

White House Staff Secretary

Chron Files

Box 8

January 31, 2000 through March 3, 2000

April 23, 2000 through May 1, 2000

White House Staff Secretary

Chron Files

Box 1

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments #

21406

December 12, 1999 through December 31, 1999

NARA 18590

January 1, 2000 through January 17, 2000

Box 2

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments #

21407

June 13, 2000 through June 15, 2000

NARA 18591

July 29, 2000 through August 9, 2000

August 13, 2000 through August 18, 2000

November 7, 2000 through November 28, 2000

Box 3

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments #

21408

August 13, 2000 through August 31, 2000

NARA 18592

May 14, 2000 through May 20, 2000

May 23, 2000 through June 5, 2000

July 1, 2000

August 19, 2000

Box 4

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments #

21409

August 20, 2000 through September 30, 2000

NARA 18593

Box 5

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments #

NARA 18594
21410

Staff Daily Briefing Books

Staff Trip Books

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments #

21411 NARA
18595

Box 6

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments #

21412

May 2, 2000 through May 12, 2000

NARA 18596

October 24, 2000 through November 2, 2000

March 13, 2000 through March 18, 2000

January 18, 2000 through January 30, 2000

Box 7

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments #

21413

Daily Schedules of the President from

NARA 18597

February 1998 through October 1998

Box 8

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments #

21414

January 31, 2000 through March 3, 2000

NARA 18598

April 23, 2000 through May 1, 2000

Box 9

March 4, 2000 through March 12, 2000

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments # 21415

March 20, 2000 through April 22, 2000

NARA 18599

Box 10

July 2, 2000 through July 28, 2000

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments # 21416

June 6, 2000 through June 12, 2000

NARA 18600

June 16, 2000 through June 30, 2000

Box 11

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments # 21417

November 29, 2000 through December 11, 2000

NARA 18601

✓
copied
Hennreich

Puss in

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 31, 2000

Meghan Johnson
Post Office Box 967
Richmond, Kentucky 40476

Dear Meghan:

I loved your poem! What a sweet gift in honor
of my State of the Union address. It meant a
lot to me.

Thanks, too, for the great photo and card.
Give my best to your family -- and to Pi and
Bill.

Sincerely,

Bill



Meghan Johnson
Post Office Box 967
Richmond, Kentucky 40476

Meghan Johnson

P. O. Box 967 ~ Richmond, KY 40476 ~ USA
Email kjohnson@iclub.org



January 17, 2000

President Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, DC 20502

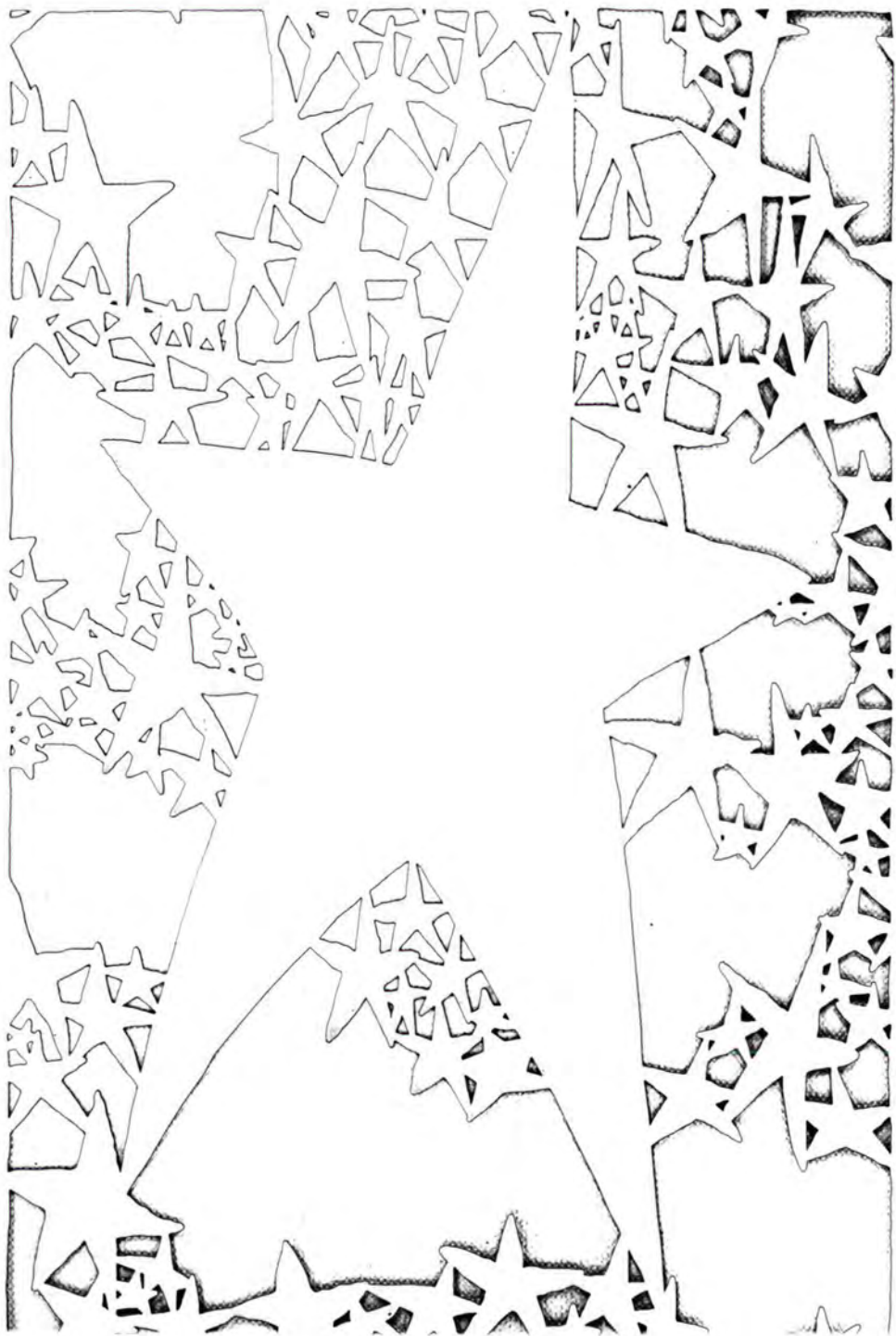
Dear President Clinton,

I hope you really liked my poem for you. It was something I wanted to do because I know how important your last State of The Union Address is to you. I designed the background on my computer and only needed help rhyming, peace and achieve. Even mom didn't fuss about the last line of the poem, because finding a rhyme for Clinton was even too hard for her! Plus, what I wrote is how I really feel about things. Since this is a such a special speech, I knew you'd get tons of telegrams from very important people all over the world. But since I'm your only real pen pal, I knew no one else could write you a poem about that!

There were lots of times last year that I'd see your friends on t.v. helping you and I never got a chance to do that. I wanted so much to just call up those House members and tell them how very wrong they were. But mom explained to me that I could be a friend in other better ways. So, here are the things I would say if I could get up on Jan. 27th and speak to everyone listening. But instead, I'll be watching on t.v. with, mom and dad and Pi, and of course **"Bill the Fish."** And I will be so proud!! But not just for all of your accomplishments but because you never lost your kind heart when others were trying to destroy it. And I think that's the best legacy anyone could ever hope to have!!

Your forever friend
and pen pal,

Meghan ☺





If I Could Give The State of the Union **Address**

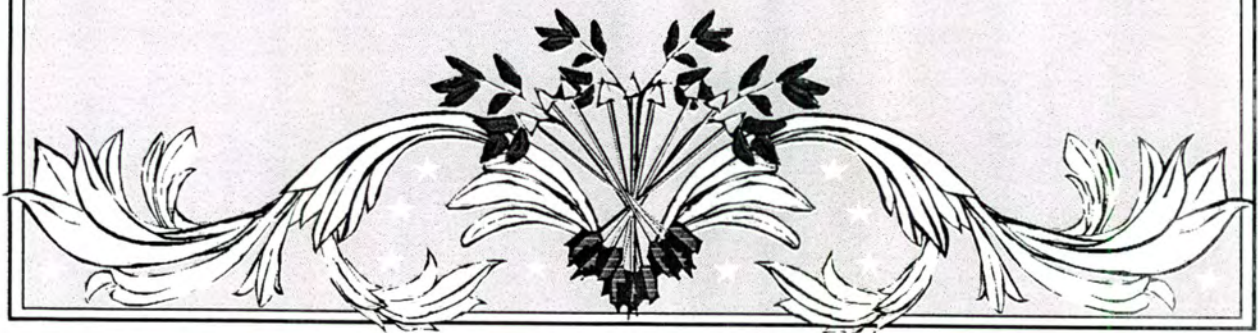
By: Meghan Johnson
January 27, 2000





Dedicated to:

*President Bill Clinton:
The best President and pen pal
a kid could ever have*





If I Could Give the State of the Union Address

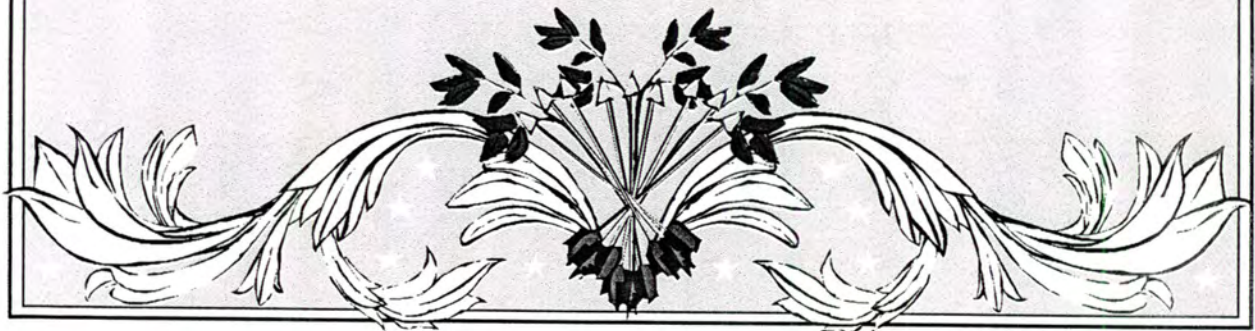
By: Meghan Johnson
January 27, 2000

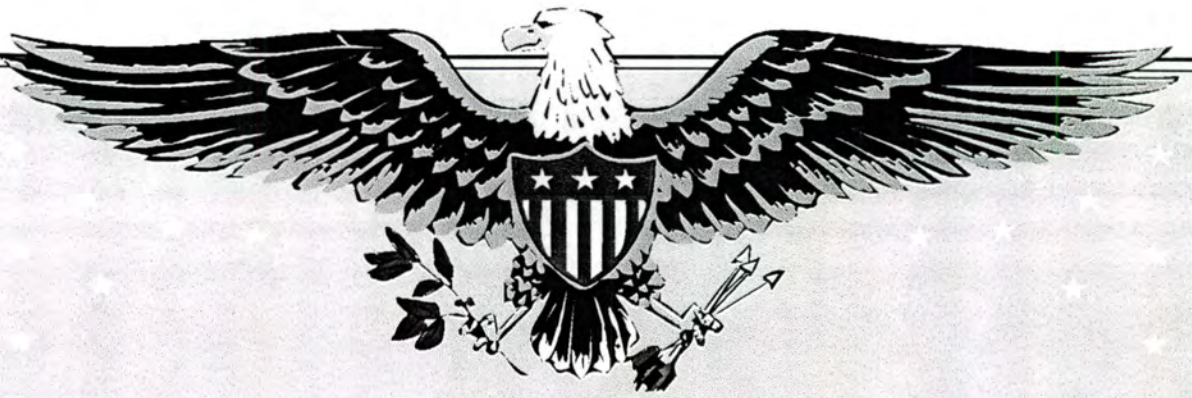
*The State of the Union
Lets our country know,
What direction we've taken
And where we will go.*

*We hear from our President
What goals he has met,
And about all of the dreams
That haven't come yet.*

*Is the economy strong?
Is our country at peace?
Are too many still poor?
Is there more to achieve?*

*But if I could address
The nation as well,
I'd have a very different
Story to tell!*





*The story you'd hear
And the one that I'd tell,
Would be about a President
Who has a pen pal.*

*A pen pal who knew
Right from the start,
That this leader and President
Had a kind heart.*

*A President who answered
Every letter she wrote,
About all of her dreams
And all of her hopes.*

*A President for a pen pal
Is a dream she can't believe still,
And he couldn't believe it
When she named her fish, "Bill!"*





*When she asked him a favor
For her dying friend,
He wasn't too busy
To lend out his hand.*

*So when the slings and the arrows
Came toward her friend,
It was her turn to smile
And lend him her hand.*

*And that's how it's been
For over three years,
Through all the letters and visits
The laughter and tears.*

*It's quite an incredible story.
So, believe what you will,
About my pen pal, the President
Who in my heart is just, "Bill."*



January 24, 2000

MEMORANDUM

1-31-00

To: The President
From: Nancy Hernreich
Mary Morrison
Re: Brian Greenspun

Brian called today and would like to talk to before the State of the Union Address. He wants to talk to you about the Teaching Academy in Henderson, NV – which he mentioned in his last letter.

He is in Los Angeles, CA this week and can be reached on his cell phone:
702-303-7777

Reed
Have we responded
to Aaron Greenspun
yet - Pk need action
Do reply for him

copied
Reed
Podesta
Burkhardt
(original for
reply)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 1.14.00

To: REED

From: The Staff Secretary

ANY COMMENT?

SEAN →

IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO
PROMISE ONE OF THESE TEACHING
ACADEMIES TO ANY PARTICULAR
STATE (LIKE NEVADA). WE HAVE
A PROPOSAL IN THE BUDGET FOR
REGIONAL ACADEMIES FOR PRINCIPALS,
BUT NOTHING LIKE THIS FOR
TEACHERS. -BRUCE

VEGAS SUN

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

01-17-00

BRIAN L. GREENSPUN, President
800 S. VALLEY VIEW BLVD., LAS VEGAS, NV 8910
702-259-4003

January 3, 2000

The President

To Legume

Do you agree w/ this

PR

Copied

Cutler

Podesta

P.O. Box 4275
LAS VEGAS, NV 89127-0275
FAX: 702-259-4143

fax (202) 456-6703

Year's Eve – at the
kind of commitment
memories.

sea – together with a
e of my old sayings,
the White House!"
friendship.

It would not be like me if I did not follow up on two conversations so...the first is Mike O'Callaghan. As a reminder, I am enclosing the letter he wrote to you before Christmas. It makes the case for what you agreed should at least be a meeting with his people to discuss his situation. I do not see a downside to meeting and, should you decide a pardon is in order; there are many good and humanitarian reasons to do so.

The second matter is the potential of a federal/state academic institution for teachers and administrators, which can be built in Henderson. The state has agreed to create a college and the direction it takes is still to be determined. The new president of the school, Dr. Richard Moore, and its backers are in favor of such a teaching academy as well as Governor Kenny Guinn who sees this as an opportunity to lead the nation in elevating teaching in this country. I took the liberty of mentioning the idea to Secretary Riley who seemed to like it – amidst the confetti and fireworks, that is.

As you will read in Dr. Moore's memo to you (I gave it to Mary M. last week), the timing could be perfect, given the upcoming State of the Union and your desire to emphasize your commitment to education. Please let me know what we need to do to get this fast tracked as good ideas like this have a way of spilling out and getting lost in the political landscape. That should not happen on this one.

1-14-00

00 JAN 14 PM 3:28

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. President

The attached letter asks that you meet with representatives of the Navajo Nation regarding the commutation petition of Peter MacDonald.

Our office wanted to make sure you are aware of two things:

- ① We have met on at least 2 occasions in the last two years (and more before that) with advocates for Mr. MacDonald, including Kelsey Begaye; and
- ② We do not think it is the right time to have such a meeting. We have previously recommended that you deny the petition (as we discussed in a recent meeting with you) and we are investigating whether he can be transferred to a facility closer to the Navajo Reservation.

Meredith L. Cox

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

01-17-00

LAS VEGAS SUN

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

01-17-00

BRIAN L. GREENSPUN, President
800 S. VALLEY VIEW BLVD., LAS VEGAS, NV 89107-4411
702-259-4003

P.O. Box 4275
LAS VEGAS, NV 89127-0275
FAX: 702-259-4143

January 3, 2000

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Telefax (202) 456-6703

Dear Mr. President,

What a fabulous way for my family and so many others to spend New Year's Eve – at the White House and on the Mall at the Lincoln Memorial. I know that kind of commitment is not easy, so thanks to you and Hillary for the warm and wondrous memories.

We also had a delightful, albeit lazy, day with you, Hillary and Chelsea – together with a roomful of young Stanford fans on Saturday. It fit perfectly with one of my old sayings, "If you are going to waste a day away, you might as well do it at the White House!" Thank you very much for your hospitality and, more importantly, your friendship.

It would not be like me if I did not follow up on two conversations so...the first is Mike O'Callaghan. As a reminder, I am enclosing the letter he wrote to you before Christmas. It makes the case for what you agreed should at least be a meeting with his people to discuss his situation. I do not see a downside to meeting and, should you decide a pardon is in order; there are many good and humanitarian reasons to do so.

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As you will read in Dr. Moore's memo to you (I gave it to Mary M. last week), the timing could be perfect, given the upcoming State of the Union and your desire to emphasize your commitment to education. Please let me know what we need to do to get this fast tracked as good ideas like this have a way of spilling out and getting lost in the political landscape. That should not happen on this one.

January 3, 2000

Page 2

President William J. Clinton

I will leave you now to the important work you are doing with every good wish from my family to yours and a special one for your efforts on behalf of the peace effort in the Middle East.

Looking forward to spending Y3K with you, I am

Your friend,



Brian

/Cr

Enc: one

LAS VEGAS SUN

800 South Valley View Blvd.
Las Vegas NV, 89107-4411
(702) 385-3111



MIKE O'CALLAGHAN,
EXECUTIVE EDITOR & CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

P.O. Box 3904
Las Vegas, NV 89127-3904
FAX: (702) 383-7264

December 9, 1999

Nancy Hernreich
Deputy Assistant to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20008

Mr. President:

Despite my several decades of public service this is the first time I have made a request of our nation's chief executive.

Because of the support of several great Americans, including our mutual friend the late Barry Goldwater, you are aware of the plight of former Navajo leader Peter MacDonald. Its time for him to return to his people and be released from a federal prison.

I ask you to take time during the Christmas season to meet with Navajo President Kelsey A. Begaye and some of MacDonald's fellow Navajo Code Talker veterans. Please allow them the opportunity to personally tell you about Peter.

Mr. President, your personal attention to this humanitarian act would be deeply appreciated by good people often overlooked in our fast moving, high-tech and urbanized society.

Thank you,

Mike O'Callaghan
Executive Editor
Chairman of the Board
Las Vegas Sun

MO/sd

COMMUNITY COLLEGE of SOUTHERN NEVADA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT



MEMORANDUM

TO: William Jefferson Clinton, President, United States of America

FROM: Richard Moore, Founding President Elect, Nevada State College *Richard*

DATE: December 30, 1999

SUBJECT: An Idea for America

United States Teaching Academy (USTA)
a federal/state partnership with the
Nevada State Teaching Academy (NSTA)

Background:

It has been in the national interest for America to professionally educate and train its young people for leadership in the military arts. America's constitution recognized the need to provide for a common defense and the United States Government has since then established a "service academy" for the Army (1802), the Navy (1845), the Coast Guard (1876), our Merchant Marine (1943), and more recently, the Air Force (1954). Selection of young people for admission to these academies has incorporated both the rigor of academic standards and a nomination process from the Congress of the United States.

The graduates of our academies are reflected in the greatness of many of our military leaders -- men like Marshall, Eisenhower, MacArthur, and Nimitz serve as examples of exceptional WWII military leaders--one of whom became President of the United States of America.

National Need:

"We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare of America, ..." need to attract and prepare the best and brightest of our people for service as teaching professionals in America's

schools, be they kindergarten teachers or high school science teachers. America's corp of teaching professionals deserves a cadre of teachers, prepared under a federal/state partnership to set the standards for excellence and sustain the highest quality of teaching. The general welfare of America deserves nothing less and the 21st Century calls upon America for leadership in the preparation of teachers. As Professor David Drew of the Claremont Graduate University wrote - "teaching is our first line of defense against a dangerous enemy - ignorance."

Officially, this federal/state partnership reflects a "federal interest" to "promote the general Welfare of America" combined with the "state responsibility" to prepare the teachers of our youth.

Timing:

President Kennedy challenged America with his vision of a Peace Corps. It is time in America's history that you challenge America to help craft and prepare great teachers, through the formation of a national/state partnership -- the United States Teaching Academy (USTA) and Nevada State Teaching Academy (NSTA).

A federal/state teaching academy needs to be founded now, with the idea in mind that this is but the first of several federal/state academies, and that eventually there may be five to ten federal/state teaching academies throughout America. Let the pilot academy be located in Southern Nevada (Henderson) and then have this model be the template for the 21st Century for our nation to found additional academies as the need and experiences dictate.

Action:

As President of the United States, you should in your State of the Union speech request that Congress authorize and fund a national teaching academy (USTA) and that Congress then should nominate the youth of their respective districts for cadet membership.

Values:

The United States Teaching Academy should be an institution founded in the liberal arts with its core principles centered in the mastery of student discovery and student learning. Its graduates should prove first their own competencies per federal/state standards and then demonstrate teaching proficiencies in school districts throughout America.

What characterizes this field of study is a passion for ideas, an understanding that risk-taking is a prerequisite for change, and a recognition that values permeate all of ones actions. The belief structure is centered around a learning

environment which is:

- Rooted in the humanities; celebrating and exploring the contributions, values and ethics of different civilizations; across time, within individual and collective lives. (The Humanities)
- Trusting in the nonpredictability of the entrepreneurial spirit; accepting in each person responsibility for both private and public entrepreneurial leadership. (Entrepreneurial Leadership)
- Celebrating the role and power of immigrant lives, the inherent richness of native peoples, and confluence of the merged yet distinct new generations of ethnic and cultural groups. (Cultural Richness)
- Understanding that learning and the acquiring of knowledge has much to do about "discovery and risk taking" and little to do with rote memorization; believing that directed conversations, forums, convocations, rituals and private reflection are the at root elements which describe a rich learning environment within the institution we call the United States Teaching Academy. (Discovery and Colloquiums)
- Grounded in the understanding that the preparation of professionals is best accomplished when "working in the field," associating and interning directly with the professionals; and, that from these apprenticeships each new professional adds their own unique perspective. (Field Work)

Secondary Mission:

In addition, the nation needs a teaching academy which in the summer months serves as a host for in-service programs designed for teachers currently engaged in the profession. Directed colloquiums reflecting the most recent advances in science and technology need to be interspersed with shared teaching experiences by identified master teachers in America. This secondary goal would then be to sustain the vitalization of teachers in the practice of education.

Implementation:

This idea first needs a vision statement incorporating the lifetime thinking of yourself and Secretary Riley. Both of you have visited the nation's urban and rural communities over these past seven years and know first hand the need for more and better prepared teachers. Your 1999 major new initiatives for the U.S. Department of Education called for both state standards and "talented, dedicated and well-prepared teacher(s)." Here is the model for the nation to follow.

Second, you will need a state partner. I am pleased to report that Governor

Kenny Guinn of the State of Nevada would be honored to work with you to implement a national/state teaching academy. Fortunately, Nevada is considering founding its first state college (to be located in Henderson, Nevada, opening perhaps in Fall, 2001). The value of associating with an institution of higher education, not yet opened nor fully defined, is that there are no biases and entrenched points of view which might need "adjusting" to fit a new national model. Two entities - a federal government and a state government founding together a joint new academy to help transform America.

The obvious teaching laboratory for appropriate teaching internships would be the fastest growing school district in America, the Clark County School District. It is here that "field based," programs would be conducted. Each summer the National Teaching Academy cadets would intern at their home states.

Funding:

Funding for the USTA should come from the federal government and private foundations and for NSTA and its Nevada students, funding should come from the State of Nevada. Following the model of the three primary military academies, the USTA would enroll 1,000 cadets each year and each would receive room, board, and tuition paid for by the federal government. The State of Nevada would also hope to have 1,000 "cadets" each year and state funds would meet tuition costs with private funds to pay for room and board.

Again, following the model of military service for academy graduate, each Teaching Academy graduate would be under contract to work as a teaching professional in their home state for a minimum of four (4) years.

The faculty for the teaching academy should be composed of a core set of permanent scholars and a cadre of rotated academic professionals from the leading colleges and universities in America; and in addition, the element that provides specific focus to this endeavor, master teachers from the local Clark County School District (ensuring field-based experiences). A Board of Visitors should be established to set guidelines and review performance results, wherein both you and the state governor would nominate the members of this joint committee.

Mistakes Avoided:

Recent Carnegie and Ford Foundation studies on schools of education suggest that presidents of State Colleges and Universities ought not to view their education schools as having the sole responsibility for the preparing of new teachers. Where possible, the president should direct faculties of the other disciplines (sciences, humanities, technologies) to share in this work. In the founding of a national/state teaching academy, it is possible that every person

hired, be they in the English department, chemistry department, or computing sciences, have as their prime responsibility to work with the field-based education faculty to insure subject matter competencies and teaching appropriate skills. The challenge. . . that graduates have mastered core subject information, and secondly, that they have gained the experiences necessary to assist young people to discover, not memorize, the body of knowledge we call civilization.

To ensure quality, there would be high admissions standards and periodic performance tests requiring each student to demonstrate his or her mastery of core information and knowledge ("arthemis tests" to national standards). Those who do not satisfactorily pass such examinations, might be offered a program of remediation, but the passing of such remediation course should not take the place of an individual passing an examination for perhaps the second time, a test of core information and knowledge. The Teaching Academy would not be founded on the completion of courses but on the mastery gained of knowledge, the demonstrated ability to find information and the understanding of the power of discovery (versus note taking and memorization).

Starting Point:

Every person living in America has at some point in their life spent time with a great teacher (be it their grandmother, a neighbor or a professional educator). It is this unique connection that empowers the hope for greatness in our teaching profession and inspires our nation's youth to join the profession of teaching. The United States Teaching Academy is the catalyst for insuring that those who first felt the power of great teachers can themselves become a great teacher.

Action:

You announce in your State of the Union Address the formation of the first United States Teaching Academy, to be located in Southern Nevada and to be co-implemented with the to be commissioned Nevada State College.

RM:jt

cc: Kenny Guinn, Governor, State of Nevada
Jill Derby, Chair, Board of Regents, University and Community College System
of Nevada
Brian Greenspun, Publisher/Entrepreneur



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

'00 JAN 31 PM 5:12

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

January 28, 2000

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am submitting my resignation to you effective Friday, February 11, 2000.

It has been a privilege to serve you and Secretaries Bentsen, Rubin and Summers. Having started with your Administration on its first day in January 1993, the past seven years have been the most exciting and rewarding years of my professional career. I am truly honored to have had the opportunity to work on some of your most important accomplishments, starting with the 1993 economic plan.

I am resigning my position for unavoidable personal reasons. I will always be extremely proud of the service I gave to my country and to you.

Respectfully submitted,

Linda L. Robertson

Linda L. Robertson

Assistant Secretary for Legislative
Affairs and Public Liaison

1/31/00

Send to Burkhardt
Yes ☒

No ☐

cc: Clerks ☒
CWJ

F

1-31-00

*Don't see
reply for
and to sign!*

MR. CLINTON

1-31-00

After you have
seen, we will send
to Burkhardt for reply -

BC SIG

Carl 

1-31-00

ANYTHING IS POSSIBLE

Anything is possible, just take a look-
Nuclear war will no longer be a threat.
Yellowstone Park will be full of wildlife.
Target will make its way to Quincy.
Homeless people will have homes.
Ice-cream will be the main course!
Neptune will be a vacation spot.
Gasoline will be 32 cents a gallon.

Ivory will be plentiful.
Stress will not exist.

Pigs *will* fly!
Oceans will be clean.
Strep throat will no longer be a sickness.
Smoking? What's that?
Illinois will have a Disneyworld!
Brothers and sisters will not fight.
Lawns will always be green.
Everyone will have plenty of food.

Amy Wentura
2812 Maine - Quincy IL 62301
217-222-5145

2nd grade

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 28, 2000

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-31-00

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed
Eric Liu

copied
entire report
Reed
Liu
Podesta

SUBJECT: DPC Weekly Report

1. **Welfare – Second Chance Homes.** At your request, and with OMB's help, the budget will include a proposal to target \$25 million of the \$75 million increase in the Social Services Block Grant for second chance homes. As you know, states already can use TANF funds for these purposes, and in designing this proposal we considered limiting eligibility only to states that have spent all their TANF funds. But because state spending patterns vary from quarter to quarter, we decided against including such a restriction.

2. **Health Care – Update on ARKids First.** Unless we object, HHS plans to deny Arkansas's request to allow parents of children eligible for Medicaid to choose the ARKids First benefit plan. This is a policy judgment by HHS, since the law allows flexibility. HHS argues, accurately, that granting the request would spur significant criticism from consumer advocates and would be inconsistent with Congress's explicit view when enacting CHIP that Medicaid eligibles should be enrolled in Medicaid, not CHIP. HHS also argues that granting the request would create a financial incentive to enroll Medicaid-eligible children in CHIP (because of the enhanced matching rate), and would lead poorly informed parents to enroll their children in a plan with fewer benefits and higher cost-sharing requirements than Medicaid. If HHS denies the request, Governor Huckabee and Amy Rossi are certain to raise strong objections. The Governor will promise to eliminate many existing barriers to Medicaid enrollment (with the exception of the assets test, which was implemented by Ray Hanley while you were Governor), by developing a joint application for both programs, eliminating the requirement for a face-to-face interview prior to enrollment, and applying the ARKids First label to both programs. You should know too that enforcement of an HHS denial would be very difficult, since Gov. Huckabee might simply refuse to comply. That would leave HHS no alternative but to impose a disallowance.

Podesta (BA)
we would
disallow

This would
be a relief
to all

3. **Health Care – Update on Gene Therapy.** Next Wednesday, the Senate Health Committee will hold a hearing on patient safety in gene therapy clinical trials. These hearings are in response to recent reports that researchers consistently ignored federal requirements to report patient deaths and adverse events to NIH and FDA. The Committee has asked that the Administration present specific information on the death of Jesse Gelsinger, the 18 year-old who died last year in a clinical trial at the University of Pennsylvania. As you may know, last week FDA shut down all human gene therapy experiments at the university after finding serious deficiencies and process breaches in the clinical trial involving Gelsinger. FDA and NIH are also considering additional action, including increasing the number of random inspections of clinical trials and making more public information about these trials.

1-31-00

4. Crime – Gun Licensing. The handgun licensing proposal you unveiled in the State of the Union has stirred prompt support from several Democratic members (and predictable doomsaying from the NRA). Senator Schumer, Rep. Lowey and Rep. Carolyn McCarthy have all expressed interest in working with us to develop legislation. In addition, several other members have already introduced, or are in the process of drafting, broader legislation that includes both licensing and registration. We are reviewing these proposals and will work with Congress and others to develop our plan in more detail.

5. Crime – Federal Law Enforcement Commission. We have learned that next Tuesday an independent commission will likely recommend that many functions of the ATF and DEA be merged into the FBI. The commission was created by the Antiterrorism and Death Penalty Act of 1996 and is headed by Judge William Webster, former FBI director. Secretary Summers and Attorney General Reno plan to release a joint statement in opposition to a merger.

6. Education – Update on Wintley Phipps. We are working with the scheduling office to find a date for you to visit Wintley Phipps's U.S. Dream Academy. We have also contacted the Secretaries' offices at the Departments of Labor, Education, and HHS to arrange briefings for Phipps on the grants that the Dream Academy might be eligible for, and we have put Phipps in touch with the office of D.C. Mayor Anthony Williams to discuss charter school possibilities.

7. Education – Special Education. On Tuesday, the National Council on Disability released a report claiming that federal efforts to enforce the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act have been inconsistent and ineffective over the course of several Administrations. The report acknowledges that Secretary Riley has been more aggressive than his predecessors in monitoring compliance and taking formal enforcement actions, but it also found that every state was, to some degree, out of compliance with IDEA requirements, and it charged that the Education Department has made very limited use of its authority to impose enforcement sanctions. The Department is working with NCD to identify areas for improvement.

8. Tobacco – Trends in Teen Smoking. Two recent reports indicate that teen smoking, after rising for many years, is now on the decline. First, a survey of 8th, 10th and 12th graders conducted by the University of Michigan showed modest declines in all three grades. Second, a national survey by the American Legacy Foundation found that 28.4 percent of 9th-12th graders smoked cigarettes, down from the 36.4 percent found by a different survey in 1997. These declines are not unexpected, given the price increases from the state settlement, but the data should bolster our case for the tobacco price increases proposed in our budget.

9. Tobacco – Canadian Cigarette Labels. Canadian health officials announced new rules last week requiring all tobacco product packaging to display graphic health warnings. The new warnings, which will occupy 50 percent of the front panel of cigarette packages, include color pictures of diseased lungs, hearts and other organs, and stern health messages ("every cigarette you smoke increases your chance of getting lung cancer"). As you may recall, current U.S. law requires a set of four health warnings on the sides of packages and on advertising. We have supported still stronger labels, with more direct text messages occupying 25 percent of both sides of the packaging. Senator Durbin and Representative Hansen plan to introduce bills requiring warnings like Canada's, but such legislation is unlikely to move in this Congress.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-31-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 28, 2000

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROGER BALLENTINE 

RE: OFFICE OF ENVIRONMENTAL INITIATIVES WEEKLY

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Podesta

Climate Change

Press, Science and Industry

Royal Dutch Shell intends to launch an internal market emissions trading plan to combat climate change and promote energy efficiency, the *Financial Times* (1/27) reported. Shell plans to reduce its businesses' carbon emissions 2 percent annually, in a move that "underlines a growing trend among companies keen to use emissions trading as a means to improve their environmental performance."

The *Christian Science Monitor* (1/24) ran a long article this week detailing the movement by many businesses away from the anti-Kyoto lobbying group and toward recognition of their climate change responsibility: "[b]ig business, once the big enemy of efforts to curb global warming, is now embracing initiatives to reduce the amount of fossil fuels pumped into the atmosphere."

 A glowing review of Toyota's hybrid car, the Prius, ran in *The Washington Post* this week (1/27): "I have driven the future . . . this is a car to change habits and attitudes in a lasting way." Your bioenergy tax credit plan received positive coverage by the *Associated Press*, under the headline "Clinton Wants Green Fuel Tax Credit."

Miscellaneous

I enclose for you a copy of *Cool Companies – How the Best Businesses Boost Profits and Productivity by Cutting Greenhouse Gas Emissions* -- by former Energy Department official Joseph Romm. The book reinforces your oft-stated principle that companies need not sacrifice growth in order to cut emissions.

cc: The Vice President
John Podesta
George Frampton

Book in
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-31-00

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 28, 2000

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Mickey Ibarra

SUBJECT: Office of Intergovernmental Affairs Weekly Report – January 24-28, 2000

AMTRAK

On January 24, IGA and Karen Tramontano hosted a meeting with former Governor Mike Dukakis to discuss Amtrak funding. Governor Dukakis is enormously pleased with your decision to fully fund Amtrak, and he would like us to consider doing an event or series of events with the 26 governors who last year signed a letter to you seeking full funding.

GOVERNORS

Governor Paul Patton (D-KY): Governor Patton and Secretary Richardson will participate in a Paducah environmental cleanup announcement in Kentucky today. The Governor has privately expressed his appreciation for your proposal to double the cleanup budget at Paducah. However, he is still pressing for a more substantial FY 2000 supplemental appropriation.

Governor Gray Davis (D-CA): Governor Davis called you on January 26, to express his deep appreciation for your invitation to sit in the First Lady's box during the State of the Union. Unfortunately, the Governor publicly committed several months ago to receiving an honorary doctorate degree from Bar-Ilan University and therefore, he had to be in Los Angeles on January 27. He sent his regrets that he was unable to join you.

Governor Tom Ridge (R-PA): Governor Ridge was admitted to the Milton S. Hershey Medical Center on January 22 for severe abdominal pain and inflammation of the pancreas. He was released on January 24 and has resumed a full public schedule. IGA is working with Correspondence to send a letter on your behalf.

CITIES / COUNTIES

U.S. Conference of Mayors (USCM): Over 200 attended the breakfast you hosted in the White House for the USCM. The mayors were deeply moved by your remarks and expressed the close connection they feel to the Clinton/Gore Administration. Following the event, many mayors participated in regional press interviews at the White House.

Chicago: IGA worked with Maria Echaveste to prepare briefing materials for your meeting with Mayor Daley (D) in Davos tomorrow. We expect the Mayor to discuss his Chicago Housing Authority reinvention plan as well as transit project needs. DOT has prepared two grant announcements for you to share with the Mayor, with a request to keep the information confidential until the scheduled February 4 announcement.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 1-31-00

Puerto Rican Mayors: Today, IGA met with Mayor William Miranda Marin (D-Caguas) and Mayor Gerardo Cruz (D-Ceiba). The mayors, like other Puerto Rican leaders, continue to insist that the Navy withdraw from Vieques.

Oak Knoll Naval Base: On January 27, IGA and NEC hosted a meeting with Mayor Jerry Brown (D-Oakland) and other Oakland community leaders to discuss the sale of the Oak Knoll Naval Base. Since the City's and Navy's valuations of the property differ greatly, the City is asking for our help in resolving the impasse. They propose having an independent third-party assess the value of the property. IGA and NEC are working with the Navy to respond.

San Francisco: On January 25, John Podesta and I hosted a meeting with Mayor Willie Brown (D) to discuss several San Francisco issues. First, the Mayor asked for help in working with the Navy on the cleanup of the Hunters Point Shipyard, which is a Superfund site that is to be conveyed to the city for the purpose of economic development. (Significant progress has been made to resolve this matter with the Navy this week.) Second, the Mayor asked for additional funding for homelessness programs and for renovating the Old Mint. We promised to engage the appropriate agencies in an attempt to find additional help.

SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

On January 26, IGA coordinated a White House meeting for members of the California School Board Association. Secretary Riley, David Beier, and Barbara Chow discussed your education agenda with the group. The school board members expressed deep gratitude for the Administration's commitment to education.

INSULAR AREAS

Vieques: Meetings with Governor Pedro Rossello's (D) chief aide, Navy Secretary Danzig, and Deputy Naval Operations Chief Natter, convened by Puerto Rico Interagency Group Co-Chair Jeff Farrow, produced a draft agreement late today to which the Governor, Naval Operations Chief Johnson, and Marine Corps Commandant Jones agreed. Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman John Warner (R-VA) delayed a hearing on closing military facilities in Puerto Rico in order to facilitate the discussions.

Health Initiative: Resident Commissioner Carlos Romero-Barcelo (D) of Puerto Rico and Delegate to Congress Donna Christian-Christensen (D) of the Virgin Islands expressed concerns about your health initiative because of the lack of inclusion of provisions for the territories. OMB has now agreed to enable the areas to cover parents of S-CHIP children in spite of the islands' Medicaid caps. IGA is urging OMB to also enable the areas to cover 19 and 20 year olds in S-CHIP and provide transitional Medicaid in spite of the funding caps.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 28, 2000

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THURGOOD MARSHALL, JR. **T.M.**
KRIS M. BALDERSTON

SUBJECT: Summary of Cabinet Weekly Reports
January 15 - 28, 2000

DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY

- **Budget Tax Proposals:** Treasury's Office of Tax Policy has been developing the package of tax initiatives and revenue offsets to be included in your FY2001 Budget. The net tax cut is \$53 billion over five years and \$253 billion over ten years. Highlights of the proposals, some of which you announced in the State of the Union, include expanding educational opportunity by increasing the size and scope of the Lifetime Learning tax credit; relieving poverty and revitalizing low-income areas by expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit; providing incentives for investment in low-income areas through the New Markets tax credit; making health care more affordable through a \$3,000 long-term care tax credit, a 25 percent credit for COBRA coverage, and a 25 percent credit for Medicare buy-in; strengthening families by providing marriage penalty relief, increasing the standard deduction, and expanding the child and dependent care tax credit; promoting retirement security through Retirement Saving Accounts; providing relief from the Alternative Minimum Tax; and encouraging philanthropy. In addition, through such proposals as curtailing the use of corporate tax shelters and overseas tax havens, the tax package would include about \$96 billion in revenue offsets over ten years.
- **Ecuador:** On January 27, Ecuador's new President Gustavo Noboa appointed Jorge Guzman, the banking superintendent and a dollarization advocate, as Finance Minister. President Noboa informed the IMF the week of January 24 that Ecuador is interested in moving ahead quickly with an IMF program. The IMF has indicated it is prepared to work with the Ecuadorian government on a program. The sucre has been stable and there is no evidence of bank runs to date.

- **Committee on Hemispheric Financial Issues:** On February 3, Secretary Summers will travel to Cancun, Mexico to participate in the third annual meeting of the Committee on Hemispheric Financial Issues, which is comprised of Finance Ministers of the Western Hemisphere. Key issues that the ministers will discuss include financial sector and other reforms to reduce vulnerability to economic crises, and common efforts on enforcement issues. While in Cancun, Secretary Summers will also meet with Mexican President Zedillo and Finance Minister Gurria.
- **Student Loans:** On February 9, a Congressionally-mandated study on market mechanisms for determining lenders yields for student loans is set to begin. DOEd GAO will act as co-chairs for the study group, which will include Treasury and representatives from other government agencies and the private sector. A previous study group analyzed alternative market interest rates upon which lenders returns might be based.
- **Guns:** During the week of January 31, ATF plans to issue the *Commerce in Firearms* report. The report, the first of its kind published by ATF, is a statistical summary of the state of the firearms industry, including price trends, number of firearms manufactured and imported, and the number of Federal firearms licensees. It also includes data demonstrating that a relatively small number of licensed dealers accounts for a substantial proportion of the guns used in crime. The ATF Director will announce certain measures that it will take in response to the report, including conducting focused inspections of licensed dealers who have ten or more crime guns traced to them in a single year and issuing demand letters to dealers who have failed to cooperate with ATF trace requests requiring them to submit their firearms transaction records.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

- **Elian Gonzalez Bill:** On January 24, Senators Mack, Lott, Helms, Graham, Robb, and Torricelli introduced legislation to confer U.S. citizenship on Cuban refugee Elian Gonzalez. The Office of Legislative Affairs is in regular contact with House and Senate offices on this issue.
- **Abortion Buffer Zone Law:** On January 19, the Solicitor General presented oral arguments in *Hill v. Colorado* and contended as *amicus*, that a statute establishing a buffer zone outside health facilities is not facially invalid under the First Amendment. The SG argued that the statute is a reasonable regulation of time, place, and manner of speech rather than content, and that even if the provision is analyzed as a content-based limitation, it survives constitutional scrutiny.
- **Campaign Finance Law:** On January 24, the Supreme Court reversed the judgment of the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals in a case challenging the constitutionality of MO's limit of \$1075 per election on the amount any person may contribute to a candidate for

statewide public office. DOJ argued that the law was constitutional in light of the Court's treatment of campaign contribution limits in Buckley v. Valeo, in which the Court sustained a \$1000 contribution limit applicable to elections for federal office, explaining that the contribution limit left open ample alternative means by which would-be donors could engage in political speech and association, and that the public and governmental interest in preventing electoral corruption provided a constitutionally sufficient justification for the limit.

- **Firearms Project:** The U.S. Attorney for the N.D. OK has initiated a new anti-gun project, Special Action Firearms Enforcement (SAFE), which was announced at a joint press conference with the Tulsa Police Department. Project SAFE includes state, local, and federal law enforcement representatives, who will meet weekly to review reports of alleged firearms violations and determine the appropriate prosecution jurisdiction.
- **Safe Start Initiative:** In early February, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is expected to announce 11 grants under the Safe Start Initiative. The Safe Start Initiative is a demonstration project to prevent and reduce the impact of family and community violence on young children, primarily children under six. The program seeks to create a comprehensive system of services from a variety of fields, including education, health, social services, child welfare, crisis intervention, law enforcement, and the courts.
- **Children with Disabilities:** In early February, OJJDP will release an online guide on *Children with Disabilities*. The Website presents families, service providers, and other interested individuals with information on advocacy, education, employment, health, housing, recreation, technical assistance, and transportation. It contains material about developmental, physical, and emotional disabilities, debilitating illnesses, and physical challenges, as well as resources for children threatened by poverty and abuse.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR

- **Giacomini Property:** NPS recently announced the signing of an "Offer to Sell" for approximately 550 acres of land owned by Waldo Giacomini and family members within the boundaries of Golden Gate National Recreation Area. NPS has been interested in acquiring this important property, located at the southern end of Tomales Bay, for over 15 years. It is a critical piece of habitat at the headwaters of Tomales Bay where over 50,000 shorebirds and waterfowl migrate every winter. The property is being purchased with mitigation funding from CA Department of Transportation (CALTRANS) and from Congressional appropriations. Additional CALTRANS and NPS funding is available for the eventual restoration of the site to wetlands. The property is in escrow and is anticipated to be transferred to NPS in approximately 30 days.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

- **Africa Trade Team Mission:** Beginning January 25, USDA officials began a ten-day, 40-person Trade Team Mission to Morocco, Senegal, Ghana, and Nigeria, to explore untapped commercial opportunities for U.S. agricultural and food products.
- **Commodity Markets:** Wheat cash prices were modestly higher, but futures were almost unchanged as a result of poor export prospects offsetting weather concerns. Strong exports boosted corn prices. Dry weather in South America and short-term tightness led to a surge in soybean cash prices, with futures also gaining, but by less than half as much. Rice cash prices held steady, but futures moved up on ideas that spring plantings would be sharply reduced from last year. Cotton prices were higher in volatile trade; speculators expressed doubt about China's ability to curtail imports or subsidize exports. Cattle prices fell, as lower futures weighed on the cash market. Hog prices advanced; packers raised bids in the face of cold weather in the Midwest. Broiler prices were little changed. Cheese prices remain slightly above support levels, but the heavy holiday demand schedule has ended and some producers are moving product into aging programs. Butter prices fell; cream supplies remain heavy and churning capacity in most regions is near capacity.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

- **Mercosur Business Development Mission:** Preparations continue for Secretary Daley's business development mission to Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile to be held February 11-19. DOC has selected mission participants from three sectors -- information and communications technology, environment, and energy. Plans call for the Secretary to give a keynote address to the American Chamber of Commerce in Sao Paulo, Brazil, that would be simultaneously videocast to all AmChams in the region. In Chile, Secretary Daley will meet with President-Elect Lagos.
- **Trade Mission to Northern Ireland/Ireland:** The International Trade Administration is assisting Senator Connie Mack to plan a trade delegation visit to Northern Ireland and Ireland from April 17-21, the first to be led by Senator Mack in his 18-year career. Senator Mack is a strong supporter of the Northern Ireland peace process and has visited the region four times in the last three years. The trade mission is the suggestion of Deputy First Minister Seamus Mallon of Northern Ireland.
- **Export Liberalization for North Korea:** DOC, DOD, DOE, and State met during the week of January 24 to discuss a resolution to the two-month impasse on an amendment to the Export Administration Regulations (EAR) that would implement a commitment made by you in September 1999 to liberalize export controls on North Korea. Agencies need to agree on the EAR rule change in order to facilitate new export procedures in case North

Korea agrees to move ahead with a planned delegation visit to the U.S. next month. The liberalization would remove export licensing requirements from a wide range of low-level commercial products bound for North Korea.

- **Greece and the Balkans:** On February 21, the U.S.-Greece Joint Council for Technology Cooperation with the Balkans will convene in Thessaloniki, Greece. This is the first meeting of the Joint Council, which was established under an agreement between DOC and the Greek Ministry of the National Economy. At its February meeting, the Council expects to agree on an overall strategy for identifying and promoting U.S.-Greek private sector-led cooperation in the Balkans.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

- **Ergonomics Standard:** On January 27, OSHA announced an additional 30-day extension to the deadline for members of the public wishing to comment on the proposed ergonomics standard. The deadline for public comment, originally slated for February 1, will be extended to March 2 in order to accommodate the large number of requests the agency received from individuals requesting additional time to prepare submissions. Hearings on the proposed standard are now scheduled to begin on March 13 in Washington, DC. The Chicago hearing will begin on April 11 as planned. Additional information about the third hearing, originally scheduled to begin in Portland on March 21, will be announced shortly.
- **Toll Free Grants:** DOL expects to announce the award of six America's Jobs Network (AJN) National Toll-Free Help Line implementation grants. The grants will provide funds to be used in establishing an effective response system for dislocated workers through a national Toll-Free Help Line, which operates from a National Call Center in Chantilly, VA. The Help Line is part of AJN, a comprehensive system for employment and training assistance, developed in partnership with State and local governments. Individual grants are expected to range from approximately \$100,000 to \$400,000. The six States receiving grants are: AL, AZ, CT, HI, NJ, and NY.
- **Boeing:** DOL expects to announce the award of a \$9.8 million grant to provide additional financial assistance to former Boeing workers in WA. This grant is being awarded pursuant to the DOL/Boeing agreement to provide additional funding for needs-related payments for participants enrolled in retraining prior to September 17, 1999. These payments will not extend beyond March 31.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

- **Synar Tobacco Regulation:** During the week of January 31, it is anticipated that HHS will take actions on the Synar Tobacco Regulation that checks compliance on sales of tobacco to youth. Consequently, letters will be sent to the Governors of seven States (Delaware, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Oregon, Rhode Island, Wyoming) and the Mayor of the District of Columbia informing them of their option under the FY 2000 Appropriations Act to avoid a potential 40 percent penalty against their Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment Block Grant awards by committing additional funds to tobacco compliance programs. The SAMHSA Administrator will send a letter to all State substance abuse directors informing them of the option to renegotiate their target rates for retailer violations of tobacco sales to minors for FY 2000 applications for block grant funds. They will also be informed that they must reach the goal of no more than 20 percent violations by the September 20, 2002 deadline. This will allow the States more flexibility in achieving the final goal of 20 percent.
- **Substance Abuse Treatment for Persons with Histories of Child Abuse and Neglect:** On February 15, SAMHSA will release the 36th Treatment Improvement Protocol (TIP) titled *Substance Abuse Treatment for Persons with Child Abuse and Neglect Issues*. The TIP presents information on how to address the issues such as childhood physical and sexual abuse when it is relevant to treating a patient's substance abuse problem. The TIP points out that adults with histories of child abuse and neglect are at risk for developing substance abuse disorders and have an increased likelihood of abusing their own children.
- **White House Initiative on Asian American and Pacific Islanders (WHIAAPI):** Shamina Singh, Executive Director, WHIAAPI, will be featured in the February issue of *India Today*, a weekly publication on politics and current affairs having the most widespread circulation in India of any language magazine.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

- **1999 Homeownership Rate:** Secretary Cuomo announced a record 66.8 percent of American households owned their own homes in 1999, a higher percentage than in any year in American history. The percentage of households owning their own homes has risen steadily, jumping from 64 percent in 1993 to 66.3 percent in 1998 before setting another record in 1999. There were 8.7 million more homeowners at the end of 1999 than when you took office in 1993.

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DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

- **Amtrak Reform Council (ARC) Report:** On January 24, Secretary Slater issued a statement expressing concern that the ARC report mischaracterized the intent of the Administration and Congress regarding the definition of operating self-sufficiency that has been used in Amtrak's planning and in the inspector general's reviews. Amtrak continues to make tremendous strides in a variety of areas including increased ridership and commercial revenues. Amtrak's new Acela regional service will start on January 31, beginning the ramp-up to full high-speed service later this year. Moody's raised Amtrak's credit rating and said it expects Amtrak to be operationally self-sufficient by 2003. Standard & Poor's recently issued a positive report about Amtrak's performance.
- **70 Dominican Migrants Missing During Failed Migration Attempt:** On January 17, the U.S. Coast Guard assisted the Dominican Republic in a search for survivors after authorities reported that 15 survivors and 12 deceased Dominican migrants had washed ashore on the Dominican Republic's northeast coast. Approximately 70 people remain missing in the apparent failed attempt to reach Puerto Rico.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

- **Home Heating Oil Prices:** Secretary Richardson has expressed concern about the spike in home heating oil prices with wholesale prices having tripled in the past year. He announced that he intends to hold a summit meeting with refiners and major distributors of home heating oil to discuss the reasons for the recent problems in home heating oil markets and how the government and industry can work together to better meet the needs of consumers in the Northeast and New England. The meeting will be held in Boston in mid-February and will include the National Association of State Energy Officials.
- **Weatherization Assistance:** On January 26, Secretary Richardson announced regulatory changes to give local nonprofit organizations that administer the program more flexibility in providing weatherization assistance to achieve more energy savings. Through the 2001 budget request, the Administration is working to restore weatherization assistance, which was cut by Congress in 1996. DOE's weatherization assistance program is the nation's premier initiative to deliver energy efficiency services to low-income households and communities, especially seniors, the disabled and low-income families with children. Nationwide, DOE has retrofitted almost five million homes, on average cutting heating costs today by 25 percent.
- **National Geothermal Initiative:** On January 24, Secretary Richardson, with Senator Reid, announced a new national geothermal initiative to capitalize on the vast geothermal resources of the Western U.S. The new initiative supports DOE plans to have 25,000 megawatts of wind, solar, geothermal and biomass power generating capacity on-line by

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2010. In addition, ~~it supports the Western Governor's Association~~ and the Western Regional Area Partnership's goal of increasing the contribution of non-hydro power renewable energy to regional electricity needs to reduce pollution in the West.

- **Security and Counterintelligence Accomplishments:** On January 25, Secretary Richardson released three reports on DOE's progress in improving security of the nation's nuclear secrets. The reports, presented by the Offices of Counterintelligence Independent Oversight and Performance Assurance, and Security and Emergency Operations, detailed the extensive program of security and counterintelligence improvements.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

- **FL Higher Education Plan:** According to news reports, Governor Jeb Bush's staff has claimed that DOEd has endorsed his plan to end the use of race as a factor in university admissions in FL. The Governor's plan would replace affirmative action with a guarantee that the top 20 percent of graduates of every high school in the state would be admitted to one of the state's public universities. In a January 14 letter to the chancellor of the State University System of Florida, DOEd's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) wrote that the plan "can be reconciled" with an agreement that FL signed in 1998 with OCR to improve opportunities for minority students.
- **Funding for Small Schools:** Low-income students enrolled in small high schools receive enough attention from educators to offset the effect of the juveniles' challenged living conditions, according to a new study. The report, released by the Rural School and Community Trust, supports your call for an additional \$75 million to expand the new Small, Safe, and Successful High Schools initiative in FY01. The study was conducted in GA and is the first of four state-level studies undertaken by the Rural Trust. Results from the other three states -- MT, OH, and TX -- are slated to be released in the coming months. Analyzing 29 varied standardized test scores, researchers found as school size increased, the achievement scores in schools serving children from poorer communities fell on 27 of the test scores.

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Bush

DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

- **Year 2000 Salute to Hospitalized Veterans:** Film and television actor Richard Crenna has been selected to chair VA's National Salute to Hospitalized Veterans during the week of February 13-19. Crenna, a World War II Army veteran, will lead VA's annual program that invites the public to visit and honor hospitalized veterans across the country during the week of Valentine's Day.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

- **FY99 Enforcement Numbers:** On January 19, EPA announced record enforcement actions and penalties for FY99, including \$3.6 billion for environmental cleanup, pollution control equipment, and improved monitoring, an 80 percent increase over 1998; \$166.7 million in civil penalties, 60 percent higher than 1998; and 3,935 civil judicial and administrative actions, the highest in the last three years. In addition, criminal defendants were sentenced to a record 208 years of prison time for committing environmental crimes.

UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

- **U.S. Victory at WTO:** On January 27, Ambassador Barshefsky announced that a WTO dispute settlement panel has issued a report finding that Australia has failed to comply with the WTO Dispute Settlement Body's ruling that Australia withdraw a prohibited export subsidy bestowed on an Australian producer of automotive leather. At issue was a grant of 30 million Australian dollars that violates WTO subsidy rules because it was contingent on export performance. The panel found that "repayment in full of the prohibited subsidy is necessary in order to 'withdraw the subsidy' in this case." The panel further agreed with the U.S. that, by providing a new loan subsidy to the recipient's parent company, Australia had nullified the recipient's previous partial repayment of the subsidy.

OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY

- **Partnership for a Drug Free America:** On February 2, Director McCaffrey will be briefed by the Partnership for a Drug Free America regarding new Anti-Drug Media Campaign Advertisements. The new ads will feature the Women's World Cup Soccer Team and Tara Lipinski, Olympic Gold Medallist in figure skating.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

- **Small Business Internet Technology:** SBA will meet with Eric McNeal, President of New Technology Network Services. McNeal will present a business technology tool called Biztown.Net. which is being developed as a tool to help small businesses leverage the latest advances in computer technology without the associated costs. The applications are delivered over the Internet, using high-speed access lines and regular dial-up modems.
- **Strategic Alliances:** Mexico: SBA will welcome members of the Mexican Congress the week of January 31. These representatives will attend briefings on SBA programs to help them consider the development of an independent federal agency to support small and medium enterprises in Mexico. SBA continues to work with U.S. Export Assistance

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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Centers, Small Business Development Centers and Centers for International Trade Development in Florida, Texas and California to promote export training and recruitment for a small business trade mission to Guadalajara and Jalisco, Mexico in May 2000.

Brazil: SBA participated in a Brazil Forum at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce on January 19. A meeting with Ambassador Barbosa is planned for early February to discuss strategy for cooperative efforts for support of our respective small business sectors in the international arena and facilitating linkages between U.S. and Brazilian small businesses.

South Africa: SBA met with South Africa Embassy officials to discuss the pending proposal with the Department of Trade and Industry's Small Business Centre Program in South Africa. In addition, SBA staff met with Melvin Foote, President and CEO of Constituency for Africa to discuss pending legislation on the Africa Growth and Opportunity Bill and the effects it will have on small business trade and investment.

OFFICE OF PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

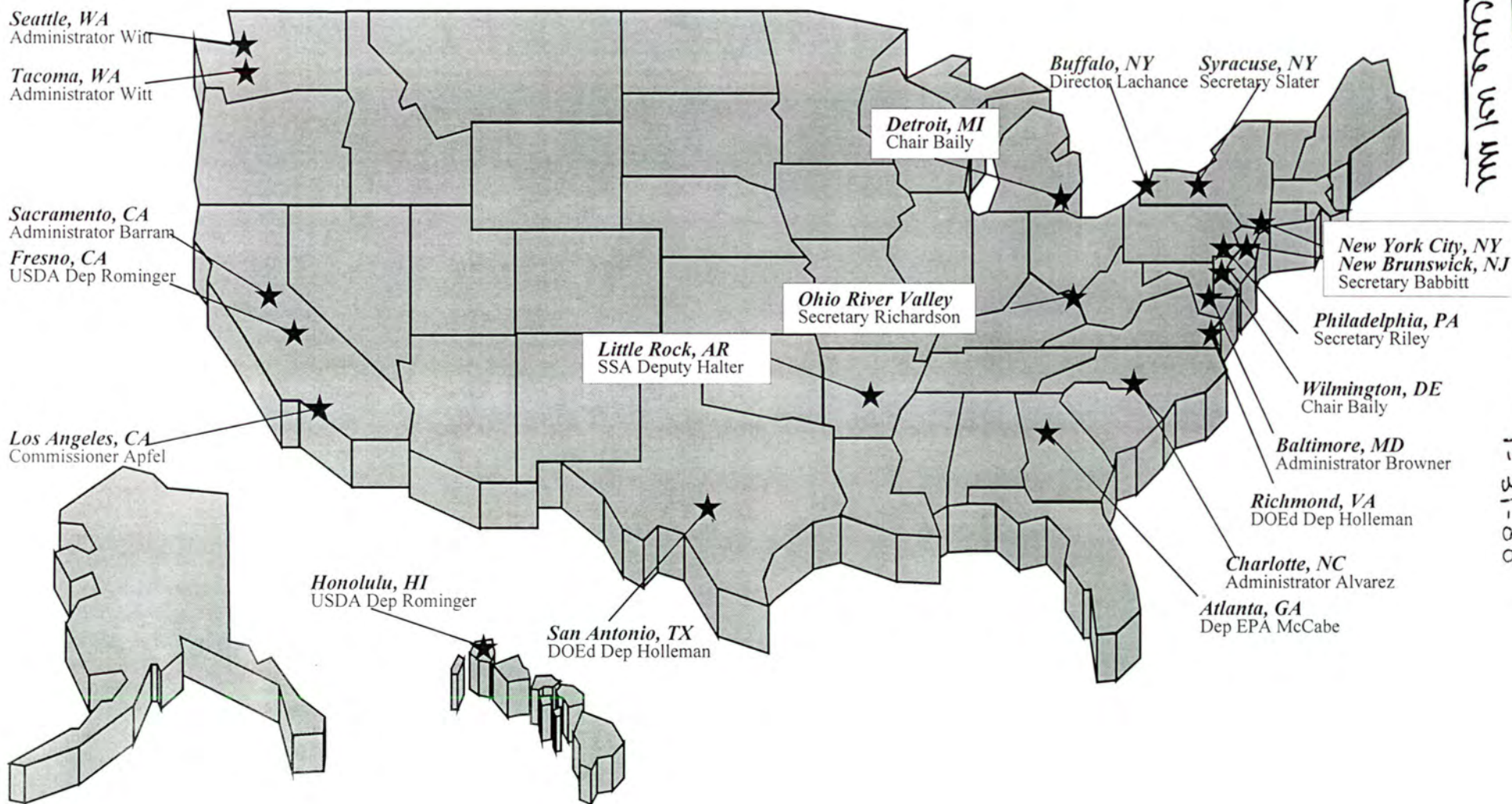
- **Welfare to Work:** As of January 22, Federal departments and agencies have moved 16,610 people from welfare to work across the nation. This figure exceeds the four-year commitment set in April 1997 by over 50 percent.

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

- **Criminal Investigation in WV:** On January 26, *ABC 20/20* aired an interview with SSA Chief of Staff Coyne about the Agency's use of Aurora Foundation, Inc. of Martinsburg, WV as a representative payee for beneficiaries who were unable to manage their own funds. The president of the Aurora Foundation has admitted to embezzling money from Social Security beneficiaries.

Cabinet Travel

Friday, January 28 - Monday, January 31, 2000

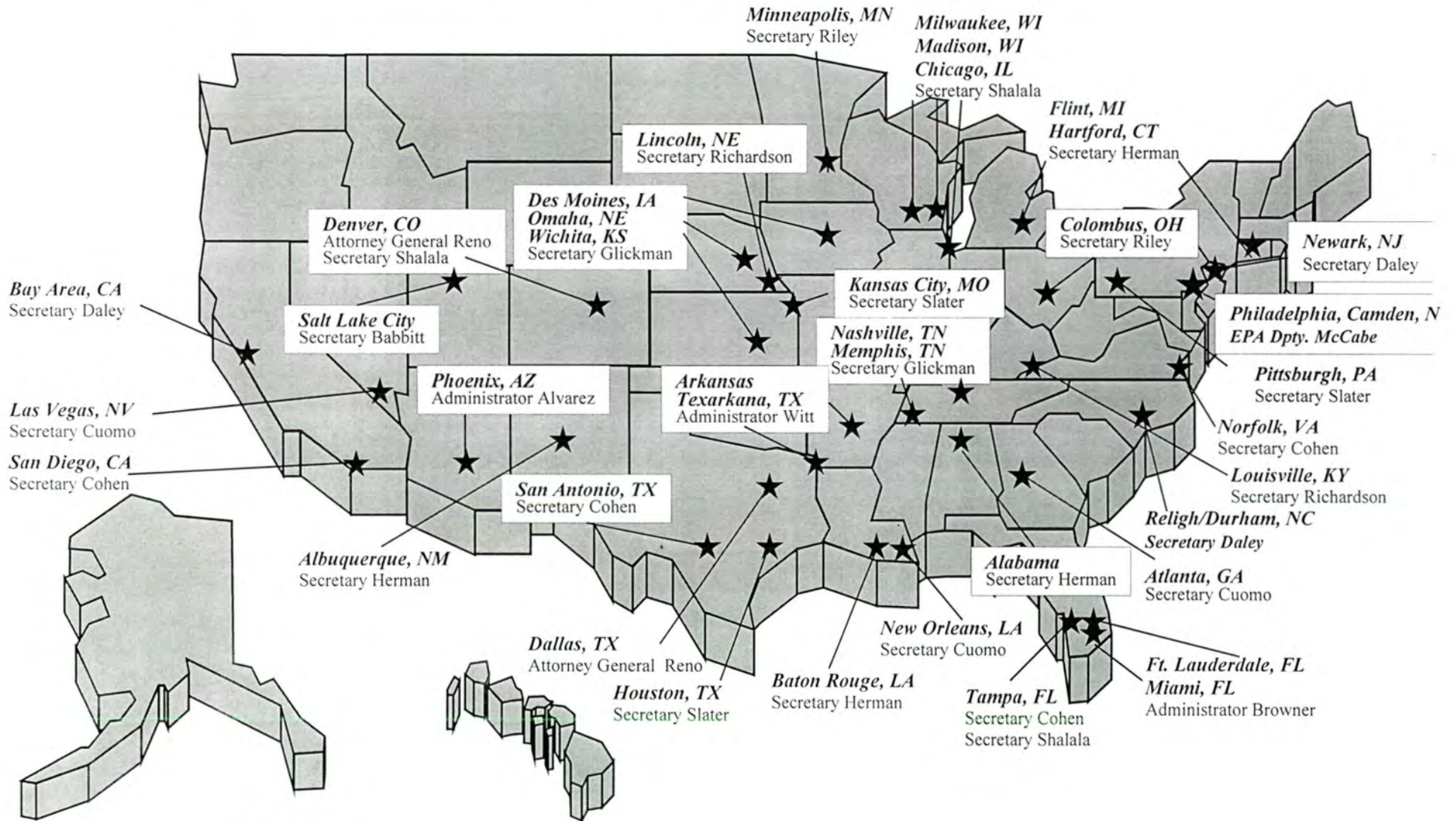


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Cabinet Media

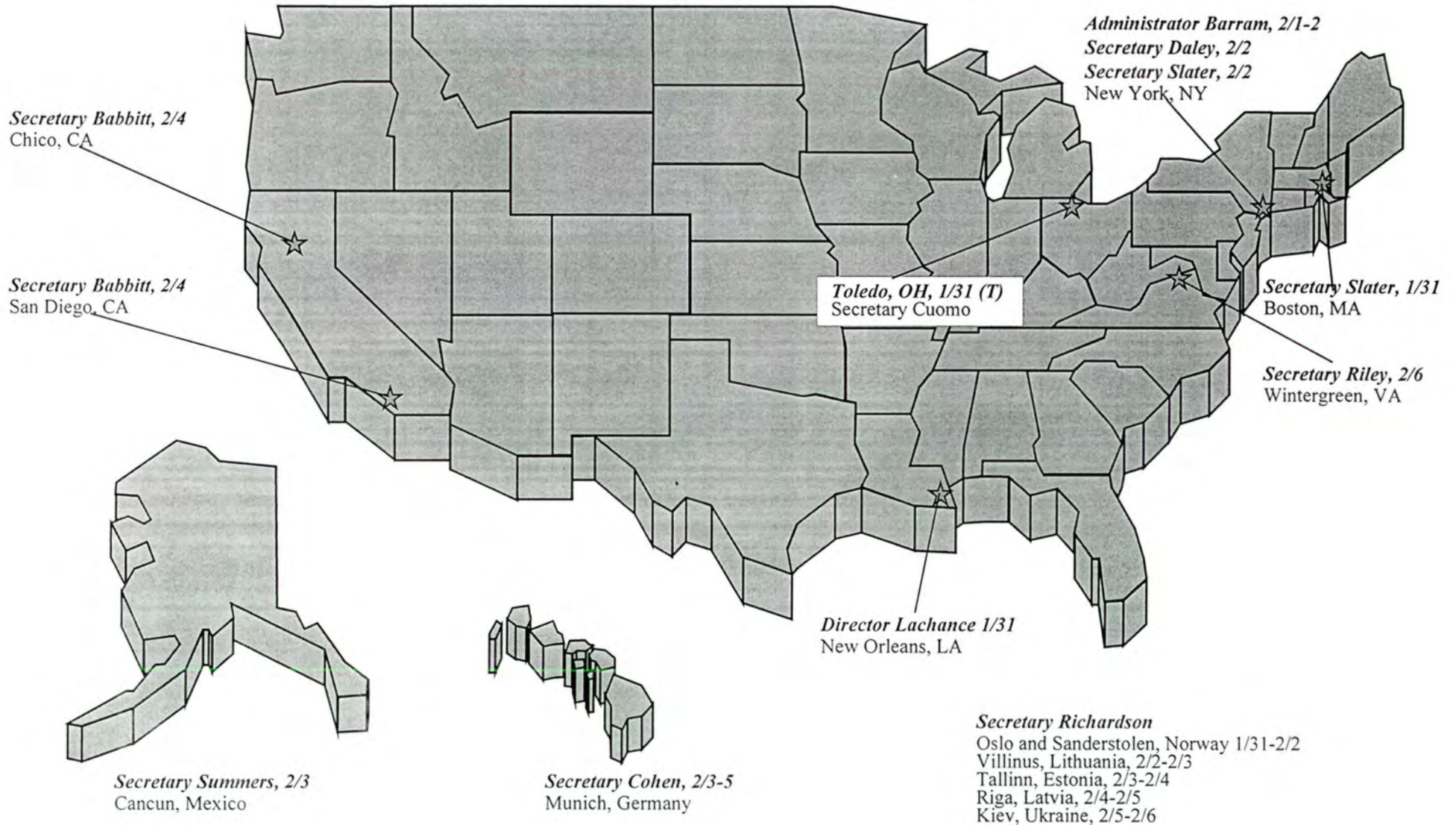
Friday, January 28 - Monday, January 31, 2000



As of 1/26/00

Cabinet Travel

Monday, January 31 - Sunday, February 6, 2000



cc:

The Vice President

John Podesta

Martin Baily

Sandy Berger

Sidney Blumenthal

Charles Burson

Mary Beth Cahill

Maria Echaveste

George Frampton

Mickey Ibarra

Ben Johnson

Joel Johnson

Janis Kearney

Neal Lane

Jack Lew

Ann Lewis

Joe Lockhart

Buddy MacKay

Sean Maloney

Minyon Moore

Bruce Reed

Steve Ricchetti

Doug Sosnik

Gene Sperling

Larry Stein

Lauren Supina

Loretta Ucelli

Melanne Verveer

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-31-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

'00 JAN 28 PM 10:37

January 28, 2000

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CHUCK BRAIN 
SUBJECT: LEGISLATIVE WEEKLY REPORT

Floor Activity

While the Senate did conduct debate on the Bankruptcy bill briefly on Wednesday, there was no other legislative activity conducted in the House or Senate this past week.

House of Representatives

- **Week Ahead:** The House convenes on Monday, January 31st, with votes after 6:00PM. There are eight non-controversial bills up for consideration under suspension of the rules. On Tuesday and Wednesday, the House will consider H.R. 1838, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act and H.R. 2005, the Workplace Goods Job Growth and Competitiveness Act (Liability Limits).

Taiwan Security: H.R. 1838, introduced by Rep. Tom DeLay (R-TX), relates to Taiwan and its relations with U.S. forces and its ability to participate in military sales. It would direct the President to report annually to Congress with respect to Taiwan's defense needs, and to use Defense funds for the assignment of additional technical staff to the American Institute in Taiwan. Opponents of this bill believe that it would seriously diminish Taiwan's security, undermine overall U.S. objectives in Asia, as well as raise constitutional concerns. There is a Senior Advisers' veto threat on this bill. It will be an uphill climb to garner sufficient votes to sustain your possible veto.

Liability Limits: H.R. 2005, the Workplace Goods Job Growth and Competitiveness Act, would limit the filing of civil actions against manufacturers or sellers of certain durable goods. This legislation is strongly opposed by labor, consumer groups and trial lawyers. Your Administration's position is under development; there should be sufficient votes (including some Republicans) to sustain a possible veto.

House Notes

- **Patients' Bill of Rights:** On Tuesday, House Democrats may offer a motion to instruct on the Patients' Bill of Rights. The following week, House and Senate Democratic conferees may hold a mock conference meeting to highlight Republican obstinacy against the bill.
- **SOTU:** Reaction to your State of the Union address was generally predictable, with Democrats overwhelmingly positive and Republicans griping about too much spending. Democrats are looking for a sustained post-SOTU message from you that the agenda you outlined is consistent with fiscal responsibility (i.e., strengthening Social Security and Medicare; pay down the debt; targeted spending and tax cuts). In addition, your gun licensing and trade messages received mixed reactions among Democrats.

United States Senate

- **Week Ahead:** Monday, January 31st, the Senate will resume consideration of S. 625, the Bankruptcy Reform Act. There are no votes scheduled for Monday. The first vote on Bankruptcy is scheduled for Tuesday, February 1st. Following votes on Bankruptcy, the Senate may proceed to the consideration of S. 1287, the Nuclear Waste Policy Amendments Act or the private relief legislation regarding Elian Gonzales.

Senate Notes

- **Bankruptcy Reform:** On Wednesday, January 26th, the Senate resumed consideration of S. 625, the Bankruptcy Reform Act. There were no votes on Bankruptcy held this week because of the delay caused by the snowstorm. The Senate will likely pass S. 625, the Bankruptcy Reform Act, this coming week, despite the Administrations opposition to the measure. Although the Administration does not have a veto threat on the substantive bankruptcy provisions of the Senate bankruptcy bill (there is a Senior Advisors level veto threat on the House companion bill), it does have a veto threat on the Senator Domenici (R-NM) Minimum Wage and Tax Amendment that was attached to the bill on the floor. More specifically, the Amendment would raise the minimum wage by \$1.00 over three years and provide \$77 billion in tax cuts over ten years.
- **Nuclear Waste:** The Majority may file cloture on S. 1287, the Nuclear Waste Policy Amendments Act of 1999, on Monday. You announced on October 1st during a visit to Nevada, that you would veto this bill in its current form because it strips EPA of its existing standard-setting authority. Secretary Richardson met with both Senators Murkowski (R-AK) and Bingaman (D-NM) this week. Senator Bingaman (D-NM), who opposes the current version of S.1287, continues to work to try to find a compromise. On Monday, Senator Murkowski (R-AK) may float a compromise proposal regarding the role of EPA. We will have to review it carefully. In the meantime, we are preparing to mount a full-scale effort to sustain a veto if the bill in its current form is brought to the Senate floor.
- **Elian Gonzalez:** The Senate may also take up a private relief bill, sponsored by Senator Mack (R-FL), granting Elian Gonzalez US citizenship. The prospects for this bill actually being brought to the Senate floor are somewhat less likely, because there is a split within the Republican Caucus and a majority of Democrats are opposed to the measure. (You will note that the House has not scheduled legislation on this issue). If the bill is called up, some Democrats (likely Senators Kennedy (D-MA) and Durbin (D-IL)) may offer other immigration related bills which the Administration supports. And finally, Senators Dodd (D-CT), Boxer (D-CA), Feinstein (D-CA), Durbin (D-IL), and Leahy (D-VT) have introduced a Sense of the Congress resolution holding that Elian should be returned to his father.

cc: The Vice President
John Podesta
Steve Ricchetti
Joel Johnson
Maria Echaveste
Doug Sosnik
Ann Lewis

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-31-00

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 28, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARY BETH CAHILL
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT: WEEKLY REPORT (January 22 to January 28)

copied
Cahill
Podesta
pg 2
Berkhardt
(for reply)

I. ACTIONS SUPPORTING PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVES:

STATE OF THE UNION

OPL Conducts Series of Conference Calls Outlining the Themes and Initiatives in your SOTU Address. OPL hosted eight conference calls on Thursday: two General Overview calls with friends of the Administration and community leaders, and specific calls on education, seniors, hate crimes, healthcare, and women's issues. Our efforts reached more than 300 key leaders and supporters.

Early feedback on your address has generally been positive. In particular, the gay/lesbian community was pleased with discussion of Hate Crimes and Matthew Sheppard, disability advocates appreciated highlight of work incentives, and religious groups look forward to supporting you on your numerous proposals to help the needy and working poor, especially reducing third world debt. LULAC will be issuing a press release praising you for remarks on Hate Crimes, ENDA, CBI, and the CRA. The African American community was pleased with your support of HIV/AIDS, Africa Trade, school construction, agriculture, and New Markets.

The gay/lesbian community also emphasized that ENDA is the most important piece of legislation to pursue this year. Disability advocates encourage you to take credit for how various policies will benefit people with disabilities, including long term care, prescription drugs, education, New Markets, and Digital Divide.

EQUAL PAY INITIATIVE

Equal Pay Event Resonated Extremely Well Throughout the Women's Community. The announcement of \$27 million in funding is greatly appreciated and viewed as a strong step from almost all women's organizations. Approximately 140 representatives of national women's organizations attended the event. Members of the women's community have contacted our office throughout the week with comments about the added funding and the continued need to spotlight this issue. A few women's groups are asking the administration privately for a move towards "fair pay" and "comparable worth," but have stayed publicly aligned with the Administration.

II. CONSTITUENT OUTREACH AND OTHER ISSUES:

AFRICAN AMERICAN OUTREACH

Congressman Dickey Supports Black Farmers Issues in Lieu of Ethics Charges. The National Black Farmers Association and National Black Farmers and Agriculturists Association are supporting Rep. Thompson's ethics complaint against Rep. Dickey for comments he made during a recent state black farmers meeting in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Dickey indicated to his constituents at the meeting that it would be hard for him to support their interests since they don't vote or make contributions for him. After considerable complaint, Dickey has decided to join Rep. Watts to galvanize support for black farmers issues within the Republican party.

HEALTH OUTREACH

Carolyn Boone Lewis to Be Sworn in as the First African American Chairman of the AHA in its 101 Year History. Lewis is former Board Chairman and Trustee of the Greater Southeast Health Care System in Washington, D.C. The hospital administration community has been criticized for not having enough women or minorities in upper hospital management. John Podesta will speak to the AHA on Monday.

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LAW ENFORCEMENT

OPL Hosts Conference Call on Handgun Licensing Initiative. This morning, OPL and DPC held a post-SOTU conference call with law enforcement groups to discuss your crime initiatives, specifically your proposal for state licenses for handgun purchases. Although the groups are uncertain about where this will fit in with their top priorities for the year, a number of them have expressed concerns that this initiative will not pass Congress.

SENIORS OUTREACH

New Senior Vice President of AARP. Bill Novelli, former President of the Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids, moves to AARP as Senior Vice President. According to some rumors, this move would put Novelli in line as a possible contender for Horace Deets position (Executive Director), should Deets leave.

WOMEN'S OUTREACH

Women's Office Joins OPM to Coordinate roundtable in Buffalo, NY. To further highlight your women's initiatives, OPL and OPM today hosted a meeting with women leaders from labor, business and community service organizations in addition to local elected women. Janice Lachance led a discussion on equal pay and child care in an effort to energize the grass roots level on these important issues. She also fielded questions on your State of the Union address.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-31-00

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Copied
Johnson
Podesta

January 28, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: BEN JOHNSON

SUBJECT: OFFICE ON THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE FOR ONE AMERICA
WEEKLY REPORT

ACTIONS

The Institute for Racial Reconciliation and Civic Renewal: I met with Governor Winter and learned that The Institute for Racial Reconciliation and Civic Renewal at the University of Mississippi has been formally launched. Governor Winter and an Executive Committee comprised of both University representatives and Mississippians from outside the University community constitute the organization. The Institute is a direct outgrowth of a public forum held by your Initiative on Race at the University on March 16, 1998.

Its purpose is "to foster racial reconciliation and harmony, first in Mississippi and throughout our nation and world." The Institute will develop model programs and materials to advance racial reconciliation in communities, and it will provide support for those communities. Also, the Institute will work with educational institutions, faith-based organizations, churches, civic groups, business interests, and other organizations to develop a variety of programs, publications, curricula, seminars, and conferences. Because of the symbolism of the effort at the University of Mississippi and because the Institute is a direct outgrowth of your Race Initiative, we may want to give the University serious consideration for a commencement address.

Army Corp of Engineers Meeting: I hosted a meeting between General Ballard chief of the Army Corp of Engineers, and Mayor Marc Morial to discuss a controversial Army Corp of Engineers project in a poor section of New Orleans that has divided the city. Because of the suspected revenue loss to the business community and the road repairs that would result from the project, Marc said he is being forced to take a position against the project and wanted to meet Ballard to see if there were other options. They agreed to have their staffs meet to work through the disagreements point by point.

One America Agency Reps: We hosted a meeting with One America reps from the Cabinet agencies to share updates on our activities and plans for this year. We distributed talking points to assist them in amplifying your State of the Union message,

concentrating on the One America aspects. We also shared what other departments are doing in the One America arena, and asked that GSA convene a meeting with the other agencies to lend guidance on replicating their "Honest Employee Dialogues" at other departments

CONSTITUENT OUTREACH

Radio Outreach: I interviewed with a National Radio Magazine show hosted by Focus on Urban America correspondent Ben Brown. The interview was carried on 400 urban US stations and was used to amplify your State of the Union message.

CABINET RACE INITIATIVE WEEKLY

Department of Commerce

Minority Participation in Honda Plant Project: On January 12, the Atlanta Regional Director of the Minority Business Development Agency (MBDA) and local business leaders met in Birmingham, AL, to discuss the new Honda manufacturing plant located in Lincoln, AL, and how the MBDA can facilitate the participation of minority companies in the plant construction. The staff discussed MBDA programs, including the Phoenix and Opportunity databases.

Minority Business Development Agency (MBDA) Outreach: The MBDA sponsored a Minority Business Development Breakfast meeting at City Place-Dallas, TX. The meeting featured a presentation on "How to Get a Minority Business Loan," and a discussion on the MBDA and American Express plan to stage a Financial Education Seminar for minority-owned enterprises this March in Chicago. MBDA will also participate in the Dallas Hispanic Business Expo and the Dallas Entrepreneur Expo, both in February.

Department of Energy

Latino Science and Engineering Memorandum of Understanding (MOU): On January 27, Secretary Richardson signed an MOU with the Latino Science and Engineering Consortium at the Society of Hispanic Professional Engineers (SHPE) Conference in Washington DC. The MOU, between DOE and the six largest organizations serving Latino science and engineering students, will help meet two critical priorities. It will help build and invest in tomorrow's scientific and technical (S&T) workforce and will open opportunities for women and minorities in these important fields so that our future S&T workforce reflects our diverse American mosaic.

The MOU was outlined in Secretary Richardson's DOE Hispanic Outreach Initiative as a vehicle to promote more Latino students' participation in DOE internship/fellowship programs and educate the community about opportunities available to students and faculty.

Department of Health and Human Services

Racial Disparities in Health: Dr. Claude Earl Fox, Administrator, Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA), will keynote at the National Hispanic Medical Association Fourth Annual Conference, "Eliminating Health Disparities for Hispanics: A Call for Action," in Washington, DC. Dr. Fox will outline the HRSA's priorities with respect to health disparities for minorities for more than 400 physicians, medical students, faculty, government, and industry representatives expected to participate.

Department of Justice

Elian Gonzalez Bill Introduced in Senate: On January 24, Senators Mack, Lott, Helms, Graham, Robb, and Torricelli introduced legislation to confer U.S. citizenship on Cuban refugee Elian Gonzalez. The full Senate could vote on the measure as early as January 27. Majority Leader Lott, however, has indicated the vote could be postponed until next week. The Office of Legislative Affairs is in regular contact with House and Senate offices on this issue.

Social Security Administration

Filipino Veterans Benefits: On January 31, SSA's San Francisco Regional staff will hold a meeting at the Philippine Consulate in Honolulu to educate the Philippine community on the recently passed title VIII legislation involving Special Veterans Benefits. Title VIII provides for a program of special benefits for certain World War II veterans. Veterans of the U.S. military and the organized military forces of the Philippines during World War II (while in the service of the U.S. Armed Forces) may be entitled to title VIII benefits if they meet certain eligibility requirements.

Over 400 people are expected to attend the meeting. San Francisco's Regional staff has already made a presentation on the new benefits to 150 members of the Philippine Scouts Association in Honolulu and has distributed 300 copies of a special edition newsletter dealing exclusively with the provisions of the new law.

AIDS in the Black Community: On January 25, staff in SSA's Atlanta Region participated in a town hall meeting on "AIDS in the Black Community" in Atlanta, GA. The Congressional Black Caucus, along with the NAACP, 100 Black Men, Morehouse School of Medicine, National Caucus of Black State Legislators and others, sponsored the event. SSA staff provided information on services and benefits available from SSA.

Capacity Building Conference for Asian-Pacific Elders: On January 28, SSA's Dallas Region will join more than 30 community co-sponsors at the Capacity Building Conference for Asian-Pacific Elders in Houston and Harris County, TX. The SSA representative will discuss Social Security and Supplemental Security Income during several sessions throughout the day. More than 100 Asian-Pacific Elders, service providers and policy makers are expected to attend.

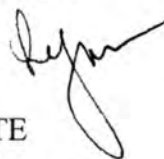
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 28, 2000

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WEEKLY MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: JOHN PODESTA

FROM: LYNN CUTLER 

CC: MARIA ECHAVESTE

SUBJECT: INDIAN COUNTRY

Pine Ridge

- The takeover of the tribal offices continues at Pine Ridge. The occupants are partisans of President Salway, and demand the removal of the tribal treasurer, Chuck Jacobs. A rump session of the council was held last week and there was an 11-1 vote to impeach President Salway. Under the tribe's system of governance, a vote to impeach results in the immediate removal of the President. But the impeachment vote did not result in President Salway's removal because the meeting was convened in contravention of the tribe's by-laws. The Department of Justice has been in doing dispute mediation. The current status is that President Salway will call an official meeting of the council from January 31, 2000 to February 4, 2000. There will likely be a successful impeachment vote and the votes will also be there to remove Chuck Jacobs. One terrible result of all of this is that the records necessary to distribute funding for fuel oil and wood are in the occupied building and the funds have not been distributed. President Salway has obtained an emergency loan and is distributing \$5,000 to each of the districts and they did make payroll. I am monitoring this through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and, while Justice is doing good work, I am ready to ask BIA to get more involved if the council meeting does not resolve the issues.

Laguna Pueblo Renewable Energy Projects

- A contract from the Department of Energy to a Native American owned development company will result in the design, installation and maintenance of a wind turbine and solar panels at the Laguna Majors Ranch. The power generated will allow the community to operate independently and is a very good pilot project to study for further applications.

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WEEKLY MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
PAGE TWO

Response to Indian Initiative in the State of the Union

- Many people have expressed their support and excitement that you spoke about the Native American community and announced the billion dollar initiative. We are in the process of organizing briefings on the Hill and setting up speeches before Indian groups coming into town.
- I also did a call with a dozen Indian media people. This is a very big deal and I thank you for wanting to do this initiative. We are hoping to do a bipartisan event on it near the National Congress of American Indians conference.

The Roads Built in Haiti Only Go S

By CATHERINE ORENSTEIN

Sometime tomorrow, U.S. Army Lt. Col. Raymond Duncan, his aide, his driver and a guard—the last four permanent members of an American military mission that began in September 1994 as Operation Uphold Democracy—will leave Haiti. In the five years since 20,000 U.S. troops arrived to end a military regime and reinstate the elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Americans have not only patrolled the streets but also have helped build or repair miles of roads, dozens of schools and hundreds of wells and latrines, and U.S. medics have treated tens of thousands of Haiti's poor. All told, the United States spent \$2 billion in military and economic aid for Haiti.

Yet today the democracy that the United States intervened to reestablish lies in tatters. Haiti's government has been paralyzed for nearly three years, since a 1997 dispute over flawed elections resulted in the prime minister's resignation and, eventually, in President Rene Preval's dismissal of the 46th legislature. Local and municipal elections now scheduled for March 19 and April 30 have been repeatedly postponed, leaving more than 10,000 offices to be filled. Today, Preval is one of only nine elected officials in the entire nation. He essentially rules by decree.

The official start of voter registration last week offered little hope. Registration offices here in the capital never opened; several that did elsewhere were vandalized, and election materials, including blank voter identification cards paid for by the United States, disappeared. Already people here are wondering if elections will be postponed again—or will occur at all.

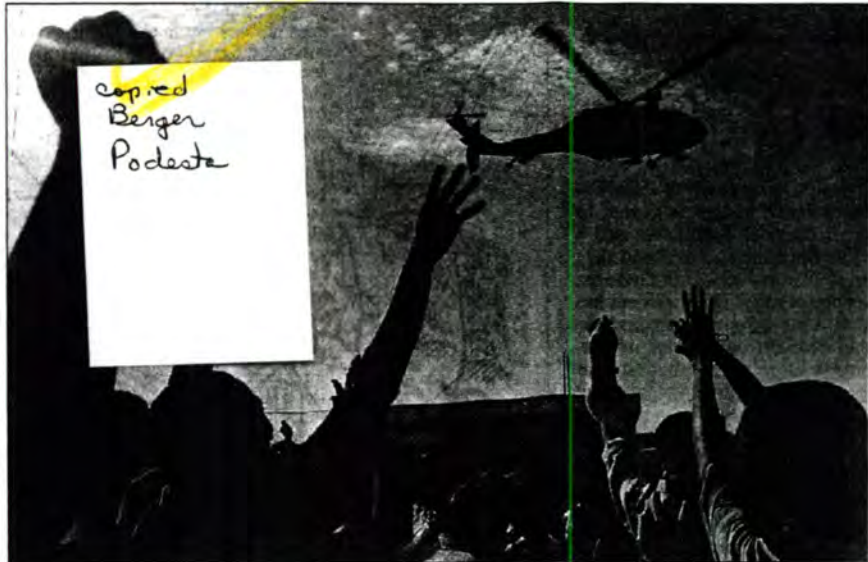
Many foreign analysts attribute this democratic collapse to Haiti's internal problems—its volatile history and lack of experience with elective democracy. After all, it might seem the United States and the United Nations have done all they can to end violence, promote elections, and build peace. But in fact, while helping to rebuild Haiti's infrastructure and trying to promote a free-market economy, they also pursued policies that sabotaged democracy.

Haiti held its first democratic vote in 1990. Aristide, then a parish priest, was elected president by a wide margin under the slogan "Alone, we are weak; together, we are strong; united, we are Lavas"—Creole for a torrential flood. But his program of raising the minimum wage, increasing the social safety net and taxing the wealthy alarmed Haiti's powerful elite—the educated minority who comprise 5 to 10 percent of the population and own more than half of the country's wealth.

Aristide was overthrown after only seven months in office.

The United States officially denounced the coup that brought Gen. Raoul Cedras to

Catherine Orenstein, a New York based writer, has visited Haiti many times since 1991. She was a member of the International Civilian Mission in Haiti in 1995 and has investigated human rights and coup-related crimes for a team of international lawyers assisting Haitian prosecutors.



BY LYNN SLACKY—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Then and now: Haitian low-flying U.S. helicopter arrive in Port-au-Prince. At right: The walls out Palace in the city now 2001," a cry for former Jean-Bertrand Aristide election in 2000 and b following year.

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Thus the governme tion Uphold Democra made democracy all sands had been mur- killers were out on roots movement was early efforts to pro- had been derailed— gained power, his te And U.S. officials r Haitian constitution to the 30-year Duva bids consecutive pre-

His successor, Pre- omy beholden to inte der the agreements s the intervention, Parl from implementing rialist policies, but ' backing for the requi As parliamentary se concerns about pove ernment rapidly lost percent of eligible vo elect Aristide to the half that percentage s idential elections in April 1997, Haiti's las mere 5 percent vote registration offices a to obtain photo IDs i from voting twice. Tl getting them to vote

Haitians call thei pepe—"secondhand Creole word for the

power in September 1991, but its actions behind the scenes undermined that stance. One of Cedras's top allies, Emmanuel "To-to" Constant—the leader of paramilitary death squads that international human rights groups have accused of the rape, torture or murder of thousands—openly admits he was on the CIA payroll. Haiti's elite, who financed the coup, got favorable treatment from Washington: Their U.S. bank accounts were not frozen until most had been emptied. And the Bush and Clinton administrations allowed dozens of Haitian factory owners to continue doing business with Americans in spite of an international embargo.

Meanwhile, the exiled Aristide became the target of a CIA propaganda campaign that cast him as a psychopath and undercut his efforts to return to his country.

It was against this background that the Clinton administration negotiated the con-

ditions for returning Aristide to Haiti. The Americans urged him to grant amnesty to the coup leaders and to select a new prime minister from the business class. The United States, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank also demanded that Aristide agree to drastically reduce tariffs and implement an economic austerity plan—measures that were opposed by the impoverished majority, but were favored by Port-au-Prince businessmen.

After the 1994 intervention, the United States flew Haiti's dictators abroad to join their bank accounts. Cedras retired to a five-star hotel in Panama. Col. Carl Dorrelan, a member of the Haitian high command, emigrated to Florida, where two summers ago he won \$3.2 million in the state lottery. Constant struck a deal with the U.S. Justice Department and now lives in New York. The military and paramilitary rank and file stayed in Haiti, where they re-

Before the Big Event

Roads Built in Haiti Only Go So Far

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Troubling caution
Nixon's documents
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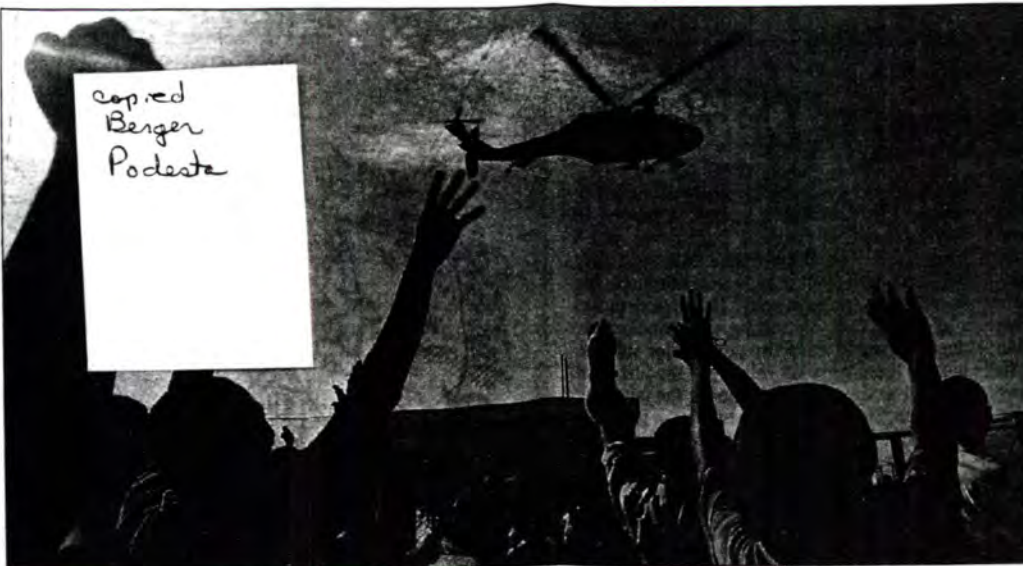
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FILE PHOTO BY CAROL GUZZY—THE WASHINGTON POST



BY LYNN SLADY—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Then and now: Haitians wave and welcome a low-flying U.S. helicopter (above) as troops arrive in Port-au-Prince in September 1994. At right: The walls outside the Legislative Palace in the city now proclaim "Viv tèt 2001," a cry for former president Jean-Bertrand Aristide to win a presidential election in 2000 and be sworn in the following year.

power in September 1991, but its actions behind the scenes undermined that stance. One of Cedras's top allies, Emmanuel "Toto" Constant—the leader of paramilitary death squads that international human rights groups have accused of the rape, torture or murder of thousands—openly admits he was on the CIA payroll. Haiti's elite, who financed the coup, got favorable treatment from Washington: Their U.S. bank accounts were not frozen until most had been emptied. And the Bush and Clinton administrations allowed dozens of Haitian factory owners to continue doing business with Americans in spite of an international embargo.

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mained free—and, often, armed, since the U.S. weapons buy-back program attracted almost entirely outdated or broken guns.

Thus the government restored by Operation Uphold Democracy faced a reality that made democracy all but impossible. Thousands had been murdered, and many of the killers were out on the street. The grassroots movement was decapitated. Aristide's early efforts to provide relief to the poor had been derailed—and by the time he regained power, his term had nearly expired. And U.S. officials reminded him that the Haitian constitution—written in reaction to the 30-year Duvalier dictatorship—forbids consecutive presidential terms.

His successor, Preval, inherited an economy beholden to international lenders. Under the agreements signed a month before the intervention, Parliament was prevented from implementing Aristide's popular socialist policies, but was unable to garner backing for the required economic reforms. As parliamentary squabbles crowded out concerns about poverty and justice, the government rapidly lost support. In 1990, 85 percent of eligible voters had turned out to elect Aristide to the presidency. Less than half that percentage showed up for the presidential elections in December 1995. In April 1997, Haiti's last parliamentary poll, a mere 5 percent voted. This month, voter registration offices are requiring Haitians to obtain photo IDs intended to keep them from voting twice. The real problem will be getting them to vote once.

Haitians call their system *demokrasi pepe*—"secondhand democracy," from the Creole word for the barrels of used Amer-

ican clothes that are sold on the street here.

Despite the disbanding of Haiti's infamous military in 1995, violence continues. A highlight of the past year was the arrest of the Port-au-Prince police chief, Jean Coles Rameau, in connection with the deaths of 11 slum dwellers—10 of them killed with a bullet to the back of the head.

The U.S. government could do something about this: Shortly after the intervention, American troops confiscated about 160,000 documents from the regime's headquarters—a paper trail of tortures and massacres that could help Haitian authorities identify coup criminals, says New York-based Human Rights Watch. But the United States refuses to return these documents without first blacking out the names of any American citizens that appear in them. And the Haitian government, maintaining that the documents are Haitian property and aware of their potential to reveal American collusion with the illegal regime, has refused to accept a redacted set. U.S. officials say the documents remain in the embassy here.

Certainly a few things are better than they used to be. The airport is clean and the beggars are gone. Instead, licensed porters hover alongside a line of shiny new taxis. Many roads have been repaved. At night some are even well-lighted—an improvement which, along with increased policing, has somewhat revived neighborhood nightlife. There are new schools. There is an air-conditioned public bus that runs from Port-au-Prince to the swank hills of Petionville—the route a maid or cook might take to work each day.

Haiti's dismal economy has actually shown some growth in the past two years—but the population has grown even faster, and most Haitians are poorer today than they were during the coup years. And, unfortunately, they have little faith in the future of their *demokrasi pepe*.

Certainly Haiti's leaders made their share of mistakes. Aristide was confrontational in his efforts to redistribute wealth. He did not balance his bold advocacy for the poor with reassurances to Haiti's business class, and he burned bridges with potential foreign allies when he failed to address the economic concerns of the United States, the World Bank and the IMF. Since he left office, unruly protests by his followers have further exacerbated hostilities between rich and poor, compromising democratic processes and undermining Preval's authority.

And while Preval has overseen many significant improvements, he has been unable to assemble a fully functional government. Equally important, he has not created a judicial system capable of restoring faith in the rule of law—a prerequisite to any real democracy.

Yet it must be acknowledged that some responsibility for Haiti's democratic collapse lies, ironically, with her would-be saviors—those who ended Haiti's military regime but let the killers get away with murder. The lesson to be drawn is that international commitment to peace and democracy must go beyond roads and latrines. If, in practice, the U.S. government flouts the standards of justice and accountability it preaches, and fails to support democracy effectively, the point of interventions in troubled places like Haiti will be moot.

the Big Event

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MARY McGRORY

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SUNDAY, JANUARY 30, 2000

Sticking Point

In Defending Its Troops Against Anthrax, The Pentagon Has Injected Distrust Instead

By JAMES TERRY SCOTT

I've always believed that the military tries to do the right thing. That's why I never really questioned its decisions to protect me against various diseases—even if I sometimes wondered what the odds of contracting those illnesses might be. Thirty-five years ago, as I prepared for duty in Vietnam, I accepted the painful gamma globulin shots to reduce the risk of hepatitis, even though at the time my fellow soldiers and I had serious questions about their efficacy. I accepted them just as I accepted the forced separation from my family and the rigors of combat. I certainly never considered inoculations to be the most dangerous part of the contract between soldier and state.

So you might think I'd have no understanding for the 300 or so men and women who have refused to take the anthrax vaccine that the Department of Defense has ordered for all 2.4 million active-duty and reservist person-

nel. But after reading and hearing the confusing and contradictory claims about the vaccination program, and observing the positions of both the Defense Department and the resisters harden into intractability, I've come to believe there's an important message that both sides need to hear.

When you see you are digging yourselves into a hole, put down the shovel.

See ANTHRAX, B4, Col. 1

Terry Scott, director of the national security programs at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, retired as a lieutenant general in 1996, having led the U.S. Army Special Operations Command. During the Persian Gulf War, he was deputy commander of the Army's 24th Mechanized Infantry Division, which led the "left hook" attack in Iraq.



BY DAVID SUTER FOR
THE WASHINGTON POST



Why Am I Resisting the Vaccine? The Military Trained Me To



Why Am I Resisting the Vaccine? The Military Trained Me To

By THOMAS L. REMPFER

For almost 17 years—as an Air Force Academy cadet, an officer and fighter pilot, and now a reservist—I have been a loyal member of the U.S. military. Yet today, along with many other service members and members of Congress, I find myself challenging the Pentagon's anthrax vaccine program. Some will see my act as one of disloyalty. It is not. My loyalty is to a military institution of integrity, not to policies that lack integrity. As the Pentagon digs in to protect a policy under fire, debating this issue outside

Tom "Buzz" Rempfer served in the Air Force in the Pacific and the Middle East, and in the Air National Guard in the Balkans and Central America.

military channels is my only recourse.

A year ago, as part of the program to inoculate all service members against anthrax, I was asked to roll up my sleeve and take the first of six shots. And like hundreds of other service members, I said "no"—in my case, because of unanswered questions about the vaccine's safety. Because of that decision, I am a fighter pilot who no longer flies. I was ordered to resign as a member of the Connecticut Air National Guard and was transferred to a desk job within the reserves. Regardless, I continue to speak out about the possible dangers of the vaccine policy, fight to reverse this dishonorable policy and seek redress for service members affected by it.

See RESISTER, B4, Col. 3

MARY McGRORY

Street Fighting

MANCHESTER, N.H.

George W. Bush, governor of Texas, started out thinking that New Hampshire is just another primary state. He's been scared straight on that score by polls that showed a matching indifference to him. Former senator Bill Bradley started out to conduct a gentleman's campaign against Vice President Gore, but now, late in the day, he has reached for the brass knuckles.

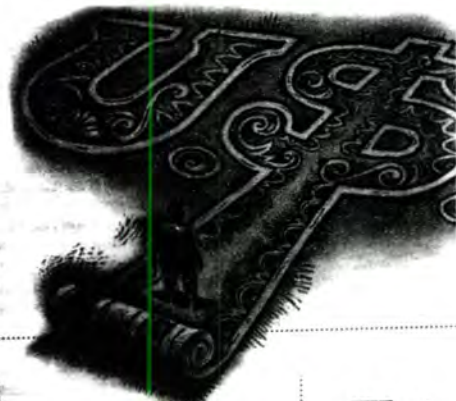
The two transformed contenders were on view at the last debate before the first primary, which takes place Tuesday. Republican and Democratic encounters were staged back to back on Manchester's WMUR—offering the state's undecided voters, who are still swinging and swaying, a final chance to make up their minds.

The chastened Bush has dropped the swagger, dropped the smirk, even restored the "g" to some verbs. He has learned to show up and stay. Last fall, he skipped the first debate, and when he came for the second, he did his answers once-over lightly, reciting from his own commercials, relating all things to Texas.

See McGRORY, B5, Col. 3

THE BUCK
DOESN'T
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A LOOK AT ...

Informed Consent

*Doubts about
whether the system
works* Page 3

What
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Drop the Shovels . . .

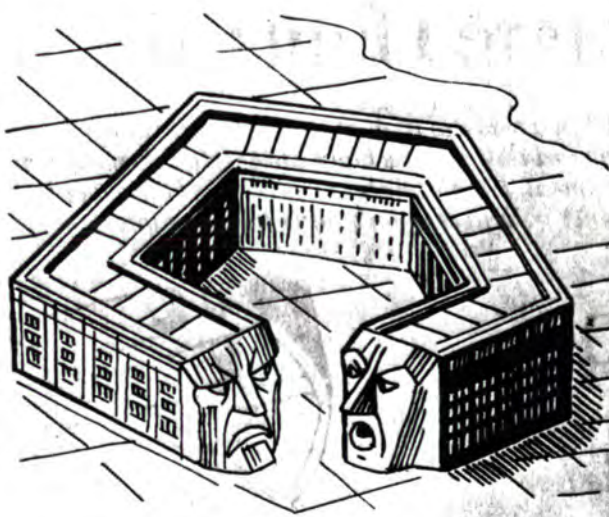
ANTHRAX, From B1

The anthrax vaccine resisters and the Department of Defense have dug themselves into entrenched positions that are undermining military morale and discipline. This comes at a time when the U.S. military's worldwide commitments are straining the services and putting unprecedented stress on military families, and when recruiting and retention are real challenges.

The Defense Department has failed to establish a credible argument for administering the anthrax vaccine universally. The case has not been convincingly made that the protection offered by the vaccine—delivered in six shots over the course of 18 months—outweighs its potential health risk to individuals. I'm not suggesting the vaccine is risky, only that the Pentagon has failed to demonstrate that the vaccine is safe enough to justify such widespread use in peacetime. At the same time, the take-no-prisoners tactics of the anti-vaccination side have created chaos in some Air Force Reserve and National Guard units, where commanders are being pitted against subordinates over what has become a bitter and divisive litmus test for loyalty. In some units, morale and discipline are fractured, friendships have ended, and civilian and military careers are in jeopardy. The controversy recently came into sharp focus over the potential court-martial of Maj. Sonnie Bates, a pilot and 13-year veteran who had testified on the issue before the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee last October and was later served with court-martial papers for refusing to take the vaccine. The only winners in this dispute are the few who wish the military ill in all circumstances.

It's not hard to see the roots of the current dispute. They lie in the Defense Department's long-term loss of medical credibility with the population it serves. That's not the way it used to be. My own experiences with military medicine were positive. In Vietnam, I was twice treated for combat wounds in military field hospitals. In 1983, I was operated on and treated after a serious military parachuting accident. Both of my children were born in military hospitals. And my wife had major surgery at Fort Bragg, N.C. When my younger child entered college, she responded to the question about a family doctor by writing "Warrant Officer Donovan" (the rank and name of the Ranger battalion physician's assistant who treated her during my two tours of duty in Savannah, Ga.). I think we were typical of military families of our generation in the way we trusted military medical care.

That level of trust began to deteriorate with the Defense Department's failure to come to grips with reports of the toxic effects of Agent Orange, the defoliant employed to destroy the jungles in Vietnam. The



BY DAVID SUTER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

1990s by the department's perceived reluctance to resolve the complex questions raised by Gulf War syndrome—and by its apparent inability to refute the assertion that at least some of the reported medical problems were caused by hastily conceived combinations of medicines administered to soldiers to protect them from the potential effects of Saddam Hussein's biological and chemical weapons.

Add to that the Internet, and its ability to bring together geographically separated but like-minded individuals and groups, sometimes to share valuable information, sometimes in a frenzy of speculation. Tales of the anthrax vaccine causing paralysis and other dramatic symptoms abound on the Internet. The lack of hard data provided by the Defense Department has served to abet the proliferation of junk science and rumor. It has developed its own Web site (www.anthrax.osd.mil), but if the anthrax vaccination issue is a test of the military's ability to combat innuendo and falsehood in the information age, then the Defense Department has lost this particular battle.

There have been other changes that have served to undermine military personnel's confidence in the department. Many military families feel vulnerable as they watch the overstretched military medical system crumble from chronic underfunding. Free medical care has long been seen—and advertised—as a substantial benefit for soldiers and families. It is an integral part of their compensation, and it has always been something military families felt they could rely on when their loved ones were on duty far away. But many active-duty personnel today doubt that adequate military medical care will be there for them and their families in the future. This is a very real concern for those who are putting their lives on the line for their country—and it brings to mind the words of my first platoon ser-

subject to their duty status at the time they are injured or fall ill. So reservists, who have civilian careers to protect, view the risks inherent in any medical intervention differently. It is no surprise that it was mostly reservists who initially raised concerns about Gulf War-related illness, just as it is mostly reservists who first raised concerns about the possible health risks associated with anthrax vaccination.

As we all know, there is an element of risk in any vaccination. There are rare but very serious reactions to vaccinations for diseases such as measles and whooping cough. But most of us believe, most of the time, that the value of vaccination outweighs the risk of the disease. In the 1950s, when I

grew up, the fear of polio among my parents and their friends was palpable: They saw the devastating effects of the disease, and wanted to do all they could protect their children from it.

Not so anthrax, which, despite the horror stories, remains a largely abstract horror to many members of the military. They remain unconvinced that they will ever be in danger of exposure to the bacteria. Also the tremendous disparity in reports of adverse reactions to the vaccine is confusing. The Pentagon reports no patterns of long-term or delayed side effects, and fewer than 100 reactions that took people out of work for a day or more among the 383,000 men and women who have already been inoculated in the first of three planned phases. The anti-vaccination side reports much larger, but unverified, numbers.

Looking back, though, it's not difficult to see how positions became so hardened. The threat of biological agents in general, and anthrax specifically, has never been credibly defined as a risk. Explanations to reservists about why they should all be included in the program were inadequate. What's more, there has always been some question about the effectiveness of the current vaccine against anthrax's airborne spores. The vaccine originally was developed to protect veterinarians and other agricultural and meat-packing workers against the disease, not military personnel. Will it

work against other, more potent, forms of the bacteria? There is enough conflicting evidence to create legitimate doubt in the minds of some who serve in the armed forces. Dueling "scientists" have commandeered the debate, leaving the rest of us wondering who, if anyone, is right. Facts have been left behind; rumors and anecdotes proliferate.

What's to be done? Starting now, the Defense Department must rebuild the credibility of military medical policy and military medicine. If military personnel are to comply quickly and willingly with policies and decisions, they must be confident that their individual interests have been taken into account. They must also believe that the department will take good care of them if anything goes wrong. Adequate funding for the military medical system is a good place to start. A comprehensive plan for taking care of those men and women with genuine ailments connected to service in the gulf is long overdue.

So, here's my message to the Department of Defense: Put down the shovel. Admit that while your intentions were good, implementation was flawed. Continue a measured vaccine program focused on those service members—both active duty and reservists—who are most likely to deploy on short notice to high-risk areas. This is necessary because the vaccination, which takes so long to complete, cannot be delayed until deployment is imminent. Commission a study on anthrax prophylaxis that can stand up to scientific peer review. Ask an outside agency to study the number and severity of reactions to the vaccine and compare the results with other vaccinations. Then you will be prepared to meet the inevitable next challenge with credibility.

And here's what I have to say to the resisters: Put down the shovel and go back to making your units the best they can be. Martyrdom is an option, but the cost to others is high. Ask yourself if your resistance to the vaccine program is based on solid information and a respectful difference of opinion, or if you and the military have lost confidence in each other. If confidence is gone, you face some tough decisions, and may be better off resigning.

I do not agree with those who say that refusal to take the vaccine should result in a court-martial. Nor do I agree with those who suggest that a commander who cannot get his subordinates to take the anthrax shots will not be able to get them to fight. This is a false test. Certainly the principal ingredients for success in warfare are, and always will be, discipline and training. But confidence in the cause, the nation, the chain of command, the members of the unit, the weapons and the system are also important. That confidence is gained from rational explanations based on credible evidence. The men and women who serve in our armed forces deserve no less.

. . . And Reverse the Policy

RESISTER, From B1

right. We were asked to leave quickly and quietly. As a result in January 1999, eight pilots—about a quarter of the 32nd Air Force Wing—resigned from the Con-

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Then there are the special concerns of reservists. Access to medical care for them is more limited, and

ers against the disease. ... personnel. With it

our armed forces deserve no less.

... And Reverse the Policy

RESISTER, From B1

Our increased awareness of the dangers troops face from terrorism is a backdrop to the anthrax vaccine policy. In 1996, 19 Air Force personnel were killed and more than 500 others injured in a terrorist bombing of the Khobar Towers at a U.S. military housing complex in Saudi Arabia. With that, the rhetoric of "force protection" began driving military operations. As part of this, protecting against biological threats, including anthrax, became a priority. Thus, I was not surprised when, in December 1997, the military decided to inoculate the problem away. I watched on television as political appointees in the Defense Department rolled up their sleeves for the cameras—leading by example and accepting the vaccine—and I thought, these gentlemen will never have to test the vaccine's effectiveness in combat.

The anthrax vaccine seemed to provide Pentagon leaders with a quick fix to a complex problem. But it assumed that our adversaries would fight us with the sole biological agent we were being protected against. This is absurd. And it assumed that all service members everywhere would be in need of such protection. Troops who had never before refused orders began resisting the vaccine. Some were concerned that the military, by implying that it could protect troops from one biological agent—anthrax—could ultimately leave our forces more vulnerable to myriad other biological agents. Others knew that the vaccine was approved by the FDA for limited use by veterinarians, not against biological warfare. Still others knew that some service members who had received the vaccine during the Persian Gulf War suspected that it had caused them unresolved medical problems. I could not understand why the military was moving ahead so quickly despite the unresolved controversies.

In May 1998, the Pentagon mandated that all service members, both active and reserve, would receive the anthrax vaccine over time. That summer, I left the full-time force for reserve duty in my home state of Connecticut. Safety concerns about the vaccine overshadowed operations in my new unit. My commander directed members of my unit to research these concerns, and said he would present them to the commander of the Air National Guard. Through that research, we uncovered a stark dichotomy between what our military leaders claimed and the information readily available in medical literature and FDA inspection reports.

Descriptions of the vaccine by the military's own medical experts were disturbing. Col. Arthur Friedlander, a chief Army biological researcher, had written in 1994 in the textbook "Vaccines" that "the current vaccine against anthrax is unsatisfactory." A report that same year by the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee quoted Gen. Ronald Blanck, who is now the Army surgeon general, as saying that the "anthrax vaccine should continue to be considered as a potential cause for undiagnosed illnesses in Persian Gulf military personnel."

Equally alarming, in February 1998, the only U.S. company that manufactures the anthrax vaccine had failed an FDA inspection of its production line. The FDA cited vaccine sterility and potency deviations. (Late last year, the company failed another inspection. Again, the FDA cited sterility and potency deviations.) We reported our findings and questions to our commanders, fully expecting that they would be answered, as he had promised.

We were further concerned by FDA inspection reports that identified microbial contamination in some of the vaccine. We asked a commander for supplemental testing data. But the Pentagon instead handed over only production testing data from 1996—two years before the first failed FDA inspection. Soon after, a commander told us that our questions would not be answered and that we should transfer if we could not submit to the vaccine.

I was outraged. For 16 years we had been given safety and ethics training. We had been taught to recognize, question and refuse illegal or immoral orders if necessary. Now, our questions were dismissed out-

right. We were asked to leave quickly and quietly. As a result, in January 1999, eight pilots—about a quarter of the 103rd Fighter Wing—resigned from the Connecticut Air National Guard. Most of us transferred to desk duty in the Air Force Reserves. I was further dismayed as our resignations were misrepresented at Pentagon media briefings. A spokesman suggested that some of us had left for family and personal reasons and implied that we had refused the vaccine because we were unwilling to deploy overseas.

Over the past year, our concerns have been validated by eight congressional hearings, multiple General Accounting Office reports, three bills pending before Congress, and the second failed FDA inspection at the manufacturing plant—all of which point to safety concerns.

Before the inoculations began, Defense Secretary William Cohen had mandated four prerequisites for the policy, including supplemental testing and an independent expert review. But the Defense Department halted the supplemental testing of the vaccine stockpile in the fall of 1998. And the expert asked by the Pentagon to review the policy, a gynecologist from Yale University, acknowledged in a letter to the House Government Reform and Oversight subcommittee on national security that he had "no expertise in anthrax." Six members of Congress later charged that none of Cohen's prerequisites had been addressed satisfactorily. In defending the program, senior Pentagon officials have pointed to a growing biological threat to the troops, yet the General Accounting Office has concluded, based on military intelligence data, that the nature and magnitude of the biological warfare threat have not changed since 1990.

My wife has backed me up throughout this ordeal. But she also has made clear that if I bailed out over this vaccine I must make sure others would not have to do the same in the future. She has reminded me that every step I take in this journey provides an example for our children, who we still hope will serve in the armed forces one day. For their sake, and for the sake of the young people I recruit for the Air Force Academy, I will stay the course until the anthrax vaccine policy is reversed.

Last year, at a congressional hearing, Rep. Mark Edward Souder (R-Ind.) accused the Defense Department of choosing to protect its policy rather than the troops. I agree, and I have concluded that the vaccine is no longer about force protection; it is merely a biological loyalty oath. In rejecting this test of fealty, I have affirmed my duty to challenge orders that don't stand up to a critical and honest analysis.

In time of war, my duty is to defend our nation's liberties and interests—with my life if necessary. But in peacetime it is also my duty to let my chain of command know when something doesn't pass the common-sense test. As military leaders employ courts-martial and even imprisonment to enforce this questionable policy, a contagious group think at the highest levels has equated critical thinking with a lack of good order and discipline. Indeed, a fellow officer, Maj. Sonnie Bates, who testified before Congress regarding these concerns, now faces court-martial. This violates what, for me, defines America's military: honesty, loyalty both up and down the chain of command, and a duty not to blindly follow questionable orders.

While service members must sacrifice personal freedoms, they entrust certain rights, such as their safety, to their commanders. But soldiers are citizens first; Congress has the responsibility to provide oversight if the Defense Department is not looking out for the troops' rights. Congress is doing its duty.

As noted Harvard scholar Samuel Huntington observed, our professional standards justify disobedience when a military leader is ordered to take a measure that is militarily absurd. Those professional standards are spelled out in our honor code and oath of office.

So when a senior military leader recently said to me, "Perhaps if you don't trust the military anymore, you need to hang up your uniform," I didn't hesitate to respond, "With due respect, sir, my duty is to be a member of a military that is trustworthy."

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DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lawrence H. Summers *LS*

SUBJECT: Indonesia

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I want to share some thoughts on my one-day visit to Jakarta this past week on route to the G-7 Finance Minister meetings in Japan.

Overall, I came away deeply concerned about the capacity of the Indonesian leadership to address the country's daunting economic problems. President Wahid's multiple political challenges – including opposition from elements of the military and regional secession movements – and the weakness of his inexperienced economic team limit his capacity to pursue financial sector restructuring and other key reforms.

Singaporean Prime Minister Goh, with whom I spoke briefly before arriving in Jakarta, is very concerned about the magnitude of Wahid's political challenges and particularly warned that he is moving so aggressively against the military that he may inadvertently create a military-Islamic alliance. Goh also believes Wahid's economic team has no clear strategy for moving the policy agenda forward. However, Goh feels we have to do what we can to support the new President.

The Indonesian economy has finally begun to register positive growth. The main policy challenges lie in confronting past corruption and entrenched special interests, and building the intangible infrastructure, including a transparent judicial system, that will attract investment (particularly funds of the local Chinese business community which have been safeguarded overseas).

My main impressions are:

- President Wahid is largely preoccupied with managing Indonesia's sectarian violence, orchestrating a delicate transition in the army, handling Islamic forces both inside and outside the government, dealing with a newly empowered legislature, and addressing the legacy of massive human rights violations by the army and widespread corruption in the government. While he seems to appreciate the difficult economic challenges facing his country, he does not appear engaged in the substance of actions necessary to address them.
- While Wahid indicated that he has given his economic team the authority to act on key issues, his team is extremely weak. My conversations with key advisors, both individually and as a group, left me with little confidence that they will be able to tackle the important economic issues quickly or effectively. Power among the advisors is diffuse, they have

different political bases and agendas, and no one person is likely or able to take on a leadership role. Although the broad outlines of the team's economic policy agenda seems credible, there is little sense that the team will pursue these policies with vigor. The incipient, albeit weak, rebound in Indonesia's economy (with GDP growth turning positive again, inflation falling, and the exchange rate relatively stable) risks reducing the sense of urgency on the need for reforms.

- The team's capacity for action is further constrained by entrenched interests that oppose the government's quick resolution of the huge stock of bad debt and corporate assets. The Government of Indonesia now owns about 75% of industrial assets and bank loans as a result of the crisis and the government's intervention to support the banking system. The government needs to move ahead quickly to restructure these loans, prosecute non-cooperative debtors and sell assets to the highest bidder, even if prices are well below pre-crisis levels. However, large and politically connected debtors oppose government efforts to collect on debts and quickly sell seized assets (such as equity that could bring in new owners and managers). The more the government delays, the higher the ultimate fiscal cost and the longer the financial sector will remain unable to provide the new credit needed to restart the economy.
- The main bright spot in my visit was a meeting with Attorney General Darusman. Much of the hope that we have for Indonesia rests upon the shoulders of the Attorney General, whose responsibilities include revamping the court system to eliminate corruption, pursuing Bank Bali investigations and prosecutions, threatening corporate debtors with bankruptcy to bring them to the negotiating table, and protecting the human rights of minority groups. Darusman is a very impressive interlocutor, who appears to appreciate the key position that he holds and the role that he must play. With Ambassador Gelbard's active engagement, we will be helping Darusman with significant technical assistance.

In all my discussions, I noted that the U.S. has a huge stake in Indonesia's future and that we would be supportive of Indonesia's efforts to move ahead by supporting additional funds from the international financial institutions and by boosting our bilateral assistance, including the provision of technical assistance.

The most useful things we can do now on the economic front are:

- Support the IFI programs, which included \$5 billion from the IMF and almost \$4 billion from the World Bank and Asian Development Bank over the next several years.
- Support another Paris Club agreement, which is expected to reschedule almost \$5 billion of debt service payments coming due over the next two years.
- Provide a more expansive technical assistance package that is targeted at financial sector reform and corporate debt restructuring, money laundering, fiscal decentralization and development of a government bond market. (We are working with State and other agencies to put together a package.)

The New York Times Magazine

JANUARY 30, 2000 / SECTION 6

Church
And State

How the
Wall Came
Tumbling
Down
By Jeffrey
Rosen

C. Jennings
Interview
article in
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Racing Toward

Immortality

(Or at Least Your 150th Birthday)

The spectacular — and
scary — promise of
embryonic-cell research.

By Stephen S. Hall

The Recycled Generation

Stem-cell research holds the promise of an endless supply of new body parts, but it's bogged down in abortion politics and corporate rivalries, and shadowed by the possibility that the result might not be so great after all. By Stephen S. Hall

Photomontage by Sacha Waldman

Almost every weekday morning, usually before 10:30, an overnight delivery truck with an unusual cargo negotiates the hilly streets on the outskirts of Worcester, Mass., and comes to a halt in front of a brick-and-tinted-glass building called Biotech Three. The courier disappears into the building with one or two large gray containers and drops them off at a small company called Advanced Cell Technology. The gray cases look like toolboxes, but they are actually sophisticated shipping containers, commonly used for transporting materials used in animal-breeding work, and they contain the starting material for a series

ADDITIONAL PHOTO CREDITS ON PAGE 79



of experiments that may completely rewrite the tables of human longevity. Or they may be remembered only for being among the most ethically troubling scientific endeavors of our times.

Inside the gray cases are hundreds of cow eggs — big, plump and beautifully rotund oocytes, as they're technically known — each one painstakingly plucked the day before from the ovaries of cows slaughtered in Iowa. They are doused with a marinade of enzymes that prime them for imminent fertilization and then sealed in small plastic test tubes before being shipped overnight to Worcester. On the drizzly, overcast day in mid-December when I visited the laboratories at Advanced Cell, the shipment of eggs arrived a little before me. In all the time that cows have roamed the planet, their oocytes have never encountered the insults they were about to face that day. The eggs would be stripped of their DNA, deliberately fused with human cells and fooled into thinking that fertilization had occurred, in the fervent commercial hope that some sort of an embryo might result.

Experimenting with embryos created from two different species — to say nothing of engaging in a form of human cloning — is an enterprise fraught with scientific and social uncertainty; indeed, Congress forbids the National Institutes of Health to finance any research involving human embryos. So it's natural to wonder why a small, largely unknown and understaffed biotech company would risk public scorn and ethical outrage to perform such research. One possible reason is publicity, which a

any organ in the human body. With the proper biochemical coaxing, for example, it can turn into heart muscle, which could replace tissue damaged by a heart attack. Or into brain cells, which could be used to treat Parkinson's disease. Or into retinal cells, which could be used to restore failing vision.

Imagine, in short, a cell so protean and potent that it could theoretically generate an infinite supply of replaceable body parts — organ and skin, sinew and bone, blood and brain — to knit the tatters of disease, injury or old age. Imagine further that, with the use of controversial technologies like cloning, you might one day donate a snippet of your own skin, allowing scientists to harvest stem cells that theoretically would become a self-generated and limitless supply of transplant tissue — tissue that would make a perfect immunological match with you because, after all, it is you. These ideas have not only been imagined; patents and licensing agreements are already in place.

"These are incredible cells," gushes Thomas B. Okarma of Geron Corporation, the California biotechnology company that controls many of the patents and licenses on stem cells. "I've been in biology since high school, and this is still a chilling technology when you see these things and realize what they do. The number of applications is mind-boggling." Last month, *Science* magazine dubbed stem-cell technology the "breakthrough of the year."

In spite of this promise, the scientific, commercial and ethical landscapes that intersect with

ence last summer showing how rat embryonic-stem cells could be used to treat a version of multiple sclerosis in rats, but he doesn't dare extend the research to test the method's effectiveness in humans. "I would get fired if I did that," McKay says, fairly squirming in his seat to make this seem like the most reasonable thing in the world.

The ban on N.I.H. financing has also had the collateral effect of relegating the technology to the private sector, where embryo research can proceed unencumbered. But the fact that so much of this controversial research now occurs in the private sector means that public discussion has become constrained. And complicating this commercial landscape is the fact that two of the companies most avidly competing over the research, Geron and Advanced Cell Technology, have a tangled corporate history dating back to business opportunities created by the federal ban.

The common figure wandering through all these unsettled landscapes, popping up again and again like some white-coated Zelig is Michael West. West's insistence on pursuing controversial experiments in which cow eggs are used as cellular incubators in an attempt to create humanlike embryos comes at a particularly sensitive moment. Emboldened by a legal interpretation that seemed to show a way around the Congressional ban, the N.I.H. on Dec. 2 issued long-awaited guidelines explaining the rules by which the agency would finance human-stem-cell research. The 60-day comment period ends tomorrow, and the agency hopes to begin soliciting grant proposals from university researchers sometime this summer.

However, Representative Jay Dickey, a Republican from Arkansas who has blocked N.I.H. financing for embryo research since 1995, has already vowed to outlaw federally financed stem-cell research this spring, either through legislation or legal action. Senator Arlen Specter, meanwhile, who is entranced by the medical possibilities, has promised to introduce a bill explicitly allowing federal financing for the research.

West, whose laid-back, soft-spoken demeanor belies the soul of a headstrong provocateur, promises to be an impassioned voice in this debate, too. "I think a lot of the problem we have in trying to develop these new technologies for medicine is people's knee-jerk reaction to words like 'fetal' and 'embryo,'" he says. "You know, you use the word 'fetal' and people just go completely irrational."

UNTIL WE LEARN HOW TO direct the fate of human embryonic stem cells — learn how to tell them, for example, that we'd like them to become a new liver or glistening white bone — their enor-

and key. Many scientists believe it will take at least 10 years before we learn how to program the development of cells that could be transplanted into humans, and probably many more before we learn how to coax stem cells into creating something as grand and complex as a liver or a kidney.

But let's say some version of the science will be in practice by the year 2011, when the first of the baby boomers turn 65. And let's say the technology of stem cells will be complemented by promissory notes redeemed in related fields of gerontological science. What might the menu of spare parts look like?

The first step in creating those spare parts (which could be used not only for the aged but also for anyone in need of intervention) might well be the donation by the patient of a biopsy sample, which could be quickly cloned, thus creating an early embryo, which would produce stem cells in a week or so. Every cell and every tissue derived from those stem cells would be a perfect immunological match, which would immediately circumvent the big stumbling block of current transplant medicine: matching tissue.

At that point, it simply becomes a matter of matching the ailment to the right cell type. Researchers speak of creating nerve cells to treat spinal-cord injuries, stroke and Alzheimer's disease; glial cells for multiple sclerosis; pancreatic islet cells to treat diabetes; muscle cells for muscular dystrophy; chondrocytes for arthritis; hepatocytes for cholesterol metabolism; endothelial vessels to grow new blood vessels to replace vessels clogged by fat and plaque — there are more than 200 different cell types in the body, and stem cells can theoretically be nudged to form each one. If these cells are souped up, as has been proposed, with an enzyme that maintains its cellular youthfulness, we're talking not only about replacement parts, but also about parts that never grow old.

What might the world of stem-cell medicine look like? For one thing, every place in the developed world might look a lot more like Florida. Although the maximum attainable human life span is now approximately 120 years, only about 65,000 Americans have currently reached the age of 100. But a century from now, with new medical technologies in place, the Census Bureau predicts there will be 5.3 million people living to the age of 100 and perhaps much longer. To hear the optimists talk, there'll be much longer waits for tennis courts and tee times.

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'A lot of the problem we have in trying to develop these new technologies for medicine is people's knee-jerk reaction to words like "fetal" and "embryo."'

number of critics have been eager to suggest. But the real answer, insists Michael D. West, the dreamy-eyed 46-year-old entrepreneur who heads A.C.T., is the scientific chase for what he calls "the mother of all cells — the embryonic stem cell."

The embryonic stem cell is an almost mythically powerful and versatile human cell, fleetingly present during the earliest days of embryonal development. This one cell has the potential — the genetic blueprint and the biological know-how — to become any cell, any tissue,

Stephen S. Hall is a contributing writer for *The*

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ence last summer showing how rat embryonic-
stem cells could be used to treat a version of mul-
tiple sclerosis in rats, but he doesn't dare extend
the research to test the method's effectiveness in
humans. "I would get fired if I did that," McKay
says, fairly squirming in his seat to make this
seem like the most reasonable thing in the world.

The ban on N.I.H. financing has also had the
collateral effect of relegating the technology to
the private sector, where embryo research can
proceed unencumbered. But the fact that so
much of this controversial research now occurs
in the private sector means that public discus-
sion has become constrained. And complicat-
ing this commercial landscape is the fact that
two of the companies most avidly competing
over the research, Geron and Advanced Cell
Technology, have a tangled corporate history
dating back to business opportunities created
by the federal ban.

The common figure wandering through all
these unsettled landscapes, popping up again
and again like some white-coated Zelig is Mi-
chael West. West's insistence on pursuing con-
troversial experiments in which cow eggs are
used as cellular incubators in an attempt to cre-
ate humanlike embryos comes at a particularly
sensitive moment. Emboldened by a legal inter-
pretation that seemed to show a way around the
Congressional ban, the N.I.H. on Dec. 2 issued
long-awaited guidelines explaining the rules by
which the agency would finance human-stem-
cell research. The 60-day comment period ends
tomorrow, and the agency hopes to begin so-
liciting grant proposals from university re-
searchers sometime this summer.

However, Representative Jay Dickey, a Re-
publican from Arkansas who has blocked
N.I.H. financing for embryo research since
1995, has already vowed to outlaw federally fi-
nanced stem-cell research this spring, either
through legislation or legal action. Senator Ar-
len Specter, meanwhile, who is entranced by the
medical possibilities, has promised to introduce
a bill explicitly allowing federal financing for the
research.

West, whose laid-back, soft-spoken demeanor
betrays the soul of a headstrong provocateur,
promises to be an impassioned voice in this de-
bate, too. "I think a lot of the problem we have
in trying to develop these new technologies for
medicine is people's knee-jerk reaction to
words like 'fetal' and 'embryo,'" he says. "You
know, you use the word 'fetal' and people just
go completely irrational."

UNTIL WE LEARN HOW TO
direct the fate of human
embryonic stem cells —
learn how to tell them, for
example, that we'd like
them to become a new
liver or glistening white bone — their enor-
mous promise still remains under Nature's lock

and key. Many scientists believe it will
take at least 10 years before we learn
how to program the development of
cells that could be transplanted into
humans, and probably many more be-
fore we learn how to coax stem cells
into creating something as grand and
complex as a liver or a kidney.

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Impresario of immortality: Michael West, president
and C.E.O. of Advanced Cell Technology.

binning biological material from different spe-
cies and performing nuclear-transfer experi-
ments involving adult human cells (also known
as cloning). All three are being pursued in a single
line of research at Advanced Cell Technology.

THE EXPERIMENTS AT A.C.T.
take place in a long, dark,
narrow room in the middle
of the lab. The lights are
kept low to allow techni-
cians to view the cells
through microscopes while poking, turning
and prodding them with micromanipulation
devices. K.C. Cuniff, her blond hair spilling
out over a white lab coat, begins by vacuuming
all of the cow's genetic material from the egg
cells, one after another, for more than an hour.

As I watch a magnified view of the proceed-
ings on a television monitor, it's hard not to be
impressed by the nimble piecework of the tech-
nicians. Cuniff, 26, deftly maneuvers one pi-
pette to hold a round, plump egg cell in place.
(They prefer cow eggs because they are inex-
pensive and easier to use than either pig or pri-
mate oocytes). She turns the egg, which had
previously been stained with a fluorescing dye,
as if rotating a ball in her hand, until she sees a
telltale blue-green speck of DNA. Using her
other hand, she nudges a sharp, hollow needle
up against the surface of the egg. With a precise
thrust, she enters the egg, sucks out the DNA
and withdraws the needle, all in a matter of sec-
onds. "Very quick," she says matter-of-factly.
In, suction, out. Next egg. In, suction, out.

It's so matter-of-fact that you'd never guess
this type of experiment was the focus of wildly
fearful predictions only a few years ago. In
1997, when scientists at the Roslin Institute in

Scotland announced the cloning of
Dolly the sheep, there was a lot of fe-
vered speculation about the possibility
of cloning human beings. It was gen-
erally dismissed as both a distant and
undesirable proposition, but the sud-
den appeal of embryonic stem cells has
provided a surprisingly urgent medical
justification for moving the technol-
ogy of human cloning closer to reality.

In the case of A.C.T.'s experiments,
the cow egg is being tested as a way to
"reprogram," or reset, the adult DNA
back to a pristine state resembling the
moment of fertilization. In these ex-
periments, the egg comes from a cow
but the adult DNA comes from human
donors; it's the human DNA, West be-
lieves, that orchestrates subsequent
embryonic development. The technical
term for this type of experiment is
"nuclear transfer," but West prefers a
more transparent phrase — "human
therapeutic cloning." That modifier
"therapeutic" signals that A.C.T. is

not in the business of making babies, just em-
bryos to get stem cells. And they're not alone
in pursuing the nuclear-transfer approach. Last
May, to remarkably little public comment, Ger-
on acquired Roslin Bio-Med, the Scottish com-
pany in charge of commercializing the research
that produced Dolly.

As Cuniff moves another cow egg into po-
sition, Nancy Sawyer gazes at the TV monitor and
makes a sound like "Unk!" as the needle punc-
tures the egg. "That's so cool," she whispers of
the image. Seen on the monitor, the image has a
primal iconic beauty, like a dim grainy photo-
graph of a distant planet. On each moonlike
oocyte, one isolated lunar mare glows with an
eerie greenish blue, betraying the location of
genetic material that will soon be suctioned away.

At a nearby microscope, Sawyer, 24, performs
the next step. Human skin cells, known as fi-
broblasts, have been provided by an anonymous
donor. The human cells dot the screen like so
many lumpy, transparent potatoes, much small-
er than the egg cells. Sawyer loads them into a
hollow needle, immobilizes a cow egg with suc-
tion and, with gentle pressure, inserts the needle
tip just under the rind of the egg. With a
squeeze of her hand, a single human skin cell,
with its unique payload of human DNA, plops
into the egg of a creature that moos. Sawyer
even manages to maneuver her needle tip to lit-
erally tuck the hole closed.

After stuffing every cow egg with its little
spud of human DNA, Sawyer prepares the next
step. She gives the cells a zap of 120 volts. The
jolt of electricity effectively fuses man and
beast into a single biological fate. After one fi-
nal step, this ... this *thing* will believe it has
been fertilized and, if all goes well, begin cleav-
ing, or dividing, in the bubbling, momentous

arithmetic of life lifting off the pad: 2 cells, 4 cells, 8 cells, 16 cells, 32 cells — blastocyst!

The odds are extremely long that any of the 100 or so cell fusions will result in a blastocyst, the hollow ball of cells that appear about a week after fertilization and, in a normal embryo, are destined to become the placenta. But if that ball of cells should form, a separate group of cells known as the inner cell mass assembles against one inside wall of the blastocyst, like bats huddling on the ceiling of a cave, and this is where the embryonic stem cells will appear. These stem cells exist only briefly before they begin to differentiate into more specialized tissues — there one moment and gone the next, transients vanishing into the great biology of becoming. "If I'm lucky," says Jose Cibelli, vice president of research at A.C.T., "I'll get one blastocyst. That's how low the efficiency is." And getting the blastocyst is just the first hurdle — can they isolate the stem cells and keep them alive in a test tube? And will they truly act like human embryonic stem cells?

Before leaving Worcester that day, I ask Cibelli when he will know if any blastocysts have formed from the experiment I've observed. He says he wouldn't expect to see anything before 9 or 10 days. I do the math in my head and make a mental note to get in touch either on December 24 or Christmas Day.

IN MANY WAYS MICHAEL WEST IS THE shadow impresario of the field. As founder of Geron Corporation, one of this decade's most closely watched biotechnology companies, and now as president and C.E.O. of Advanced Cell Technology, West has achieved remarkable success as a kind of merchant of immortality, selling the idea that stem cells and related technologies might someday completely revise the tables of average human life span. And he is so convinced that the promise of stem cells justifies a controversial strategy like cow-human nuclear transfer that he is happy to foster, if not force, a national discussion of this technology.

In a recent issue of the journal *Nature Medicine*, for example, West, Cibelli and their colleague Robert Lanza argued the case for human therapeutic cloning because stem-cell research is so promising. "Does a blastocyst," they wrote, "warrant the same rights and reverence as that accorded a living soul — a parent, a child or a partner — who might die because we failed to move the moral line?" And that is what Mike West is trying to do at this touchy juncture of the stem-cell wars — with this company, in these experiments, in an ethical debate that has seemed too arcane and complicated to attract much public attention to date. He is putting his shoulder to the moral line that forbids embryo research and is trying to force some sort of social reckoning. The degree to which he and oth-

ers succeed or fail may well determine if stem cells have a chance to live up to their promise as medicine or remain too hot to handle in the current political climate.

Stem cells burst into public consciousness little more than a year ago. In November 1998, James Thomson of the University of Wisconsin reported the creation of human embryonic stem (or E.S.) cell lines. Using leftover frozen em-

With a squeeze of the technician's hand, a single human skin cell, with its unique payload of human DNA, plops into the egg of a creature that moos.

bryos from in-vitro fertilization clinics in Wisconsin and Israel, Thomson and colleagues isolated stem cells and have shown that they can be maintained indefinitely in the lab — can be grown, frozen and then thawed, and still retain their power to develop into, say, heart-muscle cells or brain cells. Michael Shambloot and John Gearhart, at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, headed a separate effort to cultivate something called "embryonic germline" (E.G.) cells, which are harvested from a tiny speck of fetal tissue from an aborted fetus and then grown in the lab. Because of the Congressional ban on federal financing for human-embryo experimentation, both teams conducted the research with financing from Geron.

There are many technical hurdles to overcome. But the sheer power of the approach makes it clear that, if properly harnessed, stem cells could serve as a warehouse of spare human parts. This teasing hint of immortality is the cultural subtext that runs beneath the public fascination with the science, and no one has done more to promote that connection than West. The son of a truck mechanic, West is a onetime creationist and a self-styled truth seeker, and his entrepreneurial interest in the biology of aging derives from an obsessive, almost morbid fascination with death. "All I think about, all day long, every day, is human mortality and our own aging," he says.

The first time I visited Advanced Cell Technology, West showed up two hours late for our appointment, apologized with sheepish charm for his tardiness and began to spin out the kind of polished futurism he regularly conveys to scientists, investors and lay people. "I thought I'd show you some pictures," he said, and then proceeded to project slides on a screen in the

company's conference room, delivering a lecture on the biology of aging to an audience of one. With his gently soothing Midwestern voice and relentlessly upbeat brand of biological positivism, he manages to make science sound almost like a cult. Former colleagues concede that he does not possess a crisp management style (punctuality, for example, being a continuing challenge), but even his critics admit he has a

knack for looking beyond the horizon and dreaming deep. He'll talk for hours about saving endangered species through cloning, or the possibility of cloning pets, or why it makes more economic and ethical sense to pay \$1 for a cow egg than \$2,000 to surgically obtain a single human egg. "He's a very visionary guy," says James Thomson, a University of Wisconsin biologist, "but he's also a very good salesman."

Even as a high-school student growing up in Niles, Mich., West was fascinated with aging and rejuvenation. He immersed himself in religion and philosophy. He learned Hebrew and Greek, he says, to read ancient texts in the original. He went on to study psychology at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, obtained a Masters of Science degree at Andrews University, a Seventh-day Adventist school, and even studied creationism for a time in San Diego, he says, before convincing himself of the truth of Darwinian evolution. Following the death of his father in 1980, West worked in the family's truck-leasing business and then belatedly embarked on a career in science. He received his Ph.D. in cell biology from the Baylor College of Medicine in 1989 and started medical school at the University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center in Dallas.

That same year, West showed up unannounced and began to hang out at the University of Texas lab of Woodring Wright and Jerry Shay, who were researching the molecular biology of aging. Four years earlier, scientists had discovered a critically important enzyme called telomerase, which acts on telomeres, the little caps of DNA at the end of chromosomes; telomeres ordinarily grow shorter each time a cell divides, until the cells stop dividing altogether. It turned out that a handful of human cells — germ cells, cancer cells and embryonic stem

cells — use telomerase to circumvent that shortening process, and thus also circumvent the aging process and achieve a cellular version of immortality.

As West learned more about telomeres, he eventually came to view the enzyme telomerase as a molecular version of the fountain of youth; it looked as if it might bestow immortality on normal cells and, conversely, could have the beneficial effect of pulling the plug on immortality in cancer cells if blocked. While still technically enrolled in medical school, West moved out to California and banged on doors in search of seed money for a biotech startup. Thus, in November 1990, he founded a company dedicated to the molecular causes of aging. He named it Geron — Greek for "old person." He eventually captured the interest of the most prestigious venture-capital firm on the West Coast, Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers, which along with other firms invested \$7.6 million in Geron in 1992.

For a company that has lost tens of millions of dollars and is in no danger of curing aging anytime soon, Geron has managed to cast a spell on investors, the media and the lay public. In both technical articles and news releases, it has retailed a scientific vision (and vocabulary) that clearly push the right zeitgeist buttons. West and Geron spoke tirelessly of "immortalizing enzymes" and the "life extension" of cells; Geron is almost universally recognized as an "anti-aging" company. And in 1997, after winning a highly competitive race to clone (and patent) the human gene for telomerase, Geron actually had a real molecule around which to develop clinical products. The company currently has a number of promising directions for telomerase-based products, including potential anticancer applications, but the mythology is so firmly established that even though company officials insist Geron is no longer an "anti-aging company," this is still how it is inevitably portrayed.

From the very beginning, however, West had another big idea he wanted to pursue. "You need replaceable cells and tissues for the problems of aging as well," he said. "And it seemed to me that the ideal source for an aging population is to go back to the beginning of life." To the embryo, that is, and stem cells. And so, as early as 1992, he paid a visit to Roger Pedersen, a professor of obstetrics, gynecology and reproductive sciences at the University of California at San Francisco, and a leading expert on embryonic stem cells in mice. They both agreed that the time had arrived to explore the vast potential of such embryonic stem cells in human medicine, and West inquired into whether Pedersen would accept financing from Geron to do research on human stem cells.

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Pedersen flatly refused: "This area of investigation is something that is at the headwaters, and it's not appropriate for private investors to control the headwaters of a stream of research."

Several years later, however, Pedersen got back in touch with West. Circumstances had changed, he said, and he was ready to deal.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES WERE political. In 1975, federal regulations stipulated that any government support for in-vitro-fertilization research required the approval of a federal ethics advisory board. After a short and turbulent history, this board was disbanded in 1980 without a single research project having received government funds. One cynical stratagem of the Reagan and Bush administrations, according to Pedersen, was to block all attempts to reconstitute the panel, effectively thwarting such research throughout the 1980's.

Under the new Clinton administration, Congress did away with the phantom federal ethics review and set up a special N.I.H. committee to establish guidelines for human-embryo research. Everything seemed back on track when, early in 1995, Jay Dickey, the Republican congressman from Arkansas, successfully inserted



Clone ranger: As a graduate student, A.C.T.'s Jose Cibelli fused his own cells with cow egg cells.

a rider into the budget bill for the Department of Health and Human Services (which includes the N.I.H.) banning federal funds for human embryo research. Just as right-to-life politics had forced in-vitro fertilization and reproductive biology into the private sector, where lack of oversight and regulation has led to a series of

well-documented scandals, stem-cell research seemed headed for similar privatization.

Those were the circumstances that had changed Roger Pedersen's mind. Geron reached an agreement with the University of California to finance Pedersen's work on embryonic stem cells. During his discussions with West, Pedersen mentioned that a scientist at the University of Wisconsin, James Thomson, was about to publish a paper announcing another breakthrough: the isolation of embryonic stem cells from rhesus monkeys. West was in Wisconsin the next day, and Geron signed up Thomson too.

"I would have been much happier with public support," Thomson admits. "But given the constraints, I welcomed the funding I got." Getting access to stem cells from a primate, an animal biologically close to humans, West realized, promised tremendous intellectual-property dividends. "We could just learn how to work with them, and file patents," he said. "But we'd have this head start on the whole world." When West later learned that another university researcher, John Gearhart at Johns Hopkins, had made significant progress isolating cells very similar to embryonic stem cells, he headed straight for Baltimore. "He just showed up on my doorstep one day," Gearhart recalled with a laugh.

With Pedersen acting as talent scout, West chased down and signed up three of the leading stem-cell researchers in the world. Geron began to assemble a staggering intellectual-property portfolio in a field with almost limitless medical potential. And because the Congressional right-to-life advocates had effectively tied the N.I.H.'s hands in terms of financing, there wasn't any competing research in university labs. The investment paid off spectacularly in November 1998, when both Thomson and Gearhart announced they had isolated human stem cells. The universities where the work was done retained the patents on the research, but Geron received exclusive rights to many applications.

Unfortunately, Mike West enjoyed this moment of triumph only vicariously, because by then he had left the company, unhappily. In 1997, according to several sources, Geron planned to spin off its entire stem-cell program into a separate company, which would include West, when the plan, in the words of a scientific board member of the company, "got clobbered by the company leadership." Thomas Okarma, who joined Geron in December 1997 and is now president, offers a different interpretation. "I was hired explicitly to run that program because it really wasn't moving," he said. In any event, the stem-cell research stayed at Geron, and *Continued on Page 46*

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IMMORTALITY

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West says he increasingly felt he could do more outside the confines of the company than inside.

The fact that West's current company, Advanced Cell Technology, is now competing against the company he founded may go a long way toward explaining why Mike West is so determined to find an alternative way of obtaining human stem cells, one that doesn't rely on existing human embryos in clinics or fetal material from abortions — the methods that Wisconsin and Johns Hopkins licensed to Geron. And it certainly explains why he perked up when, a few months after leaving Geron, he learned of an unusual experiment by Jose Cibelli, an Argentinian scientist working at Advanced Cell Technology. The good news was that Cibelli had tried to isolate human stem cells using a method that seemed to offer an alternative to Geron's approach. The bad news was that the strategy involved human cloning. And cows. "And I knew," West says, "that was going to be a problem."

IN THE SUMMER OF 1996, Cibelli was a graduate student at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, working in the laboratory of James Robl, a respected developmental biologist. Cibelli had the radical idea of fusing some of his own cells with cow egg cells, in effect cloning himself — not to make a copy, of course, but as a way to get human stem cells. Interestingly, this wasn't the first time Robl had been confronted with such an idea. Several years earlier, a student in the lab, unbeknown to Robl, had fused human cells with the egg cells of a rabbit, and the cells had begun to divide. This time,

Robl went to university officials and received institutional approval to proceed.

During July and August, Cibelli rinsed out some of the cells that lined the inside of his cheeks and tried fusing them with cow egg cells. "One day, Jose was about to go on vacation, and he was about to throw out the dish," Robl recalls. "I don't generally look at these things, but I did that day. And there was a blastocyst." In other words, the embryolike thing had moved beyond mere cell division and graduated to the stage where embryonic stem cells begin to form. As is routine when the experiment reaches this stage, Cibelli placed the fragile blastocyst on a bed of fetal mouse cells, which nourished its further development. "We watched it for about two more weeks," Robl says. "It looked, to my eye, not like a cow blastocyst. The morphology of the cells was different."

Cibelli and Robl did not publicly discuss the experiment at the time, nor did they prepare a scientific report for peer review. "We never considered a publication," Robl explains, "because there was not nearly sufficient data." But the University of Massachusetts did consider the experiment sufficiently novel to file a patent application. The United States patent was issued, virtually unnoticed, last August.

Cibelli recounted this remarkable story to West in the spring of 1998, when West happened to be visiting A.C.T. "I was just flabbergasted," West recalls. "I mean, he showed me human embryos that had been made by cloning. And I had no idea — no one in the world had any idea — that it had been done. I thought, 'Oh my gosh, this is exactly what I want to be doing for the next 10 or 20 years of my life.'" More to the point, it was exactly the

kind of technology that would allow him to get back into the stem-cell game.

West officially joined A.C.T. in October 1998 and immediately presided over an episode that was, for him, uncharacteristic — a major public-relations fiasco. As soon as West joined the company, Cibelli lobbied to resume his cloning experiments. West agreed, but wanted to disclose details of the 1996 experiment and gauge public reaction to the technology before starting it up again. "I didn't want to be accused of doing this in secret," he says. So he invited a film crew from the CBS newsmagazine "48 Hours" to film the work in progress.

Then, one week before the scheduled broadcast, on Nov. 6, West got blindsided by his previous life. Geron announced Thomson and Gearhart's successes isolating stem cells. "I had no idea it was coming," West admitted. It wasn't just that the research made front-page headlines and drove Geron stock up 74 percent in one day. By the time CBS broadcast the show on Nov. 12, along with a news account of the experiments that appeared in that morning's New York Times, West's professed desire for openness looked like something entirely different: a bid to leverage "me too" publicity for his otherwise unknown company.

For an experiment that never received formal peer review, Cibelli's cow-human nuclear-transfer work got plenty of unofficial feedback, beginning with the White House. Clinton called it "deeply troubling." Thomas Murray, president of the Hastings Center and a leading bioethicist, wondered "if the timing of the announcement had to do with scientific competition, personal competition or positioning for funding from

Continued on Page 74

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IMMORTALITY

Continued from Page 46

investors." Roger Pedersen was quoted as saying, "I smell a sham." (He claims he wasn't told who performed the experiment when he was asked to comment upon it.) Thomson regarded the whole affair as "unfortunate." Right-to-life pickets showed up outside Biotech Three in Worcester, marching around in cow masks.

Two days after news of the cow-human experiments broke, President Clinton asked his National Bioethics Advisory Commission to prepare a report on stem-cell research in general. The commission hastily convened hearings in January 1999 in Washington. And who should turn up, uninvited, to make an unscheduled presentation before the panel but Michael West.

I READ AN EDITORIAL BY AN INDIVIDUAL who wrote that science should stop so that ethics can catch up," West told the national commission that day. His ambition, he said, was "to communicate to people in public policy and in biomedical ethics, so that, simply, ethics can walk hand in hand with science." Ethics and modern biology, however, have rarely walked hand in hand, and stem-cell research has added new difficulties to the relationship.

Over the past year, two high-powered advisory committees have, with one significant difference, endorsed the general idea of embryonic-stem-cell research. A committee established by the American Association for the Advancement of Science recommended last August that researchers be able to receive public funds for experiments on embryonic stem cells, but only using cell lines already created by researchers in the private sector. The National Bioethics Advisory Commission, by contrast, recommended last September that researchers financed by the N.I.H. should be allowed to create stem cells using human embryos already in existence (thousands of such embryos, frozen and destined to be discarded, exist at in-vitro fertilization clinics).

But no oversight or guidelines exist for private industry, and in February 1999, well before either committee delivered its opinion, Advanced Cell Technology quietly decided to resume its cow-human nuclear-transfer experiments. It seemed like an important decision for such socially sensitive research, so I asked West if it was something that went to the board or an ethics advisory panel for approval. West said it was strictly his decision. And there's the paradox. Now that abortion politics has forced so much of the research into the private sector, the transparency of the ethical conversation about it has become more obscured.

Everyone, including Mike West, insists on an open national debate about stem-cell research. But I began to notice that whenever I asked one question too many about exactly what work was being done, or even contemplated, the conversations became elliptical and vague. I was having

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asked if the use of human donor eggs for cloning experiments was under consideration. Cibelli had told me he thought such a development was very likely. "I have to confer on this issue," West replied apologetically, leaning over to huddle with A.C.T.'s public-relations adviser. Then, after a pause but without directly answering the question, he expressed concern that such a program could exploit women.

For all their good intentions, ethicists may have allowed themselves to be placed in a difficult, possibly untenable position. At Geron, for instance, the company's ethics advisory board seems to have the ear of management. But, says Karen Lebacqz, who heads the Geron ethics advisory board, "they are perfectly at liberty to ignore all our advice." Further, as Lebacqz points out, she is not free to discuss certain aspects of the research. "Early last summer, they brought us a piece of research that they were going to fund. Several members of the board raised objections, so they decided not to pursue that particular line of research." What was the research under discussion? "I'm sorry, I really can't," she said.

The ethicists have become proxies for all of us, precisely because so much of this technology, for political reasons, is unfolding in the private sector. Yet they have limited power. West, for example, told me that when Geron first considered establishing an ethics board, the company determined that giving such a board the right to veto research projects would undermine its fiduciary responsibilities to shareholders. The ethicists have what West calls "the power of the pen," but what they can report back to us is constrained.

Their mere participation in the process, however, creates the appearance of oversight and ethical responsibility, and that is precisely what bothers David Cox, vice chairman of the genetics department at Stanford University and a member of the national bioethics commission. Cox says ethics advisory boards at biotech companies are "a joke": "They're supposedly doing ethical review, but the process by which they're working is backwards."

It's very hard to have a national debate on issues as socially and ethically important as cloning and the creation of embryonic stem cells when every conversation may ultimately bump up against corporate confidentiality. The problem of openness is compounded by the editorial policy at a number of leading scientific journals, which refuse to publish research if the results have previously been disclosed in public. That almost guarantees that breakthroughs in a controversial and competitive field of research like stem cells will land in the public's lap as scientific *faits accomplis*, just as Dolly did.

And it leaves us in the same scientifically uncertain and ethically queasy place we were more than a year ago. At that time, Thomas Murray of the national bioethics commission asked West if he thought the cow-human experiments resulted in human embryos that were poten-

tially "viable" — in other words, embryos that, if implanted in a woman, could result in a live human being. West didn't answer, and A.C.T. still isn't answering. I asked Jose Cibelli, for example, if the A.C.T. scientists had made any progress overcoming the problem of biological incompatibility between a cow egg and a human cell, an issue involving small cellular organs called mitochondria; it is an obstacle repeatedly raised by the many scientists who remain skeptical about the approach and are dubious that a blastocyst would be created, especially since A.C.T. still hasn't published a sprig of data on it in more than a year.

"We think," Cibelli began to say, "but this is very preliminary. . . ." He shrugged and smiled. "You can say that we've had good progress," he continued with a little laugh. "We've had good progress, and we expect to have something to report in the near future. But I guess I need to be protective of the data for publication's sake."

Michael West sounded a similar theme when I told him how many complaints I'd heard about A.C.T.'s unpublished experiments. "We could publish now, the data we have," West assured me, well aware of the exasperation of the research community. "But," he continued, "we're

ANSWERS TO PUZZLES

OF JANUARY 23, 2000

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On Christmas Eve, I sent an e-mail to Jose Cibelli, asking about the status of the cells I'd seen fused. The day after Christmas he wrote back to report that the nuclear-transfer units had "developed at the 'predictable' rate," while declining to specify exactly what that was. As soon as new techniques were in place, he continued, Advanced Cell Technology would report the results in a peer-reviewed journal.

AS CONGRESS PREPARES to debate the merits of stem-cell research in the coming months, we will undoubtedly hear rosy visions of the future of medicine with stem cells (as well as the contorted political logic that suggests that research on human embryos and cross-species nuclear-transfer experiments are permissible in the private sector, but morally indefensible in the public sector). But it's also worth thinking through the implications of immortalizing medicines, which I had the opportunity to do with Leonard Hayflick, the elder statesman (and elder contrarian) of the field.

Hayflick, now 71, is a well-known cell biologist; his discovery in 1961 that normal human cells grown in a test tube simply stop dividing after a specific number of cell divisions, known as the Hayflick limit, in effect introduced the notion of mortality into the biology of aging. We arranged to meet at the Union Club in Manhattan in early December, when Hayflick showed up to harangue fellow board members of the American Federation for Aging Research about their financing priorities.

Hayflick doubts we'll ever have a quick fix to arrest aging anytime soon, but he has lots of reasons to think it would be a very bad idea. Like a number of bioethicists, he believes the first line of division is

economic. Access to the regenerative medicine of stem-cell and immortalizing enzymes is most likely to be a phenomenon available only to affluent segments of the population in the developed world.

In his book "How and Why We Age" and other writings, Hayflick has even gone to the trouble of imagining "bizarre situations" that might unfold if scientists were ultimately able to create a medication that would, from the moment treatment began, essentially freeze the process of aging at a certain point. He has imagined "children becoming biologically older than their parents" if a parent chose to stop aging at age 45, for example, while a child did nothing. How would you even know, he asks, the right age to stop at?

Karen Lebacqz has also pondered this distant future. "If we are successful with the use of stem cells or in the reprogramming of cells," she says, "it will mean that people are no longer dying of the things we are dying of today. What do we do with all of ourselves if we don't die?" We'll squander even more of the world's resources, she continues, and put even more pressure on the developing world.

But perhaps the ultimate argument against the implicit promise of immortality has to do with a simple biological fact: if we were to rejuvenate our brains, Hayflick argues, we might lose the most precious thing we have: our sense of self. "Given the possibility that we could replace all our parts, including our brain, then you lose your self-identity, your self-recognition. You lose who you are! You are who you are because of your memory."

There is a lot of scientific research and a lot of heated political debate to come before we arrive at any of those distant quandaries. And how we resolve the ethical conversations we're in the midst of having over stem cells will have a lot to say about whether we'll have a chance of reaching that future at all. ■

CREDITS

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I want to share some thoughts from my trip to India. Although India faces a variety of difficult economic challenges, I found that the prospect for economic reform today is encouraging. The Indian economic team is of high quality, the private sector displays a sophistication that is lacking in countries with similarly low levels of income, and there is huge potential room for policy changes that would bring large growth dividends. This suggests that India has a strong potential to catch up to other emerging markets. If China grows at 7% per year for the next 15 years and India closes half of its income gap with China, it implies that India could grow by about 10% per year.

While such a growth rate is an ambitious target, a generation of young Indian entrepreneurs is starting to assume positions of economic power and leadership. Some of these entrepreneurs have been tremendously successful, helping to change the way that ordinary Indians think about business and free markets. It is these entrepreneurs who are responsible for the explosive success of India's software industry. I visited one Indian software firm, founded less than 20 years ago, that is now worth \$24B. India's total exports today are \$40B, but some analysts expect India's software exports alone to reach that figure within a decade.

The Indian people seem to have enormous enthusiasm for your upcoming visit. There exists in India a strong belief that now is the time to expand the partnership between our two countries and these ideas had strong resonance with Indian officials, businessmen, and ordinary citizens. In my meetings I used the prism of our own experience in the U.S. to talk to the Indians about the imperatives of their own reform agenda. I stressed four points in particular.

- First, the Indian government needs a major deficit reduction effort in its administration. Driven up by the cost of supporting a large public sector, extensive subsidies to the middle class, and opaque federal/state fiscal relations, the overall budget deficit has risen to over 9% of GDP.
- Second, India needs to improve the dynamism of its financial system. The half of the private savings that are not absorbed by the budget deficit is channeled into unproductive state-owned industries through a variety of bank regulations. Extensive restrictions on external capital flows interfere with India's financial interaction with the rest of the world and starve rural areas of needed credit.

- Third, India needs to open its economy further in order to take full advantage of the benefits of global economic integration. India's import tariffs are at an average rate of 35%, roughly twice the level that China will achieve post-WTO.
- Fourth, India needs to deepen its investment in people. I visited a number of rural and urban development projects, including a school for poor and orphaned children and projects providing micro-credit to poor women. India is a world leader in this type of innovative, grass-roots development programs. Nonetheless, in the years since independence, Indian social development indicators have slipped well behind the rest of Asia, a fact that only emphasizes the importance of economic growth and openness.

Recommendations and Observations

1. As with your trip to Africa, your visit to India presents a major opportunity to re-introduce the United States to India.
2. The generational cleavages in attitude are as great in India as anywhere I have traveled, excepting perhaps Russia. I urge you to meet with some group of young, successful Indian entrepreneurs and carry their message back to the U.S. A visit to Bangalore, India's entrepreneurial center for hi-tech products, is probably the best location for such a meeting.

People-to-people contact between the United States and India is woefully low. In preparing for my trip I was struck by the fact that there seem to be few academics in the United States under the age of 60 who are expert on the Indian economy. This fact reflects the absence of all kinds of cultural and academic exchanges, something that could be reversed in association with your trip.

There is considerable scope for interaction on economic and financial issues between our two governments. Given the potential size of India's market, it is important for us to shape the development of the Indian financial system at this early stage of reform. We are exploring a framework for such interactions with the Federal Reserve and Securities and Exchange Commission, with a goal of deepening our financial contacts with the Indian economic and financial policy makers.

Concerning trade relations, I believe that we will be unable to take advantage of our mutual agreement on the rest of the WTO agenda unless we can find some aspect of the labor standards issue that the Indians can embrace. At the suggestion of Charlene Barshefsky, I have invited the Prime Minister's personal advisor, Mr. N.K. Singh, to Washington to begin working on ways to carry the WTO forward.

6. Finally, I note that Indians are preoccupied with the security concerns that surround their country's relationship with the United States. They very clearly want us to acknowledge and respect these concerns. Though not a dominant issue during my visit, the Prime Minister's personal advisor did stress to me privately that your reception in India will be fundamentally different if you also visit Pakistan during the same trip.

January 23, 2000

Dear Mr. President,

I remember when you called me the day before your second State of the Union address. I was honored that you wished my opinion on what was important. So I am taking the situation in my own hands and writing you about what should be in this speech. Forgive me for my boldness.

Issue #1 Raising Your Children

Parents are not raising their kids. The rich and middle class want more money, so they are focused on that. They both work, leave their kids at home, give them everything to keep them out of their hair. They take vacations as often as they can because they must get away from the kids. Then when their kids become a stranger and do things they shouldn't, the parents say, "I thought I knew Johnny." I can't understand why he is: On drugs, Pot, Alcohol, Guns, Getting Pregnant, you know. Our children. The fact is that they never, REALLY, spend time with their kids. They never REALLY talk to them. They never REALLY relate to them. They never REALLY say NO to them. They never REALLY establish limits for them. They never REALLY try to keep them from growing up too fast. They just give them everything, treat them like adults. This just sets up an unrealistic view of the future. Bad stuff.

There is too much pressure on a daily basis on our school children. This pressure comes in the form of clothes, shoes, cell phones, cars, as well as the pressure to grow up too quickly. This pressure affects parents and children alike. Those who cannot afford to give their children expensive clothes luckily are teaching their children that it is ok not to have everything at such a young age. Those who have everything are being set up for unhappiness because it is not realistic to have everything they want without working for it. They will expect everything they want without having to sweat and toil for it.

One solution is to have school uniforms. This will make that situation better for everyone.

Issue #2 Advertising to the young.

Several retailers are literally using smut to pull our young into their stores to buy very expensive clothes. Abercrombie and Fitch and Express are both using nudes in their advertising. These girls all look under age and some of the time have absolutely NO clothing on. Now what is the store selling in those pictures??? The catalog I am sending you is the worst example of what I am speaking about. Please Mr. President, look at every page in this book and get mad. Get very very mad. Get mad enough to publicly chastise these people. Also please call all three of these people into your office and give them hell. They don't need to corrupt our kids to get their money. Gap and J. Crew and American Eagle don't advertise that way and are doing well financially.

Issue #3 Education

Teachers need to be good. They need to be qualified.

Issue #4 Pharmaceuticals

Give me a break. They should make a fair profit, not rip us off for years and years.

Issue #5 Cyprus

I feel it will send a great message to Turkey and Greece and Cyprus to tell the whole world during your State of the Union message, your last State of the Union message, how important that situation is and how important that part of the world is. That divided countries should exist no more. Displaced peoples in civilized societies should be returned to their rightful land. That the United States has a brain and knows what is right and what is wrong.

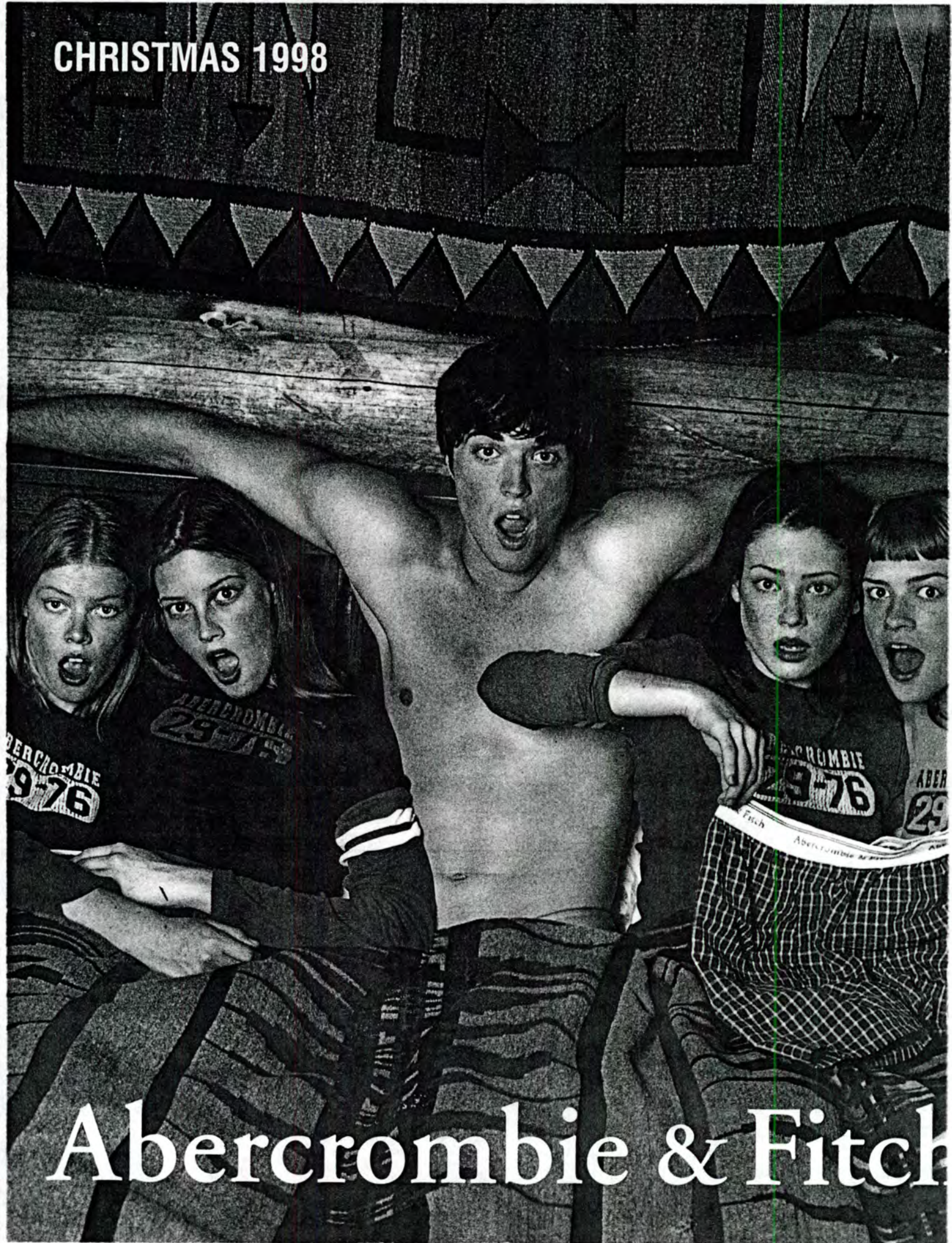
Issue #6 Healthcare

Children should be covered. Most people should pay something, some minimum amount at least. This will establish some value to it. Giving people something for nothing, never works.

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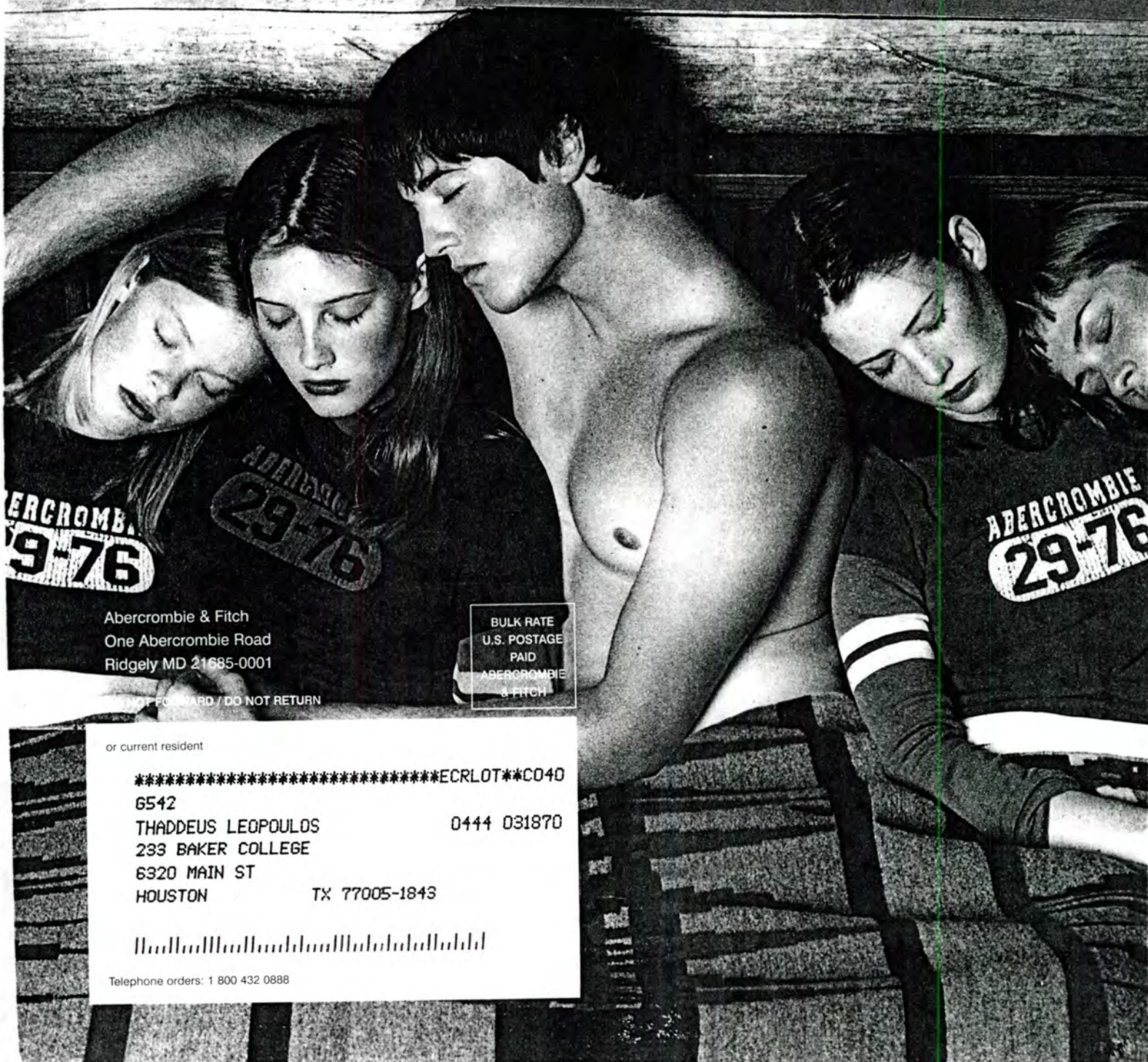
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CHRISTMAS 1998



Abercrombie & Fitch

These pictures hang in
them stores for the
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Judge Pictures 4'x8'



Abercrombie & Fitch
One Abercrombie Road
Ridgely MD 21685-0001

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U.S. POSTAGE
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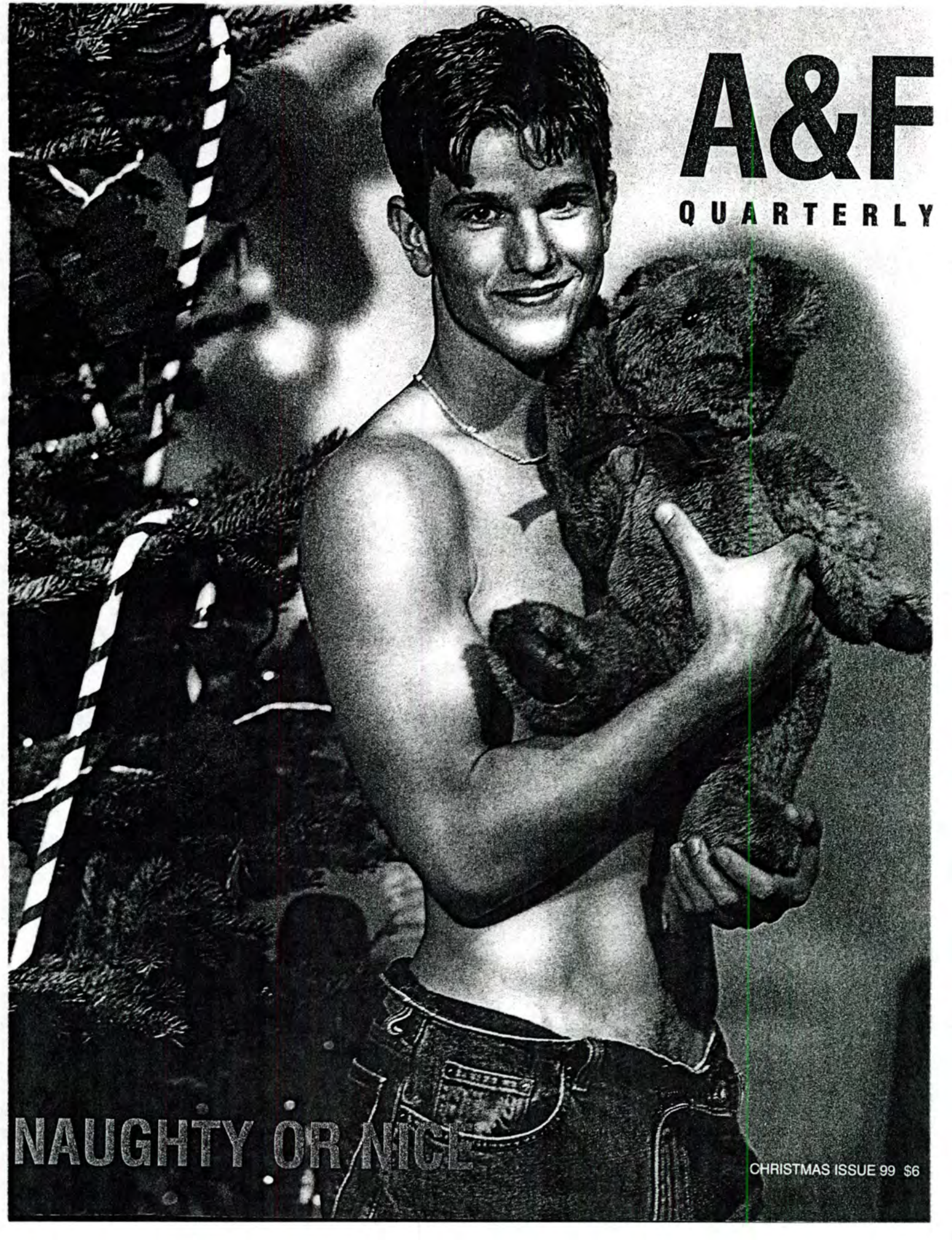
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CHRISTMAS ISSUE 99 \$6

1-31-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 26, 2000

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00 JAN 26 PM 3:07

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Joe Lockhart

Re: White House Press Dinners

This memo is to confirm your attendance at this year's White House Correspondents Dinner and White House Photographers dinner.

As you know, there are four press dinners each spring – the Gridiron Dinner on March 25; the White House Radio-TV Correspondents Dinner on April 6; the White House Correspondents' Dinner on April 29; and the White House Photographers Dinner on May 6.

You'll be in Southeast Asia during the Gridiron Dinner, and I don't think it's necessary for you to attend the Radio-TV Correspondents Dinner.

I would, however, like to confirm your attendance at the Correspondents Dinner and the Photographers Dinner. You've attended both events in the past, and your presence at the Correspondents Dinner would make you the first two-term President in history to attend all eight dinners. I think it would also be a nice gesture to attend the Photographers Dinner, as you missed the dinner last year.

Okay to confirm your attendance ✓

Thank you.

Cc: John Podesta
Stephanie Streeth

Discon



Assis

1131/00
Send to NSC ?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Thomson
Zoss
Patton
Good

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

'00 JAN 31 AM 11:47

Dear Mr. President:

Admiral Zumwalt's funeral service last week was extraordinary. For many reasons, Bud touched each of us there to honor his life. He was the CNO when I was a petty officer third class (E-4) in the Navy in the early 1970's. Through Renaissance, I had the great pleasure to get to know him on a very different level.

I had lunch with Bud the Thursday in December before his lung collapsed in Durham. Given my role at the VA, you can guess what we talked about - obviously, Agent Orange. In so many ways, it seemed fitting that a man who had been such an inspiration to all of us as young sailors, would once again be calling on a "young sailor" for some help. What made me especially proud was the thought that I might actually be able to do something to help.

In talking with Dan Mendelson (the VA's PAD at OMB) on Thursday, we discussed the possibility of an expanded study of Agent Orange in Vietnam. Dan indicated you had mentioned such a study as well, and that Senator Daschle is also interested. I would have to believe that Senator Robb and Senator Warner would be supportive. Aside from the special tribute to Admiral Zumwalt as a fulfillment of his long time dream, the study would offer Vietnam a sincere gesture of the United States' desire for engagement. Additionally, such a study could put the issue of Agent Orange to rest for our veteran population who served in Vietnam.

My understanding is a study of this nature would require specific legislation to accomplish it. This is a bit beyond my area of expertise; however, I am more than a willing volunteer to help make the study happen. If this is something I can do, please let me know.

Respectfully,

I am sure your comments
would have made Bud very happy.
All the best. h.

1-31-00

et brev til Bill Clinton

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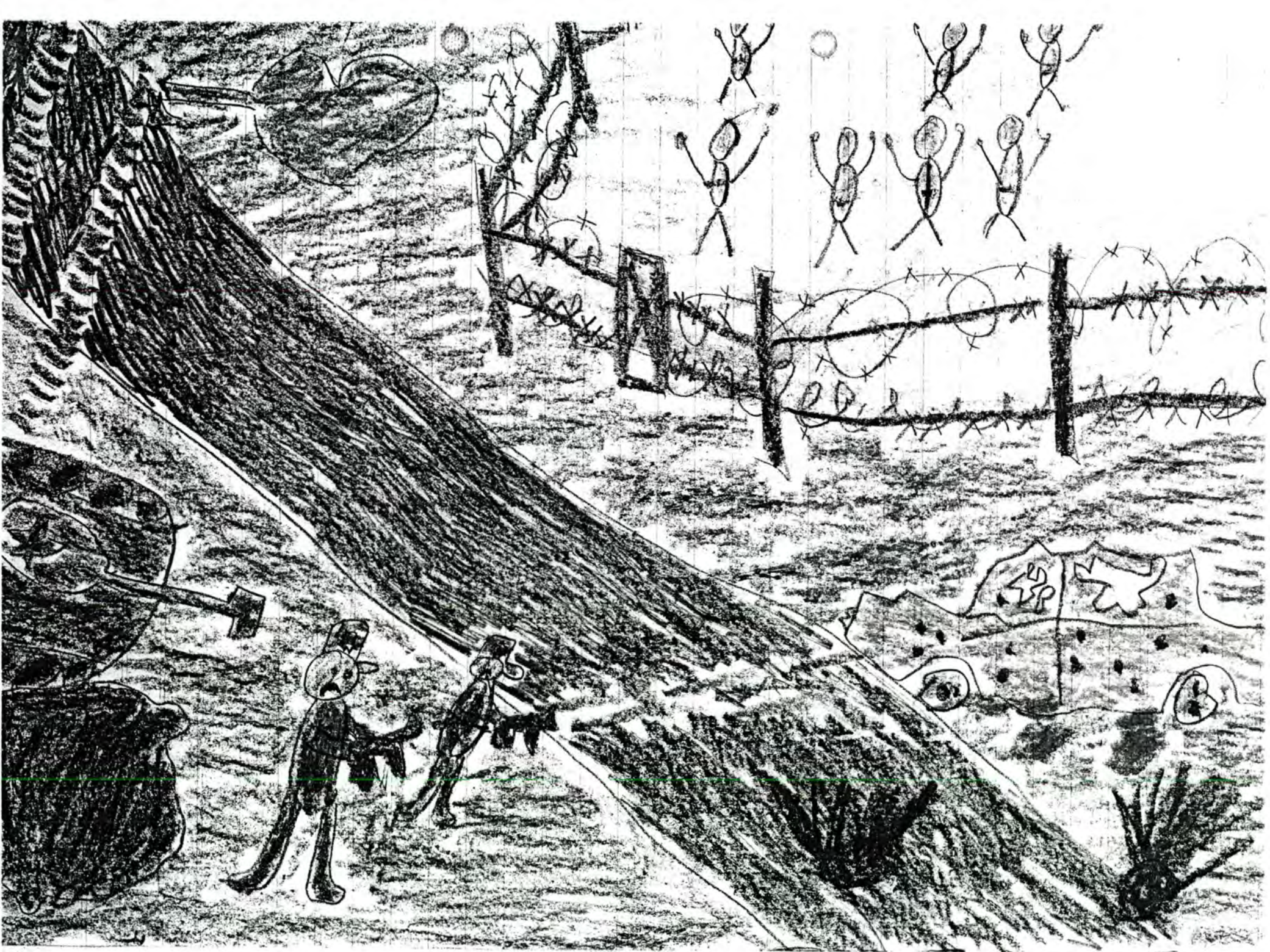
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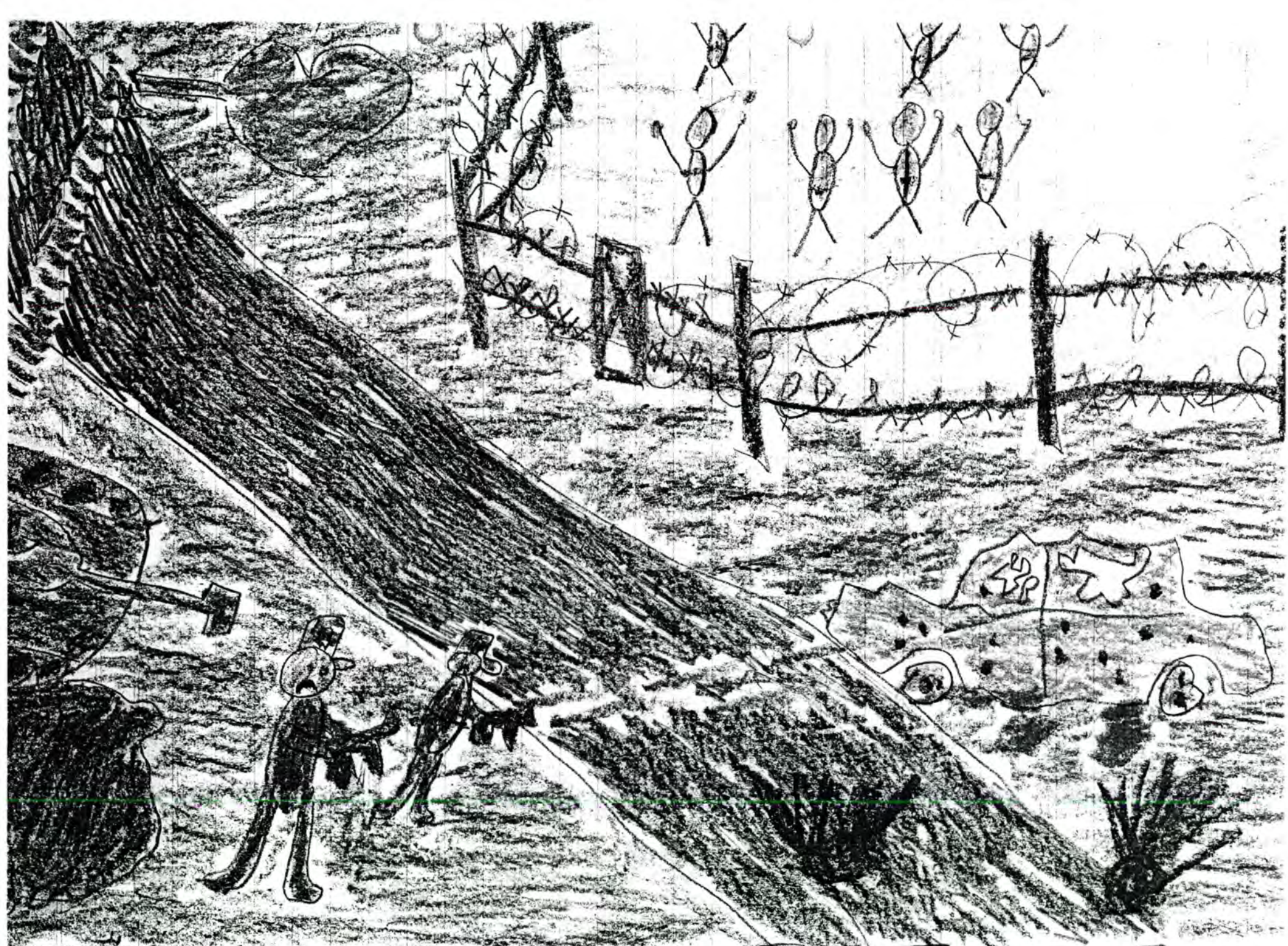
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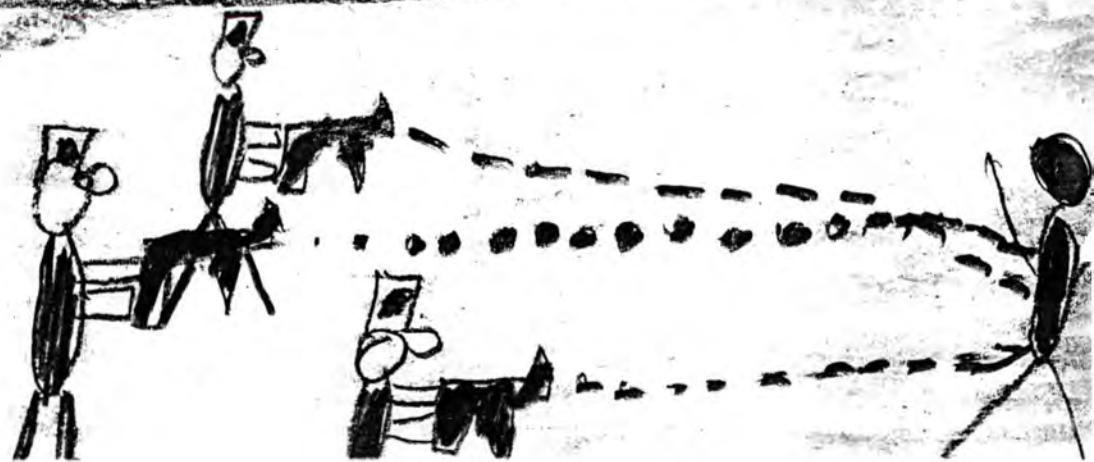
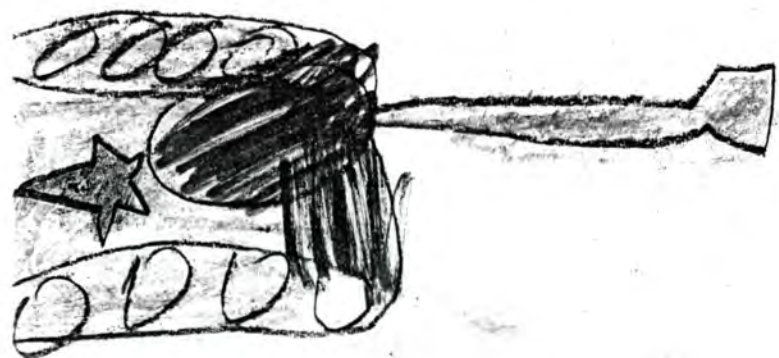
Самый добрый и хороший
президент в мире Билл Клин-
тон. Меня зовут Юсур.
Я приехал из Чечни. У меня
есть сестра Азиз ей 14 лет.
Мы 4 месяца находимся
в Норвегии в лагере бежен-
цев. В Чечне я видел много
стра. Когда бежали
русские я много видел в
пещерах. Жить там было
я очень хотел жить.
Мой папа заболел ма-
желе. Мама потеряла
зрение. Я 2 раза ударился
головой об стену из бетона.
Когда мы бежали я взял
белый флаг но в меня
стреляли вертолёт и снай-
перы. Мне это снится во-
сне и я часто плачу. Русские
убивают всех чеченцев. Они
говорят что все чеченцы
плохие. Не верте им это
не правда. Чеченцы очень
хорошие люди. Русские нам
не дают жить. Они уби-
вают всех взрослых да-
же женщин и детей. Они убили
брата моей мамы. Он был
очень хороший. Я очень сильно

любови. Его сын родился когда
он умер. Другова братка мой
мать русская женщина
посадил в тюрьму петлю
то он чеченец. В Москве мы
боялись выдать нас цыгану, го-
ворить на чеченском языке, по-
тому что в России всех чеченцев
арестовывали. Моего папу заб-
рали немцы и я очень сильно
плакал. Сейчас в чечне русские
убивают всех чеченцев. Они
разбили все наши дома. Они
теперь хотят убить маль-
чиков с 10 лет и стариков до 60
лет. Там остались мои друзья
они убежали с 10 лет.

Дорогие мои Кимон я очень
просто вас прошу помогите мне и
моим друзьям из России, всем
чеченскому народу. Спасите
нас от России, мы хотим жить.
В России очень много детей без рук
без ног их убивают русские
солдаты. В России ко мне пришла
1 раз Фед мороз а в Чечне никог-
да не придет, потому что там
в Чечне очень много воинов
там убивают. Я очень хочу с вами
встретиться и рассказать все
что я видел в России. Конечная
мне ответ, я очень жду ответа





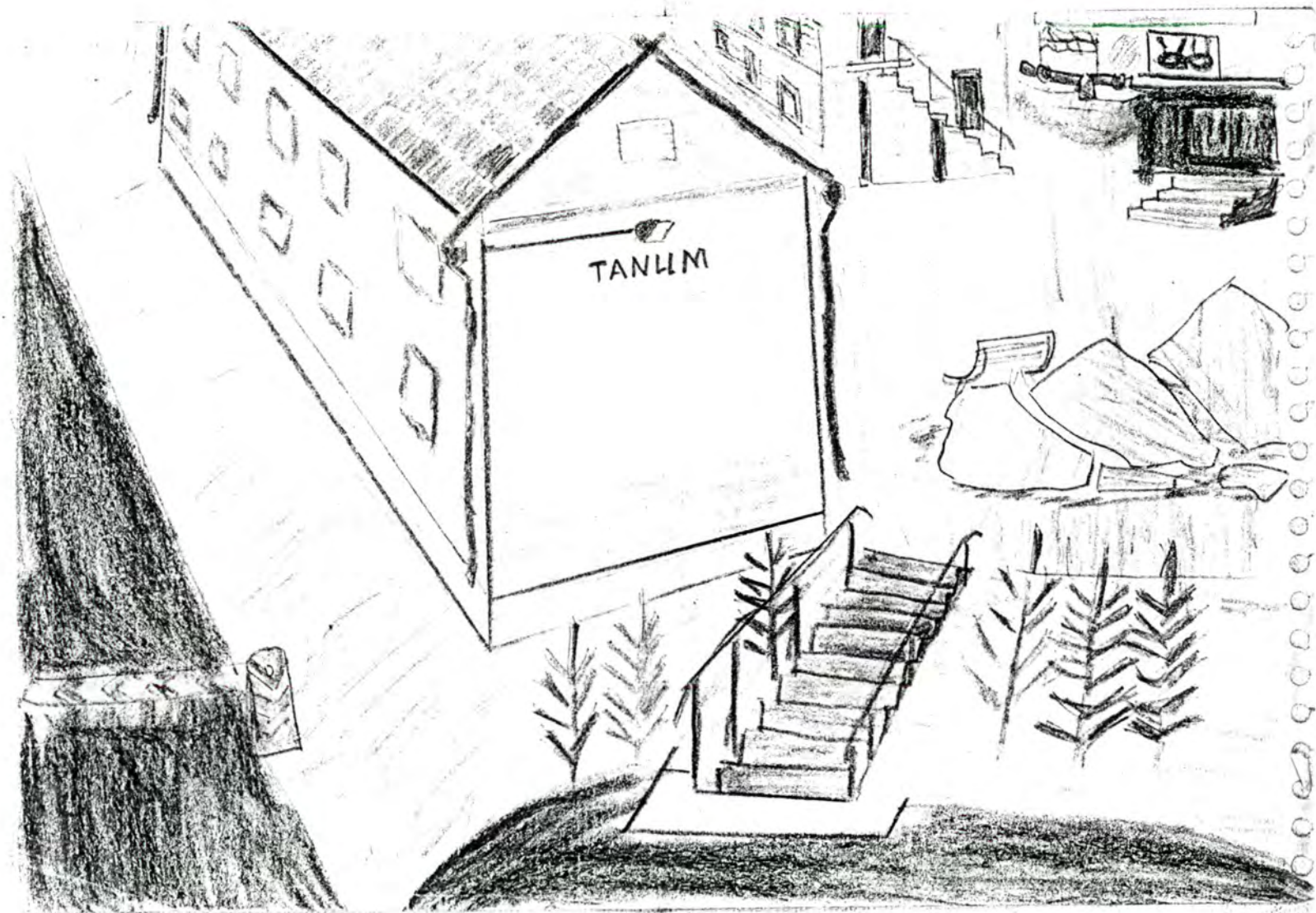


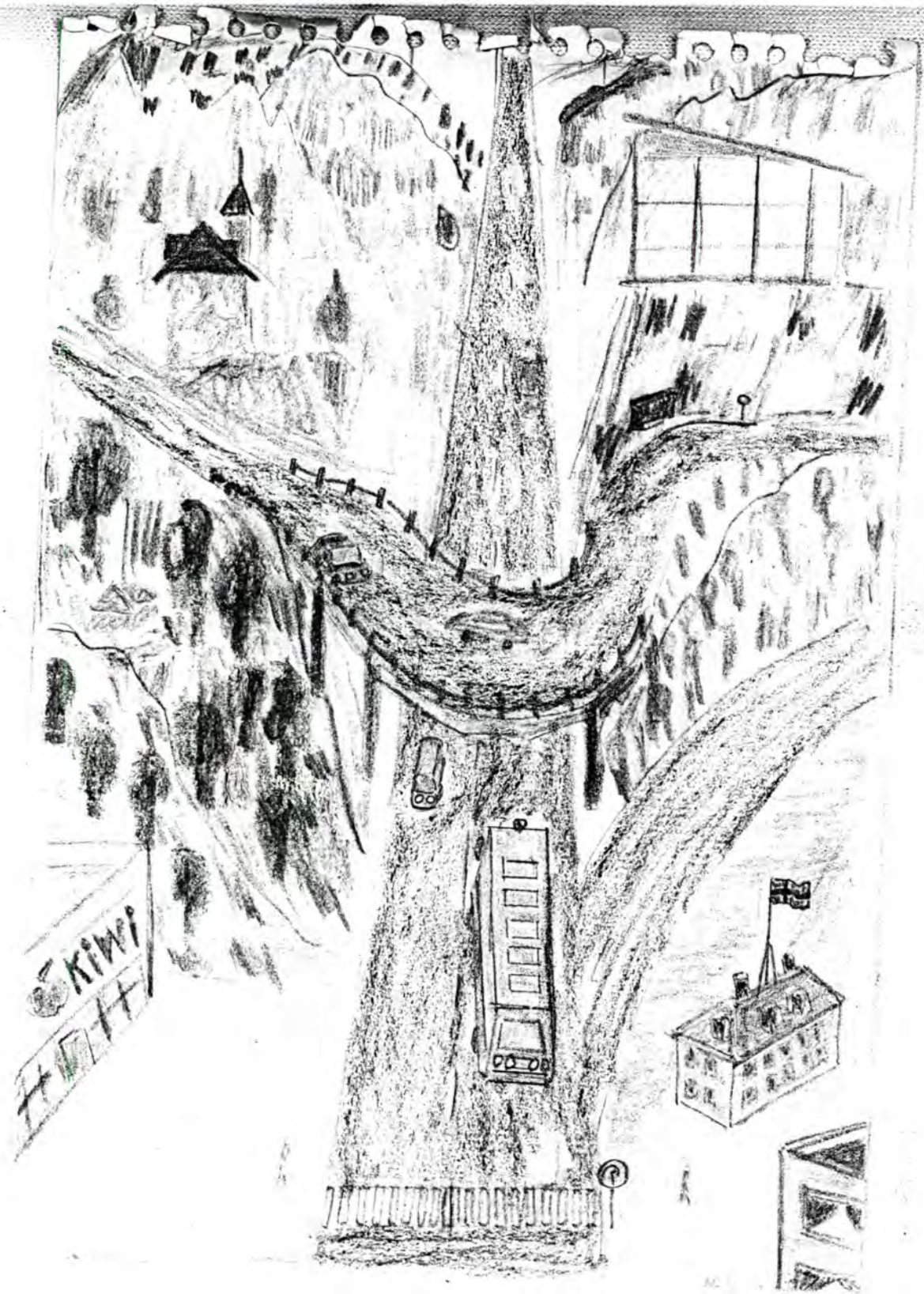
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og alle

Fra 10 år til 60 år









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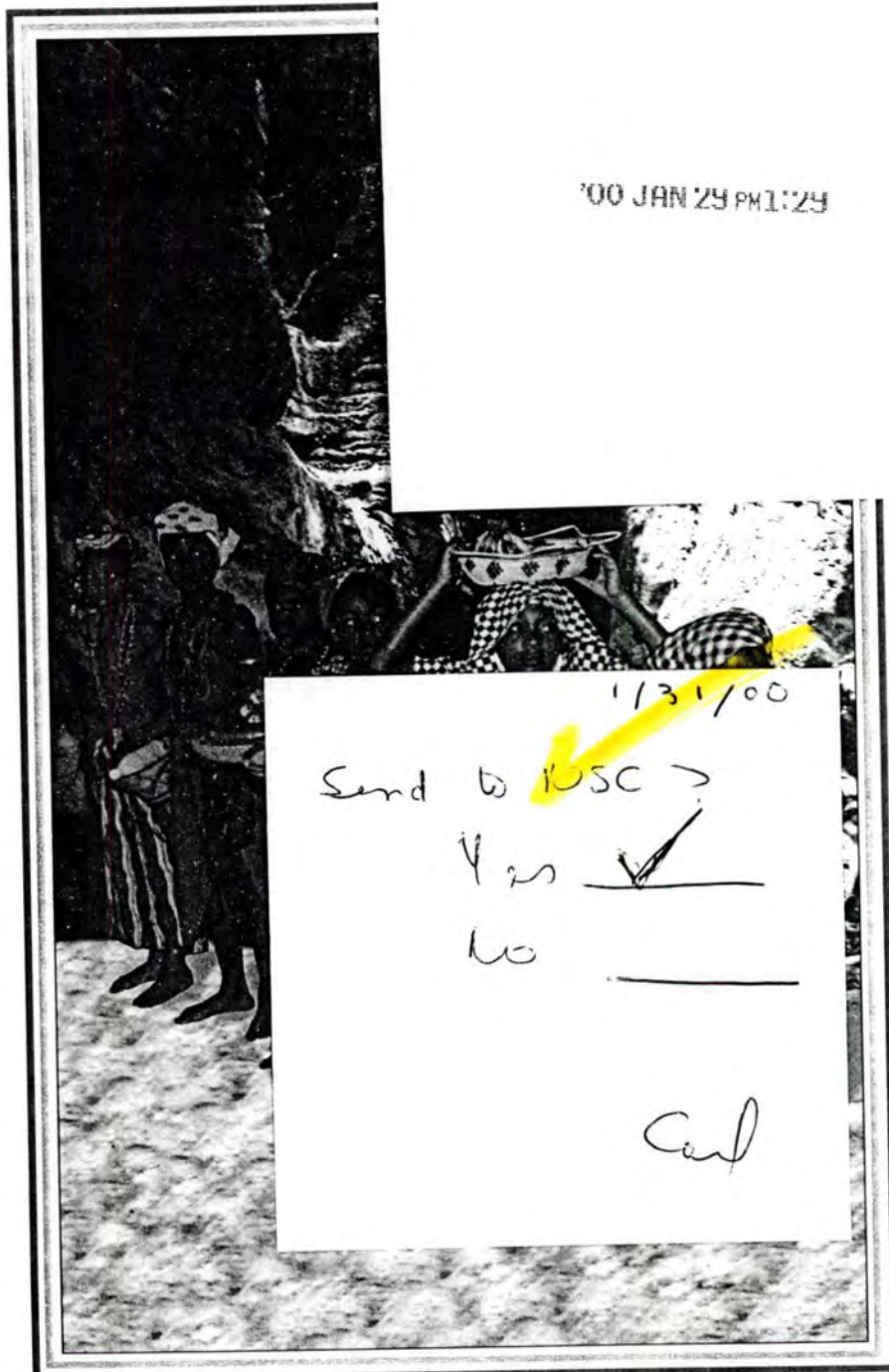
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'00 JAN 29 PM 1:29



1/31/00

Send to KUSC >

Yes ☒

No ☐

Carl



Feliz Ano Novo

Happy New Year

Bonne Année

Glückliches Neues Jahr

Feliz Año Nuevo

José Eduardo Dos Santos

*José Eduardo Dos Santos
Presidente da República de Angola*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 25, 2000

MR. PRESIDENT:

We will prepare a reply on your
behalf.

Podesta

Sean Maloney

~~B~~

What do you think?

Be

1-31-00

NORMAN J. ORNSTEIN

'00 JAN 25 PM 12:58

Dear Mr. President,

Happy New Year to you, Hillary and Chelsea. It was strange not to spend New Year's with you in Hilton Head; we went to South Beach this year, and enjoyed it (especially the people watching) immensely. Everyone is fine; Matthew is now a sophomore at Princeton, probably headed for the Woodrow Wilson School (I wonder where he got that!) and Danny is a junior in high school, spending most of his spare time on Childrens' Express; last year, he and a couple of other kids put together a television documentary on the 50th anniversary of the Berlin Airlift, and this summer he'll cover the conventions. Judy is busy practicing law.

copied
Podesta

Other than campaign finance reform, I am spending most of my time on a project called the Transition to Governing Project, which I am doing in conjunction with Tom Mann and Brookings. My work there has spurred me to write with an idea for you. My project is focusing on ways to inject issues of governing into a political system driven by the permanent campaign, and to create a better and smoother transition from the campaign to the process of governing. One major component of this is streamlining the process of choosing, nominating and confirming candidates for executive positions in a new Administration.

The nomination and confirmation process is broken, in many ways. The time taken for each stage of this process—finding and selecting candidates, FBI field checks, the rest of the vetting process internally, not to mention time in the Senate awaiting confirmation—has expanded dramatically in the past ten to fifteen years. As you know all too well, we leave people hanging for months or years, with no assurance that they will ever make it.

During that time we put them through various stages of Hell, designed to cast doubt on their reputations, maybe later to destroy them. The forms that have to be filled out are extensive and intrusive, requiring for most major nominees an investment of \$25,000 or more in lawyers and accountants and weeks of work. The information that is included, and available to anyone in the public, strips away any remaining layers of privacy. There is no process for consolidating information; nominees may fill out dozens of forms that require repeating information over and over. Full field investigations have extended from major nominees to minor ones, overloading the FBI and OPM, and creating massive delays. If an appointee moves from one post to another, the whole process begins from scratch. Security clearances are not recognized across agencies—if someone moves from a sensitive post at Defense to one at Energy, or State, or the CIA, he or she has to go through another full clearance process.

It is a wonder that any talented and successful people consider public service. A whole lot don't. And it is becoming increasingly difficult, even when people are available, to staff a government in a timely fashion.

You know all these things first-hand. And you have seen first-hand what happens with a process that has become obsessed with scandal, that assumes that everyone in

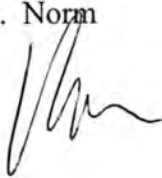
public life is guilty until proven innocent, and that in the name of improving ethics and removing real and perceived conflicts of interest, has actually done neither, and probably created more clouds in a system with far fewer unethical people or acts than ever.

What to do? I am trying to raise these issues in various public forums, including the presidential campaign, proselytizing to journalists, and working with Sens. Lieberman and Thompson to get their Governmental Affairs Committee to examine the broader problems in public service, looking specifically at the Transitions Effectiveness Act and the Senate's own rules and customs in order to effect change.

It has occurred to me that this issue is a perfect one for you to take up in your final year. Better than anybody, you know what has happened to public service and to the nomination and confirmation process. You have unique credibility to say that it is time in a bipartisan way, before a presidential election that is up for grabs, to look at what has gone wrong and to implement—in time for the next president's transition—changes to improve things. Some changes, like reducing the number of posts requiring full FBI field checks, may require legislation. Things like the hold custom require changes in Senate rules and norms. But other important reforms, such as some coordination of security clearances or expedited vetting, could be done by executive order.

It is no doubt too late to include anything in the State of the Union, but there are other options. How about a summit on public service, like your earlier successful summits, including a slew of former Cabinet officers from every previous administration, top business and labor executives, academics and others, talking about the problems and possible solutions? How about an advisory committee to review the rules and sort out what can be changed by executive order, what needs legislation, etc.? Ideally, it could also look at the ethics rules, financial disclosure and conflict of interest requirements, and recommend ways to improve ethics while removing burdensome requirements and streamlining the process. This could all be done on a fast track basis, leaving plenty of time for implementation. I believe that both parties are ready to change things, and the public will listen if you raise the issue.

I think this issue is a really important one, and would be a home run for you. I hope you agree. Hope to see you soon. Norm

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Norm', written in a cursive, flowing style.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-31-00

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Shows consider
good location

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Podesta



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January 26, 2000

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

Dear President Clinton:

Thank you for mentioning City Year in your speech when you were in Boston last week. We are writing to follow up on our invitation of September 30th to you to participate in City Year's national convention, *cyzygy 2000*, which will be held from May 30th to June 3rd, 2000 at San Jose State University in California. We would be happy to accommodate your schedule at any time during these days.

We would also like to thank you for attending our national convention for the past 2 years – your presence, leadership and vision in these conventions has been the highlight of our 10 years of work. In particular, we deeply appreciated your words at *cyzygy '99* that “when I saw City Year I knew that I had found the concrete, living, breathing embodiment of what I thought politics ought to be about” – your words were a tremendous honor that we strive daily to live up to.

The theme of *cyzygy 2000* is “Social Entrepreneurship for the 21st Century.” AmeriCorps has been a breeding ground for social entrepreneurs and change agents in our country, and your presence – as the visionary leader who founded AmeriCorps – would be a great honor to all of us. Perhaps you could use this occasion to spell out your vision for AmeriCorps in the 21st century as we become a country with no single majority race.

Mr. President, we know that this is an extraordinary request to once again have you attend our convention. But we feel that there is no other person better suited to present this message to our organization, to Silicon Valley and to our country than you. We would be deeply honored if you could join us at any time during these four days.

Thank you very much for considering our request. We will follow up with your office.

With deep appreciation and gratitude,

Michael

Michael Brown
President

Alan

Alan Khazei
Chief Executive Officer

Mr. President-

*City Year's Convention won't be the
same without you - please come!
We all Love You!*

PUTTING IDEALISM TO WORK

1-31-00

Sandy
Went about Tier 3,
De

✓
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Berger
Podesta

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U.S. Aid Is Diverted to Germ Warfare, Russian Scientists Say

By JUDITH MILLER

Some of the American money awarded to support Russia's civilian biological research was secretly shifted to Biopreparat, a shadowy organization that once directed the Soviet Union's germ warfare program, several Russian scientists say.

American officials, who for five years have walked a delicate line in providing aid to Russia, remain suspicious about the activities of Biopreparat, which has been reborn as a state-owned drug company.

The Americans are concerned because of its continuing secrecy and because it is led by the same military and intelligence officers who spearheaded and concealed the Soviet Union's biological weapons programs during the cold war.

Separately, Clinton administration officials acknowledged that the United States had been less than meticulous in the mid-1990's in enforcing its ban on aid to Biopreparat.

Records show that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the United States Agency for International Development made grants in that period that benefited Biopreparat. Administration officials said today that they had tightened their procedures. "There's been a learning curve," one administration official said.

A spokesman for the space agency said it would investigate whether any American aid money had been diverted to the organization and would withhold \$1.6 million in assistance until Moscow accounted for its spending of previous grants.

Officials at A.I.D. said they had not been aware of Biopreparat's history and should have checked with national security officials before approving aid to a joint venture that involved the organization.

Russian biologists familiar with Biopreparat said its director, Gen. Yuri T. Kalinin, had shifted at least 10 percent of several NASA grants intended for biological research in space to his organization.

General Kalinin has headed Biopreparat since its inception in 1973, and Western officials say he is the focal point of concern among American and British intelligence analysts about whether Moscow has fully given up research into germ warfare and what Acting President Vladimir V. Putin will decide.

"The Russian government is facing a key test," said Amy E. Smithson, a defense expert at the Henry L. Stimson Center in Washington, who said Russian scientists had told her in confidence about diversions of money. "Either Putin will support the old guard of biological cold warriors, exemplified by Kalinin and his

cronies, or scientists who want to put their biological warfare knowledge to peaceful use."

Asked today about the scientist's accusations, a spokesman for Biopreparat declined to comment. Neither General Kalinin, a former intelligence officer, nor any senior Biopreparat official who was active in the Soviet germ warfare program would agree to talk about Biopreparat's current or past activities.

The United States and the Soviet Union developed biological weapons

as Biopreparat's director. But for unknown reasons he was unwilling or unable to fulfill that pledge.

In recent months tensions have arisen between Biopreparat and several of the civilian institutes that remain under its control. American officials say their aid efforts are intended in part to funnel money to those institutes while starving Biopreparat of funds.

But Russian scientists and American officials say General Kalinin has undermined that policy, using his bureaucratic powers over the institutes and their employees. The general, who authorizes foreign travel by employees, has also tried to prevent institutes from developing independent ties to Western institutes and companies.

General Kalinin appears to have gained access to American money nonetheless. In 1995, NASA awarded \$1.6 million to more than a dozen civilian institutes to conduct biological research in space. The executive committee set up by Russia and the United States to distribute the money included a scientist identified in documents only as Y. Kalinin.

Dr. Arnaud E. Nicogossian, head of a NASA's \$20 million joint research program with Russia, said a man he knew as Dr. Kalinin had helped identify which institutes were to receive American aid. Dr. Nicogossian said he had not heard of Biopreparat until last year.

Biopreparat also stands to benefit from a grant made by the Agency for International Development in 1997. In a project approved by a Russian-American commission headed by Vice President Al Gore, the aid agency awarded a \$6 million grant to a

collaboration between the Searle pharmaceutical unit of Monsanto and a Russian institute partly owned by Biopreparat.

Officials and scientists say none of the A.I.D. money went directly to Biopreparat. But, they acknowledge, Biopreparat stands to earn a share of the profits if the company's sale of high-quality medicines succeeds.

In interviews, administration officials defended the grants. The American money, they say, has helped deter a scientific brain drain to rogue states and terrorists and there is no indication that it was used to support covert germ research.

But many national security officials were furious when they first learned of Biopreparat's involvement in the grants last year. "What happened in these cases was outrageous," said a senior national security official who spoke on condition that he not be identified. "A.I.D. and NASA were essentially running their own foreign policy."

Several officials attributed the early problems to the reluctance of intelligence officials to share information. As a result, few American officials reviewing the NASA grants in 1995 were aware of Biopreparat's key role in the Soviet germ warfare program.

Administration officials said the system for reviewing sensitive projects was now far tougher. For example, in June 1998, the Energy Department rejected a request that all American research grants to institutes linked to Biopreparat be channeled through Biopreparat officials. "By that time," the official said, "we knew we wanted nothing to do with them."

A shadowy Russian organization receives U.S. aid. Does it pay for biological arms?

after World War II. They agreed by treaty in 1972 to give them up, but a year later, Moscow secretly mounted a crash program to produce and stockpile even more lethal germs.

Ken Alibek, General Kalinin's former deputy in Biopreparat and the most senior Soviet germ official to defect to the West, and Igor V. Domaradsky, an early leader of the program, have identified General Kalinin and Biopreparat as the hub of the former Soviet germ warfare program, which at its peak involved some 40 institutes across the Soviet Union and more than 60,000 people.

General Kalinin and other senior officials from Biopreparat were also instrumental in covering up the program's existence after the first key scientists defected to the West in 1989, said Mr. Alibek, who left in 1992.

Russian scientists said General Kalinin had supervised Biopreparat's transition to civilian work after the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991. Western officials say they know little about Biopreparat's operations.

But a Biopreparat brochure signed by Yuri T. Kalinin, identified not by military rank but as a "professor, doctor of science," states that the Russian government owns 51 percent of the joint-stock company and that Biopreparat now includes some 20 research institutes and other enterprises that make about 1,000 vaccines, medicines and biotechnology products.

In response to American protests in 1992 over Russia's germ warfare activities, Boris N. Yeltsin, then the Russian president, assured Washington that he had ended his country's germ warfare program. He also promised to dismiss General Kalinin

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Sid
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witnesses said his partners were a state assemblyman in the northeastern state of Maranhao; a now-fugitive business executive in Sao Paulo state charged with being the top money launderer; and Congressman Augusto Farias of Alagoas state.

The latter revelation could tie the drug investigation to high-level political corruption; Farias is also under investigation in the murder of his brother, Paulo Cesar Farias, a key figure in the bribery scandal that caused the 1992 impeachment of former President Fernando Collor de Mello. Initially, police concluded that the victim—who had worked as a Collor campaign manager—had been slain by his girlfriend as part of a murder-suicide. Now, the anti-drug commission alleges that the forensic pathologist falsified results in that autopsy and numerous others at the behest of organized crime.

Thus far, the CPI has implicated big fish wherever it has gone. Nonetheless, it remains to be seen what will happen when it concludes its mandate and issues a final report, probably in April.

"They don't know how they are going to end this," said Amaury de Souza, a political scientist in Rio de Janeiro. "They just can't keep revealing things—they have to come up with a solution. And the federal government doesn't know where to go with it either. But it has huge popular appeal. It is political gold."

Indeed, critics worry about the pitfalls of the lawmakers' high-profile roles as supersleuths, saying there have been moments of excess and improvisation. Some accuse legislators of trampling the constitutional rights of suspects by threatening to arrest them if they refuse to testify. The legal and political inexperience of the members of the CPI could undermine them, some observers say.

Still, even if the lawmakers occasionally stumble as they charge around the nation in pursuit of justice, the appeal of the commission is almost irresistible.

"People see the rich and powerful being accused and some of them going to jail," said Alba Zaluar, a top scholar on drug trafficking. "This is very rare in Brazil. Slowly, things are changing."

Clinton's Legacy: He's No Teddy Roosevelt or Harry Truman **By Bob Borosage** **Special to the Los Angeles Times**

In his last State of the Union address, on Thursday night, President Clinton will celebrate the nation's prosperity and outline an ambitious agenda for his last year—but his eye will be on history. Even in the springtime of his presidency, Clinton was absorbed by his potential rank in history. He reportedly complained to his political guru, Dick Morris, that history had dealt him a bad hand. Without a great war or depression to fight, he couldn't rank with the greatest presidents. But he had high hopes to make the second tier, beside Theodore Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman.

The conventional wisdom on Clinton's legacy is already congealing. He'll be credited for presiding over the longest economic expansion in the country's history—and stained with the follies that led to his impeachment. But historians are likely to focus on questions that get little attention today. The president may end up being treated far more harshly because of how he played the hand that history dealt him. He was elected at a momentous moment of great national challenge and opportunity that the nation, beguiled by prosperity and bemused by partisan posturing, has largely squandered.

Clinton was the first president elected at the end of the 40-year Cold War. After any great war, the historic challenges are clear: a settlement with the vanquished, creating conditions for global economic growth, building a system to keep the peace and urging the victorious to grasp the opportunities and challenges posed by peace. The disastrous peace after World War I taught the perils of getting this wrong; the aftermath of World War II demonstrated the potential of getting it mostly right. By this measure, the Clinton presidency may well be found wanting.

The hash made of the peace with Russia goes without saying. A great nation has been reduced to barter. Life expectancy plummets; plagues, poverty and suicides soar. The heralded transition to free markets has turned into a blatant looting of a country by Mafia tongs and robber barons.

Russia was not ours to lose. But like any victor in a long-standing role, the United States had major responsibility for postwar Russian reconstruction. We set the terms and scope of assistance the new Russian leaders received. Those terms were tied to a remarkably dogmatic belief in the magic of markets. The United

States pushed the Russians to make their currency instantly convertible and to sell off public assets in a "big bang" privatization. The results were catastrophic. Russia was held to far harsher terms than Germany after World War II. The U.S. helped execute a peace that was surely as ruinous as that imposed on Germany after World War I. The price has yet to be paid.

The administration pursued a similar laissez-faire doctrine in constructing the post-Cold War global economic order. Faced with the challenge of integrating hundreds of millions of new workers and consumers into the burgeoning global market, the administration peddled financial deregulation, floating currencies and free trade. Private, not public, investment and loans would provide capital for development. Under U.S. pressure, successful East Asian countries began to open their financial markets. The destructive force of the resulting flood of short-term speculative capital contributed directly to the worst global financial crisis since the Great Depression. Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin and Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan get high marks for staving off a global depression, but that does not hide the roots of the failure. In recent speeches, the president has begun to outline an ambitious and far-sighted agenda for regulating the global marketplace, including curbs on speculation, enforcement of core worker rights and environmental protections and new forms of corporate accountability. But historians will surely focus more on his policy than his rhetoric.

As the world's only superpower, the United States is, as Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright boasts, the "indispensable nation." But the president's cavalier use of force over Iraq, bombing the chemical factory in the Sudan—has created a growing backlash. The United Nations has been used and discarded like an old shoe. Promising efforts to build regional partnerships—Partnership for Peace in Europe, collective peacekeeping in Africa—have floundered. In the end, the administration focused on the expansion of NATO in Europe, an initiative that, if we are lucky, will turn out to be irrelevant rather than destructive.

The president rightly points to years of economic growth and growing prosperity as the centerpiece of his legacy at home. Erasing the crippling deficits left by the Reagan years was vital to any post-Cold War reconstruction. High levels of employment have finally begun to lift wages at the bottom after years of decline. The president can be applauded for successfully frustrating the Newt Gingrich Congress, staving off deep tax breaks for the wealthy and deep cuts in domestic programs. Impeachment was a briar patch for the radical right. The right wing took on sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll and sex won.

In retrospect, historians surely will wonder at the president's failure to summon the nation to a larger mission in a Gilded Age: the squandering of the public consensus for national health care, the default in addressing the plight of public schools, the shameful abandonment of the one in five children raised in poverty. Here again, a conservative Congress and a rapacious corporate lobby share the blame. The weakness of progressive and moral voices is also notable. But, surely, the president cannot avoid responsibility for his failure to do much about the glaring inequality of hope and opportunity.

Clinton is a man of remarkable political gifts whom Democrats will sorely miss. He presided over a period of peace and prosperity. But elected at the end of the Cold War, he embraced the conservative consensus of his time, with deplorable effects. Perhaps he could not have been a Franklin D. Roosevelt or Abraham Lincoln. But he chose not to be a Teddy Roosevelt or Truman. That was a great waste.

A President 'For All Our People' Must Speak Up **By Ronald Brownstein** **Los Angeles Times**

The presidency. Al Gore now likes to say, "is the only position in our country that is filled by an individual who is assigned the responsibility of fighting not just for one district or one state, not for one group ... (but) for all our people."

That's a noble sentiment. It's only too bad that Gore, and all of his leading rivals for the presidency, are having so much trouble living up to it in this campaign.

In the past few weeks, on a series of racially polarizing controversies, the leading contenders in both parties have forgotten the simple truth that anyone who would be president must speak for