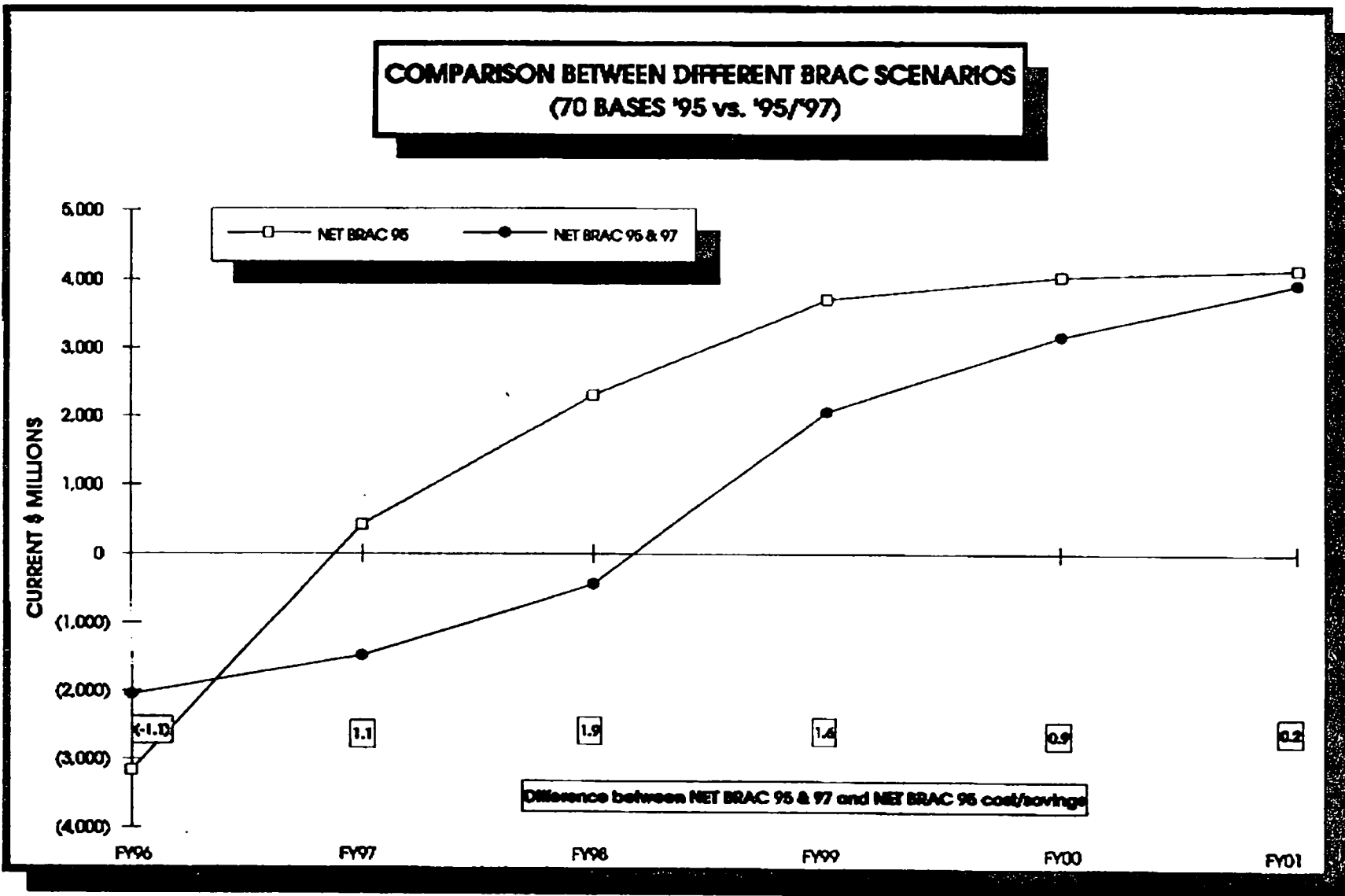
Indirect job change will be defined as the estimated net addition or loss of jobs in each affected economic area that could potentially occur as a result of the estimated direct job changes.

HISTORICAL AND PROJECTED CLOSURE COSTS

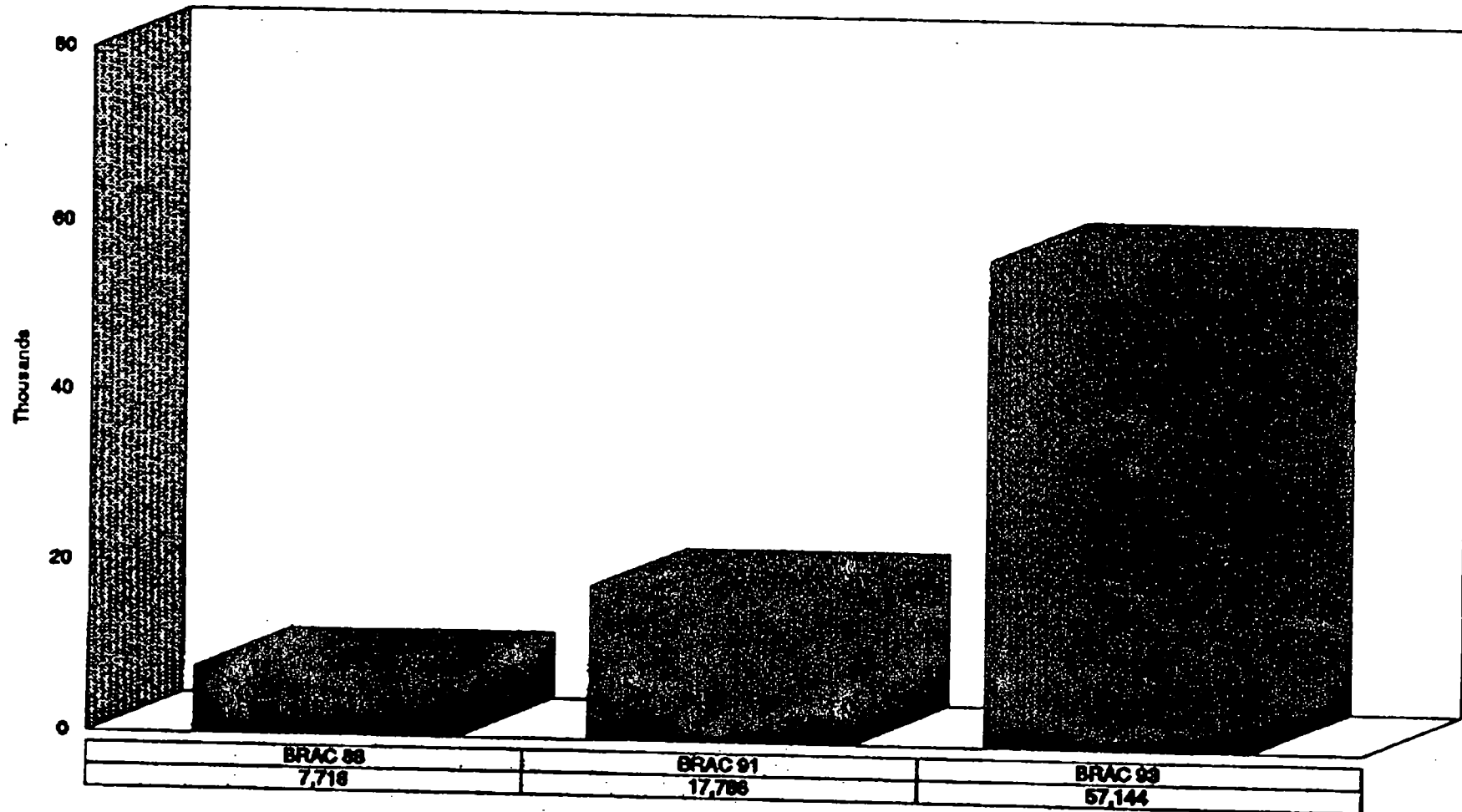


**COMPARISON OF COST & SAVINGS TIMING
FROM BRAC CLOSURES
BRAC 93**



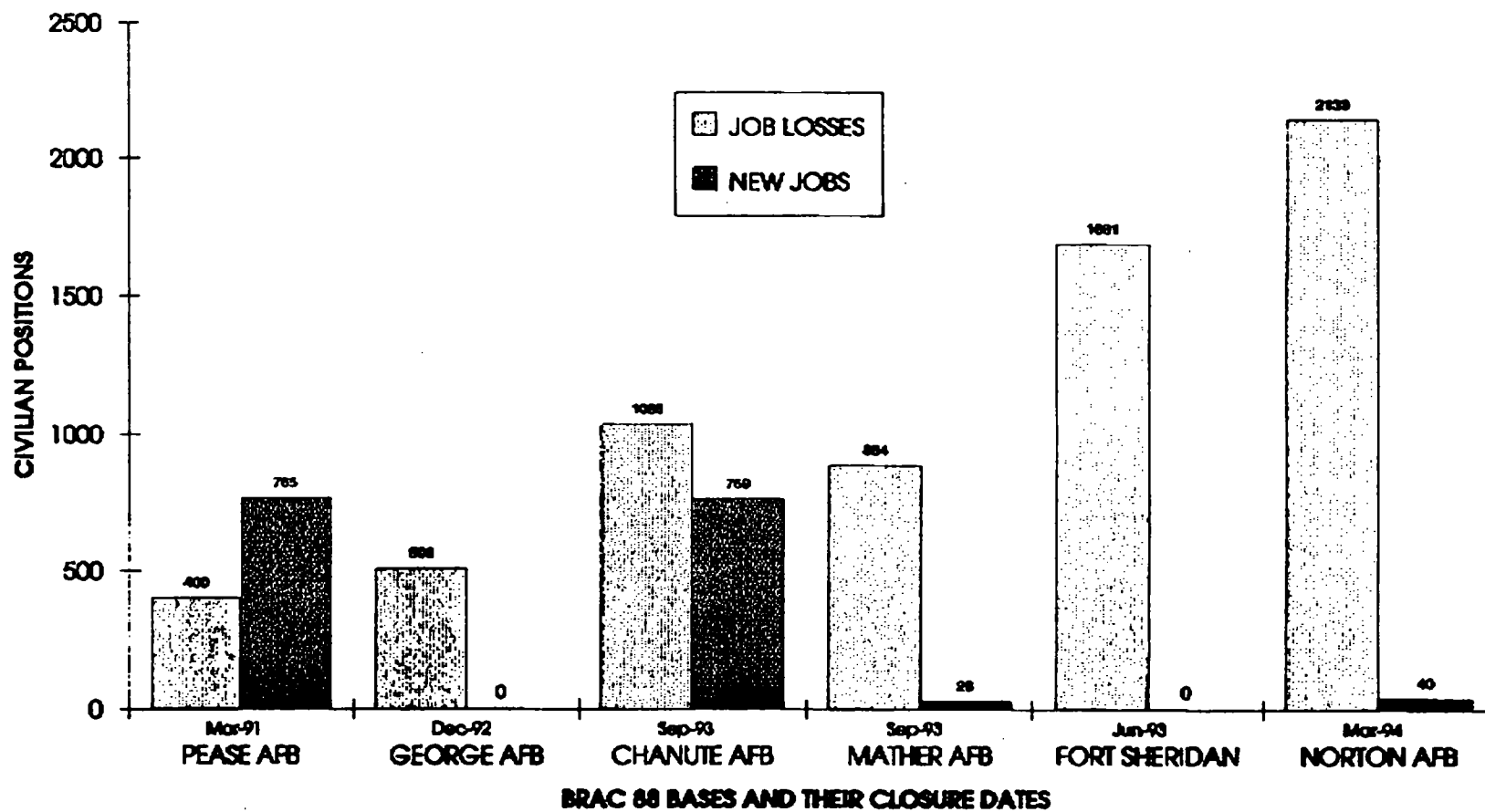


Net Projected Initial Civilian Job Losses From Base Closures

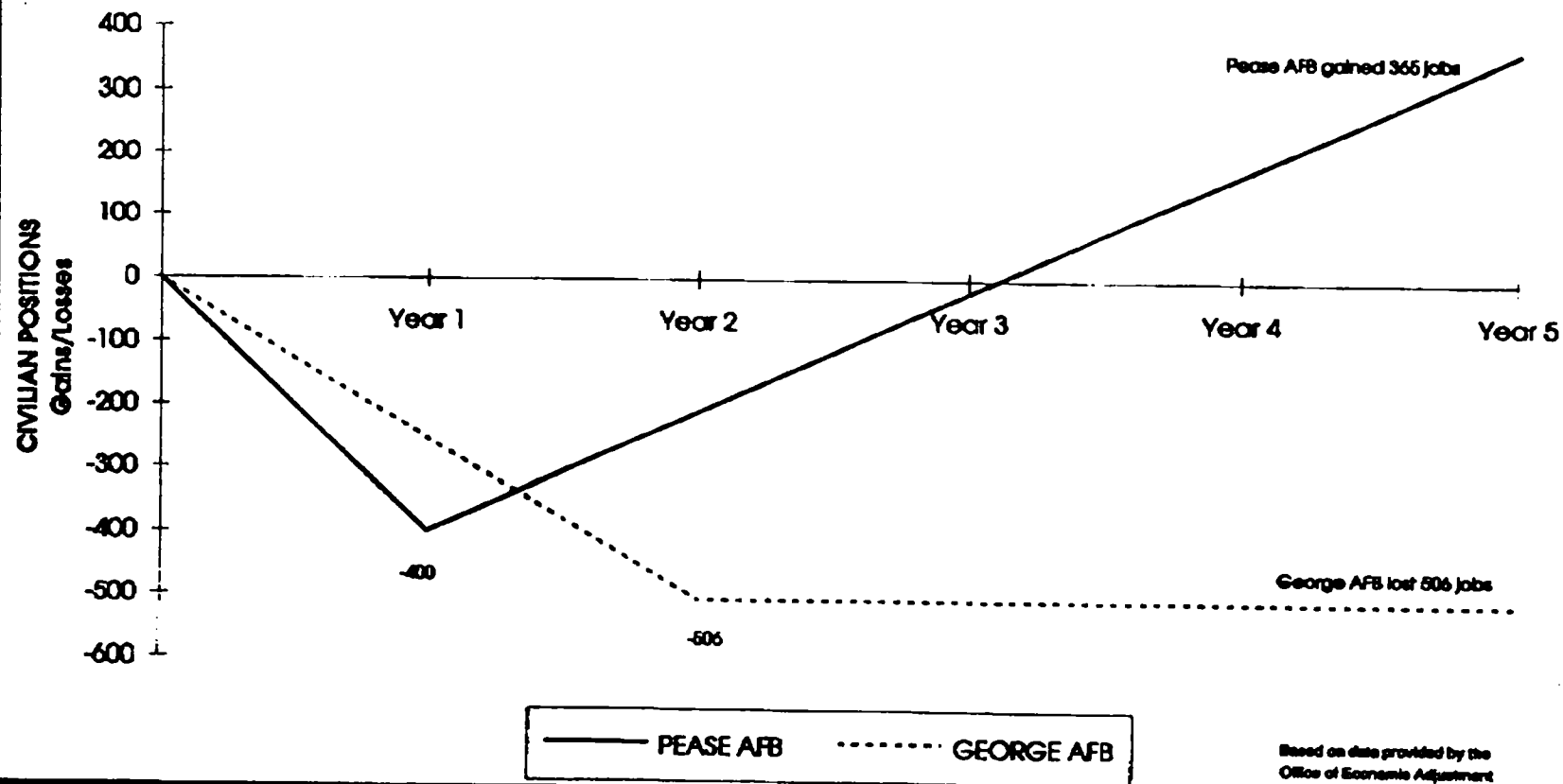


Does Not Include Relocations

NEW JOB CREATION AT BRAC 88 BASES



**TWO 1988 BASE CLOSURE CIVILIAN JOB LOSS
AND RECOVERY SCENARIOS
(One High Job Recovery - One Low Job Recovery)**





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

May 25, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

FROM: Gordon Adams (Byse) *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: Base Closure 1995

Attached are recent news clippings on the 1995 round of base closures. The editorial comments stress three themes:

- The base closure process is in place, and is working.
- Eliminating the 1995 round of closures would make it difficult to achieve the savings needed to fund the force structure outlined in the Bottom-Up Review.
- Efforts to change the 1995 round of closures would be viewed as politicizing the base closure process.

Attachments

Distribution:

Bob Bell
Sandy Berger
Bo Cutter
David Gergen
John Goodman
Pat Griffen
Steve Jones
Phil Lader
David Lane
Dee Dee Myers
Admiral Bill Owens
Jeremy Rosner
Bob Rubin
Doug Sosnick
George Stephanopoulos

U.N. Rebuffs NATO Plan On Bosnia

By ROGER COHEN

Special to The New York Times

ZAGREB, Croatia, May 23 — The top United Nations general in the former Yugoslavia has rejected a NATO request to threaten force to push back Serbian artillery around the northern Bosnian town of Tuzla, United Nations officials said today.

The decision by Gen. Bertrand de Lapresle of France, the United Nations force commander, to rebuff Adm. Leighton W. Smith Jr., the American commander of NATO operations in Bosnia, underscored the deep divisions between the United Nations and NATO in their quest to end the war in Bosnia.

General de Lapresle, in a written response to a request made on May 15 by Admiral Smith, said the Admiral's proposal to force Serbian heavy weapons beyond a 12-mile distance from Tuzla was inappropriate.

General de Lapresle cited as reasons for rejecting the NATO request the fact that no lives have been lost in recent Serbian shelling of Tuzla, the resumption last Thursday of United

Nations aid flights into Tuzla airport and the increased diplomatic efforts to end the war.

Peace Talks Have Priority

"Our main concern is to get the parties into peace talks," one United Nations official said. "In this light, General de Lapresle felt that unless the situation on the ground in Tuzla deteriorates, or the diplomatic process collapses, there was no reason to adopt Admiral Smith's idea now."

Admiral Smith's idea is almost certainly also that of the Pentagon. Thus, once again, an American-led NATO attempt to use forceful methods with the Bosnian Serbs appears to have collapsed in the face of United Nations concerns that such methods could endanger their personnel in Bosnia.

A similar conflict arose a month ago over the eastern Bosnian enclave of Gorazde, when NATO wanted to call in air strikes after the Bosnian Serbs flouted an ultimatum. But the top United Nations official in the Balkans, Yasushi Akashi, rejected the request.

At that time, April 22, NATO empowered the United Nations commander in Bosnia to create an "exclusion zone" of 20 kilometres, or about 12 miles, around any United Nations-designated "safe area" in the event of a Serbian attack or concentration of heavy weapons.

Tuzla is such a "safe area," and Admiral Smith wanted to impose the exclusion zone in the light of recent Serbian shelling of the city. He urged General Lapresle to set a date for the removal of Bosnian Serb heavy weapons,

adding, "Those which remain after that date, or any weapons shelling the safe area from outside the exclusion zone, would be subject to attack along with other key military and support facilities."

The conflict over Tuzla comes at a time when there are deep misgivings within the Clinton Administration over the inconclusive way in which the Gorazde crisis was resolved, American officials said.

One month after NATO's ultimatum insisting that all Serbian forces should be withdrawn beyond three kilometers, or about 1.9 miles, from Gorazde city center, there are still Serbs carrying arms in that area.

For over a week after the ultimatum, the commander of United Nations forces in Bosnia, Lieut. Gen. Sir Michael Rose, insisted that there was only a handful of such Serbs, whom he described as "policemen."

Acknowledge a Problem

Since then, however, the general has acknowledged that a problem exists, and last Saturday he negotiated what he said was an agreement with the Serbs to withdraw about 150 of their militiamen beyond the limit from Gorazde city center.

Today, however, a United Nations spokesman in Sarajevo acknowledged that the Serbs had not withdrawn and indeed were reinforcing their positions by building bunkers just beyond the limit. "We all waited for the magical hour but there was no change in the deployment of troops," the spokesman, Rob Annink, said.

The Muslim-led Bosnian Government has refused to sign the agree-

ment on Gorazde, saying the United Nations lacks credibility after failing to force Serbian compliance with NATO's ultimatum. Today, the Serbs said this Bosnian rejection meant the accord was void.

The Bosnian Government has taken the position that until the situation in Gorazde is resolved to its satisfaction, further peace talks are useless. An appeal by the United States, Russia and the European Union for a four-month cessation of fighting followed by diplomatic talks has had no discernible effect. It was made nine days ago.



The New York Times

The United Nations med flights into Tuzla last week.

BALTIMORE SUN
May 24, 1994 Pg. 6

Discharge asked for gay Guard officer

SACRAMENTO, Calif. — A board of military officers has recommended the California National Guard discharge a lieutenant who informed his superiors last year he is gay.

The Guard said the character and service record of 1st Lt. Andrew Holmes, who was activated during the Gulf war for service in Germany, were not at issue.

Lieutenant Holmes, 35, was one of the first service personnel to be recommended for dismissal solely for being openly gay since President Clinton's "don't ask, don't tell" policy took effect Feb. 28, said Paul Wolman, Lieutenant Holmes' attorney. The recommendation, announced Sunday, goes to the 6th U.S. Army at the Presidio in San Francisco for ratification, and then to the National Guard Bureau and Army officials in Washington, D.C.

Lieutenant Holmes, a technical writer in civilian life, said he was challenging the policy because he was in a position financially to do so and wanted to "stick true to my convictions and my beliefs."

NEW YORK TIMES

May 24, 1994

Pg. 18

Keeping Politics Out of Base Closings

Congress removed politics from the painful process of closing military bases in 1988 by giving the central role to an independent commission. It was a smart move. In the preceding decade, bluster by the Pentagon and politicking by members of Congress had prevented any closings at all. But since then, more than 200 large and small bases have been tagged for closing, and 24 of them are already closed. When they are all closed, the savings will exceed \$4 billion a year.

The Supreme Court ruled yesterday that the Federal Government's choice of which bases to close is not subject to challenge in court, thus foreclosing efforts by some states to save facilities in their areas. But the carefully constructed process is now threatened in Congress. A proposal to tinker with it has support in the House, and will be offered this week as an amendment to the defense authorization bill. Its passage would be a mistake.

Representative Dick Armey, a Texas Republican, devised the process under which an independent commission reviews a list of bases the Pentagon proposes to close or restructure. Starting from the Pentagon's list, and after hearing arguments pro and con, the commission draws up its own list. That list goes to the Secretary of Defense, then the

President and finally both houses of Congress; any of them may kill the entire list, but they may not pick and choose among the candidates for elimination. No list has yet been rejected.

The first commission worked so well that Congress voted in 1990 to repeat the process in odd-numbered years through 1995 — avoiding the unpleasantness of closings in election years. The 1991 and 1993 rounds are history, but the 1995 round has some politicians nervous. The Pentagon is expected to submit a long list, because this would be its last chance under the current law.

A bill co-sponsored by Representatives James Hansen of Utah and Floyd Spence of South Carolina, both Republicans, would postpone the 1995 round to 1997. The Pentagon estimates that this would waste \$9 billion. The Administration opposes this bill, but is toying with the idea of letting the 1995 round proceed, then adding another in 1997. This, too, would reduce closings in 1995, on the eve of the Presidential election.

Military leaders oppose any stretch-out, because it makes them spend money on bases they do not want instead of weapons they need. Congress made the right decision in 1988, and reaffirmed it in 1991. Any fiddling puts the whole process at risk.

CURRENT NEWS ANALYSIS & RESEARCH SERVICE
ROOM 4C881, PENTAGON, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-7500
Tel: (703)695-2884 Fax: (703)695-6822/7260

CHIEF: Herbert J. Coleman (703) 695-2884 DEPUTY CHIEF: Walter N. Lang (703) 695-2884 CURRENT NEWS BRANCH: Taft Phoebus, Chief (703) 697-8765 James Wittmeyer, Early Bird Editor Elmer Christan, Collie Johnson, Meredith Johnson, Marilyn Phipps, Lisa Stafford, Writer-Editors RESEARCH BRANCH: Denise Brown, Chief (703) 695-2884 Alice Boyd, Pat Darnell, Sharon Foster Writer-Editors, SYSTEMS ADMINISTRATOR: Carol Rippe (703) 697-8765, ADMINISTRATION: Janice Goff, Tonya Pollard (703) 695-2884 PRODUCTION: Defense Printing Service (Room 4C885)

3RD STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 Plain Dealer Publishing Co.
The Plain Dealer

May 18, 1994 Wednesday, FINAL / ALL

SECTION: EDITORIALS & FORUM; Pg. 10B

LENGTH: 519 words

HEADLINE: BASE CLOSINGS: STAY ON SCHEDULE

BODY:

It's not shocking that individual members of Congress periodically suggest a softening of the strict schedule for military base closings that Congress adopted in 1990.

Nor is it surprising that the Clinton administration might fret at the economic and political consequences of a fresh round of base closings before the 1996 elections.

But rumblings that the administration might seek to stretch out the current schedule for base closings, which calls for a final round of decisions in 1995, are worrisome.

The whole delicate procedure set out by Congress was premised on the understanding that base-closing is hard to do. No politician wants to vote for legislation that will kill jobs back home. And even though some communities have come up with productive uses for former military installations, there's no denying that the process usually entails pain. Which is why the elaborate current procedure was set up - to reduce lawmakers' fear of being blamed for that pain.

Under the procedure, the military compiles a list of bases for closing or realignment, using criteria set by Congress. A bipartisan commission then listens to arguments for and against the proposals, conducts its own evaluation, amends the list, and forwards it to the president. If the president approves, Congress gets a chance to kill the list, but only in an up-or-down vote - making it impossible for lawmakers to protect pet bases without sinking the whole enterprise.

The process has worked well, with relatively few complaints of politicization or unfairness. In the last round in 1991, the commission proved itself anything but a rubber stamp when it voted to close three major bases that had not been on the Pentagon's list while sparing five that were listed.

That last commission was responsible for closings or cutbacks at more than 100 major military installations. Its recommendations eventually are expected to yield annual savings exceeding \$2 billion. More savings are expected from previous commissions' work.

Before the savings can be reaped, however, the military must spend heavily to close bases. That high cost is part of what makes base-closings so unappetizing, and the notion of a delay so appealing. But waiting will not lower the cost. On the contrary.

The Plain Dealer, May 18, 1994

The next round is supposed to be the last and the biggest. But the political timing is tough. Which might explain why the Pentagon is making noises about importance of not doing "too much, too soon" in 1995.

The temptations to slow the process are powerful. Moving forward will never be as seductive. All the more reason not to squander the precious momentum built up by the good record of the recent base-closing commissions. If the process is tinkered with now, closing bases will only be harder in the future.

The base-closing process is one of those rare government inventions that actually has succeeded in tackling an important, sensitive problem. The Clinton administration, which has shown little flair for handling defense or foreign policy matters, should think carefully before tinkering with it.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

COLUMN: EDITORIAL

LOAD-DATE-MDC: May 19, 1994

Huong Hoa District People's Committee, says that army experts occasionally survey old battle areas for unexploded munitions, but that so much territory is affected that it would be impossible to clear all of it.

No Warning Signs

Metal detectors can only locate munitions buried less than one foot deep, he said, and many dangerous projectiles escape detection even when search teams sweep battlefields. The best the experts can do is erect signs warning against dangerous areas, officials say.

In any case, no warning signs are visible at Khe Sanh.

Very few of the scrap collectors who scavenge here had even been born at the time of the battle of Khe Sanh, which lasted from Jan. 21 to April 7, 1968. Many of these boys and

girls are illiterate, there being no schools in many rural hamlets, and none shows interest in the fading inscription on a small stone monument that proclaims Khe Sanh as "America's Dien Bien Phu" — an allusion to the French bastion in northwestern Vietnam that fell to the Communists 40 years ago.

In fact, Khe Sanh was not an American defeat; though the American forces suffered 205 killed and 852 wounded in the siege, they held on.

Abandoned by Marines

But two months after the siege was broken, American commanders decided that Khe Sanh was not needed for the war effort after all. They ordered the Marines to abandon the base and destroy everything that had stood upon it — fortifications, bunkers, buildings, supply depots, an airport. Only the metal scrap and the

dud projectiles remained.

Some American servicemen wondered later why so many had had to give their lives for territory deemed expendable so soon after the battle.

Ghosts of the past haunt Khe Sanh. At a bridge across the Ben Hai River near here stands a Communist monument marking the official northern terminus of the Ho Chi Minh Trail, and not far away is a national cemetery containing the graves of 10 North Vietnamese and Vietcong diers who died along the trail the war. The cemetery is one of 72 graveyards for Communist troops dotting Quang Tri Province alone.

An official of a local People's Committee looked out across a vast field of white grave markers, shook his head, and said, "We paid dearly for this land."

Buffalo News

May 11, 1994

Pg. B-2

DON'T DELAY CLOSING BASES

AMERICANS SHOULDN'T PAY FOR WHAT'S NOT NEEDED

IT TOOK YEARS to devise the present system for reviewing the usefulness of military bases and closing down the surplus ones. Political dealing and outcries from local communities whose economies were affected too often had overwhelmed the interests of national security.

In recent years, though, there has been a new congressional process that shields senators and representatives from much of the political fallout of base closings. It has worked well. In 1988, 1991 and 1993, special independent federal commissions have led to decisions to close 70 major military installations that had outlived their usefulness. Another and final round of decisions on military bases is scheduled to take place next year. Eventually, this downsizing will save the country billions.

Unfortunately, however, top civilian officials in the Clinton administration now want to adjust and delay that process — for basically political reasons. What a mistake.

The 1995 decisions could easily affect as many installations as those in the last three rounds of base closings combined. Defense Secretary William J. Perry and his top deputy, John M. Deutch, are considering division of the 1995 round into two parts. One would make some decisions in 1995, with a second waiting until 1997 or even 1998.

Such delays would cushion and slow the adjustment, often painful, for local communities. Not coincidentally, they could also

cool the political heat for members of Congress, not to mention President Clinton should he bid for a second term, in the national elections of 1996.

But this is political temptation to be resisted. It's a bad idea, running contrary to military and security requirements.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff, trying to manage the downsizing of the military establishment, strongly oppose any delay. They're counting on savings from future closings to pay for other essayary programs.

With the Cold War gone, the nation possesses a surplus of bases with shrinking budgets to pay for them. "There's not enough money," says Adm. Jeremy Boorda, chief of naval operations, "to maintain infrastructure we no longer need."

The longer the United States delays closing unneeded bases, argues Sen Sam Nunn, chair of the Senate Armed Services Committee, "the longer it will take to achieve real savings."

Nor is uncertainty over base closings healthy — for either the base itself or the community where it is located. Delay of closings delays community acceptance of the loss and creative reuse of bases for peaceful economic purposes.

With the Cold War ended and defense strategy changed, there is no reason for continuing to operate so many outdated expensive military installations. Their mission is complete, they are a financial drain.

MILITARY BASE CLOSINGS

The Pentagon said last week that it may seek to postpone until after the 1996 elections base-closure announcements now scheduled for 1995. The reason is political: The number of base closures is so high, it is bound to cause a congressional outcry.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff want the expendable bases closed without further delay, freeing funds for military pay, weapons and other defense-readiness necessities. The military chiefs are right.

It may be easy for us to say so, because military installations in Washington state have so far benefited from closures

elsewhere. One possible exception was the naval air station at Oak Harbor, which was listed in 1991 for closure but was reinstated following the deployment of newer aircraft.

But the purpose of military bases is not to provide business and jobs to Puget Sound, the San Francisco Bay Area, or somebody's congressional district. It is to defend the nation. Cuts in military spending make closures necessary, and the current law provides a way to select them that is low in political pain.

The Pentagon recommends a list of bases to a presidential commission, which recommends a list to the president, who sends an un-modifiable list for Congress to vote up or down in total. It is a good mechanism that should proceed without delay.

LAB...from Pg. 7

German National People's Army (NVA) at the time of reunification four years ago, only 3,700 were permitted to remain in the Bundeswehr after a two-year "reeducation" period, according to Defense Ministry figures.

Of 370,000 officers and enlisted troops in the military today, about 11,000 are East German veterans, although thousands of others are easterners who were drafted or have enlisted since 1990.

The process has been two-edged, for the easterners who were taken over and who had to change their thinking, and for the westerners who had a concept of the enemy that they needed to modify. . . . This process hasn't been completed," said Lt. Col. Manfred Skeries, 52. Preschen's deputy commander and the former chief of all East German fighter aircraft.

For East German veterans, Skeries added, "it's hard when you have to take your own army to the junkyard. It's a strange thing."

Moreover, integration has come at a time when the Bundeswehr is the subject of acrimonious debate over its size, mission and capability. The government is under budgetary pressure to shrink the force dramatically and diplomatic pressure to maintain it as a potent power within NATO.

Germany's universal conscription shows signs of stress. Nearly half of all draftees last year opted for alternative civilian service as conscientious objectors rather than serve in the armed forces. And the military is embroiled in legal challenges regarding the circumstances under which German soldiers can be deployed abroad.

Such quarrels notwithstanding, civilian leaders across the political spectrum concur that the Bundeswehr has done an exceptional job of transforming two armies into one. Social Democrat Rudolf Scharping, who will challenge Chancellor Helmut Kohl in this fall's federal election, said in an interview that "the impression is correct" that the military is Germany's foremost institutional example of successfully stitching east and west together.

"The German military was never allowed time to question what unification was supposed to be," said a senior admiral. "For us, it was a series of day-to-day problems that required urgent solutions. . . . We just had to do it."

Despite the adamant belief among some West Germans that eastern officers—85 percent of whom belonged to the Communist Party—were too doctrinaire to join the army of a political democracy, the decision was made in Bonn in 1990 to give the former enemy a crack at rehabilitation.

Of 12,000 East German officers who ap-

plied to the Bundeswehr, 7,500 were admitted to the two-year instruction in political philosophy and tactics and an ethics course known as "inner leadership." Last year, 6,500 of the officers applied for permanent positions in the Bundeswehr; slightly more than half were accepted.

Thousands of others were disqualified by an inability to adapt or by old ties to the Stasi, the East German secret police. "We decapitated the NVA," Defense Minister Volker Ruehe said in an interview. "We didn't take a single general or a single admiral," in part because they were despised in eastern Germany as symbols of the vanquished old order.

In January 1991, the first batch of 18-year-old eastern German draftees was inducted and gradually dispersed throughout the country. Up to 20 percent of the soldiers in some Bavarian units now come from the eastern state of Saxony, Ruehe said, and about 1,000 former East German sergeants are posted in the west. "There are few moments when I can still recognize that a soldier came from the NVA," Lt. Gen. Werner von Scheven, commander of the Bundeswehr's eastern corps, recently told *Die Welt* newspaper.

Pulling easterners into the army of the west was only half the battle; the other half involved pushing westerners into the east. While pondering what to do with 2,000 NVA installations at 900 locations, Bonn decided to move some national institutions to the east as a show of good faith.

The military history institute, for example, will move from Freiburg to Potsdam—despite grumbling from historians, grown comfortable with the good life along the French border, about the pernicious dangers of Prussian influence. The army's cadet school will also be shifted from Hannover back to its traditional home in Dresden. Thus, every army officer will have spent at least six months in the east early in his career.

"If you look at it from a purely economic standpoint, it's wrong," said Defense Undersecretary Joerg Schoenbohm, who was the first Bundeswehr commander in eastern Germany after reunification. "But if you see it from the standpoint of trying to unify the country, we have to do it."

Ruehe, who estimated that more than 10 percent of this year's \$29 billion defense budget will go to "unification costs," added, "If I were to say, 'We'll stay only on the best airfields in Germany,' they would all be in the west. But that would be a disaster."

Hence Preschen, where the NVA's 3rd Fighter Wing was once based at facilities that remain relentlessly spartan. Preschen is singular not only because it is home to two

dozen top-of-the-line MiG-29s inherited by the Luftwaffe, but also because the pilots in Fighter Squadron 47 are evenly divided between east and west Germans.

Beyond the demands made of all East German officers joining the Bundeswehr, NVA pilots faced additional challenges. They had to master western aviation law, become proficient in English—the language of NATO air forces—and learn how to think in terms of feet and miles rather than meters and kilometers. Moreover, whereas Warsaw Pact pilots flew under the rigid supervision of ground controllers, NATO stresses initiative and independence.

"The philosophy of flying is completely different," said Skeries, who became an NVA pilot in 1959 and learned to fly MiG-29s in Kazakhstan in 1987. "In the NVA it was 'Start, shoot, land.' We were constantly under control from the ground. Freedom in the cockpit was rare. Now there's much more responsibility. It's also much more fun."

West German pilots say they have tried to suppress the attitude known throughout eastern Germany as *besser Wasst*, German slang for know-it-all westerners.

"I really didn't know what to expect," said Kluemper, who was an exchange officer with a U.S. Air Force F-15 squadron in Arizona for three years before moving to Preschen in 1992. "I think we have a good bunch of pilots here who came from the west with the right attitude, who didn't come with arrogance."

For the erstwhile East Germans, reunification has brought certain trade-offs. Skeries, a full colonel in East Germany, agreed to serve as a lieutenant colonel in the Luftwaffe. "When you're in a position of having to feed a family," he said, "you can't afford any false pride."

Master Sgt. Peter Spindler, 34, an aircraft mechanic from Thuringen, now pays \$364 a month for an apartment that used to cost \$73. On the other hand, he is happy to have a job in an area where unemployment is nearly 30 percent. "The hours are shorter now," Spindler added. "In the NVA you worked a minimum of 12 hours a day, including Saturdays. We didn't have a weekend. . . . And in the Bundeswehr, people have more freedom to make decisions. We get along well with all the pilots, east and west. There's no difference."

Despite ample rhetoric in Bonn about equality and fraternity in the ranks, "It will take a couple years to find out whether the easterners really do get equal opportunity in the Bundeswehr," Hoyer said. "I think the prospects are quite good, but it's too soon to say."

Special correspondent Ute Huebner contributed to this report.

WASHINGTON POST

May 10, 1994

Pg. 14

U.N. Says Serbs Violate Gorazde Zone

Heavy Guns, Soldiers in Police Uniforms Cited as Defiance

By John Pomfret
Washington Post Foreign Service

SARAJEVO, Bosnia, May 9—The commander of U.N. forces in the besieged Muslim town of Gorazde said today that Serb forces, in defiance of a NATO ultimatum, are keeping heavy weapons within a 12-mile exclusion zone around the town.

British army Lt. Col. David Santa-Olalla said Serb refusal to allow unarmed U.N. military observers to patrol in the area, another violation of the NATO order, and the discovery over the weekend of two Serb big guns inside the exclusion zone led him to conclude that "there continue to be Serb heavy weapons" within the 12-mile circle.

U.N. officials also charged today that 100 to 150 Serb "policemen" deployed inside a smaller 1.9-mile infantry exclusion zone around Gorazde are actually soldiers and therefore are violating another part of the NATO ultimatum that bans ground troops.

"They are not policemen," said French navy Cmdr. Eric Chaperon, a spokesman for the U.N. command.

The U.N. statements illustrated the wide gap between the April 22 NATO ultimatum threatening airstrikes and the U.N.'s implementation

of it. While U.N. officials say airstrikes remain a possibility, all indications are that they are highly unlikely. In that case, it remains unclear how the United Nations will cajole the Serbs into compliance. Bosnia's mostly Muslim government has refused to resume talks on a peace settlement until Serb forces fully observe the terms of the NATO order.

The Gorazde ultimatum, NATO's second in Bosnia, was patterned on the February ultimatum that effectively ended the 21-month Serb siege of Sarajevo. It threatened Serb forces attacking the isolated Muslim enclave in eastern Bosnia with airstrikes unless they withdrew all weapons bigger than 12.7-caliber 12 miles from Gorazde and pulled back their forces 1.9 miles from the town.

Since the ultimatum was issued, however, U.N. officials have gone to great lengths to avoid a stand-off with the Serbs around the strategic town, which abuts an important Serb supply route into southern Bosnia.

Last week, for example, Yasushi Akashi, the special envoy of U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, struck a deal with the Serbs that, U.N. military officials said, adversely modified the terms of the

Gorazde ultimatum and the earlier NATO order for Sarajevo.

According to the Gorazde ultimatum, U.N. troops and humanitarian convoys were supposed to have immediate and unimpeded access to the besieged Muslim pocket. In reality, however, Serb forces in Rogatica, a town on the road from Sarajevo, had been holding up a Gorazde-bound company of Santa-Olalla's men for weeks.

So Akashi negotiated their release by letting the Serbs move five to seven tanks through the 12-mile heavy weapons exclusion zone around Sarajevo to the Serb-controlled town of Trnovo to the south.

Gorazde commander Santa-Olalla, speaking by radio from the enclave, said Sergio De Mello, the chief of U.N. civil affairs in Yugoslavia and its former republics, told Serb forces they could keep "policemen" in the 1.9-mile infantry exclusion zone around the town despite the fact that U.N. officials, both military and civilian, now acknowledge that the men are simply soldiers wearing dark blue police uniforms.

"It is not formally accepted," Santa-Olalla said of De Mello's agreement about the police. "Indeed, I do not formally accept or recognize the police."

JAPAN...from Pg. 1

designed airplanes and weapons, but has gotten little in return.

Getting Technology Back

"D.O.D. invests a lot of money in technology," a Clinton Administration official said today. "We transfer a lot of technology to Japan and one of the things we want is to get back some technology."

Another reason for the new exchange, he said, is that Japan now leads the world in some technologies needed by the military.

The Defense Department has been trying to gain more access to Japanese technology for at least a decade, and the two countries already have a limited military technical exchange agreement.

But Japanese companies have been reluctant to work with the Pentagon, partly to protect their technological innovations. The Defense Department recently decided to spend hundreds of millions of dollars over the next five years to encourage the development of an American industry to manufacture advanced flat-panel computer screens, in part because it was having trouble obtaining such screens from Japan.

The new accord is based on negotiations that began about a year ago. A basic understanding, though not yet a formal agreement, was reached last month, officials said.

"There is a consensus between the United States and Japan to expand the technology exchange," Shigeru Hatakeyama, administrative vice minister of the Japan Defense Agency, said at a news conference today.

The Clinton Administration official, who spoke on the condition that he not be identified, said that what had agreed to was a framework for future, more concrete discussions on particular technical development efforts or exchanges. "What we've really agreed upon is a structure to discuss projects," he said.

There is no agreement yet on how the technology exchange would be carried out. The two defense departments envision engaging in joint research projects. In addition, the two Governments will work to technology licensing agreements between companies in the two countries.

Each defense agency will now draw up a list of the technologies it is interested in from the other. The United States has expressed interest in flat-panel displays for use in cockpits, ceramics to make engines more efficient and composite materials to make lightweight airframes.

Japanese expertise in these areas does not lie with its military contractors, which are relatively weak, but with its commercial technology companies, which is why the Pentagon is so interested in access to its civilian technology.

Flat screens have been developed for notebook computers and televisions, and composite material technology was initially honed by making golf clubs and tennis rackets. Because these items are mass-produced, costs tend to be lower than for specialized military technology.

By contrast, in the United States, advanced technologies are developed first for military use.

How successful the program will be remains open to question, given problems with such transfers in the

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

May 7, 1994

Pg. 18

Don't stall on closing unneeded bases

For the surrounding community, there's never a good time to close a military base. The loss of a major government employer causes painful dislocation and economic adjustment in the best of times.

Yet recognizing the need to shutter unneeded facilities in the post-Cold War era, Washington so far has selected 70 major installations and many more smaller ones to close. The difficult choices were made by a series of independent commissions established by Congress to keep politics out of the process and to provide cover for the lawmakers should a base in their district or state be targeted.

Despite charges that it has been underfunded and unproductive, the process has worked remarkably well, consolidating facilities logically and spreading the economic pain judiciously without blatant examples of political meddling and interference.

Now, however, the top civilian leaders at the Defense Department are said to be weighing a delay in the next, and last, round of closings, scheduled to be announced next year. Their chief concern, they say, is to inflict no more economic damage on communities; their underlying motive, it seems clear, is to put off the hard decisions until after the 1996 elections.

Not surprisingly, there's growing support in Congress for procrastination. Such faintheartedness, however, shouldn't be tolerated.

Proponents of delay argue that there have been no substantial savings from the actions taken so far. But while it's true that closing an installation can be expensive and time-consuming, taking five to six years in some cases for environmental cleanup and shut-down, the process only began in 1988. By the end of the decade, defense officials estimate the closings will save \$4.6 billion a year.

Delaying the closings will only put off realizing those substantial savings. For that reason the Pentagon's top military brass—the Joint Chiefs of Staff—are all for moving ahead with more closings as planned, without delay. Without the savings, they contend, they won't have enough money to spend on essential weapons and training.

The base-closing ax has fallen heavily on such states as California, Virginia, Florida and South Carolina. Illinois lost Ft. Sheridan on the North Shore and Chanute Air Force Base at Rantoul, but it will retain an expanded Great Lakes Naval Training Center in North Chicago, so some might say it's easy for us to defend the base-closing procedure.

Given a choice, Congress will always avoid making difficult, painful decisions, especially about cutting spending. But now isn't the time to let politics skew a viable base-closing process or to risk the readiness of the military out of political expediency.

1ST STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 The Times Mirror Company
Los Angeles Times

May 19, 1994, Thursday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 26; Column 4; Metro Desk

LENGTH: 997 words

HEADLINE: SUPPORT GROWS FOR DELAYING BASE CLOSINGS;
MILITARY: HOUSE AND SENATE BILLS WOULD PUSH BACK NEXT SPRING'S ROUND OF
SHUTDOWNS FOR TWO YEARS.

BYLINE: By JAMES BORNEMEIER, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

The prospect of delaying -- or softening -- another punishing round of military base closings in California has suddenly gathered significant momentum bolstered by a combination of legislative pressure, budgetary restraints and political pragmatism.

Previous efforts to slow the process of shutting down excess Defense Department facilities have been swiftly defeated. But proponents have new hope and bills have been introduced in the House and Senate to push back next spring's round of closures -- expected to be the most ambitious yet -- for two years.

Perhaps more important, Defense Secretary William J. Perry last week issued a statement signaling his concern over the pace and cost of the base-closing process and expressed willingness to request additional rounds of closures to diffuse the impact on states and regions reeling from previous cutbacks.

"We must proceed to close bases in order to save money," Perry said, " . . . (but) too much too soon jeopardizes our current program. . . . If closures beyond the amount we can responsibly accomplish in 1995 are required . . . we will seek authority for future rounds."

Perry's remarks reflect a growing consensus that a pause is needed in a process that has worked almost too efficiently.

Since 1988, 70 major bases have been ordered closed -- 21 of them in California.

"Though we need to downsize our military in the aftermath of the Cold War need to slow down and catch our breath," Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) said last week as she introduced a bill to delay the 1995 round of closings for two years. Feinstein offered similar legislation last year, but it was soundly defeated, 79-18.

Several forces are combining to make the prospects for a delay more promising this year.

Los Angeles Times, May 19, 1994

With midterm elections looming in November, political pressures are building to offer some relief to states, such as California, that have suffered from massive closings.

"It probably would be very popular to delay," Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-Okla.), chairman of a House armed services subcommittee overseeing base closings, said recently. "Any time we can delay pain, whether it's going to the dentist or cutting the budget, we will do that."

So obvious are the potential political benefits that top Clinton Administration officials are carefully avoiding any appearance of promoting the idea, preferring to let Perry take a lead role.

Proponents of delaying the next base-closing round point out that projected savings are less than Pentagon planners anticipated. According to a 1993 General Accounting Office report on savings from previous base closings, revenues from land sales were "significantly less" and environmental cleanup costs were "substantially higher" than expected.

Critics also argue that the base-closing decisions are being driven too much by budget considerations and not enough by long-term military requirements.

"It is unfair to subject many additional communities to the ravages of the base-closure process without more detailed analysis," said Rep. James V. Hansen (R-Utah), who is leading the fight in the House for delaying the 1995 round. His bill, identical to Feinstein's, has attracted about 30 co-sponsors.

But strong arguments also are made against tinkering with the base-closing law.

Congress passed the law in 1990 in full recognition of its inherent inability to put impartial base-closing decisions ahead of local political considerations. Under the law, an independent commission, beholden to no legislative district or party, makes the base-closing recommendations, and Congress can only approve or reject the entire list -- with no changes.

Allowing political and economic considerations to affect the process would subvert the law's sound public policy foundation, some members of Congress say.

"My first concern was the manner in which (President Clinton) was politicizing something and was predicated on the notion that it would not be politicized," said Rep. Dick Armey (R-Texas), a highly partisan Republican considered the father of the base-closing law.

Armey also predicted that members from districts that have already suffered from closings would strenuously object to minimizing the unpleasantness for other regions of the country.

But perhaps the strongest constituency for the law is the military itself. Defense budget cuts have reduced forces by about 30% since 1990, but the number of bases has dropped only about half as much. The uniformed military, hoping to free scarce funds for new weapons programs, opposes any delay in base closings. Military leaders want the process to go forward so they can afford to modernize their forces.

Los Angeles Times, May 19, 1994

Gov. Pete Wilson strongly favors delaying the 1995 round because the impact of base closings has been so large in California. But for California House members, the issue is a delicate one. Only four members have co-sponsored the Hansen bill -- Reps. Randy (Duke) Cunningham (R-San Diego), Steve Horn (R-Long Beach), Walter R. Tucker III (D-Compton) and Duncan Hunter (R-El Cajon).

"There is a feeling in Congress, from members in a number of states, that we should put off the round to 1997," Horn said last week. "Personally, I think they're right. The money is not in the defense budget for the environmental cleanup of these bases (or) to implement the closure recommendations from the last two or three rounds."

The Long Beach Naval Shipyard -- in Horn's district -- barely survived the 1993 round and remains highly vulnerable.

Rep. Jane Harman (D-Marina del Rey) has not signed on to the Hansen bill, fearing that delaying base closures will force the Pentagon to cut back on other programs.

"It's very important to save the L.A. Air Force Base," said Harman, who sits on the Armed Services Committee, "but it is also important to fully fund number of defense programs which impact L.A. County enormously. If you take so bases off the table, that throws (defense budget) calculations into chaos."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: May 20, 1994

4TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 McClatchy Newspapers, Inc.
Sacramento Bee

May 13, 1994, METRO FINAL

SECTION: MAIN NEWS; Pg. A20

LENGTH: 174 words

HEADLINE: BASE -CLOSURE DELAY SOUGHT

BYLINE: Bee news services

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Sen. Dianne Feinstein has renewed her campaign to delay the next round of military base closures, saying California needs time to recover from previous ordered closings in the state.

The freshman California Democrat teamed up with Sen. Trent Lott, R-Miss., to sponsor legislation that would delay the 1995 round of base closings for at least two years.

The Senate last September voted 79-18 against a similar Feinstein proposal.

In the Sacramento area, McClellan Air Force Base is considered a likely target in the 1995 round of closings.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: May 16, 1994

THURSDAY, May 12, 1994

JOURNAL OF COMMERCE May 12, 1994 Pg. 1

WASHINGTON POST May 12, 1994 Pg. 10

Senate Examining Sealift Command's Lease Oversight

Tanker Safety Woes Spark Concern

By TIM SHORROCK
Journal of Commerce Staff

WASHINGTON — Safety and operational problems on three Military Sealift Command tankers have led a congressional subcommittee to question the agency's management of its leases with private shipping companies.

Government and industry sources said the Subcommittee for Oversight of Government Management of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee is examining how the Sealift Command oversees contracts for 38 tankers, cargo vessels and surveillance ships operated by four management companies.

The subcommittee became interested after the Office of Special Investigations of Congress' General Accounting Office reported that the

Sealift Command and its operators had ignored basic safety requirements on at least three of the nine tankers leased to the command since 1975, the Senate sources said.

The Sealift Command, which serves as the shipping company for the U.S. military, operates 139 ships.

Thirty-eight of the ships, including the tankers being investigated by the GAO, are operated by private companies for the Sealift Command. The nine tankers are owned by a consortium of banks and savings and loans associations and leased to the command.

In addition to the GAO investigation, the Sealift Command is fending off criticism from operators and seafarers that its fiscal concerns have hindered operations on contracted vessels.

International Marine Carriers Inc. of Mineola, N.Y., which has op-

MSC...Pg. 15

Base Closings May Be Delayed, Perry Says

By John F. Harris
Washington Post Staff Writer

Defense Secretary William J. Perry warned yesterday that the military's next round of base closures may be too large and disruptive to carry out in one year, and said the Clinton administration may ask Congress for permission to delay some of the cuts for another two years.

"If closures beyond the amount we can responsibly accomplish in 1995 are required... we will seek authority for future rounds," Perry said in a statement.

Next year's round of closures is slated to be the fourth and final in a series of base closures that began in 1988. It was supposed to be the largest by far, and some members of Congress have been agitating to put off some of the pain until 1997.

Yesterday's statement, which also was signed by Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Gen. John Shalikashvili, was the clearest sign yet that the Pentagon's most senior officials are siding with Capitol Hill urging delay. But that puts them at odds with

other military leaders, including the chiefs of the services. They have warned that shutting down unneeded facilities is the only way the military will be able to pay for essential weapons and training.

Supporters of the current base closing schedule have complained that proposals to defer some of the closings are politically motivated—a way to avoid hurting important congressional districts until after the 1996 elections. But Perry and Shalikashvili insisted their concerns are economic, not political. "Base closing costs money before it saves money," they said.

One reason for this is that many bases must be cleaned of environmental problems before they can be closed or converted to civilian.

Even with these costs, however, closing bases is in the long run much cheaper than keeping them open. As recently as last week, the new chief of naval operations, Adm. Jeremy M. "Mike" Boorda, said the Navy's spending plans are based on the 1995 round of base closures going forward without delay.

WASHINGTON POST

May 12, 1994

Pg. 1

Germany's Integration Lab *Soldiers of East, West Successfully Join Forces*

By Rick Atkinson
Washington Post Foreign Service

PRESCHEN AIR BASE, Germany—Five years ago, Lt. Andreas Zube and Lt. Col. Frank Kluemper thought of each other as potential notches in a gun. Sworn enemies, each had spent his professional life preparing to shoot the other down in a swirling dogfight high above a bitterly divided Germany.

Today they are comrades, fighter pilots in a common squadron in a common air force in a common country. Of 28 pilots now flying Soviet-built MiG-29s at this air base two miles from the Polish border, 14

once flew for the East German air force, including the 31-year-old Zube; the other 14 are veterans of West Germany's Luftwaffe, including Kluemper, 38.

In a reunified Germany, where genuine unity tends to be more mirage than reality, the German military—the Bundeswehr—is the institution that has most thoroughly integrated east and west. As the U.S. military became a testing ground in the early 1950s for racial integration in a segregated nation, the Bundeswehr has been a social laboratory for the merger of a coun-

LAB...Pg. 7

Vietnam Vet and Writer Lewis Puller Jr. Kills Self *Body Is Found in Mount Vernon Home*

By Kent Jenkins Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Lewis B. Puller Jr., who transformed his years of struggle with the physical and emotional ravages of the Vietnam War into a Pulitzer Prize-winning autobiography, shot and killed himself yesterday at his home in Fairfax County.

Puller, 48, lost his legs and parts of both hands when he stepped on an enemy land mine in

Vietnam as a Marine in 1968. He told the story of his ordeal and its agonizing aftermath in an unsparing 1991 book titled "Fortunate Son," an account that ended with Puller's triumphing over his physical disabilities and emotionally at peace with himself.

But Puller spent the last months of his life in turmoil, according to friends and associates. In recent days, they say,

PULLER...Pg. 7



This publication is prepared by American Forces Information Service (AFIS/OATSD-PA) to bring to the attention of key personnel news items of interest to them in their official capacities. It is not intended to substitute for newspapers and periodicals as a means of keeping informed about the meaning and impact of news developments. Use of these articles does not reflect official endorsement. Further reproduction for private use or gain is subject to original copyright restrictions. Please pass this copy on to someone else who needs current news information, then...



2 Weather Satellite Systems Will Merge to Save Money

By WARREN E. LEARY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 10 — The Government will combine the operations of civilian and military weather satellite systems into a single unit that should operate more efficiently and save hundreds of millions of dollars, Federal officials announced today.

The merger will place under civilian control four weather satellites, two now operated by the Defense Department and two by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. In about a decade, the operation will be reduced to three more advanced satellites to avoid duplication.

Each of the satellites, which orbit the world from pole to pole at an altitude of 490 miles, looks at the planet twice daily to provide weather pictures, as well as data on moisture, temperature, solar radiation and other conditions.

Officials said that combining the systems, part of a Clinton Administration program to streamline government, should save as much as \$300 million by the end of the decade.

Dr. John Gibbons, the White House science adviser, said at a news conference today that tight budgets prompted department officials to agree to the merger after two decades of proposals and studies. "Government agencies are finally facing the reality that cooperation is in their

best interest," Dr. Gibbons said after the briefing.

'Landmark Decision'

Under an interagency agreement, the Defense Department is to procure future weather satellites, the Commerce Department's atmospheric agency is to operate the system, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration is to conduct research on advanced technology to be incorporated into new spacecraft.

"This is a landmark decision," said R. Noel Longuemare, a deputy undersecretary of defense. "Never before has the United States taken core national security requirements that must be satisfied during conflict or war and merged them into a civil system."

Under the current civilian weather program, the United States shares its satellite data with other nations. In the merged program, during a national emergency the nation could deny or delay release of critical environmental data that could benefit an adversary, the White House said.

D. James Baker, administrator of the atmospheric agency that will run the combined program, said the United States has invited Eumetsat, the joint European meteorological agency, to take part in the new project. The Europeans had previously agreed to put American instruments on a new Eumetsat polar weather satellite, he said.

Representatives of the three Federal agencies involved will set up a joint office to manage the combined system by October, officials said, but the two operations will not be completely combined until 2004. Officials said the military and civilian weather agencies have more than a dozen polar satellites with lifespans of about three years in storage or on order, and would use them before a more advanced satellite is ready to fly between 2004 and 2006.

Under the plan, the atmospheric agency will continue to operate its two stationary weather satellites, whose orbits 22,300 miles above the equator match the Earth's rotation.

The officials also announced that the Government would continue to operate the Landsat remote sensing satellite program and would launch a new satellite. For more than 20 years, Landsat satellites have provided in-

formation on vegetation, geology and coastal changes for news and the Government.

The program has been under study since it became a joint Defense Department-NASA project last year, and there have been questions on whether it should remain a Government-owned system. Dr. Gibbons said NASA would build and launch a Landsat 7 spacecraft to replace the aging Landsat 4 and 5 spacecraft. A new Landsat 6 spacecraft was lost in a launching mishap last October.

Officials said that under a new program, the atmospheric agency would operate the Landsat satellites, NASA would design a new generation of spacecraft to compete with foreign satellites that provide similar data, and the Interior Department would maintain the national archive of Landsat data.

USA TODAY

May 11, 1994

Pg. 6

Senate showdown looms over Bosnia

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

The White House and Congress face another showdown over who has the power to conduct the nation's foreign policy.

The Senate could vote as early as tonight on a bill sponsored by Minority Leader Robert Dole, R-Kan., to require President Clinton to unilaterally lift the U.N.-imposed embargo that prohibits sending arms to Bosnia-Herzegovina's struggling forces.

Passage could put Secretary of State Warren Christopher in a delicate position Friday in Geneva, when he and foreign ministers of Western powers and Russia discuss new peace moves in Bosnia.

"The president has spoken publicly about the problems of unilaterally lifting the embargo," says White House spokesman Calvin Mitchell.

Dole has been highly critical of Clinton's handling of the civil war in Bosnia and other foreign policy crises. He wants Congress to take the matter into its own hands. His bill has 22 Republicans and 11 Democrats listed as co-sponsors.

Hoping to avert a war-powers clash, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, D-Maine, worked with the White House to draft a less-stringent alternative.

The bill, introduced Tuesday night, would "urge" Clinton to seek NATO allies' support in lifting the embargo and press similar action in the U.N. Security Council.

Meanwhile, the United Nations accused Bosnian Serbs and Muslims of violating peace accords. Diplomats say neither side seems willing to compromise to end the 25-month-old civil war.

There are no U.S. troops in Bosnia and the current Senate debate is not directly a war powers issue. But it is the latest example of Congress second-guessing the president on a military-related issue.

Mitchell backs lifting the arms embargo, but he doesn't think the United States should act alone.

Clinton also favors lifting the embargo, but has been unsuccessful persuading allies to go along.

Dole says the real issue is whether the United States "will exert the leadership necessary to end this illegal and immoral embargo ... and allow the Bosnians to defend their homes and their families."

But Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell, D-R.I., says the Dole bill would amount to U.S. defiance of U.N. action, upset peace efforts and escalate U.S. involvement.

"It may make us feel better," Pell says, "but ... could yield disastrous results."

Base closings may be postponed

Defense Secretary William Perry wants to postpone the next round of base closings until 1997 and proceed next year with only those closings that produce quick savings.

USA TODAY

May 11, 1994

Pg. 3

Although base closings are politically difficult because of the economic blow to communities, Pentagon spokeswoman Kathleen deLaski says postponement would be based on economics, not President Clinton's re-election needs.

So far, 70 major bases have been closed or targeted, and operations at others have been reduced. The military chiefs have strongly supported another major round next year to cut fixed costs and free money for salaries and equipment.

The 1995 list was expected to be the biggest so far, perhaps equal-

Mag all previous.

But returning sites to civilian control is costly. Environmental cleanups could hit \$45 billion, according to Congress, where a delay would have some support.

Rep. James Hansen, R-Utah, has 28 co-sponsors for a bill to postpone the 1995 closings until 1997, pending a review of the program. He wants a House vote in the next few weeks.

"The reality is the services may never see real savings," Hansen says. "No one knows."

— Steve Kramarow

CURRENT NEWS ANALYSIS & RESEARCH SERVICE
ROOM 4C881, PENTAGON, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-7500
Tel: (703) 695-2884 Fax: (703) 695-6822/7260

CHIEF: Herbert J. Coleman (703) 695-2884 DEPUTY CHIEF: Walter N. Lang (703) 695-2884 CURRENT NEWS BRANCH: Taft Phoebeus, Chief (703) 697-8765 James Wittmeyer, Early Bird Editor Elmer Christian, Sharon Foster, Meredith Johnson, Marilyn Phipps, Lisa Stafford, Writer-Editors RESEARCH BRANCH: Denise Brown, Chief (703) 695-2884 Alice Boyd, Pat Damell, Writer-Editors, SYSTEMS ADMINISTRATOR: Carol Rippe (703) 697-8765, ADMINISTRATION: Janice Gott, Tonya Pollard (703) 695-2884 PRODUCTION: Defense Printing Service (Room 4C853)

BREAKING THE HONOR CODE

Failing Grade For Cheaters

By George DeWan
STAFF WRITER

Because of a cheating scandal, there will be a dark cloud hanging over the graduation two weeks from today of about 880 midshipmen who have completed four grueling years of academic and military training at the U.S. Naval Academy.

It may be unfair, but the Annapolis class of '94 may be best remembered as containing would-be naval officers who engaged in the worst cheating scandal in the prestigious school's 149-year history. Two weeks ago 24 midshipmen were expelled from the academy for cheating on an exam.

From time to time, the issue of cheating in schools — high schools as well as colleges — gets raised and discussed from one end of the country to another. This is one of those times.

When cheating is uncovered at an institution like the Naval Academy, the question of honor codes arises. All the service academies have honor codes, as do many universities. The code at the

Military Academy at West Point is brief: "A cadet will not lie, cheat or steal nor tolerate those who do," and the code at the Air Force Academy is almost exactly the same. The lengthier code at the Naval Academy is actually called the "Honor Concept," but includes the key ideas that midshipmen "... do not lie ... do not cheat ... do not steal."

The issue arose at Annapolis after a 1992 electrical engineering exam for 662 midshipmen. Copies of the test had circulated in advance, and a months-long investigation implicated 71 midshipmen — 24 were expelled, 47 punished.

This is not the first time that cheating scandals have erupted at the service academies, with the expulsions making national headlines. The Air Force was embarrassed by them in 1965, 1967, and 1984, the Military Academy at West Point in 1951 and 1976.

These incidents stand out because they happened in institutions with strict honor codes. But codes exist at at least 100 colleges and universities in addition to the service academies. One of the strictest is the student-run honor code at the University of Virginia, where anyone found guilty of cheating, lying or stealing is subject to expulsion from the school.

Academic cheating seems to be widespread. A 1991 survey of 6,097 students at 31 of the nation's most prestigious colleges showed that 67 percent of them had cheated. But this was not a great change over studies done 30 years ago, says the author of the study, Donald McCabe, an associate professor at the University of Rutgers' Graduate School of Management. "The one significant thing that we did notice," he said, "is that there's a lot of written assignments now given out as opposed to exams. There was a dramatic increase in students who acknowledged they had worked together, though the professors asked them not to. Many students did not think it was cheating."

Cheating is just as prevalent at the high school level. A survey of the nation's best high school students, done for the 1992-1993 school year by Who's Who Among American High School Students, said 78 percent of those who responded admitted to cheating.

Sixty-seven percent said they had copied someone else's homework. Forty percent said they had cheated on an exam. Twenty-five percent had used summarized versions of books to avoid reading the full book.

NORFOLK **Virginian-Pilot**

May 11, 1994

Pg. 7

PENTAGON CONSIDERS BASE-CLOSING DELAY

By DALE EISMAN
STAFF WRITER

(WASHINGTON)—The Pentagon still plans a vigorous program of military base closings next year, a spokeswoman said Tuesday, but may have to scale back earlier plans because of the unexpectedly high cost of shutting facilities.

Fewer closings in 1995 could spur the military to request additional base restructuring later

in the 1990s, Pentagon spokeswoman Kathleen deLaski told reporters.

DeLaski said Defense Secretary William Perry and the respective service chiefs want to shut as many bases as we can, efficiently and effectively in '95, the last round of closings now planned. But that still may leave the services with more bases than they need, she said, requiring more closings later.

The 1993 Defense Base

Closure and Realignment Commission ordered three Hampton Roads installations shut, and several others, including Oceana Naval Air Station, are seen as potential targets in 1995.

Environmental cleanup costs are one of the fastest rising parts of the defense budget. Sherri Wasserman Goodman, deputy undersecretary of defense for environmental security, told senators this month that cleanup

estimates for all bases were from around \$14 billion in 1988 to \$24.5 billion in 1991; the figures are being reworked again, she said.

Many of the base closing recommendations last year by the commission and accepted by Congress and President Clinton have been delayed because \$35 million in base closing funds were diverted to earthquake relief in California.

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

The 1995 defense budget plan recommended last week by the House Armed Services Committee would restore that money and provide almost \$250 million more than Clinton requested for other base closing expenses.

Those funds are a long way from being available however; the full House will not act on the budget until later this month and action also is pending in the Senate.

Though base closings require one-time outlays, an extensive base reduction plan is particularly vital to the Navy. Its leaders say the closings will produce long-term savings they can use to acquire new ships and planes.

Pentagon officials last month began quietly discussing the possibility of a scaled back round of closures in 1995, triggering speculation that the administration wanted to delay the politically sensitive decisions until after the 1996 election. One of the states expected to be hardest hit is California, considered vital to Clinton's re-election.

DeLaski argued that a delay and a new round of closings wouldn't help the president. Clinton might benefit from fewer closings in '95 but would be attacked during the '96 campaign if additional closings loom on the horizon, she suggested.

Battlefields of Khe Sanh: Still One Casualty a Day

By MALCOLM W. BROWNE

Special to The New York Times

KHE SANH, Vietnam — A quarter century has passed since one of the most costly battles of the Vietnam War raged across the desolate Khe Sanh plateau, but this old battlefield near the former border between North and South Vietnam is still filling hospital beds with fresh victims.

The bare brown earth for miles around remains seeded with unexploded shells and bombs — a legacy of the 77-day siege in 1968, when some 40,000 North Vietnamese troops tried in vain to overrun the 5,000 United States Marines holding the Khe Sanh bastion.

In the battle American forces rained 100,000 tons of bombs (equivalent in destructive force to five Hiroshima-size atomic bombs) and 158,000 large-caliber shells on the hills surrounding the base, killing an estimated 15,000 Communist soldiers.

Some of these projectiles, along with a considerable number of Vietnamese shells, were duds. But they remained alive and they are still killing unwary farmers bringing new land under cultivation. Dr. Pham Sy Dan, director of the Quang Tri Province Hospital at Dong Ha, said that people newly wounded at Khe Sanh and other battlefields in the province are admitted at the rate of one a day. Victims killed outright are not counted in this total.

The land around Khe Sanh is poor and ill suited to most crops, but it has nevertheless become valuable as a result of population pressure. Since the end of the war, Vietnam's population has grown by more than 60 percent — it now exceeds 72 million — and crowding has become particularly acute for farmers in the Red River Delta of northern Vietnam. Growing numbers of them leave home to seek land in the south, and many have settled in previously underpopulated regions.

The plow has come even to the dangerous fields of Khe Sanh. Men, women and children are dying here whenever their draft buffaloes plow up old bombs and shells. But an even

greater hazard to life and limb is the thriving scrap metal business.

Residents of the region, including Van Kieu tribesmen as well as ethnic Vietnamese, are attracted by the easy money that can be made by finding and selling scrap metal to the steel plant at Thai Nguyen in northern Vietnam.

Dealers pay about seven cents a pound for military scrap, and with the help of \$50 metal detectors imported from Thailand, scavengers can easily find enough metal around Khe Sanh to make a living. Common scrap includes big chunks of steel shrapnel, spent artillery cartridges, rockets, and intact shells and bombs.

Paying With Their Lives

For miles around, the ground of Khe Sanh is pitted and furrowed by the shovels of these scrap diggers — men, women and children who can earn up to \$2 a day, a relatively good income. But some of them pay dearly for their booty, or their crops.

During a visit to the Quang Tri Province hospital, an ambulance delivered Tran Van Nam, a 22-year-old scrap metal hunter whose face and arms were horribly injured by an explosion that also killed his 30-year-old brother. The two men had been plowing a field.

Artificial Limbs Scarce

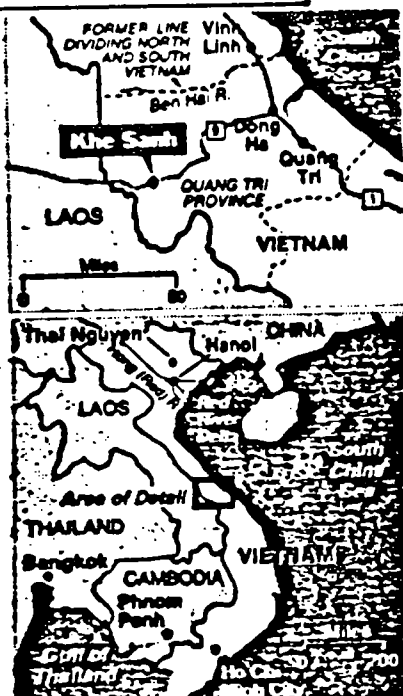
On one of the nearby wooden pallets that serve as beds in Vietnamese hospitals lay Ho Dung, a 13-year-old girl who was wounded five days earlier by a bomb explosion that blew out both her eyes and amputated a leg and an arm. In agony, she rolled blindly from one side to another on her wretched pallet.

Another victim, Nguyen Van Bon, was digging up sweet potatoes near his home in Vinh Linh village when a shell exploded and crippled him. Mr. Bon has five children.

Artificial limbs are scarce and expensive in Vietnam, and many victims of munition explosions take to the streets of nearby towns to beg. The Belgian-based relief organization Handicap International is building a simple workshop at the Quang Tri hospital with a lathe and a curing oven for manufacturing prosthetic arms and legs.

"But it would be far better if these terrible injuries could be stopped in the first place," said Mulpas Thy, a Belgian expert supervising the workshop.

Le Xuan Thong, chairman of the



In the battle for Khe Sanh in 1968, United States forces dropped 100,000 tons of bombs, some of which are still killing people.

Perry may seek '97 round of base closings

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Defense Secretary William Perry denied that the Pentagon is considering a delay in closing some bases until after the 1996 election but conceded yesterday that he may ask Congress for another round in 1997.

"We plan to go ahead with a vigorous base closing in 1995. And we will propose to close as many bases as we can effectively and efficiently execute," Mr. Perry said in an interview with Mutual-NBC Radio.

But the secretary said the 1995 round, which is required by law, does not preclude another round two years later.

"That's up to the Congress to decide because the present legislation does not provide for that. It's conceivable that we might go to the Congress and ask for an additional turn at base clos-

ings, but that has nothing to do with '95. We will close as many in '95 as we effectively can," Mr. Perry said.

News that the Clinton administration was weighing a delay in some closings to ease the political and economic impact on the eve of the election drew an angry response from some Senate Republicans.

The lawmakers argued that deferring base closings would force the military to make reductions elsewhere, including personnel.

"I don't believe we can tell young men and women they have to leave the military ... and at the same time say we're going to keep this base open because it's too expensive," said Sen. John McCain, Arizona Republican, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Sen. Phil Gramm, Texas Republican,

contended that "the longer we wait to close them the harder it will be and the more expensive it will be."

But one Republican, Sen. Ted Stevens of Alaska, expressed support for a delay, citing the expense of environmental cleanup at the facilities.

"I think we should not incur the additional expenses of additional base closures," Mr. Stevens said.

The government has ordered the closure of 103 bases since 1988 but so far has actually shut down 24 and reports savings of only \$1.3 billion — compared to an annual defense budget of more than \$263 billion.

Once the government covers the costs of shutting down bases, those closures will translate into \$4.6 billion in annual savings, Deputy Assistant Defense Secretary Robert Bayer told a Senate panel Wednesday.

And After We Invade Haiti? What Then, Mr. President?

President Clinton's last opportunity to top an invasion of Haiti will come in the next few weeks. This intervention would be the largest, but assuredly not the last, hunder made as part of a policy that has been mishandled by the last two adminis-

Under both administrations, U.S. policy toward Haiti has had the virtue of consistency. Its vice has been that, while carefully designed to meet political realities in the country, it has ignored those in Haiti. The utterly predictable effect of our embargo—hunger for the masses, riches for the military elite involved in smuggling—as disregarded. Jean-Bertrand Aristide's

contingent) have decided to attack the refugee policy head on. They have called it unconscionable and racist, and Randall Robinson, the influential head of TransAfrica, has now been hospitalized due to his hunger strike to force a policy change.

Mr. Clinton, ever sensitive to political pressure (especially from his party's left) has buckled. He has thrown the State Department's Haiti coordinator, Lawrence Pezzulo, over the side, despite the fact that the career diplomat's only offense was to carry out Clinton policy. Haitian policy making has since been centralized in the White House, as befits an issue seen as domestic politics rather than State Department business.

Shortly after the administration announced a policy review, it allowed a boat carrying Haitians to land in Florida—carefully saying this was an exception, not a policy change. But then in remarks to the press, the president lauded Mr. Robinson's campaign against his own policy. In his press conference Wednesday, the president rattled his saber at the Haitian military, while press reports yesterday said the administration remains deeply divided about using force in Haiti. Clearly the Haiti policy is out of control.

What are Mr. Clinton's options now? Domestic political pressure will soon make it impossible to bottle up Haitians in a country whose economy we are deliberately destroying. Yet in Florida (with 25 congressional seats plus one Senate seat up for grabs in November, and 27 electoral votes in 1996) there is no desire to see hundreds of thousands of Haitians arrive overnight. Domestic U.S. politics will likely prevent Haitians from getting unrestricted access to U.S. soil.

The only way Mr. Clinton may be able to square the circle is to restore Mr. Aristide and declare that Haiti is no longer a repressive dictatorship. With Mr. Aristide in place and the foreign aid flowing, the American left will get off the president's back, and mass migration can be pre-

vented in good conscience.

Thus, the intervention no one in the Clinton administration wanted a year ago is becoming increasingly likely. And Clinton aides may feel

that if this military action will answer the charges—after Somalia and Bosnia—that the administration won't ever use force and is indecisive, so much the better.

And make no mistake: For a few months, it will seem like a great Clinton victory. Mr. Aristide's return probably will be greeted by dancing in the streets, and the CNN images will delight the White House. But when the dancing is over, this intervention will become as troublesome as the one in Somalia. Opponents of invasion in the State Department and the Pentagon are asking preparatory questions:

When will the troops be withdrawn? When Haiti becomes democratic? What if that takes 10 years? Should our soldiers act as Mr. Aristide's bodyguards? And what if Mr. Aristide misbehaves, jailing opponents or advocating violence against them, as he once did? Will the administration that put him back in power then take him out? As in Somalia, intervening is easy; it is getting out that will be hard.

The worst mistake we could make would be to tie an intervention in Haiti to restoring power to Mr. Aristide. That would require the complete destruction of all institutions of power in Haiti that now reject him (including the Parliament) and then the systematic building up again of all these institutions around just one, destabilizing figure. If we intervene, our goal should be to build and strengthen the weak institutions that now exist—the Roman Catholic Church, the labor unions, small business, the Parliament and politi-

cal parties—not to sweep them all aside so that Mr. Aristide can rule by fiat. Otherwise, we can occupy Haiti for 19 years, as we did from 1915 to 1934, without achieving significant political progress.

There is still time to avoid an invasion that will make the U.S. responsible for the fate of this hemisphere's poorest nation. George Bush has publicly recognized the folly of equating Mr. Aristide with democracy and giving him veto power over U.S. policy. Jimmy Carter has acknowledged that Mr. Aristide's refusal to compromise has made a negotiated solution much harder. It's time for Bill Clinton to join the club.

Sending U.S. soldiers into Haiti as Mr. Aristide's private army would be a terrible mistake. U.S. policy should no longer be based on Mr. Aristide. We should instead help forge a multiparty coalition government that could rule for a year until the next scheduled presidential election in Haiti. Lifting the embargo and increasing humanitarian aid would also be a way for us to start helping the economy we have ruined. These steps should form the core of U.S. policy in Haiti. American soldiers should not be used to solve Mr. Aristide's problems—or Bill Clinton's.

Mr. Abrams, a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute, is former assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs.

WALL STREET JOURNAL

May 6, 1994

Pg. 1

ISOLATIONISM PREVAILS as Clinton is drawn into more overseas problems.

Despite pundits' criticism that Clinton devotes too little time to foreign policy, the public has the opposite view; 36% say he spends too much time on foreign affairs, while just 19% say he spends too little time. Three in four Americans say the big risk is that the country will pay too much attention to foreign affairs rather than too little.

The Americas

By Elliott Abrams

atic behavior while serving as president—which included fostering violence against his opponents—has been kept under the rug in Washington, although it is well remembered in Port-au-

The Haitian Parliament, chosen in the same free election as Mr. Aristide, has been treated with contempt by the U.S., rather than as Haiti's only remaining democratic institution. U.S. policy is equated Mr. Aristide's return with the achievement of human rights and democracy in Haiti. However, many Haitian parliamentarians, some of them with better democratic credentials than Mr. Aristide's, see him as a threat to liberty and may constitutionally separate him from his office. The gap between Washington politics and Haitian reality is left things stalled for over a year in a hall.

Until now, what has changed in recent weeks is the domestic political calculus regarding Haiti. The Black Caucus, civil rights groups, and a broad coalition of the (including the requisite Hollywood

12TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 The San Diego Union-Tribune
The San Diego Union-Tribune

May 5, 1994, Thursday

SECTION: NEWS; Ed. 11; Pg. A-13

LENGTH: 516 words

HEADLINE: Pentagon might seek base -closure delay

BYLINE: OTTO KREISHER
Copley News Service

BODY:

The Pentagon might recommend postponing the 1995 round of base closures or softening the impact of new closures by stretching them into another year.

Robert Bayer, an assistant defense secretary, cited two reasons for reconsidering the 1995 round: high initial costs and the administrative demands involved in closing the large number of facilities.

Earlier reports from sources said the White House was considering the delay because President Clinton's aides are concerned about the political fallout another round of shutdowns might have on the 1996 presidential election.

However, Bayer, in an appearance before a Senate Armed Services subcommittee, emphasized that the armed services want to proceed with the 1995 process in order to cut operating costs.

The Navy and the Air Force in particular are counting on savings from the base closings to help pay for weapons programs planned later this decade, Bayer said.

Pentagon officials have said that because 1995 probably would be their last chance to eliminate surplus facilities, they would recommend closing a large number of bases.

Sen. John Glenn, D-Ohio, said he had been told to expect the 1995 closure list to exceed all previous rounds combined.

Bayer said that estimate was reached because the 103 military installations ordered closed by the three previous base closure commissions represent just 15 percent of the Pentagon's base infrastructure. Total military forces would have been reduced 30 percent by 1999.

Delaying the next base-closing process, or setting up a round for 1997, would require a change in legislation that created independent base-closing and realignment commissions for 1991, 1993 and 1995. One commission met in 1991 under a different law.

The commissions were created because Congress had blocked all efforts by the Pentagon, since the early 1970s, to close large bases.

The San Diego Union-Tribune, May 5, 1994

Sen. Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif., tried last year to postpone the 1995 round but was defeated on the Senate floor. Similar legislation has been introduced this year in the House, and Feinstein may resubmit her bill.

Yesterday, Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., announced that he has introduced a bill to postpone the 1995 round for two years.

In San Diego, advocates of converting Miramar Naval Air Station to civilian use said the proposed delay would have little effect on what ultimately happens to Miramar.

"This shows (that the political and military leaders) are real uncertain, and they're trying to buy some time," said Bob Lichter, chief executive officer of John Burnham & Co. and co-chairman of Citizens for Miramar.

He said what's happening in Washington won't have an impact on the June 7 countywide advisory vote on whether the base should be converted to civilian use if the military leaves.

In the 1993 base closure process, it was decided that Miramar's naval units would be transferred to Lemoore, near Fresno, and Fallon, Nev., and that Marine Corps jets and helicopters would be moved to Miramar from Orange County, where two Marine air stations are being closed.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: May 6, 1994

14TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 The New York Times Company
The New York Times

May 5, 1994, Thursday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1223 words

HEADLINE: Defense Dept. May Postpone Base Closings

BYLINE: By ERIC SCHMITT, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, May 4

BODY:

Fearful of damaging the economies of scores of communities nationwide, the Defense Department is preparing to seek authority to delay some decisions on base closings until after the 1996 elections, a senior Pentagon official said today.

Congress would have to approve such a plan. But Defense Secretary William Perry and Deputy Defense Secretary John M. Deutch favor dividing a final round of decisions scheduled for next year into two parts: choosing next year to close some bases and then waiting until 1997 or 1998 to decide the fate of many others, the official said.

By doing so, Mr. Perry and Mr. Deutch would place political and economic considerations above the strong objections of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who are counting on saving billions of dollars by closing installations as quickly as possible to pay for future weapons, training and troop salaries.

Moreover, it would inject a political element into a process Congress invented four years ago specifically to be as free as possible from political influence. Critics say there is clearly a political incentive for President Clinton and some members of Congress to delay or diminish the economic pain of base closings until after the 1996 elections, or at least to limit closings in states like California, Texas and Florida, pivotal battlegrounds in 1996.

Three independent commissions, meeting in 1988, 1991 and 1993, have decided to close 70 major installations. It takes five to six years to shut a base. Lawmakers and Pentagon officials have predicted that the 1995 round of decisions, scheduled to be the last one, could close more installations than the previous three combined.

"As the defense budget goes down and we close bases, the issue now is the pace of closures so people and communities can adjust," the senior Pentagon official said. "The choice is between an undigestible round or a digestible round."

Defense Department officials insisted today that they were acting independently and not under orders from President Clinton or his top aides. Indeed, the White House is caught between trying to help communities hurt by base closings and not wanting to be accused of harming military readiness, which is what senior commanders say would happen if base closings are

The New York Times, May 5, 1994

delayed. "It sounds like an idea we need to explore carefully," said a senior White House official.

The military services are in the preliminary stages of identifying which bases Mr. Perry should recommend to an independent Presidential commission for closing. The service recommendations are not due for several months, so it is too soon to tell which states would be hit hardest. California, for example, suffered nine closings in the round last year, which the Pentagon estimated would cost nearly 13,000 civilian jobs.

To extend the base-closing process to 1997 or beyond, Congress would have to amend the 1990 legislation that created the Presidential commission to decide which bases to close, a body that gives Congress political cover for the decisions.

The commission accepts or alters the Pentagon's recommendations. That decision then goes to President Clinton, who accepts or rejects them in their entirety. If he accepts them, the recommendations go to Congress, where only a negative vote by both houses can stop the process.

There is growing support on Capitol Hill, particularly in the House, to delay next year's round of decisions, or at least divide the process into two parts and spread out the pain.

Support From Panel Leader

At a hearing today of the Senate Armed Services Subcommittee on Military Readiness and Defense Infrastructure, Senator John Glenn, the Ohio Democrat who heads the panel, voiced support for slowing the pace of base closings.

"I'd hate to delay this and put us all through that agony, but I'm not unsympathetic to putting some of this off," said Mr. Glenn.

Representative James V. Hansen, a Utah Republican on the House Armed Services Committee, introduced legislation last week to delay the 1995 closings for two years. Mr. Hansen has four bases in his district north of Salt Lake City, including Hill Air Force Base.

But several influential lawmakers have expressed serious reservations about tinkering with the law. "The longer we delay closing unneeded bases, the longer it will take to achieve real savings," said Senator Sam Nunn, a Georgia Democrat who heads the Armed Services Committee. "We also must consider whether it is beneficial or harmful for clouds of uncertainty to hang over base communities until 1997."

Closing bases is expensive in the short term, with construction costs and environmental cleanup expenses. But Pentagon officials say by the end of the decade, the bases designated for closing so far would save the military a billion a year.

'There's Not Enough Money'

The Joint Chiefs of Staff are even blunter in their judgment that the Pentagon needs to shut bases, and shut them as quickly as possible. "We need this," Adm. Jeremy M. Boorda, the new Chief of Naval Operations, told

The New York Times, May 5, 1994

reporters on Tuesday. "There's not enough money to maintain infrastructure we no longer need."

The Pentagon has reduced its forces by about 30 percent since 1990, but the number of bases has dropped by only about 15 percent, forcing the military to pay to maintain more installations than it needs.

Closing bases, however, has a direct economic effect on surrounding communities. Under the last round of decisions in 1993, for example, the bulk of job losses will be concentrated in four states. Florida faces the loss of 18,500 civilian jobs; Virginia, 13,000 civilian workers; California, 12,800 civilian military-related jobs, and South Carolina, which is expected to lose more than 6,300 civilian jobs.

Mr. Deutch signaled his concerns on Tuesday about heaping economic dislocation on a large number of communities all at once.

"Whether we are making sufficient progress on the economic re-use of bases to proceed in one fell swoop to do everything that needs to be done in 1995 or whether we'll have to seek authority for additional rounds of BRAC remains under study," Mr. Deutch told reporters on Tuesday, referring to the base realignment and closing process.

The Pentagon official responsible for overseeing the base closing process Robert Bayer, a Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, today described in greater detail the advantages and disadvantages of extending the base-closing process beyond 1995.

Need for Painful Decisions

"The sooner we make these painful decisions, the sooner we reach a point of achieving long-term savings," Mr. Bayer said. "But the flip side is with this ambitious agenda, there's a risk we won't be fully successful in the next round."

Mr. Bayer also said that with increasing constraints on the military budget the Pentagon might not be able to afford the construction and environmental cleanup costs associated with the scope of base closings projected for next year. The Pentagon is budgeting just under \$3 billion a year for base-closing costs.

In response to complaints from communities hurt by base closings, Mr. Clinton announced a wide-ranging plan last July to speed the cleanup of installations and give local communities priority in using the bases for new jobs programs or businesses.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: May 5, 1994

15TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 Sentinel Communications Co.
THE ORLANDO SENTINEL

May 5, 1994 Thursday, 3 STAR

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A14

LENGTH: 116 words

HEADLINE: PENTAGON WANTS TO HOLD OFF DECIDING ABOUT SOME BASES

BODY:

Fearful of damaging the economies of scores of communities nationwide, the Defense Department is preparing to recommend delaying some base-closing decisions until after the 1996 elections, a senior Pentagon official said Wednesday. No final decision has been reached, and Congress would have to approve such a plan. But Defense Secretary William Perry and Deputy Defense Secretary John Deutch favor dividing a final round of base-closing decisions scheduled for next year into two parts: deciding next year to close some base and then postponing decisions on others until 1997 or 1998. The delay would not affect Orlando Naval Training Center, which has been ordered to shut down.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

COLUMN: OTHER NEWS TO NOTE

WASHINGTON

LOAD-DATE-MDC: May 5, 1994

THURSDAY, May 5, 1994

WASHINGTON TIMES

May 5, 1994 Pg. 1

Invasion of Haiti faces Hill fight

Both sides oppose battle for Aristide

By Rowan Scarborough
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Both liberals and conservatives in Congress voiced opposition yesterday to President Clinton's suggestion that force be used to oust the military dictatorship in Haiti and put Jean-Bertrand Aristide back in power.

Opponents said large majorities in each house would vote against the military option.

Liberals such as Rep. Ronald V. Dellums, California Democrat, joined conservatives such as

House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich, Georgia Republican, in saying it would be unwise to invade the Caribbean island nation.

"He's against it. He's a long-standing peace advocate," said a spokesman for Mr. Dellums, who is chairman of the House Armed Services Committee and a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Mr. Dellums wants the House to approve a binding resolution that would end the U.S. policy of returning Haitians fleeing the impoverished island and would impose tougher economic sanctions.

Mr. Gingrich said: "I think that [an invasion] would be a major mistake and is something which I certainly hope they're going to avoid doing. I think we're already overextended around the world. I think the idea of adding one more place to try to use American troops while cutting the defense budget would be a very, very serious mistake."

The State Department's former top adviser on Haiti, Lawrence Pezzullo, criticized the Clinton foreign policy team. In a three-paragraph note to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Mr. Pezzullo, who resigned under pressure last week, held him responsible for the impasse in Haiti.

Mr. Pezzullo was expected to go

HAITI...Pg. 4

NEW YORK TIMES

May 5, 1994 Pg. 1

Pentagon Seeks To Delay Some Base Closings

Economic and Political Factors Are at Work

By ERIC SCHMITT
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 4 — Fearful of damaging the economies of scores of communities nationwide, the Defense Department is preparing to recommend delaying some decisions on base closings until after the 1996 elections, a senior Pentagon official said today.

No final decision has been reached, and Congress would have to approve such a plan. But Defense Secretary William J. Perry and Deputy Defense Secretary John M. Deutch favor dividing a final round of decisions scheduled for next year into two parts: choosing next year to close some bases and then waiting until 1997 or 1998 to decide the fate of many others, the official said.

By doing so, Mr. Perry and Mr. Deutch would place political and economic considerations above the strong objections of the Joint Chiefs

of Staff, who are counting on saving billions of dollars by closing installations as quickly as possible to pay for future weapons, training and troop salaries.

Moreover, it would inject a political element into a process Congress invented four years ago specifically to be as free as possible from political influence. Critics say there is clearly a political incentive for President Clinton and some members of Congress to delay or diminish the economic pain of base closings until after the 1996 elections, or at least to 1 closings in states like California, Texas and Florida, pivotal battlegrounds in 1996.

Three separate independent commissions, meeting in 1988, 1991 and 1993, have decided to close 70 major installations. It takes five to six years to shut a base. Lawmakers and Pentagon officials have predicted that the 1995 round of decisions, scheduled to be the last one, could close more installations than the previous three combined.

"As the defense budget goes down and we close bases, the issue is the pace of closures so people and communities can adjust," the senior Pentagon official said. "The choice is between an undigestible round or a digestible round."

Defense Department officials insisted today that they were acting

CLOSING...Pg. 15

BALTIMORE SUN

Bigger force in Rwanda backed by U.S.

American troops still ruled out

By Gilbert A. Lewthwaite
Washington Bureau of The Sun

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration said yesterday that it would help finance and support an expanded United Nations-sponsored peacekeeping force for Rwanda and help create "safe areas" for refugees from the slaughter that has killed at least 100,000 in the past month.

The administration had said it would consider such financial and logistical support, but this was its first public commitment to provide it.

The pledge came after demands from members of Congress for a more active U.S. response to the tragedy.

With a small force of U.N. troops in Rwanda under attack and relief agencies warning of a cholera epidemic among hundreds of thousands of refugees, the United States signaled readiness for wider involvement in one of the world's worst humanitarian crises. But the administration continued to rule out the use of any U.S. ground troops.

George E. Moose, assistant secretary of state for African affairs, told a congressional panel yesterday that the administration was urging the formation of a peacekeeping force made up largely of troops from member states of the 52-nation Organization of African Unity.

"We understand fully that for that to work, it will require significant support from outsiders, and in making and in urging that course of action, we have, I think, made clear our intention to provide our fair share of

support, logistical, financial and other, to such an operation, should it be mounted," Mr. Moose said.

Members of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa, which held the hearing, expressed support. "It is unforgivable and shameful to watch a whole generation of Rwandese slaughtered in cold blood," said Rep. Harry A. Johnston, a Florida Democrat who chairs the panel. "It is time to act."

Rep. Elliot L. Engel, a New York Democrat, said: "Obviously there would not be support for American ground troops, but I think there would be support for humanitarian aid, for logistical aid, just to stop the violence and the killing."

What the U.N. needs

State Department officials said details of the financial and logistical

support for the proposed expansion of the peacekeeping operation would depend on the size of the U.N. force and its needs. The United States could engage either in a military airlift or charter civilian aircraft to get the troops and equipment there. But the major obstacle, without a agreement between the warring Hutus, who dominate the government, and rebel Tutsis in Rwanda, is the reluctance of many African states to commit their forces.

U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has appealed to OAU Secretary General Salim A. Salim to form an international peacekeeping force from the group's members.

On Monday, however, Kofi Annan, the U.N. undersecretary-general in charge of peacekeeping, told a Senate subcommittee he didn't think the OAU was capable of mounting a peacekeeping operation in Rwanda.

Mr. Moose told the House pi

RWANDA...Pg. 3



This publication is prepared by American Forces Information Service (AFIS/OATSD-PA) to bring to the attention of key personnel news items of interest to them in their official capacities. It is not intended to substitute for newspapers and periodicals as a means of keeping informed about the meaning and impact of news developments. Use of these articles does not reflect official endorsement. Further reproduction for private use or gain is subject to original copyright restrictions. Please pass this copy on to someone else who needs current news information, then...



NEW YORK TIMES

Don't Arm Bosnia

By Claiborne Pell
and Lee H. Hamilton

WASHINGTON — When the Bosnian Serbs unleashed their fierce attacks on Gorazde last month, sentiment grew for the United States to lift the embargo that is keeping arms from reaching the Bosnian Muslims. The Senate is to take up that debate today.

Bosnia has suffered much in this vicious war. Lifting the embargo would be a way of showing support and sympathy for its beleaguered Government and people. It seems like an easy, cost-free solution. But it is a bad idea. Lifting the embargo will neither level the playing field, as proponents argue, nor help the Bosnian cause.

While President Clinton says he wants to lift the embargo, he has also repeatedly said that he will not do so unilaterally. No permanent member of the United Nations Security Council supports lifting the embargo. Yet some members of Congress now advocate unilateral action.

What would happen if the U.S. acted alone to lift the arms embargo? First, it would Americanize the war, signaling that the U.S. was entering on the side of the Bosnian Muslims. We would become responsible for Bosnia's fate.

Second, unilateral action would encourage others to violate sanctions elsewhere, in particular the embargo on Iraq and Libya. To Bosnia's detriment, it would encourage other countries to violate trade and financial sanctions against Serbia.

Third, to lift the embargo now would send exactly the wrong signal at a fragile and pivotal moment in the peace talks.

For the Muslims, it would hold out the unrealistic prospect of better weapons, U.S. intervention — even victory. The Bosnian Government would lose interest in a negotiated settlement. The Serbs, understanding that the Muslims might get more arms, would move swiftly to crush Bosnian Government forces. Both sides would be tempted to intensify a war that neither can win. Peace elsewhere in the Balkans would be undermined.

That's not all. The U.N. Protection Force in Bosnia would come under fire. Those with troops on the ground, including Britain, France and Canada, would come under heavy domestic pressure to withdraw. If the U.N. forces left, the humanitarian mission in Bosnia — on which two out of three Bosnians depend — would be at risk, and the U.S. would be blamed.

NATO, meanwhile, is working closely with the United States on a strategy of force and diplomacy for a peace settlement in Bosnia. If we lifted the embargo unilaterally, that strategy would fall apart, opening a serious rift in the alliance. And relations with Rus-

sia would suffer, since Moscow would find itself under great pressure to provide arms to the Serbs.

Lifting the embargo is not as easy as it sounds. Who would provide the weapons, and how would they be delivered to the landlocked Bosnian forces? And who would train the Bosnians?

The legal basis for lifting the embargo is shaky, too. Proponents selectively cite the U.N. Charter, saying it guarantees the right of "individual or collective self-defense." But it also says this right cannot negate Security Council action to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Despite setbacks, we now have our best opportunity in three years to try to end this war. Diplomacy is working: since February there has been an end to the sieges of Sarajevo and Tuzla, a peace agreement between Muslims and Croats in Bosnia, a formal ceasefire between the Croatian Government and Serbs in Croatia, a dramatic overall reduction in fighting throughout Bosnia and an end to the shelling of Gorazde. Talks on a comprehensive peace are at a delicate stage. Only those talks can end the fighting.

The U.S. does not want to become a party to this war. We do not have vital national interests; what we do have are pressing humanitarian and political interests in ending the fighting. A negotiated settlement is precisely what the Administration, NATO, the European Union and the U.N. are trying to pursue. Our frustration with the peace process should not compel us to choose a course that would prolong, intensify and widen the war.

Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island, is chairman of the Senate Foreign

Pg. 27

Relations Committee. Lee Hamilton, Democrat of Indiana, is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

BALTIMORE SUN
May 5, 1994
Pg. 11

'Eurofighter' makes debut after a two-year delay

PRESTON, England — Europe's most expensive and controversial fighter jet made its debut yesterday, hoping to capture a chunk of the highly competitive world market.

The Eurofighter 2000 — a cooperative venture by Britain, Germany, Italy and Spain — is expected to play a key role in defending Europe's skies the next 20 to 30 years. But cost overruns and technology problems delayed its maiden flight by two years.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
May 5, 1994
Pg. 1

A small U.N. contingent is to be sent to Rwanda to prevent the group from being trapped in Rwanda's capital. The group of 270 peacekeepers sent the desperate message as battles raged between the army and rebels. Aid workers said this week's fighting was the worst yet in a conflict that has killed at least 100,000.

CLOSING...from Pg. 1

independently and not under orders from President Clinton or his top aides. Indeed, the White House is caught between wanting to help communities hurt by base closings and not wanting to be accused of harming military readiness. "It sounds like an idea we need to explore carefully," said a senior White House official.

The military services are in the preliminary stages of identifying which bases Mr. Perry should recommend to an independent Presidential commission for closing. The service recommendations are not due for several months, so it is too soon to tell which states would be hit hardest. California, for example, suffered nine closings in the round last year, which the Pentagon estimated will cost nearly 13,000 civilian jobs.

Support From Panel Leader

To extend the base-closing process to 1997 or beyond, Congress would have to amend the 1990 legislation that created the Presidential commission to decide which bases to close, a body that gives Congress political cover for the decisions.

The commission accepts or alters the Pentagon's recommendations. That decision then goes to President Clinton, who accepts or rejects them. If he accepts them, the recommendations go to Congress, where only a negative vote by both houses can stop

the process.

There is growing support on Capitol Hill, particularly in the House, to delay next year's round of decisions, or at least divide the process into two parts and spread out the pain.

At a hearing today of the Senate Armed Services Subcommittee on Military Readiness and Defense Infrastructure, Senator John Glenn, the Ohio Democrat who heads the panel, expressed support for slowing the pace of base closings.

"I'd hate to delay this and put us all through that agony, but I'm not unsympathetic to putting some of this off," said Mr. Glenn.

Representative James V. Hansen, a Utah Republican on the House Armed Services Committee, introduced legislation last week to delay the 1995 closings for two years. Mr. Hansen has four bases in his district north of Salt Lake City, including Hill Air Force Base.

But several influential lawmakers have expressed serious reservations about tinkering with the law. "The longer we delay closing unneeded bases, the longer it will take to achieve real savings," said Senator Sam Nunn, a Georgia Democrat who heads the Armed Services Committee. "We also must consider whether it is beneficial or harmful for clouds of uncertainty to hang over base communities until 1997."

Base closings are expensive in the short term, with construction costs

and environmental cleanup expenses. But Pentagon officials say by the end of the decade, the bases designated for closing will save the military \$4.6 billion a year.

'There's Not Enough Money'

The Joint Chiefs of Staff are even blunter in their judgment that the Pentagon needs to shut bases, and shut them as quickly as possible. "We really need this," Adm. Jeremy M. Boorda, the new Chief of Naval Operations, told reporters on Tuesday. "There's not enough money to maintain infrastructure we no longer need."

The Pentagon has reduced its forces by about 30 percent since 1990, but the number of bases has dropped by only about 15 percent, forcing the military to pay to maintain more installations than it needs.

Closing bases, however, has a direct economic effect on surrounding communities. Under the last round of decisions in 1993, for example, the bulk of job losses will be concentrated in four states. Florida faces the loss of 18,500 civilian jobs; Virginia, 13,000 civilian workers; California, 12,800 civilian military-related jobs; and South Carolina, which is expected to lose more than 8,300 civilian jobs.

Mr. Deutch signaled his concerns on Tuesday about heaping economic dislocation on a large number of communities all at once.

"Whether we are making sufficient progress on the economic re-use of

bases to proceed in one fell swoop to do everything that needs to be done in 1995 or whether we'll have to seek authority for additional rounds of BRAC remains under study," Mr. Deutch told reporters on Tuesday, referring to the Base Realignment and Closure Commission.

The Pentagon official responsible for overseeing the base closing process, Robert Bayer, a Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, today described in greater detail the advantages and disadvantages of extending the base-closing process beyond 1995.

Need for Painful Decisions

"The sooner we make these painful decisions, the sooner we reach a point of achieving long-term savings," Mr. Bayer said. "But the flip side is with this ambitious agenda, there's a risk we won't be fully successful in the next round."

Mr. Bayer also said that with increasing constraints on the military budget, the Pentagon might not be able to afford the construction and environmental cleanup costs associated with the scope of base closings projected for next year. The Pentagon is budgeting just under \$3 billion a year for base-closing costs.

In response to complaints from communities hurt by base closings, Mr. Clinton announced a wide-ranging plan last July to speed the clearing of installations and give local communities priority in using the bases for new jobs programs or business

19TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 Phoenix Newspapers, Inc.
THE PHOENIX GAZETTE

May 4, 1994 Wednesday, Final

SECTION: FRONT; Pg. A5

LENGTH: 93 words

HEADLINE: BASE CLOSINGS MAY WAIT TILL '96 ELECTION

BYLINE: From GAZETTE news services.

BODY:

The Clinton administration is considering delaying some military base closure decisions until after the 1996 election.

A senior Pentagon official said a 1997 base closure round could be added softening the impact of next year's scheduled round. Deputy Defense Secretary John Deutch confirmed Tuesday that the idea "remains under study" at the Pentagon.

And Rep. Dave McCurdy, D-Okla., chairman of a House Armed Services subcommittee overseeing base closings, said Pentagon officials have privately discussed the proposal with lawmakers.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

COLUMN: WASHINGTON

LOAD-DATE-MDC: May 10, 1994

20TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

May 4, 1994, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A20

LENGTH: 457 words

HEADLINE: Clinton May Delay Some Base Closings

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: John F. Harris, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

The Clinton administration may delay part of a large new round of military base closings scheduled for next year -- a possibility that has alarmed top military officers, who warn they need to close unneeded facilities to pay for essential weapons and training.

The next round of closures is planned to be the most far-reaching and politically painful yet, but the Pentagon for the first time yesterday raised the prospect of putting off some of the task until 1997. That would mean the base-closing ax would not fall with full force until after the 1996 elections.

Delaying some of the planned 1995 base closings for two years "remains under study," said Deputy Defense Secretary John M. Deutch.

While that possibility remains politically appealing -- support for a delay is building in Congress -- some uniformed officials said it could be militarily dangerous.

With the armed forces under severe pressure to cut budgets, officers are counting on savings from shutting down obsolete or wasteful bases to pay for training, equipment maintenance and other items contributing to military readiness.

A few hours before Deutch's comments, the new chief of naval operations, Adm. Jeremy M. "Mike" Boorda, told reporters that next year's base closings must go forward as planned.

"There is not enough money for us to maintain infrastructure that we don't absolutely need anymore," he said. "We really do need to do it."

A Pentagon spokesman, Dennis Boxx, said one argument in favor of delay is that closing bases, while saving money in the long term, requires an immediate infusion of money on such things as environmental cleanup.

"It's a very large bill that's coming due very quickly," he said. "We are looking at stretching out some of the very large short-term costs."

This argument resonates with some on Capitol Hill. Reps. Floyd Spence (R-S.C.) and Rep. James V. Hansen (R-Utah) are sponsoring legislation to delay all the 1995 base closings, not just some, until 1997.

The Washington Post, May 4, 1994

Base-closing rounds in 1988, 1991 and 1993 resulted in orders to close 1 bases. Secretary of Defense William J. Perry has said the 1995 round of closings will be as large as the three previous rounds combined.

"It is unfair to subject many additional communities to the ravages of the base closure process without more" study of the costs and savings, Spence a Hansen wrote colleagues three weeks ago.

Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-Okla.) told the Associated Press that Pentagon officials have held private discussions with lawmakers about delaying the process.

"On the political level, it probably would be very popular to delay," McCurdy said. "Any time we can delay pain, whether it's going to the dentist or cutting the budget, we will do that."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, JOHN M. DEUTCH

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: May 4, 1994

kinship rather than ethnic membership, emerging market economy and democratic institutions, and a centrist government headed by president Kiro Gligorov, widely regarded as one of the most able heads of state in Europe. Under Mr. Gligorov's leadership Macedonia has emerged as the only republic of the former Yugoslavia to have avoided post-independence bloodshed and contributed to the security of the region.

Among Macedonia's urgent problems is the Greek embargo and the further destabilization that could occur if ultranationalist Serbs make a military drive into Kosovo. This possibility has been welcomed by the newly formed radical-separatist wing of the Party for Democratic

Progress, whose members are ethnic Albanians, and by the Democratic Party of Serbs. Both of these Macedonian parties have threatened civil disobedience and demonstrations prior to elections in November. The Macedonian Albanian minority, and Albania itself, have threatened to intervene if Belgrade launches a crackdown on Kosovo. If such occurs, there is a strong likelihood that Greece, Bulgaria, and Turkey would also intervene in the conflict.

Clinton should have made clear American opposition to Papandreu's policies and, by announcing the establishment of full diplomatic relations, that the US will

tolerate policies that threaten interest in maintaining and strengthening Macedonia's independence and stability. Unfortunately, that responsibility was passed on to the UN and Mr. Vance.

Meanwhile, domestic special interests and the Greek-American lobby continue to drive US foreign policy at a time when Macedonia's stability and independence are critical for averting disaster in the Southern Balkans.

■ William N. Dunn is a professor at the University of Pittsburgh's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs.

Rocky Mountain News

May 4, 1994

Pg. 8

FORT CARSON FUTURE IN DOUBT AS CLOSURES LOOM IN 1995

FORT RILEY AND SPRINGS POST ARE LIKELY TARGETS AS ARMY PREPARES TO CUT DIVISIONS, SCHROEDER SAYS

By JOHN BRINKLEY,
Rocky Mountain News Washington Bureau

(WASHINGTON) — The future of Fort Carson, Colorado's largest employer, is in jeopardy, Sen. Hank Brown, R-Colo., said Tuesday.

"On Fort Carson, clearly you have a problem," Brown said. "The Army's going to reduce by two divisions and it's got to figure out where to take them from." If Fort Carson in Colorado Springs goes, it may take Fitzsimons Army Medical Center in Aurora with it, he said.

However, "I'm convinced if

it's on merit, Fort Carson will survive," Brown said, referring to the Army's procedure for deciding which bases to propose for closure in 1995. "By most objective standards, it'll survive."

The Defense Department is scheduled to undertake its third and perhaps final round of military base closures next year.

Jim Courier, outgoing chairman of the commission that will examine the Pentagon's choices, told Brown this will be "the mother of all base closings - it'll be more than all the rest of them combined," Brown said. A total of 103 facilities were ordered closed in 1988, '91 and '93.

Fort Carson is home to the 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized), a 12,000-troop fighting force equipped with

helicopters, tanks and artillery. That makes it one of the Army's "heavy" divisions.

"We are hearing that what they are liable to cut is the heavier divisions," Brown said. However, "you hear all sorts of things," he said. "The heavier divisions involve more men and cost more. And at the same time, they'll say, 'Well, (they're) more effective' than the lighter ones."

In its post-Cold War downsizing, the Army has deactivated four divisions and plans to eliminate two more.

There are two mechanized divisions in the same part of the country - the 4th and the 1st Infantry Division (Mechanized) at Fort Riley, Kan.

Rep. Pat Schroeder, D-Colo., a member of the House Armed Services Committee, said she

expects the Army will close one of those.

Rep. Joel Hefley, R-Colo., who represents Colorado Springs, said he had spoken at length with Pentagon officials and "I'm still getting the same message - that the Army does not want to cut Carson."

Based on that, he said, he was "encouraged, but I would not dispute what Brown said. I am at all assured that it will survive."

There has been talk the Pentagon and in Congress of putting off the 1995 base closures until 1996 or 1997 - or of going ahead with the 1995 round, adding a fourth one in 1997.

Brown said he would oppose delaying the 1995 closures because "there is clearly not enough money to fund what we currently commit ourselves to."

The Sacramento Bee

May 4, 1994

Pg. B1

FOOD PROGRAM ENLISTS ARMY DEPOT

Location switch will allow statewide group to feed many more of needy

By Nancy Weaver
Bee Staff Writer

The Sacramento Army Depot may be closing its doors, but it is opening its heart to the hungry.

A statewide program that provides nearly 15 million pounds of donated food to the hungry each year will be able to feed many more by moving into a

vacated warehouse at the depot.

Officials with California Emergency Foodlink say the money saved on new storage facilities will be used to expand their program, which feeds 60,000 people each month in the Sacramento area.

The cold-storage and warehouse facilities will be used as a distribution center for much more fresh, perishable produce to local and statewide charities that feed the hungry.

"It's going to be a big advantage for the agencies feeding

hungry people," said Emily Katz with Emergency Foodlink. "The repercussions are tremendous throughout the state."

Foodlink salvages fresh produce from farmers and packing houses across the state and transports the food to food closets. Last year, 7 million pounds of fresh produce was salvaged with little cold storage available.

Katz said the new facilities will mean that two to four times the current amount of fresh fruits and vegetables can be collected.

"We've just begun to scrape

the surface of what is available," she said.

The new facilities also will handle storage for the U.S. government commodities program for 28 Northern California counties and the Sacramento Area Community Kitchen, which collects unused food from local restaurants. Another program to feed the hungry - Operation Santa Claus - had faced eviction with the closure of the depot. But the program, which distributes to needy families, will be able to

Some base closures may wait until after '96 vote

By John Diamond
Associated Press

The Clinton administration is considering delaying some military base closure decisions until after the 1996 election.

A senior Pentagon official, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said a 1997 base closure round could be added, softening the impact of next year's scheduled round. And Rep. Dave McCurdy, Oklahoma Democrat and chairman of a House Armed Services subcommittee overseeing base closings, confirmed yesterday that Pentagon officials have

privately discussed the proposal.

"On the political level, it probably would be very popular to delay," said Mr. McCurdy. "Any time we can delay pain, whether it's going to the dentist or cutting the budget, we will do that."

Beyond that, however, is the impact base closings before the 1996 election would have on President Clinton.

Rep. James V. Hansen, Utah Republican, said Mr. Clinton would be committing political suicide to cut bases and slash defense jobs across the country before his 1996 re-election bid. Base closings ordered to date will eventually elim-

inate about 150,000 military and civilian positions, according to the most recent Pentagon estimate.

Mr. Hansen takes the question a step further with his bill to put off the 1995 round entirely until 1997. He has 30 co-sponsors for his bill.

The uniformed military, hoping to free funds for new weapons programs, opposes any delay in base closings and is arguing within the administration against the proposal.

If Mr. Clinton decides to seek an additional round in 1997, he will need congressional approval. A key factor driving the administration is the expectation that next

year's closure list would deliver a major blow to the nation's bases and the communities that depend on them.

Based on Pentagon estimates, the 1995 base closings, coming a year before Mr. Clinton is up for re-election, could equal the binned impact of base closure rounds in 1988, 1991 and 1993. They resulted in orders to 103 major bases.

The senior Pentagon official described an atmosphere of apprehension in military communities awaiting the Pentagon recommendations early next year.

WASHINGTON POST

May 4, 1994

Pg. 10

New Navy Chief Vows No Repeat of Tailhook

By John F. Harris
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Navy's new top officer said yesterday a repeat of the Tailhook sexual assault scandal "simply would not be tolerated" under his watch, and he vowed to speed up the integration of women on combat ships to show commitment to equal opportunity.

Adm. Jeremy M. "Mike" Boorda, after 10 days as chief of naval operations, said he has asked top officers to move faster in putting women in combat roles on surface ships and to study whether they should be allowed on submarines—which under current plans are to remain all-male.

"The goal is all ships; the goal is everything," Boorda told a gathering of reporters.

Boorda, the first person to rise from enlisted ranks to become the Navy's top officer, said his service deserved much of the bruising it took after a 1991 convention of naval aviators turned into a carnival of drunken and lewd behavior and generated complaints by numerous women.

"It's no secret that we've been battered about pretty good, and it's no secret that there was some pretty bad stuff to better us about," Boorda said.

But he said the increased awareness of sexual harassment and equality issues has made a repeat of the Tailhook episode inconceivable.

"I don't think another Tailhook is possible in this Navy," Boorda said. "I think our culture is different now."

"Something like that would simply not be tolerated," Boorda said. "I don't think that, I know that."

While Boorda's remarks were calculated to signal a new era in the Navy's treatment of women, he took pains not to criticize his predecessor. Adm. Frank B. Kelso II's tenure was

marked by turmoil over Tailhook, which dogged him until his retirement last month.

Last week, after an impassioned debate, the Senate voted narrowly to let Kelso retire with four stars and full retirement pay, rejecting arguments from some senators that he should be held accountable for the episode.

Boorda said he was pleased with the way the Senate voted. Kelso "did a lot of really great stuff for the Navy, on the very subjects he was being criticized for," Boorda said, noting that his predecessor implemented the new

procedures for investigating and punishing sexual harassment.

Boorda, 55, has followed a remarkable, four-decade career path unique in Navy history. He joined the service at age 16—he admits sheepishly that he lied about his age to be enlisted—and became an officer six years later, soon serving tours in the Vietnam War.

His most recent assignment, commander of NATO forces in southern Europe, made him the top military official in the allied effort to protect United Nations peacekeepers in Bos-

nia.

But Boorda said he believed it was an earlier assignment, as the Navy's top personnel officer 1988 to 1991, that caused him to be tapped for his new job. "I think I have a reputation for caring about people," he said.

Boorda said the Navy's effort fully to accommodate women was already well underway, but he believes it can take place faster. Nine combat ships are scheduled to carry women this year, and about 30 within three years.

Submarines are one place women are not scheduled to go, in part because of the difficulty and expense of refitting the vessels to accommodate both sexes. Boorda said he supports more study to see how and when the change might be achieved.

LOS ANGELES TIMES (WASH. ED.)

May 3, 1994

Pg. B-1

Contamination by Explosives Delays Base Conversions

■ Military: At least five California facilities are plagued with unexploded munitions.

By RICHARD C. PADDOCK
Times Staff Writer

SEASIDE, Calif.—Widespread contamination of military bases with unexploded hand grenades, land mines and other munitions is delaying conversion of bases to civilian use and could cost taxpayers billions of dollars to clean up, government officials said Monday.

Unexploded ordnance, left over from

decades of military target practice, is such a safety threat that large tracts of land transferred to public use will remain closed off for years, experts testified at a hearing of the House Natural Resources Committee in Seaside.

At least five California bases slated closure are plagued with unexploded munitions, including nearby Ft. Ord, where at least 8,000 acres of coastal land will have to be set aside indefinitely.

"This is an issue that's been kept very quiet because it's been in the military's hands," said Rep. George Miller (D-Maryland), committee chairman. "All of a sudden, we have a major contamination problem on our hands."

At least 600 military bases nationwide are strewn with unexploded ordnance, said Lewis D. Walker, a deputy assistant secretary of defense. For bases that are being closed, the problem of removing live munitions looms as large and as costly as cleaning up toxic contamination, he said.

"We can't hide from the fact that many of these projectiles have our markings on them," Walker said. "We can't hide from our responsibility."

EXPLOSIVE...Pg. 11

LEVEL 1 - 52 OF 85 STORIES

Copyright 1994 Denver Publishing Company
Rocky Mountain News

March 26, 1994, Saturday

SECTION: NEWS/NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL; Ed. F; Pg.40A

LENGTH: 494 words

HEADLINE: LEGISLATIVE
Base closing delay sought

BYLINE: Rob Reuteman; Rocky Mountain News National Editor

BODY:

A battle is brewing to delay until 1997 the round of military base closures now slated for next year. A bipartisan group of House Armed Services Committee members contends that the process is moving too far, too fast, and that the government may actually lose money in closing the 60 major and 104 minor bases that Congress has voted to shutter since 1988. Including the administration's spending request for fiscal 1995, more than \$ 9 billion has been allocated to close the unneeded bases. The presumed savings have yet to materialize, critics say.

EXECUTIVE

Coverage for abortions
The Clinton administration told states anew Friday that their Medicaid programs must pay for abortions for poor women who are victims of rape or incest. "State law impediments cannot stand in the way of an individual's entitlement under a state's Medicaid program to medically necessary services, including abortions," wrote Sally K. Richardson, director of the federal Medicaid Bureau. The letter said states must bring their plans into compliance by March 31 or face federal procedures to bring them into line. Several states, including Utah and Colorado, have disputed an earlier notice by the administration that a 1995 change in law requires Medicaid to pay for abortions for poor victims of rape or incest.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

U.S. appeals to Vance
Secretary of State Warren Christopher has asked a predecessor critical of the administration's China policy to reinforce the U.S. push for progress on human rights when he visits Beijing. State Department spokesman Mike McCurry said former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance called Christopher as a courtesy to inform him of the trip, which was described as private. Christopher "indicated that it would be helpful if Secretary Vance could convey the message that we conveyed directly to the Chinese, that it's important to make progress on human rights issues," McCurry said.

POSTAL

Better service a priority
Priority mail is improving but isn't yet up to the level where the post office can guarantee delivery times in ads, Postmaster General Marvin Runyon says. A

Rocky Mountain News, March 26, 1994

ad campaign offering two-day delivery for \$ 2.90 was dropped a year ago after senators criticized the service for not meeting performance promises. There wasn't a service guarantee, but some said the ads implied one.

GRAPHIC: Illustration
Cyrus Vance.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE-MDC: April 8, 1994