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001. memo	Stephanie Streett and Shannon Butler to POTUS (1 page)	03/28/2000	b(6)

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FOLDER TITLE:

Saturday, April 1, 2000

2019-0990-S

rs3466

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4/1/2000

April 1, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY 
JUSTIN COLEMAN

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

(A) **Berger memo on Egyptian-Libyan Peace Initiative for Sudan** – In response to your question on a recent *Economist* article about Egypt's efforts to broker peace in Sudan, Sandy reports that while we continue to support the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development's (IGAD) regional peace process, Egypt, frustrated by IGAD's slow pace, launched its own peace initiative, which we believe threatens the cohesion of the opposition and potentially an ultimate settlement. Egypt is concerned that the IGAD process includes no Arab states and fears that an IGAD-brokered peace would lead to the independence of southern Sudan, reducing Egyptian influence over Nile waters. Within the IGAD process, the goal is to reach agreement within the context of a united Sudan, but the framework allows for a referendum if the parties can't reach agreement; we think this is the right approach.

(B) **Berger memo re: health concerns in southern Africa** – In response to your request, noted on a *USA Today* story, that we do all we can to control disease outbreaks, Sandy reports that we have already allocated over \$50M to address flood-related needs in southern Africa, including search and rescue efforts, food and relief supplies, health care, clean water, and sanitation. Mozambique is at particular risk of cholera, although for now that appears under control; it has seen increases in diarrheal disease, however, and the risk of increases in water-borne diseases and malaria remains high. To address health needs, AID is funding emergency health projects, and, to supplement the local Health Ministry's efforts, has deployed two teams of experts; UNICEF is providing health care with our help; and CDC is in the region.

(C) **Berger memo on "Brain Drain" from Africa** – In response to your inquiry about developing a UN program, like the Russia program, to encourage professionals to remain in Africa, Sandy describes the greater complexities of the African situation, including a larger, more diverse population and systemic poverty and insecurity that fuel Africa's brain drain. To reverse the trend requires addressing these fundamental issues -- a long-term proposition (e.g., Nigeria, where institutionalizing the democratic transition, which we're supporting, is the best way to reverse the trend); the shortage of appropriated funds

4/11/2000

for African development limits our ability to effect change. Sandy reports a positive trend, however, among successful Africans in the U.S. now investing in Africa; also, the UN Development Program (UNDP) is expanding its programs that address this issue into Africa; providing financial and technical support to African companies to create incentives for Africans to return home; and focusing on strengthening governance. Economic opportunity and political stability remain the most effective ways to stop the drain.

(D)

DoD Annual Report (via Berger) – Sandy forwards DoD's annual report, similar to last year's, which emphasizes three priorities: taking care of people; protecting readiness today; and modernization to protect readiness tomorrow. The report highlights additional pay raises in our recent budget (0.5% above inflation); improvements in housing benefits; full funding for O&M budgets; and full funding for '01 expected contingency costs for Bosnia and Kosovo. Sandy agrees with Secretary Cohen's conclusions that stopping the annual migration of procurement funding, which has slowed modernization, will leave the military far better able to meet challenges in the future; NSC and DoD will remain vigilant on personnel issues.

(E)

Sec'y Cohen memo re: Junior ROTC (JROTC)/DoD schools (via Berger/Lew) – Sandy and Jack summarize Secretary Cohen's memo to you, responding to your questions at the CINCs Conference regarding potential lessons from JROTC and DoD school system successes. Highlights from Secretary Cohen's reports include: the proportion of JROTC graduates who enter the military after high school is about 5 times greater than non-JROTC students; for FY96-98, JROTC participation has led to roughly 8,000 new recruits annually; DoD is in the process of expanding the JROTC program from 2,591 (\$177M) to the authorized maximum of 3,500 by FY05; on the DoD schools issue, DoD school students are consistently among the highest ranking students on national tests; achievement among minority students is noteworthy. Jack and Sandy will explore the possibility of your visiting a DoD school. cc Brend

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(F)

Berger memo on Bosnian students from Sarajevo – Sandy reports on the two Bosnian high school students whom you met in Sarajevo during the Stability Pact Summit and who expressed interest in studying in America. Adnan and Nermina Memić have been accepted at St. Mary's College in Michigan; the school has offered them four-year scholarships and an opportunity to work on campus. The Jewish Community Council and a local Muslim group are cosponsoring housing; transportation has also been arranged.

Good
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(A)

Sec'y Slater letter re: FAA Reauthorization Bill – Prior to your India trip, Rodney sent a letter regarding the FAA bill to Betty. We have now received the bill (last day for action is April 8th). Like Rodney, your White House advisers will recommend that you sign the bill. *The letter is attached.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 25, 2000

MAR 25 PM 4:00

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Berger
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *SB*

SUBJECT: "Brain Drain" from Africa

You asked whether we could develop a UN program like the one we have with Russia to encourage African professionals to stay in Africa. In Africa, the brain drain includes a much larger and more diverse population, and is fueled by poverty and insecurity. Enticing professionals to remain there requires addressing these fundamental issues, and, given conditions on the continent, is a long-term proposition. In Nigeria, for example, reversing the brain drain can best be achieved through institutionalizing the democratic transition, as we are now doing through an increased and comprehensive program of assistance. Similar circumstances exist in other African countries, but our shortage in appropriated funds for African development limits our ability to effect change. Nonetheless, we are seeing a positive trend among successful Africans in the United States who are now making economic investments in Africa.

The UN Development Program (UNDP) has several programs to reverse the flow of professionals from under-developed countries, including one which annually supports the return of over 400 highly skilled and experienced expatriates to their home countries to volunteer their services for up to three months. UNDP is expanding this program in Africa and is also creating incentives for Africans to return home by providing financial and technical support to African industrial or service-sector companies with high growth potential. Because poor governance contributes to the "brain drain," UNDP is also focusing on strengthening governance as a major component of sustainable human development. But again, political stability and economic opportunity provide the best incentive for skilled Africans to remain in Africa, and for many of those now living abroad to return home.

Attachment

Tab A Weekly Economic Briefing, dated March 3

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THEY HAVE NOT BEEN
3/6/00

INTERNATIONAL ROUNDUP

ECB Holds the Line on Rates. This week the European Central Bank decided to leave interest rates unchanged, keeping the main refinancing rate at 3.25 percent. A pickup in inflation, plus the recent decline of the euro, have provoked speculation that the ECB may raise rates in the near future.

African Skills Flight Hurting Development. According to United Nations data, an average of 20,000 African professionals (including doctors, university lecturers, and engineers) have emigrated from the continent annually since 1990, up from about 12,000 per year in the 1985-90 period. This human capital flight, or "brain drain," reduces the availability of skilled human resources that African countries badly need for self-reliant and sustainable development. The flight of doctors is most striking. For instance, 60 percent of all Ghanaian doctors trained locally in the 1980s left the country, and Nigeria suffers from an acute shortage of health personnel even as 21,000 Nigerian doctors practice in the United States. In part because of the brain drain, the entire continent has only 20,000 scientists, or 3.6 percent of the world total. Poor economic conditions, political violence, repression of human rights, and a lack of an open political atmosphere have contributed to the brain drain. Another contributing factor may be scholarship programs for study abroad coupled with a lack of training institutes in Africa.

India PM Vajpayee's First Budget. Amidst concern about growing fiscal deficits and sluggish progress in reducing poverty, India's Ministry of Finance released its budget for fiscal 2000/01 this week. The budget proposes to cut the central government's deficit from an estimated 5.6 percent of GDP to 5.1 percent, and to "abolish" poverty by boosting annual growth to 7 to 8 percent from the current rate of around 6 percent. In addition to loosening foreign investment rules and reducing state controls on banks, the budget continues to channel substantial resources into energy, transport, and communications. The budget disappointed some, however, because it fails to take tougher measures to reduce the fiscal deficit and makes little progress in eliminating subsidies to the power and irrigation sectors. The new budget proposes to increase defense expenditures by 28 percent, the largest ever rise for the world's fourth-biggest military.

British Woman Files Patent Application on Herself. According to Reuters News, a British woman has become the first person to attempt to patent herself. The UK national patent office confirmed on Tuesday that it has received an application with the title "myself" from a poet and casino waitress who was angered at the patenting of gene sequences by businesses. "It has taken 30 years of hard labor for me to discover and invent myself, and now I wish to protect my invention from unauthorized exploitation, genetic or otherwise," the woman said. The patent office, however, said, "It is not really worth patenting something unless you make a lot of money from it."

I WISH
WE COULD
DEVELOP A
UN PROGRAM
LIKE THE ONE
WE HAVE
W/ RUSSIA TO
PAY SCIENTISTS
MDS, ETC. TO
STAY AT HOME.

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STATE OF ARKANSAS

of Representatives

Staff
Sec.

Drug Treatment
Program

REPRESENTATIVE

obby Lee Tramm
113 Richardson Drive
Jonesboro, AR 72404-81

Phone:
870-932-4639 Legislat
Jonesboro
870-483-5004 Legislat
Trumann
870-919-3315 Mobile

DISTRICT 88

Counties:
County of Craighead County
County of Lawrence County
County of Poinsett County

COMMITTEES

Public Health, Welfare and Labor
Chairperson,
Labor and Environment Subcommittee

State Agencies and Governmental
Affairs
Constitutional Issues Subcommittee

Legislative Joint Auditing Committee

THE HONORABLE BILL CLINTON
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear President Clinton:

Please accept this letter of request for your support and assistance in the creation and funding of a long-term **methamphetamine-crack cocaine** treatment program in the State of Arkansas.

Perhaps the most insidious threat facing American society today is the proliferation of methamphetamine production and use. Arkansas in particular ranks number one in per capita addiction and the manufacture of this devastating drug. The simplicity of the manufacturing process, the low street price, the widespread availability, and the extremely addictive qualities of this substance combine to create the exponential growth of this menace.

Current methods of dealing with this problem are simply not working. Arkansas' prison population is experiencing a growth rate never before seen in this state, forcing either the early-release or the transfer of inmates to out-of-state prisons. First-time incarcerations for this offense are definitely on the increase, but due to the highly addictive nature of "meth", many parolees return to this destructive lifestyle and recidivate into our penal system.

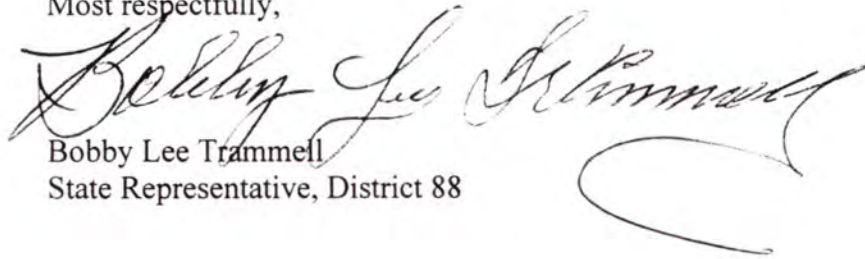
Enclosed is a draft of legislation I intend to submit to the Arkansas House of Representatives during the 2001 Legislative Session. This bill proposes to establish a long-term treatment program based on rehabilitation, education, counseling and fiscal responsibility. Only by utilizing the holistic treatment approach offered in this legislation can this problem be thoroughly addressed.

March 16, 2000
President Clinton
Page 2 of 2

My commitment to the eradication of this scourge and rehabilitation of its victims can not be overemphasized. Your assistance as the President of the United States and as a concerned citizen of this great state is urgently requested. I will be forever grateful for the opportunity to meet with you personally and discuss how we might bring an end to this destructive force.

Your time and consideration in this matter is greatly appreciated. Please feel free to contact me at your soonest convenience.

Most respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Bobby Lee Trammell". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name and title.

Bobby Lee Trammell
State Representative, District 88

Stricken language would be deleted from and underlined language would be added to the law as it existed prior to this session of the General Assembly.

State of Arkansas
83rd General Assembly
Regular Session, 2001

A Bill

031520001102
DRAFT
HOUSE BILL

By: Representative Trammell

For An Act To Be Entitled

"AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR LONG-TERM METHAMPHETAMINE-CRACK
COCAINE TREATMENT PROGRAMS TO TREAT CRIMINAL
DEFENDANTS WHO ARE ADDICTED OR IN DANGER OF BEING
ADDICTED TO METHAMPHETAMINE OR CRACK COCAINE; AND FOR
OTHER PURPOSES."

Subtitle

"AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR LONG-TERM
METHAMPHETAMINE-CRACK COCAINE TREATMENT
PROGRAMS TO TREAT CRIMINAL DEFENDANTS
WHO ARE ADDICTED OR IN DANGER OF BEING
ADDICTED TO METHAMPHETAMINE OR CRACK
COCAINE."

BE IT ENACTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF ARKANSAS:

SECTION 1. This act shall be known and may be cited as "The Long-Term
Methamphetamine-Crack Cocaine Treatment Act."

SECTION 2. For the purpose of this act:

(1) "Administrator" means the administrator of a methamphetamine-crack
cocaine treatment program;

(2) "Bureau" means the Bureau of Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention of
the Department of Health;

(3) "Methamphetamine-crack cocaine treatment program" means a drug
treatment and rehabilitation services program that has received a grant or
contract from the bureau to provide services to offenders in criminal

1 prosecutions who are addicted or in danger of being addicted to
2 methamphetamine or crack cocaine, and who are placed on probation and ordered
3 to submit to treatment pursuant to this act; and

4 (4) "Offender" means a person who is a defendant in a criminal
5 prosecution.

6
7 SECTION 3. (a)(1) There is established on the books of the Treasurer of
8 State, the Auditor of State, and the Chief Fiscal Officer of the State, a fund
9 to be known as the "Methamphetamine-Crack Cocaine Treatment Program Fund."

10 (2) The fund shall consist of any federal funds which may become
11 available, gifts, and any other funds made available by the General Assembly.

12 (3) The fund shall be used by the Bureau of Alcohol and Drug
13 Abuse Prevention of the Department of Health to reimburse methamphetamine-
14 crack cocaine treatment programs for the cost or a portion of the cost of the
15 treatment of offenders ordered to participate in the treatment program as a
16 condition of probation.

17 (b) The bureau's duty to provide reimbursement for the treatment of
18 offenders under this act shall be limited to the funds available in the
19 Methamphetamine-Crack Cocaine Treatment Program Fund.

20
21 SECTION 4. (a) The bureau shall issue grants or contracts to provide
22 drug treatment and rehabilitation services to offenders who are addicted or in
23 danger of being addicted to methamphetamine or crack cocaine, and who are
24 placed on probation and ordered to submit to treatment pursuant to this act.

25 (b) The applicant for a grant or contract to provide services as a
26 methamphetamine-crack cocaine treatment program must:

27 (1) Be a community-based drug treatment program that has provided
28 services in the State of Arkansas for at least three (3) years; and

29 (2) Hold an alcohol and drug abuse treatment program license under
30 Arkansas Code 20-64-901 through 20-64-909 or hold a temporary operating permit
31 as an alcohol and drug abuse treatment program.

32
33 SECTION 5. (a) The drug treatment and rehabilitation services provided
34 by a methamphetamine-crack cocaine treatment program shall be for a twenty-
35 four (24) month period as follows:

36 (1) At least the first twelve (12) months shall be residential

1 treatment and during at least the first six (6) months the offender shall be
2 confined to the treatment facility;

3 (2) During the second twelve (12) month period the treatment may
4 be either residential treatment or outpatient treatment, as determined to be
5 appropriate by the administrator of the methamphetamine-crack cocaine
6 treatment program; and

7 (3) An offender who has been released to a less restrictive level
8 of care may be returned to a more restrictive level, if determined to be
9 appropriate by the administrator of the methamphetamine-crack cocaine
10 treatment program.

11 (b) An offender ordered to participate in a methamphetamine-crack
12 cocaine treatment program pursuant to this act shall:

13 (1) Pay for a portion of the cost of treatment based on the
14 offender's financial ability to pay;

15 (2) Seek employment unless he or she is confined to the treatment
16 facility; and

17 (3) Submit to random drug testing.

18
19 SECTION 6. A court may order an offender to participate in a
20 methamphetamine-crack cocaine treatment program as a condition of probation
21 if:

22 (1) The offender requests to participate in the methamphetamine-
23 crack cocaine treatment program as a condition of probation;

24 (2) The offender agrees to the release of confidential information
25 regarding treatment in order to permit the court, the probation officer, the
26 prosecutor, and the defense attorney to have access to information relating to
27 the offender's attendance, attitude, participation, and results of drug
28 screens;

29 (3) The court determines that the offender's use or dependence on
30 the drug methamphetamine or crack cocaine was a factor leading to the criminal
31 activity with which the offender is charged, and rehabilitation through
32 treatment would substantially reduce the likelihood of additional criminal
33 activity; and

34 (4) The administrator of the methamphetamine-crack cocaine
35 treatment program determines that:

36 (A) The treatment offered by the methamphetamine-crack

1 cocaine treatment program is appropriate for the offender;

2 (B) Appropriate housing and services are available through
3 the methamphetamine-crack cocaine treatment program; and

4 (C) Sufficient funding has been made available to the
5 methamphetamine-crack cocaine treatment program through the bureau from the
6 Methamphetamine-Crack Cocaine Treatment Program Fund.

7
8 SECTION 7. (a) The administrator of the methamphetamine-crack cocaine
9 treatment program shall report to the probation officer who has the duty to
10 control and supervise the offender.

11 (b) Reports shall be made:

12 (1) At any periodic reporting period the court requires;

13 (2) When the offender's level of care is changed:

14 (A) From residential confinement to residential treatment
15 with the privilege of leaving the facility;

16 (B) From residential treatment to outpatient treatment, or

17 (C) To a more restrictive level of treatment;

18 (3) When the administrator determines that the offender has
19 committed a substantial or serious violation of the requirements and
20 conditions of his or her treatment; and

21 (4) When the offender completes the treatment program.

22 (c) When the administrator files a report under subdivision (b)(3) of
23 this section the administrator shall include his or her recommendation on
24 whether the offender should be removed from the program. Upon receiving the
25 report the probation officer shall immediately notify the court and the court
26 shall hold a hearing to determine whether to return the offender to the care
27 of the methamphetamine-crack cocaine treatment program or to enter an
28 adjudication of guilt and impose upon the offender a term of imprisonment.

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

4/1/2000

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 28, 2000

00 MAR 28 PM 5:17

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

CHARLES M. BRAIN *CMB*

SUBJECT:

CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Attached for your review is a note from Sen. Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (D-DE), thanking you for allowing him to accompany you to Palo Alto, California, aboard Air Force one on March 3rd and recommending the extension of the Violent Crime Trust Fund.

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United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C.

3.9.00

Boss -

Thanks for the lift to
Calif. As we discussed, Al
needs - and your legacy on
fighting crime deserves - us
to extend the Violent Crime
Trust Fund if we are going
to be able to keep the Cops
Programs as well as their
support in Al's campaign.

As you remember - no
new taxes required. It is

funded by the salaries
of "former" full time employees.
It was not in your budget
because Duke knew (he knew
best we ever had) I do not
like "fencing off" anything.
But without it all that
you and I fought for will
be in jeopardy.

Hopefully, you can
weigh in. I'll want to
hear from you.

Thanks
/SE

3-9-00

Boss -

Thanks for the lift to California.
As we discussed, Al needs - and your
legacy on fighting crime deserves - us to
extend the Violent Crime Trust Fund if we
are going to be able to keep the COPS
Program as well as their support in Al's
campaign.

As you remember - no new taxes required.
It is funded by the salaries of "former"
government employees. It was not in your
budget because Jack Lew (he's the best we
ever had) does not like "fencing off"
anything. But without it all that you and
I fought for will be in jeopardy.

Hopefully, you can weigh in. I'll wait
to hear from you.

Thanks,

Joe

Happiness & Success to
you & yours always. You
know me then Muhammad
Ali ~~also~~. He love you. Faz
FAZ HUSAIN 734 663 4003.

Dear Mr President
God bless you.
Thanks for having
me in India with
you. I happen to be
an American from
India and a Kashmiri
Muslim. Because
of that I have lots
of interest on the
Kashmir issue. I
have good relations in
both Indian & Pakistani
government. Because of
all that if anything I could
do for you it will be my
pleasure. I met Donald
Camp & then him I will be in touch

4/11/2000

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 31, 2000

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AR 31 PM 1:14

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Chuck Brain

BACKGROUND

Longhorn Pipeline

Rep. Reyes is going to support PNTR, but he has raised concerns about the status of the Longhorn Pipeline.

Several years ago, the Longhorn Pipeline Partners proposed to operate a pipeline to carry refined petroleum products from Houston to southwest markets via Odessa and El Paso. The pipeline included 450 miles of a converted fifty-year-old crude oil pipeline with a total length of over 700 miles in Texas. Because of concerns over safety and environmental impacts (the line passes through populated and environmentally sensitive areas), a lawsuit was filed to force DOT, EPA and other federal agencies to prepare an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). Under a settlement agreement reached last year, the federal agencies agreed to work with Longhorn to prepare an Environmental Assessment (EA). Longhorn has proposed extensive measures to mitigate the pipeline's impacts to support a Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI). Extensive public comments were received on the draft EA. Members of the Texas Congressional delegation and local officials are sharply divided over the project. Congressman Green, Congressman Reyes and members of the Hispanic Caucus support finalizing the EA and FONSI to open the pipeline and believe that an EIS will unnecessarily delay the flow of less expensive and cleaner burning fuels to the southwest markets. Congressman Dogged supports the need for taking additional time to prepare an EIS and further examine impacts on public health and safety.

To carry out the settlement agreement, CEQ is working closely with DOT, EPA and DOJ to determine whether the EA adequately addresses the operation of the pipeline or whether potential significant impacts remain and an EIS is necessary. The agencies have been meeting regularly and are currently preparing the responses to the public comments. CEQ will continue to coordinate the work of federal agencies to reach a final decision in the near future.

TALKING POINTS

I know that you have talked with George Frampton about this.

I know how important this is to you and other members of the Texas delegation.

We are coordinating all of the affected agencies to see if an Environmental Assessment addresses all of the concerns associated with the pipeline.

We need to be sure that the approach provides us with the legal protections needed to move the project forward so that it is not tied up in court.

TB Sec B

Fgi - from Norman Lear

TO: Nancy Hernreich

FROM: Wendi Boxx

DATE: March 29, 2000

4/1/2000

Bc

MEMO: Summary "Why The Future Doesn't Need Us," by Bill Joy.

Bill Joy is concerned with the ethical dimensions of new technologies. In 1998, Joy met Ray Kurzweil, a well-respected inventor of many things, including the first reading machine for the blind. Kurzweil explained to him that the rate of improvement of technology was going to continue to accelerate. Furthermore, Kurzweil predicted to Joy that eventually humans will become robots or fuse with robots. Joy was surprised to hear such a strong argument from Kurzweil, who he personally respected. Kurzweil began to persuade Joy that sentient robots were not in the realm of science fiction, but a near-term possibility.

Kurzweil gave Joy a partial view of his then forthcoming book *The Age of Spiritual Machines*, which outlined the utopia Kurzweil foresaw – one in which humans gained near immortality by becoming one with robotic technology. After reading the book Joy's unease about future technology intensified.

In the next several pages of the article Joy addresses many of the critics of technology, including Unabomber Ted Kaczynski. Joy also addresses many of the fallbacks of technological advances, for example the overuse of antibiotics, which has led to more dangerous bacteria. Furthermore, Joy introduces several ideas of prominent scientists about the possible dangers of technology progressing without limitations. Joy also discusses the ideas and considerations introduced in a wide variety of books including Eric Drexler's *Engines of Creation* – in which Drexler describes an abundant future based on the manipulation of matter. Another book Joy notes is the Dalai Lama's book *Ethics for the New Millennium* – in which the Dalai Lama argues that neither material progress nor the pursuit of power or knowledge is key; Dalai Lama suggests there are limits to what science can do alone.

Joy concludes the article by challenging the reader to start seriously addressing the issues around 21st-century technologies. He states that further delay seems unacceptable. He purposes that people from many different backgrounds, in settings not predisposed to fear or favor of technology start participating in a much larger discussion of the issues addressed in his article.

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Officers? Branches? Locations? Insights?

Find 'em all at Hoover's Online.

W I R E D

Archive | 8.04 - Apr 2000 | Feature

Why the future doesn't need us.

Our most powerful 21st-century technologies - robotics, genetic engineering, and nanotech - are threatening to make humans an endangered species.

By Bill Joy

From the moment I became involved in the creation of new technologies, their ethical dimensions have concerned me, but it was only in the autumn of 1998 that I became anxiously aware of how great are the dangers facing us in the 21st century. I can date the onset of my unease to the day I met Ray Kurzweil, the deservedly famous inventor of the first reading machine for the blind and many other amazing things.

Ray and I were both speakers at George Gilder's Telecosm conference, and I encountered him by chance in the bar of the hotel after both our sessions were over. I was sitting with John Searle, a Berkeley philosopher who studies consciousness. While we were talking, Ray approached and a conversation began, the subject of which haunts me to this day.

I had missed Ray's talk and the subsequent panel that Ray and John had been on, and they now picked right up where they'd left off, with Ray saying that the rate of improvement of technology was going to accelerate and that we were going to become robots or fuse with robots or something like that, and John countering that this couldn't happen, because the robots couldn't be conscious.

While I had heard such talk before, I had always felt sentient robots were in the realm of science fiction. But now, from someone I respected, I was hearing a strong argument that they were a near-term possibility. I was taken aback, especially given Ray's proven ability to imagine and create the future. I already knew that new technologies like genetic engineering and nanotechnology were giving us the power to remake the world, but a realistic and imminent scenario for intelligent robots surprised me.

It's easy to get jaded about such breakthroughs. We hear in the news almost every day of some kind of technological or scientific advance. Yet this was no ordinary prediction. In the hotel bar, Ray gave me a partial preprint of his then-forthcoming book *The Age of Spiritual Machines*, which outlined a utopia he foresaw - one in which humans gained near immortality by becoming one with robotic technology. On reading it, my sense of unease only intensified; I felt sure he had to be understating the dangers, understating the probability of a bad outcome along this path.

I found myself most troubled by a passage detailing a dystopian scenario:

THE NEW LUDDITE CHALLENGE

First let us postulate that the computer scientists succeed in developing intelligent machines that can do all things better than human beings can do them. In that case presumably all work will be done by vast, highly organized systems of machines and no human effort will be necessary. Either of two cases might occur. The machines might be permitted to make all of their own decisions without human oversight, or else human control over the machines might be retained.

If the machines are permitted to make all their own decisions, we can't make any conjectures as to the results, because it is impossible to guess how such machines might behave. We only point out that the fate of the human race would be at the mercy of the machines. It might be argued that the human race would never be foolish enough to hand over all the power to the machines. But we are suggesting neither that the human race would voluntarily turn power over to the machines nor that the machines would willfully seize power. What we do suggest is that the human race might easily permit itself to drift into a position of such dependence on the machines that it would have no practical choice but to accept all of the machines' decisions. As society and the problems that face it become more and more complex and machines become more and more intelligent, people will let machines make more of their decisions for them, simply because machine-made decisions will bring better results than man-made ones. Eventually a stage may be reached at which the decisions necessary to keep the system running will be so complex that human beings will be incapable of making them intelligently. At that stage the machines will be in effective control. People won't be able to just turn the machines off, because they will be so dependent on them that turning them off would amount to suicide.

On the other hand it is possible that human control over the machines may be retained. In that case the average man may have control over certain private machines of his own, such as his car or his personal computer, but control over large systems of machines will be in the hands of a tiny elite - just as it is today, but with two differences. Due to improved techniques the elite will have greater control over the masses; and because human work will no longer be necessary the masses will be superfluous, a useless burden on the system. If the elite is ruthless they may simply decide to exterminate the mass of humanity. If they are humane they may use propaganda or other psychological or biological techniques to reduce the birth rate until the mass of humanity becomes extinct, leaving the world to the elite. Or, if the elite consists of soft-hearted liberals, they may decide to play the role of good shepherds to the rest of the human race. They will see to it that everyone's physical needs are satisfied, that all children are raised under psychologically hygienic conditions, that everyone has a wholesome hobby to keep him busy, and that anyone who may become dissatisfied undergoes "treatment" to cure his "problem." Of course, life will be so purposeless that people will have to be biologically or psychologically engineered either to remove their need for the power process or make them "sublimate" their drive for power into some harmless hobby. These engineered human beings may be happy in such a society, but they will most certainly not be free. They will have been reduced to the status of domestic animals.1

In the book, you don't discover until you turn the page that the author of this passage is Theodore Kaczynski - the Unabomber. I am no apologist for Kaczynski. His bombs killed three people during a 17-year terror campaign and wounded many others. One of his bombs gravely injured my friend David Gelernter, one of the most brilliant and visionary computer scientists of our time. Like many of my colleagues, I felt that I could easily have been the Unabomber's next target.

Kaczynski's actions were murderous and, in my view, criminally insane. He is clearly a Luddite, but simply saying this does not dismiss his argument; as difficult as it is for me to acknowledge, I saw some merit in the reasoning in this single passage. I felt compelled to confront it.

Kaczynski's dystopian vision describes unintended consequences, a well-known problem with the design and use of technology, and one that is clearly related to Murphy's law - "Anything that can go wrong, will." (Actually, this is Finagle's law, which in itself shows that Finagle was right.) Our overuse of antibiotics has led to what may be the biggest such problem so far: the emergence of antibiotic-resistant and much more dangerous bacteria. Similar things happened when attempts to eliminate malarial mosquitoes using DDT caused them to acquire DDT resistance; malarial parasites likewise acquired multi-drug-resistant genes.2

The cause of many such surprises seems clear: The systems involved are complex, involving interaction among and feedback between many parts. Any changes to such a system will cascade in ways that are difficult to predict; this is especially true when human actions are involved.

I started showing friends the Kaczynski quote from *The Age of Spiritual Machines*; I would hand them Kurzweil's book, let them read the quote, and then watch their reaction as they discovered who had written it. At around the same time, I found Hans Moravec's book *Robot: Mere Machine to Transcendent Mind*. Moravec is one of the leaders in robotics research, and was a founder of the world's largest robotics research program, at Carnegie Mellon University. *Robot* gave me more material to try out on my friends - material surprisingly supportive of Kaczynski's argument. For example:

The Short Run (Early 2000s)

Biological species almost never survive encounters with superior competitors. Ten million years ago, South and North America were separated by a sunken Panama isthmus. South America, like Australia today, was populated by marsupial mammals, including pouched equivalents of rats, deers, and tigers. When the isthmus connecting North and South America rose, it took only a few thousand years for the northern placental species, with slightly more effective metabolisms and reproductive and nervous systems, to displace and eliminate almost all the southern marsupials.

In a completely free marketplace, superior robots would surely affect humans as North American placentals affected South American marsupials (and as humans have affected countless species). Robotic industries would compete vigorously among themselves for matter, energy, and space, incidentally driving their price beyond human reach. Unable to afford the necessities of life, biological humans would be squeezed out of existence.

There is probably some breathing room, because we do not live in a completely free marketplace. Government coerces nonmarket behavior, especially by collecting taxes. Judiciously applied, governmental coercion could support human populations in high style on the fruits of robot labor, perhaps for a long while.

A textbook dystopia - and Moravec is just getting wound up. He goes on to discuss how our main job in the 21st century will be "ensuring continued cooperation from the robot industries" by passing laws decreeing that they be "nice,"³ and to describe how seriously dangerous a human can be "once transformed into an unbounded superintelligent robot." Moravec's view is that the robots will eventually succeed us - that humans clearly face extinction.

I decided it was time to talk to my friend Danny Hillis. Danny became famous as the cofounder of Thinking Machines Corporation, which built a very powerful parallel supercomputer. Despite my current job title of Chief Scientist at Sun Microsystems, I am more a computer architect than a scientist, and I respect Danny's knowledge of the information and physical sciences more than that of any other single person I know. Danny is also a highly regarded futurist who thinks long-term - four years ago he started the Long Now Foundation, which is building a clock designed to last 10,000 years, in an attempt to draw attention to the pitifully short attention span of our society. (See "[Test of Time](#)," *Wired* 8.03, page 78.)

So I flew to Los Angeles for the express purpose of having dinner with Danny and his wife, Pati. I went through my now-familiar routine, trotting out the ideas and passages that I found so disturbing. Danny's answer - directed specifically at Kurzweil's scenario of humans merging with robots - came swiftly, and quite surprised me. He said, simply, that the changes would come gradually, and that we would get used to them.

But I guess I wasn't totally surprised. I had seen a quote from Danny in Kurzweil's book in which he said, "I'm as fond of my body as anyone, but if I can be 200 with a body of silicon, I'll take it." It seemed that he was at peace with this process and its attendant risks, while I was not.

While talking and thinking about Kurzweil, Kaczynski, and Moravec, I suddenly remembered a novel I had read almost 20 years ago - *The White Plague*, by Frank Herbert - in which a molecular biologist is driven insane by the senseless murder of his family. To seek revenge he constructs and disseminates a new and highly contagious plague that kills widely but selectively. (We're lucky Kaczynski was a mathematician, not a molecular biologist.) I was also reminded of the Borg of *Star Trek*, a hive of partly biological, partly robotic creatures with a

strong destructive streak. Borg-like disasters are a staple of science fiction, so why hadn't I been more concerned about such robotic dystopias earlier? Why weren't other people more concerned about these nightmarish scenarios?

Part of the answer certainly lies in our attitude toward the new - in our bias toward instant familiarity and unquestioning acceptance. Accustomed to living with almost routine scientific breakthroughs, we have yet to come to terms with the fact that the most compelling 21st-century technologies - robotics, genetic engineering, and nanotechnology - pose a different threat than the technologies that have come before. Specifically, robots, engineered organisms, and nanobots share a dangerous amplifying factor: They can self-replicate. A bomb is blown up only once - but one bot can become many, and quickly get out of control.

Much of my work over the past 25 years has been on computer networking, where the sending and receiving of messages creates the opportunity for out-of-control replication. But while replication in a computer or a computer network can be a nuisance, at worst it disables a machine or takes down a network or network service. Uncontrolled self-replication in these newer technologies runs a much greater risk: a risk of substantial damage in the physical world.

Each of these technologies also offers untold promise: The vision of near immortality that Kurzweil sees in his robot dreams drives us forward; genetic engineering may soon provide treatments, if not outright cures, for most diseases; and nanotechnology and nanomedicine can address yet more ills. Together they could significantly extend our average life span and improve the quality of our lives. Yet, with each of these technologies, a sequence of small, individually sensible advances leads to an accumulation of great power and, concomitantly, great danger.

What was different in the 20th century? Certainly, the technologies underlying the weapons of mass destruction (WMD) - nuclear, biological, and chemical (NBC) - were powerful, and the weapons an enormous threat. But building nuclear weapons required, at least for a time, access to both rare - indeed, effectively unavailable - raw materials and highly protected information; biological and chemical weapons programs also tended to require large-scale activities.

The 21st-century technologies - genetics, nanotechnology, and robotics (GNR) - are so powerful that they can spawn whole new classes of accidents and abuses. Most dangerously, for the first time, these accidents and abuses are widely within the reach of individuals or small groups. They will not require large facilities or rare raw materials. Knowledge alone will enable the use of them.

Thus we have the possibility not just of weapons of mass destruction but of knowledge-enabled mass destruction (KMD), this destructiveness hugely amplified by the power of self-replication.

I think it is no exaggeration to say we are on the cusp of the further perfection of extreme evil, an evil whose possibility spreads well beyond that which weapons of mass destruction bequeathed to the nation-states, on to a surprising and terrible empowerment of extreme individuals.

Nothing about the way I got involved with computers suggested to me that I was going to be facing these kinds of issues.

My life has been driven by a deep need to ask questions and find answers. When I was 3, I was already reading, so my father took me to the elementary school, where I sat on the

principal's lap and read him a story. I started school early, later skipped a grade, and escaped into books - I was incredibly motivated to learn. I asked lots of questions, often driving adults to distraction.

As a teenager I was very interested in science and technology. I wanted to be a ham radio operator but didn't have the money to buy the equipment. Ham radio was the Internet of its time: very addictive, and quite solitary. Money issues aside, my mother put her foot down - I was not to be a ham; I was antisocial enough already.

I may not have had many close friends, but I was awash in ideas. By high school, I had discovered the great science fiction writers. I remember especially Heinlein's *Have Spacesuit Will Travel* and Asimov's *I, Robot*, with its Three Laws of Robotics. I was enchanted by the descriptions of space travel, and wanted to have a telescope to look at the stars; since I had no money to buy or make one, I checked books on telescope-making out of the library and read about making them instead. I soared in my imagination.

Thursday nights my parents went bowling, and we kids stayed home alone. It was the night of Gene Roddenberry's original *Star Trek*, and the program made a big impression on me. I came to accept its notion that humans had a future in space, Western-style, with big heroes and adventures. Roddenberry's vision of the centuries to come was one with strong moral values, embodied in codes like the Prime Directive: to not interfere in the development of less technologically advanced civilizations. This had an incredible appeal to me; ethical humans, not robots, dominated this future, and I took Roddenberry's dream as part of my own.

I excelled in mathematics in high school, and when I went to the University of Michigan as an undergraduate engineering student I took the advanced curriculum of the mathematics majors. Solving math problems was an exciting challenge, but when I discovered computers I found something much more interesting: a machine into which you could put a program that attempted to solve a problem, after which the machine quickly checked the solution. The computer had a clear notion of correct and incorrect, true and false. Were my ideas correct? The machine could tell me. This was very seductive.

I was lucky enough to get a job programming early supercomputers and discovered the amazing power of large machines to numerically simulate advanced designs. When I went to graduate school at UC Berkeley in the mid-1970s, I started staying up late, often all night, inventing new worlds inside the machines. Solving problems. Writing the code that argued so strongly to be written.

In *The Agony and the Ecstasy*, Irving Stone's biographical novel of Michelangelo, Stone described vividly how Michelangelo released the statues from the stone, "breaking the marble spell," carving from the images in his mind.⁴ In my most ecstatic moments, the software in the computer emerged in the same way. Once I had imagined it in my mind I felt that it was already there in the machine, waiting to be released. Staying up all night seemed a small price to pay to free it - to give the ideas concrete form.

After a few years at Berkeley I started to send out some of the software I had written - an instructional Pascal system, Unix utilities, and a text editor called vi (which is still, to my surprise, widely used more than 20 years later) - to others who had similar small PDP-11 and VAX minicomputers. These adventures in software eventually turned into the Berkeley version of the Unix operating system, which became a personal "success disaster" - so many people wanted it that I never finished my PhD. Instead I got a job working for Darpa putting Berkeley Unix on the Internet and fixing it to be reliable and to run large research applications well. This was all great fun and very rewarding. And, frankly, I saw no robots here, or anywhere near.

Still, by the early 1980s, I was drowning. The Unix releases were very successful, and my little project of one soon had money and some staff, but the problem at Berkeley was always office space rather than money - there wasn't room for the help the project needed, so when the other founders of Sun Microsystems showed up I jumped at the chance to join them. At Sun, the long hours continued into the early days of workstations and personal computers, and I have enjoyed participating in the creation of advanced microprocessor technologies and Internet technologies such as Java and Jini.

From all this, I trust it is clear that I am not a Luddite. I have always, rather, had a strong belief in the value of the scientific search for truth and in the ability of great engineering to bring material progress. The Industrial Revolution has immeasurably improved everyone's life over the last couple hundred years, and I always expected my career to involve the building of worthwhile solutions to real problems, one problem at a time.

I have not been disappointed. My work has had more impact than I had ever hoped for and has been more widely used than I could have reasonably expected. I have spent the last 20 years still trying to figure out how to make computers as reliable as I want them to be (they are not nearly there yet) and how to make them simple to use (a goal that has met with even less relative success). Despite some progress, the problems that remain seem even more daunting.

But while I was aware of the moral dilemmas surrounding technology's consequences in fields like weapons research, I did not expect that I would confront such issues in my own field, or at least not so soon.

Perhaps it is always hard to see the bigger impact while you are in the vortex of a change. Failing to understand the consequences of our inventions while we are in the rapture of discovery and innovation seems to be a common fault of scientists and technologists; we have long been driven by the overarching desire to know that is the nature of science's quest, not stopping to notice that the progress to newer and more powerful technologies can take on a life of its own.

I have long realized that the big advances in information technology come not from the work of computer scientists, computer architects, or electrical engineers, but from that of physical scientists. The physicists Stephen Wolfram and Brosl Hasslacher introduced me, in the early 1980s, to chaos theory and nonlinear systems. In the 1990s, I learned about complex systems from conversations with Danny Hillis, the biologist Stuart Kauffman, the Nobel-laureate physicist Murray Gell-Mann, and others. Most recently, Hasslacher and the electrical engineer and device physicist Mark Reed have been giving me insight into the incredible possibilities of molecular electronics.

In my own work, as codesigner of three microprocessor architectures - SPARC, picoJava, and MAJC - and as the designer of several implementations thereof, I've been afforded a deep and firsthand acquaintance with Moore's law. For decades, Moore's law has correctly predicted the exponential rate of improvement of semiconductor technology. Until last year I believed that the rate of advances predicted by Moore's law might continue only until roughly 2010, when some physical limits would begin to be reached. It was not obvious to me that a new technology would arrive in time to keep performance advancing smoothly.

But because of the recent rapid and radical progress in molecular electronics - where individual atoms and molecules replace lithographically drawn transistors - and related nanoscale technologies, we should be able to meet or exceed the Moore's law rate of progress for another 30 years. By 2030, we are likely to be able to build machines, in quantity, a million

times as powerful as the personal computers of today - sufficient to implement the dreams of Kurzweil and Moravec.

As this enormous computing power is combined with the manipulative advances of the physical sciences and the new, deep understandings in genetics, enormous transformative power is being unleashed. These combinations open up the opportunity to completely redesign the world, for better or worse: The replicating and evolving processes that have been confined to the natural world are about to become realms of human endeavor.

In designing software and microprocessors, I have never had the feeling that I was designing an intelligent machine. The software and hardware is so fragile and the capabilities of the machine to "think" so clearly absent that, even as a possibility, this has always seemed very far in the future.

But now, with the prospect of human-level computing power in about 30 years, a new idea suggests itself: that I may be working to create tools which will enable the construction of the technology that may replace our species. How do I feel about this? Very uncomfortable. Having struggled my entire career to build reliable software systems, it seems to me more than likely that this future will not work out as well as some people may imagine. My personal experience suggests we tend to overestimate our design abilities.

Given the incredible power of these new technologies, shouldn't we be asking how we can best coexist with them? And if our own extinction is a likely, or even possible, outcome of our technological development, shouldn't we proceed with great caution?

The dream of robotics is, first, that intelligent machines can do our work for us, allowing us lives of leisure, restoring us to Eden. Yet in his history of such ideas, *Darwin Among the Machines*, George Dyson warns: "In the game of life and evolution there are three players at the table: human beings, nature, and machines. I am firmly on the side of nature. But nature, I suspect, is on the side of the machines." As we have seen, Moravec agrees, believing we may well not survive the encounter with the superior robot species.

How soon could such an intelligent robot be built? The coming advances in computing power seem to make it possible by 2030. And once an intelligent robot exists, it is only a small step to a robot species - to an intelligent robot that can make evolved copies of itself.

A second dream of robotics is that we will gradually replace ourselves with our robotic technology, achieving near immortality by downloading our consciousnesses; it is this process that Danny Hillis thinks we will gradually get used to and that Ray Kurzweil elegantly details in *The Age of Spiritual Machines*. (We are beginning to see intimations of this in the implantation of computer devices into the human body, as illustrated on the [cover](#) of *Wired* 8.02.)

But if we are downloaded into our technology, what are the chances that we will thereafter be ourselves or even human? It seems to me far more likely that a robotic existence would not be like a human one in any sense that we understand, that the robots would in no sense be our children, that on this path our humanity may well be lost.

Genetic engineering promises to revolutionize agriculture by increasing crop yields while reducing the use of pesticides; to create tens of thousands of novel species of bacteria, plants, viruses, and animals; to replace reproduction, or supplement it, with cloning; to create cures for many diseases, increasing our life span and our quality of life; and much, much more. We now know with certainty that these profound changes in the biological sciences are imminent and will challenge all our notions of what life is.

Technologies such as human cloning have in particular raised our awareness of the profound ethical and moral issues we face. If, for example, we were to reengineer ourselves into several separate and unequal species using the power of genetic engineering, then we would threaten the notion of equality that is the very cornerstone of our democracy.

Given the incredible power of genetic engineering, it's no surprise that there are significant safety issues in its use. My friend Amory Lovins recently cowrote, along with Hunter Lovins, an editorial that provides an ecological view of some of these dangers. Among their concerns: that "the new botany aligns the development of plants with their economic, not evolutionary, success." (See "[A Tale of Two Botanies](#)," page 247.) Amory's long career has been focused on energy and resource efficiency by taking a whole-system view of human-made systems; such a whole-system view often finds simple, smart solutions to otherwise seemingly difficult problems, and is usefully applied here as well.

After reading the Lovins' editorial, I saw an op-ed by Gregg Easterbrook in *The New York Times* (November 19, 1999) about genetically engineered crops, under the headline: "Food for the Future: Someday, rice will have built-in vitamin A. Unless the Luddites win."

Are Amory and Hunter Lovins Luddites? Certainly not. I believe we all would agree that golden rice, with its built-in vitamin A, is probably a good thing, if developed with proper care and respect for the likely dangers in moving genes across species boundaries.

Awareness of the dangers inherent in genetic engineering is beginning to grow, as reflected in the Lovins' editorial. The general public is aware of, and uneasy about, genetically modified foods, and seems to be rejecting the notion that such foods should be permitted to be unlabeled.

But genetic engineering technology is already very far along. As the Lovins note, the USDA has already approved about 50 genetically engineered crops for unlimited release; more than half of the world's soybeans and a third of its corn now contain genes spliced in from other forms of life.

While there are many important issues here, my own major concern with genetic engineering is narrower: that it gives the power - whether militarily, accidentally, or in a deliberate terrorist act - to create a White Plague.

The many wonders of nanotechnology were first imagined by the Nobel-laureate physicist Richard Feynman in a speech he gave in 1959, subsequently published under the title "There's Plenty of Room at the Bottom." The book that made a big impression on me, in the mid-'80s, was Eric Drexler's *Engines of Creation*, in which he described beautifully how manipulation of matter at the atomic level could create a utopian future of abundance, where just about everything could be made cheaply, and almost any imaginable disease or physical problem could be solved using nanotechnology and artificial intelligences.

A subsequent book, *Unbounding the Future: The Nanotechnology Revolution*, which Drexler cowrote, imagines some of the changes that might take place in a world where we had molecular-level "assemblers." Assemblers could make possible incredibly low-cost solar power, cures for cancer and the common cold by augmentation of the human immune system, essentially complete cleanup of the environment, incredibly inexpensive pocket supercomputers - in fact, any product would be manufacturable by assemblers at a cost no greater than that of wood - spaceflight more accessible than transoceanic travel today, and restoration of extinct species.

I remember feeling good about nanotechnology after reading *Engines of Creation*. As a technologist, it gave me a sense of calm - that is, nanotechnology showed us that incredible progress was possible, and indeed perhaps inevitable. If nanotechnology was our future, then I didn't feel pressed to solve so many problems in the present. I would get to Drexler's utopian future in due time; I might as well enjoy life more in the here and now. It didn't make sense, given his vision, to stay up all night, all the time.

Drexler's vision also led to a lot of good fun. I would occasionally get to describe the wonders of nanotechnology to others who had not heard of it. After teasing them with all the things Drexler described I would give a homework assignment of my own: "Use nanotechnology to create a vampire; for extra credit create an antidote."

With these wonders came clear dangers, of which I was acutely aware. As I said at a nanotechnology conference in 1989, "We can't simply do our science and not worry about these ethical issues."⁵ But my subsequent conversations with physicists convinced me that nanotechnology might not even work - or, at least, it wouldn't work anytime soon. Shortly thereafter I moved to Colorado, to a skunk works I had set up, and the focus of my work shifted to software for the Internet, specifically on ideas that became Java and Jini.

Then, last summer, Brosl Hasslacher told me that nanoscale molecular electronics was now practical. This was *new* news, at least to me, and I think to many people - and it radically changed my opinion about nanotechnology. It sent me back to *Engines of Creation*. Rereading Drexler's work after more than 10 years, I was dismayed to realize how little I had remembered of its lengthy section called "Dangers and Hopes," including a discussion of how nanotechnologies can become "engines of destruction." Indeed, in my rereading of this cautionary material today, I am struck by how naive some of Drexler's safeguard proposals seem, and how much greater I judge the dangers to be now than even he seemed to then. (Having anticipated and described many technical and political problems with nanotechnology, Drexler started the Foresight Institute in the late 1980s "to help prepare society for anticipated advanced technologies" - most important, nanotechnology.)

The enabling breakthrough to assemblers seems quite likely within the next 20 years. Molecular electronics - the new subfield of nanotechnology where individual molecules are circuit elements - should mature quickly and become enormously lucrative within this decade, causing a large incremental investment in all nanotechnologies.

Unfortunately, as with nuclear technology, it is far easier to create destructive uses for nanotechnology than constructive ones. Nanotechnology has clear military and terrorist uses, and you need not be suicidal to release a massively destructive nanotechnological device - such devices can be built to be selectively destructive, affecting, for example, only a certain geographical area or a group of people who are genetically distinct.

An immediate consequence of the Faustian bargain in obtaining the great power of nanotechnology is that we run a grave risk - the risk that we might destroy the biosphere on which all life depends.

As Drexler explained:

"Plants" with "leaves" no more efficient than today's solar cells could out-compete real plants, crowding the biosphere with an inedible foliage. Tough omnivorous "bacteria" could out-compete real bacteria: They could spread like blowing pollen, replicate swiftly, and reduce the biosphere to dust in a matter of days. Dangerous replicators could easily be too tough, small, and rapidly spreading to stop - at least if we make no preparation. We have trouble enough controlling viruses and fruit flies.

Among the cognoscenti of nanotechnology, this threat has become known as the "gray goo problem." Though masses of uncontrolled replicators need not be gray or gooey, the term "gray goo" emphasizes that replicators able to

obliterate life might be less inspiring than a single species of crabgrass. They might be superior in an evolutionary sense, but this need not make them valuable.

The gray goo threat makes one thing perfectly clear: We cannot afford certain kinds of accidents with replicating assemblers.

Gray goo would surely be a depressing ending to our human adventure on Earth, far worse than mere fire or ice, and one that could stem from a simple laboratory accident.⁶ Oops.

It is most of all the power of destructive self-replication in genetics, nanotechnology, and robotics (GNR) that should give us pause. Self-replication is the *modus operandi* of genetic engineering, which uses the machinery of the cell to replicate its designs, and the prime danger underlying gray goo in nanotechnology. Stories of run-amok robots like the Borg, replicating or mutating to escape from the ethical constraints imposed on them by their creators, are well established in our science fiction books and movies. It is even possible that self-replication may be more fundamental than we thought, and hence harder - or even impossible - to control. A recent article by Stuart Kauffman in *Nature* titled "Self-Replication: Even Peptides Do It" discusses the discovery that a 32-amino-acid peptide can "autocatalyse its own synthesis." We don't know how widespread this ability is, but Kauffman notes that it may hint at "a route to self-reproducing molecular systems on a basis far wider than Watson-Crick base-pairing."⁷

In truth, we have had in hand for years clear warnings of the dangers inherent in widespread knowledge of GNR technologies - of the possibility of knowledge alone enabling mass destruction. But these warnings haven't been widely publicized; the public discussions have been clearly inadequate. There is no profit in publicizing the dangers.

The nuclear, biological, and chemical (NBC) technologies used in 20th-century weapons of mass destruction were and are largely military, developed in government laboratories. In sharp contrast, the 21st-century GNR technologies have clear commercial uses and are being developed almost exclusively by corporate enterprises. In this age of triumphant commercialism, technology - with science as its handmaiden - is delivering a series of almost magical inventions that are the most phenomenally lucrative ever seen. We are aggressively pursuing the promises of these new technologies within the now-unchallenged system of global capitalism and its manifold financial incentives and competitive pressures.

This is the first moment in the history of our planet when any species, by its own voluntary actions, has become a danger to itself - as well as to vast numbers of others.

It might be a familiar progression, transpiring on many worlds - a planet, newly formed, placidly revolves around its star; life slowly forms; a kaleidoscopic procession of creatures evolves; intelligence emerges which, at least up to a point, confers enormous survival value; and then technology is invented. It dawns on them that there are such things as laws of Nature, that these laws can be revealed by experiment, and that knowledge of these laws can be made both to save and to take lives, both on unprecedented scales. Science, they recognize, grants immense powers. In a flash, they create world-altering contrivances. Some planetary civilizations see their way through, place limits on what may and what must not be done, and safely pass through the time of perils. Others, not so lucky or so prudent, perish.

That is Carl Sagan, writing in 1994, in *Pale Blue Dot*, a book describing his vision of the human future in space. I am only now realizing how deep his insight was, and how sorely I miss, and will miss, his voice. For all its eloquence, Sagan's contribution was not least that of simple common sense - an attribute that, along with humility, many of the leading advocates of the 21st-century technologies seem to lack.

I remember from my childhood that my grandmother was strongly against the overuse of antibiotics. She had worked since before the first World War as a nurse and had a

commonsense attitude that taking antibiotics, unless they were absolutely necessary, was bad for you.

It is not that she was an enemy of progress. She saw much progress in an almost 70-year nursing career; my grandfather, a diabetic, benefited greatly from the improved treatments that became available in his lifetime. But she, like many levelheaded people, would probably think it greatly arrogant for us, now, to be designing a robotic "replacement species," when we obviously have so much trouble making relatively simple things work, and so much trouble managing - or even understanding - ourselves.

I realize now that she had an awareness of the nature of the order of life, and of the necessity of living with and respecting that order. With this respect comes a necessary humility that we, with our early-21st-century chutzpah, lack at our peril. The commonsense view, grounded in this respect, is often right, in advance of the scientific evidence. The clear fragility and inefficiencies of the human-made systems we have built should give us all pause; the fragility of the systems I have worked on certainly humbles me.

We should have learned a lesson from the making of the first atomic bomb and the resulting arms race. We didn't do well then, and the parallels to our current situation are troubling.

The effort to build the first atomic bomb was led by the brilliant physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer. Oppenheimer was not naturally interested in politics but became painfully aware of what he perceived as the grave threat to Western civilization from the Third Reich, a threat surely grave because of the possibility that Hitler might obtain nuclear weapons. Energized by this concern, he brought his strong intellect, passion for physics, and charismatic leadership skills to Los Alamos and led a rapid and successful effort by an incredible collection of great minds to quickly invent the bomb.

What is striking is how this effort continued so naturally after the initial impetus was removed. In a meeting shortly after V-E Day with some physicists who felt that perhaps the effort should stop, Oppenheimer argued to continue. His stated reason seems a bit strange: not because of the fear of large casualties from an invasion of Japan, but because the United Nations, which was soon to be formed, should have foreknowledge of atomic weapons. A more likely reason the project continued is the momentum that had built up - the first atomic test, Trinity, was nearly at hand.

We know that in preparing this first atomic test the physicists proceeded despite a large number of possible dangers. They were initially worried, based on a calculation by Edward Teller, that an atomic explosion might set fire to the atmosphere. A revised calculation reduced the danger of destroying the world to a three-in-a-million chance. (Teller says he was later able to dismiss the prospect of atmospheric ignition entirely.) Oppenheimer, though, was sufficiently concerned about the result of Trinity that he arranged for a possible evacuation of the southwest part of the state of New Mexico. And, of course, there was the clear danger of starting a nuclear arms race.

Within a month of that first, successful test, two atomic bombs destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Some scientists had suggested that the bomb simply be demonstrated, rather than dropped on Japanese cities - saying that this would greatly improve the chances for arms control after the war - but to no avail. With the tragedy of Pearl Harbor still fresh in Americans' minds, it would have been very difficult for President Truman to order a demonstration of the weapons rather than use them as he did - the desire to quickly end the war and save the lives that would have been lost in any invasion of Japan was very strong. Yet the overriding truth was probably very simple: As the physicist Freeman Dyson later said, "The reason that it was dropped was just that nobody had the courage or the foresight to say no."

It's important to realize how shocked the physicists were in the aftermath of the bombing of Hiroshima, on August 6, 1945. They describe a series of waves of emotion: first, a sense of fulfillment that the bomb worked, then horror at all the people that had been killed, and then a convincing feeling that on no account should another bomb be dropped. Yet of course another bomb was dropped, on Nagasaki, only three days after the bombing of Hiroshima.

In November 1945, three months after the atomic bombings, Oppenheimer stood firmly behind the scientific attitude, saying, "It is not possible to be a scientist unless you believe that the knowledge of the world, and the power which this gives, is a thing which is of intrinsic value to humanity, and that you are using it to help in the spread of knowledge and are willing to take the consequences."

Oppenheimer went on to work, with others, on the Acheson-Lilienthal report, which, as Richard Rhodes says in his recent book *Visions of Technology*, "found a way to prevent a clandestine nuclear arms race without resorting to armed world government"; their suggestion was a form of relinquishment of nuclear weapons work by nation-states to an international agency.

This proposal led to the Baruch Plan, which was submitted to the United Nations in June 1946 but never adopted (perhaps because, as Rhodes suggests, Bernard Baruch had "insisted on burdening the plan with conventional sanctions," thereby inevitably dooming it, even though it would "almost certainly have been rejected by Stalinist Russia anyway"). Other efforts to promote sensible steps toward internationalizing nuclear power to prevent an arms race ran afoul either of US politics and internal distrust, or distrust by the Soviets. The opportunity to avoid the arms race was lost, and very quickly.

Two years later, in 1948, Oppenheimer seemed to have reached another stage in his thinking, saying, "In some sort of crude sense which no vulgarity, no humor, no overstatement can quite extinguish, the physicists have known sin; and this is a knowledge they cannot lose."

In 1949, the Soviets exploded an atom bomb. By 1955, both the US and the Soviet Union had tested hydrogen bombs suitable for delivery by aircraft. And so the nuclear arms race began.

Nearly 20 years ago, in the documentary *The Day After Trinity*, Freeman Dyson summarized the scientific attitudes that brought us to the nuclear precipice:

"I have felt it myself. The glitter of nuclear weapons. It is irresistible if you come to them as a scientist. To feel it's there in your hands, to release this energy that fuels the stars, to let it do your bidding. To perform these miracles, to lift a million tons of rock into the sky. It is something that gives people an illusion of illimitable power, and it is, in some ways, responsible for all our troubles - this, what you might call technical arrogance, that overcomes people when they see what they can do with their minds."⁸

Now, as then, we are creators of new technologies and stars of the imagined future, driven - this time by great financial rewards and global competition - despite the clear dangers, hardly evaluating what it may be like to try to live in a world that is the realistic outcome of what we are creating and imagining.

In 1947, *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* began putting a Doomsday Clock on its cover. For more than 50 years, it has shown an estimate of the relative nuclear danger we have faced, reflecting the changing international conditions. The hands on the clock have moved 15 times and today, standing at nine minutes to midnight, reflect continuing and real danger from nuclear weapons. The recent addition of India and Pakistan to the list of nuclear powers has

increased the threat of failure of the nonproliferation goal, and this danger was reflected by moving the hands closer to midnight in 1998.

In our time, how much danger do we face, not just from nuclear weapons, but from all of these technologies? How high are the extinction risks?

The philosopher John Leslie has studied this question and concluded that the risk of human extinction is at least 30 percent,⁹ while Ray Kurzweil believes we have "a better than even chance of making it through," with the caveat that he has "always been accused of being an optimist." Not only are these estimates not encouraging, but they do not include the probability of many horrid outcomes that lie short of extinction.

Faced with such assessments, some serious people are already suggesting that we simply move beyond Earth as quickly as possible. We would colonize the galaxy using von Neumann probes, which hop from star system to star system, replicating as they go. This step will almost certainly be necessary 5 billion years from now (or sooner if our solar system is disastrously impacted by the impending collision of our galaxy with the Andromeda galaxy within the next 3 billion years), but if we take Kurzweil and Moravec at their word it might be necessary by the middle of this century.

What are the moral implications here? If we must move beyond Earth this quickly in order for the species to survive, who accepts the responsibility for the fate of those (most of us, after all) who are left behind? And even if we scatter to the stars, isn't it likely that we may take our problems with us or find, later, that they have followed us? The fate of our species on Earth and our fate in the galaxy seem inextricably linked.

Another idea is to erect a series of shields to defend against each of the dangerous technologies. The Strategic Defense Initiative, proposed by the Reagan administration, was an attempt to design such a shield against the threat of a nuclear attack from the Soviet Union. But as Arthur C. Clarke, who was privy to discussions about the project, observed: "Though it might be possible, at vast expense, to construct local defense systems that would 'only' let through a few percent of ballistic missiles, the much touted idea of a national umbrella was nonsense. Luis Alvarez, perhaps the greatest experimental physicist of this century, remarked to me that the advocates of such schemes were 'very bright guys with no common sense.'"

Clarke continued: "Looking into my often cloudy crystal ball, I suspect that a total defense might indeed be possible in a century or so. But the technology involved would produce, as a by-product, weapons so terrible that no one would bother with anything as primitive as ballistic missiles." ¹⁰

In *Engines of Creation*, Eric Drexler proposed that we build an active nanotechnological shield - a form of immune system for the biosphere - to defend against dangerous replicators of all kinds that might escape from laboratories or otherwise be maliciously created. But the shield he proposed would itself be extremely dangerous - nothing could prevent it from developing autoimmune problems and attacking the biosphere itself. ¹¹

Similar difficulties apply to the construction of shields against robotics and genetic engineering. These technologies are too powerful to be shielded against in the time frame of interest; even if it were possible to implement defensive shields, the side effects of their development would be at least as dangerous as the technologies we are trying to protect against.

These possibilities are all thus either undesirable or unachievable or both. The only realistic alternative I see is relinquishment: to limit development of the technologies that are too dangerous, by limiting our pursuit of certain kinds of knowledge.

Yes, I know, knowledge is good, as is the search for new truths. We have been seeking knowledge since ancient times. Aristotle opened his *Metaphysics* with the simple statement: "All men by nature desire to know." We have, as a bedrock value in our society, long agreed on the value of open access to information, and recognize the problems that arise with attempts to restrict access to and development of knowledge. In recent times, we have come to revere scientific knowledge.

But despite the strong historical precedents, if open access to and unlimited development of knowledge henceforth puts us all in clear danger of extinction, then common sense demands that we reexamine even these basic, long-held beliefs.

It was Nietzsche who warned us, at the end of the 19th century, not only that God is dead but that "faith in science, which after all exists undeniably, cannot owe its origin to a calculus of utility; it must have originated *in spite of* the fact that the disutility and dangerousness of the 'will to truth,' of 'truth at any price' is proved to it constantly." It is this further danger that we now fully face - the consequences of our truth-seeking. The truth that science seeks can certainly be considered a dangerous substitute for God if it is likely to lead to our extinction.

If we could agree, as a species, what we wanted, where we were headed, and why, then we would make our future much less dangerous - then we might understand what we can and should relinquish. Otherwise, we can easily imagine an arms race developing over GNR technologies, as it did with the NBC technologies in the 20th century. This is perhaps the greatest risk, for once such a race begins, it's very hard to end it. This time - unlike during the Manhattan Project - we aren't in a war, facing an implacable enemy that is threatening our civilization; we are driven, instead, by our habits, our desires, our economic system, and our competitive need to know.

I believe that we all wish our course could be determined by our collective values, ethics, and morals. If we had gained more collective wisdom over the past few thousand years, then a dialogue to this end would be more practical, and the incredible powers we are about to unleash would not be nearly so troubling.

One would think we might be driven to such a dialogue by our instinct for self-preservation. Individuals clearly have this desire, yet as a species our behavior seems to be not in our favor. In dealing with the nuclear threat, we often spoke dishonestly to ourselves and to each other, thereby greatly increasing the risks. Whether this was politically motivated, or because we chose not to think ahead, or because when faced with such grave threats we acted irrationally out of fear, I do not know, but it does not bode well.

The new Pandora's boxes of genetics, nanotechnology, and robotics are almost open, yet we seem hardly to have noticed. Ideas can't be put back in a box; unlike uranium or plutonium, they don't need to be mined and refined, and they can be freely copied. Once they are out, they are out. Churchill remarked, in a famous left-handed compliment, that the American people and their leaders "invariably do the right thing, after they have examined every other alternative." In this case, however, we must act more presciently, as to do the right thing only at last may be to lose the chance to do it at all.

As Thoreau said, "We do not ride on the railroad; it rides upon us"; and this is what we must fight, in our time. The question is, indeed, Which is to be master? Will we survive our technologies?

We are being propelled into this new century with no plan, no control, no brakes. Have we

already gone too far down the path to alter course? I don't believe so, but we aren't trying yet, and the last chance to assert control - the fail-safe point - is rapidly approaching. We have our first pet robots, as well as commercially available genetic engineering techniques, and our nanoscale techniques are advancing rapidly. While the development of these technologies proceeds through a number of steps, it isn't necessarily the case - as happened in the Manhattan Project and the Trinity test - that the last step in proving a technology is large and hard. The breakthrough to wild self-replication in robotics, genetic engineering, or nanotechnology could come suddenly, reprising the surprise we felt when we learned of the cloning of a mammal.

And yet I believe we do have a strong and solid basis for hope. Our attempts to deal with weapons of mass destruction in the last century provide a shining example of relinquishment for us to consider: the unilateral US abandonment, without preconditions, of the development of biological weapons. This relinquishment stemmed from the realization that while it would take an enormous effort to create these terrible weapons, they could from then on easily be duplicated and fall into the hands of rogue nations or terrorist groups.

The clear conclusion was that we would create additional threats to ourselves by pursuing these weapons, and that we would be more secure if we did not pursue them. We have embodied our relinquishment of biological and chemical weapons in the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) and the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC).¹²

As for the continuing sizable threat from nuclear weapons, which we have lived with now for more than 50 years, the US Senate's recent rejection of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty makes it clear relinquishing nuclear weapons will not be politically easy. But we have a unique opportunity, with the end of the Cold War, to avert a multipolar arms race. Building on the BWC and CWC relinquishments, successful abolition of nuclear weapons could help us build toward a habit of relinquishing dangerous technologies. (Actually, by getting rid of all but 100 nuclear weapons worldwide - roughly the total destructive power of World War II and a considerably easier task - we could eliminate this extinction threat. ¹³)

Verifying relinquishment will be a difficult problem, but not an unsolvable one. We are fortunate to have already done a lot of relevant work in the context of the BWC and other treaties. Our major task will be to apply this to technologies that are naturally much more commercial than military. The substantial need here is for transparency, as difficulty of verification is directly proportional to the difficulty of distinguishing relinquished from legitimate activities.

I frankly believe that the situation in 1945 was simpler than the one we now face: The nuclear technologies were reasonably separable into commercial and military uses, and monitoring was aided by the nature of atomic tests and the ease with which radioactivity could be measured. Research on military applications could be performed at national laboratories such as Los Alamos, with the results kept secret as long as possible.

The GNR technologies do not divide clearly into commercial and military uses; given their potential in the market, it's hard to imagine pursuing them only in national laboratories. With their widespread commercial pursuit, enforcing relinquishment will require a verification regime similar to that for biological weapons, but on an unprecedented scale. This, inevitably, will raise tensions between our individual privacy and desire for proprietary information, and the need for verification to protect us all. We will undoubtedly encounter strong resistance to this loss of privacy and freedom of action.

Verifying the relinquishment of certain GNR technologies will have to occur in cyberspace as well as at physical facilities. The critical issue will be to make the necessary transparency acceptable in a world of proprietary information, presumably by providing new forms of

protection for intellectual property.

Verifying compliance will also require that scientists and engineers adopt a strong code of ethical conduct, resembling the Hippocratic oath, and that they have the courage to whistleblow as necessary, even at high personal cost. This would answer the call - 50 years after Hiroshima - by the Nobel laureate Hans Bethe, one of the most senior of the surviving members of the Manhattan Project, that all scientists "cease and desist from work creating, developing, improving, and manufacturing nuclear weapons and other weapons of potential mass destruction."¹⁴ In the 21st century, this requires vigilance and personal responsibility by those who would work on both NBC and GNR technologies to avoid implementing weapons of mass destruction and knowledge-enabled mass destruction.

Thoreau also said that we will be "rich in proportion to the number of things which we can afford to let alone." We each seek to be happy, but it would seem worthwhile to question whether we need to take such a high risk of total destruction to gain yet more knowledge and yet more things; common sense says that there is a limit to our material needs - and that certain knowledge is too dangerous and is best forgone.

Neither should we pursue near immortality without considering the costs, without considering the commensurate increase in the risk of extinction. Immortality, while perhaps the original, is certainly not the only possible utopian dream.

I recently had the good fortune to meet the distinguished author and scholar Jacques Attali, whose book *Lignes d'horizons* (*Millennium*, in the English translation) helped inspire the Java and Jini approach to the coming age of pervasive computing, as previously described in this magazine. In his new book *Fraternités*, Attali describes how our dreams of utopia have changed over time:

"At the dawn of societies, men saw their passage on Earth as nothing more than a labyrinth of pain, at the end of which stood a door leading, via their death, to the company of gods and to *Eternity*. With the Hebrews and then the Greeks, some men dared free themselves from theological demands and dream of an ideal City where *Liberty* would flourish. Others, noting the evolution of the market society, understood that the liberty of some would entail the alienation of others, and they sought *Equality*."

Jacques helped me understand how these three different utopian goals exist in tension in our society today. He goes on to describe a fourth utopia, *Fraternity*, whose foundation is altruism. Fraternity alone associates individual happiness with the happiness of others, affording the promise of self-sustainment.

This crystallized for me my problem with Kurzweil's dream. A technological approach to Eternity - near immortality through robotics - may not be the most desirable utopia, and its pursuit brings clear dangers. Maybe we should rethink our utopian choices.

Where can we look for a new ethical basis to set our course? I have found the ideas in the book *Ethics for the New Millennium*, by the Dalai Lama, to be very helpful. As is perhaps well known but little heeded, the Dalai Lama argues that the most important thing is for us to conduct our lives with love and compassion for others, and that our societies need to develop a stronger notion of universal responsibility and of our interdependency; he proposes a standard of positive ethical conduct for individuals and societies that seems consonant with Attali's Fraternity utopia.

The Dalai Lama further argues that we must understand what it is that makes people happy,

and acknowledge the strong evidence that neither material progress nor the pursuit of the power of knowledge is the key - that there are limits to what science and the scientific pursuit alone can do.

Our Western notion of happiness seems to come from the Greeks, who defined it as "the exercise of vital powers along lines of excellence in a life affording them scope." 15

Clearly, we need to find meaningful challenges and sufficient scope in our lives if we are to be happy in whatever is to come. But I believe we must find alternative outlets for our creative forces, beyond the culture of perpetual economic growth; this growth has largely been a blessing for several hundred years, but it has not brought us unalloyed happiness, and we must now choose between the pursuit of unrestricted and undirected growth through science and technology and the clear accompanying dangers.

It is now more than a year since my first encounter with Ray Kurzweil and John Searle. I see around me cause for hope in the voices for caution and relinquishment and in those people I have discovered who are as concerned as I am about our current predicament. I feel, too, a deepened sense of personal responsibility - not for the work I have already done, but for the work that I might yet do, at the confluence of the sciences.

But many other people who know about the dangers still seem strangely silent. When pressed, they trot out the "this is nothing new" riposte - as if awareness of what could happen is response enough. They tell me, There are universities filled with bioethicists who study this stuff all day long. They say, All this has been written about before, and by experts. They complain, Your worries and your arguments are already old hat.

I don't know where these people hide their fear. As an architect of complex systems I enter this arena as a generalist. But should this diminish my concerns? I am aware of how much has been written about, talked about, and lectured about so authoritatively. But does this mean it has reached people? Does this mean we can discount the dangers before us?

Knowing is not a rationale for not acting. Can we doubt that knowledge has become a weapon we wield against ourselves?

The experiences of the atomic scientists clearly show the need to take personal responsibility, the danger that things will move too fast, and the way in which a process can take on a life of its own. We can, as they did, create insurmountable problems in almost no time flat. We must do more thinking up front if we are not to be similarly surprised and shocked by the consequences of our inventions.

My continuing professional work is on improving the reliability of software. Software is a tool, and as a toolbuilder I must struggle with the uses to which the tools I make are put. I have always believed that making software more reliable, given its many uses, will make the world a safer and better place; if I were to come to believe the opposite, then I would be morally obligated to stop this work. I can now imagine such a day may come.

This all leaves me not angry but at least a bit melancholic. Henceforth, for me, progress will be somewhat bittersweet.

Do you remember the beautiful penultimate scene in Manhattan where Woody Allen is lying on his couch and talking into a tape recorder? He is writing a short story about people who are creating unnecessary, neurotic problems for themselves, because it keeps them from dealing

with more unsolvable, terrifying problems about the universe.

He leads himself to the question, "Why is life worth living?" and to consider what makes it worthwhile for him: Groucho Marx, Willie Mays, the second movement of the Jupiter Symphony, Louis Armstrong's recording of "Potato Head Blues," Swedish movies, Flaubert's *Sentimental Education*, Marlon Brando, Frank Sinatra, the apples and pears by Cézanne, the crabs at Sam Wo's, and, finally, the showstopper: his love Tracy's face.

Each of us has our precious things, and as we care for them we locate the essence of our humanity. In the end, it is because of our great capacity for caring that I remain optimistic we will confront the dangerous issues now before us.

My immediate hope is to participate in a much larger discussion of the issues raised here, with people from many different backgrounds, in settings not predisposed to fear or favor technology for its own sake.

As a start, I have twice raised many of these issues at events sponsored by the Aspen Institute and have separately proposed that the American Academy of Arts and Sciences take them up as an extension of its work with the Pugwash Conferences. (These have been held since 1957 to discuss arms control, especially of nuclear weapons, and to formulate workable policies.)

It's unfortunate that the Pugwash meetings started only well after the nuclear genie was out of the bottle - roughly 15 years too late. We are also getting a belated start on seriously addressing the issues around 21st-century technologies - the prevention of knowledge-enabled mass destruction - and further delay seems unacceptable.

So I'm still searching; there are many more things to learn. Whether we are to succeed or fail, to survive or fall victim to these technologies, is not yet decided. I'm up late again - it's almost 6 am. I'm trying to imagine some better answers, to break the spell and free them from the stone.

1 The passage Kurzweil quotes is from Kaczynski's *Unabomber Manifesto*, which was published jointly, under duress, by *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* to attempt to bring his campaign of terror to an end. I agree with David Gelernter, who said about their decision:

"It was a tough call for the newspapers. To say yes would be giving in to terrorism, and for all they knew he was lying anyway. On the other hand, to say yes might stop the killing. There was also a chance that someone would read the tract and get a hunch about the author; and that is exactly what happened. The suspect's brother read it, and it rang a bell.

"I would have told them not to publish. I'm glad they didn't ask me. I guess."

(*Drawing Life: Surviving the Unabomber*. Free Press, 1997: 120.)

2 Garrett, Laurie. *The Coming Plague: Newly Emerging Diseases in a World Out of Balance*. Penguin, 1994: 47-52, 414, 419, 452.

3 Isaac Asimov described what became the most famous view of ethical rules for robot behavior in his book *I, Robot* in 1950, in his Three Laws of Robotics: 1. A robot may not injure a human being, or, through inaction, allow a human being to come to harm. 2. A robot must obey the orders given it by human beings, except where such orders would conflict with the First Law. 3. A robot must protect its own existence, as long as such protection does not conflict with the First or Second Law.

4 Michelangelo wrote a sonnet that begins:

*Non ha l'ottimo artista alcun concetto
Ch' un marmo solo in sè non circonscriva
Col suo soverchio; e solo a quello arriva
La man che ubbidisce all' intelletto.*

Stone translates this as:

*The best of artists hath no thought to show
which the rough stone in its superfluous shell
doth not include; to break the marble spell
is all the hand that serves the brain can do.*

Stone describes the process: "He was not working from his drawings or clay models; they had all been put away. He was carving from the images in his mind. His eyes and hands knew where every line, curve, mass must emerge, and at what depth in the heart of the stone to create the low relief."

(*The Agony and the Ecstasy*. Doubleday, 1961: 6, 144.)

5 First Foresight Conference on Nanotechnology in October 1989, a talk titled "The Future of Computation." Published in Crandall, B. C. and James Lewis, editors. *Nanotechnology: Research and Perspectives*. MIT Press, 1992: 269. See also www.foresight.org/Conferences/MNT01/Nano1.html.

6 In his 1963 novel *Cat's Cradle*, Kurt Vonnegut imagined a gray-goo-like accident where a form of ice called ice-nine, which becomes solid at a much higher temperature, freezes the oceans.

7 Kauffman, Stuart. "Self-replication: Even Peptides Do It." *Nature*, 382, August 8, 1996: 496. See www.santafe.edu/sfi/People/kauffman/sak-peptides.html.

8 Else, Jon. *The Day After Trinity: J. Robert Oppenheimer and The Atomic Bomb* (available at www.pyramiddirect.com).

9 This estimate is in Leslie's book *The End of the World: The Science and Ethics of Human Extinction*, where he notes that the probability of extinction is substantially higher if we accept Brandon Carter's Doomsday Argument, which is, briefly, that "we ought to have some reluctance to believe that we are very exceptionally early, for instance in the earliest 0.001 percent, among all humans who will ever have lived. This would be some reason for thinking that humankind will not survive for many more centuries, let alone colonize the galaxy. Carter's doomsday argument doesn't generate any risk estimates just by itself. It is an argument for *revising* the estimates which we generate when we consider various possible dangers." (Routledge, 1996: 1, 3, 145.)

10 Clarke, Arthur C. "Presidents, Experts, and Asteroids." *Science*, June 5, 1998. Reprinted as "Science and Society" in *Greetings, Carbon-Based Biped! Collected Essays, 1934-1998*. St. Martin's Press, 1999: 526.

11 And, as David Forrest suggests in his paper "Regulating Nanotechnology Development," available at www.foresight.org/NanoRev/Forrest1989.html, "If we used strict liability as an alternative to regulation it would be impossible for any developer to internalize the cost of the risk (destruction of the biosphere), so theoretically the activity of developing nanotechnology should never be undertaken." Forrest's analysis leaves us with only government regulation to protect us - not a comforting thought.

12 Meselson, Matthew. "The Problem of Biological Weapons." Presentation to the 1,818th Stated Meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, January 13, 1999. (minerva.amacad.org/archive/bulletin4.htm)

13 Doty, Paul. "The Forgotten Menace: Nuclear Weapons Stockpiles Still Represent the Biggest Threat to Civilization." *Nature*, 402, December 9, 1999: 583.

14 See also Hans Bethe's 1997 letter to President Clinton, at www.fas.org/bethecr.htm.

15 Hamilton, Edith. *The Greek Way*. W. W. Norton & Co., 1942: 35.

Bill Joy, cofounder and Chief Scientist of Sun Microsystems, was cochair of the presidential commission on the future of IT research, and is coauthor of The Java Language Specification.

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Study adds to doubts about acid-rain law

Chemical levels still climbing in lakes, report says

By Traci Watson
USA TODAY

A study of lakes in New York's Adirondack Mountains adds to a growing body of evidence that a widely hailed U.S. program to control acid rain is unlikely to do so.

The study, released Monday by the General Accounting Office, concludes that despite cutbacks in the emission of pollutants that cause acid rain, the levels of one important family of acidic chemicals continue to rise in 25 Adirondack lakes.

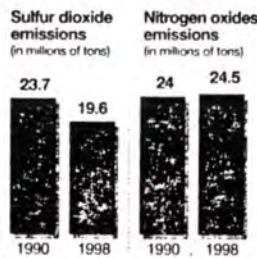
The report's conclusions, which are consistent with previous studies, came as no surprise to scientists. Many had decided well before the report's publication that the 1990 law designed to heal high-acid lakes and streams would probably prove inadequate.

"I would be very surprised if you would find anyone who would say (the 1990 law) would solve the problem," said environmental engineer Charles Driscoll of Syracuse University.

But a spokesman for utility companies, Dan Riedinger of the Edison Electric Institute, said it is too early to

Acid rain emissions

Sulfur dioxide emissions continue to decline, but nitrogen oxides emissions have increased slightly. Two-thirds of the sulfur dioxide comes from power plants, while more than half the nitrogen oxides pollution comes from vehicles.



Source: GAO

By Qun Tian, USA TODAY

evaluate whether the law is working because many of its provisions are still being phased in.

Most acid rain is born in car engines and power plants, where burning fossil fuel creates the pollutants sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides. The chemicals enter lakes and streams by drifting down from the sky or by riding to Earth in raindrops and snowflakes.

Like a shot of vinegar, the chem-

"Our science isn't good enough to tell us how much (pollution reduction) is needed. I say, let's make reasonably easy fixes, and continue to make progress."

— Acid-rain expert Steve Kahl of the University of Maine

icals make water more acidic. That leads to changes harmful to fish and other forms of life.

High levels of acidity have plagued lakes and streams in the Northeast, Midwest and Appalachian Mountains for decades, spurring Congress in 1990 to restrict the acid-causing pollutants. Since the law passed, emissions of sulfur dioxide have dropped, while emissions of nitrogen oxides have remained roughly the same.

The report found that sulfur compounds in 48 of the 52 mountain lakes declined from 1992 through 1999, while nitrogen compounds rose in 25 of the 52. The reason, the report said, is that land and vegetation around the lakes already have absorbed or neutralized as much nitrogen as they can, causing any additional amounts to slide off into the water.

A 1999 study in *Nature* found that levels of sulfur compounds have

dropped dramatically in many lakes and streams in the Northeast and Upper Midwest, but the acid levels are not falling in sync. The study's authors concluded that such high levels of acidic chemicals have washed over the land for so long that acid-neutralizing minerals have all been used up. It may take years for them to build up again, scientists say.

Even EPA officials acknowledge that the 1990 law to control acid rain probably will not return the most acid-sensitive lakes and streams to their original, unpolluted state. The law requires sulfur dioxide emissions to be cut roughly 50% from 1980 levels.

But EPA officials said they're doing all they can to solve the problem and point to other programs that were developed to fight smog but could reduce acid rain, as well. A slew of recent regulations that crack down on pollution from cars, sport-utility vehicles and Midwest power plants will take effect in the next 10 years, officials said, and that may be enough to restore all but the most fragile bodies of water.

Still, some scientists argued that every measure that isn't outrageously costly or difficult should be taken. "Our science isn't good enough to tell us how much (pollution reduction) is needed," said acid-rain expert Steve Kahl of the University of Maine. "I say, let's make reasonably easy fixes, and continue to make progress."

Chemical plant near Houston hit by blast

The Associated Press

PASADENA, Texas — An explosion Monday rocked a Phillips Petroleum chemical plant near the Houston Ship Channel, injuring at least 52 people and sparking a fire that sent thick smoke over the area.

Plant spokesman Norm Berkley said one worker was missing. He did not confirm the number of injured. No fatalities were reported.

"I was in the main shop area when I heard a loud explosion," said Tim Williams, a plant worker who estimated he was more than 200 yards from the 1:25 p.m. CST explosion.

"My ears hurt, and I took off running. I looked back and saw flames, and kept going."

Forty-four people were taken to hospitals with injuries that included burns, smoke inhalation and anxiety-related disorders, hospital spokes-

men said. Some were burned severely, Mayor Johnny Isbell said.

Berkley said the plant employs roughly 850 workers and said about 600 would have been there at the time of the blast.

Workers in nearby plants and residents in the area were urged to remain indoors while schoolchildren were kept inside after the bell rang. Smoke continued to rise two hours after the blast and was clearly visible across Houston.

The Phillips complex was the site of a series of explosions and fires in 1989 in a polyethylene reactor, which killed 23 and injured 130.

Last June, two people were killed and four were injured in an explosion at the complex. Afterward, federal officials fined Phillips \$204,000 for 13 alleged safety violations.

Phillips explores for and produces oil and natural gas.



The mounting Russian cost of war

region who were travelling in a military convoy through a mountain gorge. According to the governor of Pskov, the death toll was 80; the army says it was only 31.

The Chechens also claim to have attacked on March 7th a guard post in the re-

public's second city, Gudermes, and an armoured column en route from neighbouring Ingushetia. On a visit to London that day, Ilyas Akhmadov, the "foreign minister" of Aslan Maskhadov's unrecognised Chechen government, said that they had no plans to leave the country. "We control 35% of Chechnya by day, and all of it by night," claimed Mr Akhmadov.

Russia has sought to refute international criticism of its treatment of Chechen prisoners by opening to the outside world the notorious Chernokozovo detention camp, newly painted and complete with sauna, where shivering, miserable-looking inmates said they were warm and well fed. That story went badly off message when a press bus leaving the camp was blockaded by desperate relations of missing Chechens. The minder accompanying the

reporters described the protesters as mentally ill and instructed the driver to run them over (he didn't).

The charm offensive will continue on March 10th when the Russian Human Rights Watch group will meet with the Chechens, and the Russian Foreign Minister, Igor Ivanov, will meet with the Chechen leader, Aslan Maskhadov. But the Russian government's promise to fob off the protesters is far from convincing. But the commitment to fob off the protesters is far from convincing.

But the commitment to fob off the protesters is far from convincing. But the commitment to fob off the protesters is far from convincing. But the commitment to fob off the protesters is far from convincing.

A besom for the Balkans

PODUJEVO

THE Scots Dragoon Guards react calmly when a Serbian lorry roars towards them out of the night, down the spooky no-man's-land which separates their checkpoint from Serbia proper—and it turns out, on careful inspection, to contain a consignment of crude household brooms. Once he has satisfied the bemused NATO peacekeepers that he is carrying no weapons, the trucker amiably tosses them a brush; he makes the very Balkan assumption that anyone stopping vehicles must be looking for a sweetener.

Other transactions at this sensitive post on the boundary of north-eastern Kosovo—it is not a border, since the places it separates are technically all in Serbia—are less benign. This is where ethnic Albanians come to buy the freedom of relations who have been jailed in Serbia (there are 1,200 of them) at DM20,000 (\$10,000) a shot. The deals done, the prisoners are delivered in busloads into the arms of their families. This trade goes two ways. Hundreds of Kosovar Serbs have been taken hostage since last year; some may be in Albania.

As for the foreign soldiers who observe these dealings, they preserve a delicate balance, epitomising the dilemma of a NATO force that has huge firepower—symbolised by the new Challenger-2 tanks which rumble through the nearby town of Podujevo—but finite room for manoeuvre.

Serbs will protest if NATO fails to maintain freedom of movement for the 100 or so vehicles a day that use this main road from Serbia proper into the province of Kosovo. Moreover, they expect NATO to provide

them with some protection from stones, bullets and mortars. On the other hand, ethnic Albanians complain that some of the "civilians" entering the province are war criminals bent on fomenting rebellion in Kosovo's few remaining Serb enclaves. Late last month, thousands of Albanians blocked this road for hours in protest; the peacekeepers had to calm the rising tempers of the federal Yugoslav police, while also gently restraining the demonstrators.

Colonel Andrew Phillips, the Scottish regiment's commander, sits in at the weekly meetings of the Podujevo town council. Given that his soldiers virtually keep the town going—their tasks range from shooting wild dogs to paying pensions in crisp German bank-notes—one might think his word was law. But things are not so simple.

In the middle of last month, when relations between NATO and the Kosovars deteriorated in other places, the atmosphere on the local council became tetchy. There were murmurs that, if NATO could not restrain the Serbs, the Albanians would do the job for them. A week later, no less mysteriously, calm returned.

NATO has to tread warily as it handles the ebb and flow of local sentiment. Although it is quite well informed about the Albanian factions, from protection rackets to hardline nationalists, which operate in this and other parts of Kosovo, it uses its knowledge sparingly. This is partly because the international police force is so undermanned; in the Podujevo area, for example, about 500 soldiers have only 30



policemen to assist them. But there is also a deeper, unspoken reason. Kosovo's administration is reluctant to be drawn into an all-out confrontation with the Albanians. They, after all, are the people NATO intervened to protect.

So far, Britain's NATO contingent has more or less kept its reputation for balance. The French, who oversee ethnically divided Mitrovica—and suffered 16 injuries during a street fight on March 7th—have to fend off charges that they are pro-Serb. The Americans in Kosovo's south-east are said by the Serbs to be soft on Albanians.

The British, for their part, watch this border more closely than their jocular dealings with brush salesmen would indicate—to see, for example, whether any Yugoslav army units are coming nearer than they should. And they themselves are being watched by local people who have made careful calculations as to how much freedom of action each player in Kosovo's three-sided game—NATO, the Albanians and the Serbs—really enjoys.

Algeria

The return of uneasy tranquillity

ALGIERS

Revenge, not political reconciliation, is on people's minds

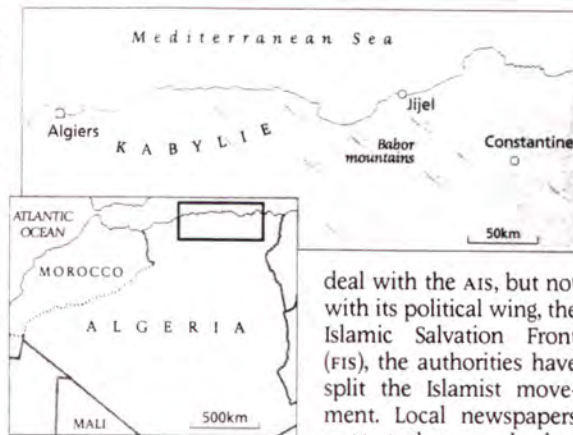
HIGH in the snow-capped Babar mountains, the last of some 1,200 members of the Islamic Salvation Army (AIS) boarded minibuses to drive down to the coast at Jijel. A lone gunman, and a huddle of Barbary monkeys, kept watch. Perhaps it was the prospect of sleeping in a bed not a burrow for the first night in eight years that made the surrendering rebels look remarkably jovial. As they arrived in the valleys, they were cheered and embraced; their emir, Medani Mezrag, had been head of the local tribe and remains a local hero. But his fief, which had once raised taxes across much of the province, and was designed to act as a launch-pad for a would-be Islamic Algeria, came to an end this winter.

Dissolving the AIS has not stopped the killing. The AIS was Algeria's largest rebel force, but for the past two years it has honoured a ceasefire. The two other main factions—the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) and Khassan Khattab's Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC)—fight on. Next winter, Algerians may be skiing in the Babar mountains, but probably not in the snow-caps of Kabylie, where the GSPC holds sway, or farther west towards the Moroccan border, which is GIA territory.

However, the violence has certainly diminished. Since President Abdelaziz Bouteflika's unconvincing election a year ago, officials, members of parliament and journalists have been slowly emerging into the open. Even diplomats are now venturing out of their bunkers for a Saturday's putting on the reopened Algiers golf course.

The AIS ex-rebels argue that they got the best deal they could. In January, Mr Mezrag won a pardon for his fighters in return for their total disbanding and disarmament. Men hitherto branded as terrorists are now preparing to resume their posts at schools, hospitals and universities. One of them, Aïssa Lahlil, a professor of religious literature at the Islamic University of Constantine, fled to the mountains in 1992. There he wrote novels, translated Wordsworth and, say Algerian officials, issued fatwas on who should be killed in the valleys. Now he plans to go back to his university. "To build a common future," he says, "you have to forget the past."

Mr Bouteflika and the Algerian army also have cause for satisfaction. By securing a



deal with the AIS, but not with its political wing, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), the authorities have split the Islamist movement. Local newspapers suggest that AIS leaders

may be allowed to form a political party so long as it excludes the leaders of the still outlawed FIS. Ali Jeddi, the most senior FIS leader not under arrest or in exile, accuses Mr Mezrag of self-interest and of betraying the movement for which he took up arms.

After the deal, newspapers declared that "tranquillity returns". But, for many Algerians, it is not peace. Outside the cities, sandbags and checkpoints still halt traffic every five miles, at least until dark when soldiers tend to retreat to their barracks. Drivers count journeys out of Algiers not in kilometres, but in massacre sites. To reduce the risk of ambushes and fake checkpoints, the army has cut down ancient eucalyptus forests to their stumps, and burnt undergrowth to a cinder. Vociferous Algerians, sharing taxis, turn silent when a fog descends.

Last September, Mr Bouteflika held a referendum to win approval for his "civil concord", an amnesty for rebels untainted by killings, bombings and rapes. But the amnesty's terms seem to be widening, quite apart from the separate pardon for all AIS rebels. "The fighters just say they were woodcutters, water-carriers or cooks," says a lawyer on the Probation Commission, charged with investigating the rebels' past. "And there's not a great deal we can do."

For tens of thousands of Algerians, justice has not been done. To stem the growing criticism, the authorities are preventing victims' associations from taking their protests to the streets. Press coverage of victims has now given way to exclusives with their killers. "They're treating murderers like VIPs," says a publisher whose nine-year-old son was shot dead at school.

At a recent rally, hundreds of protesters defied the security forces to march on the Senate bearing banners declaring that "Medani Mezrag is a terrorist, Bouteflika his ac-

complice". The victims' associations, and their friends from the estimated 200,000 paramilitary vigilantes, known as "patriots", say threateningly that if the state shies from meting out justice, they will do so. Patriots discuss the merits of pursuing those ex-GIA fighters who had hoped that shaving their beards would spare them identification. The government has stripped the rebels of their guns, but has provided no programme for their rehabilitation into communities frequently bent on revenge.

At the other end of the political spectrum, FIS leaders in Algeria say the deal does nothing for the 18,000 FIS activists they claim are missing. Mr Bouteflika, they say, has released only a fraction of the 5,000 Islamist prisoners he promised last June would be freed. Senior AIS fighters claim they have a written agreement which provides for the release of FIS activists, including the party's leaders, Abassi Madani and Ali Belhadj. They say a bilateral commission is being set up to monitor its implementation. Abdelkader Boukhamkham, a former FIS activist who helped negotiate the accord, even says its terms are tantamount to reconciliation between the state and the Islamists.

But Mr Bouteflika speaks only of civil, not political, rights for the forgiven rebels. For those hoping for a political resolution of Algeria's woes, reconciliation remains a distant prospect. Despite the talk of peace, there is no lifting of the state of emergency, no end to restrictions on political activity, no suggestion of the army's return to barracks. What hopes the FIS may have harboured were dashed last November. The killing of Abdelkader Hachani, the third-ranking member of the FIS, during a dental check-up grimly put paid to the joke that the one place an Arab could open his mouth was at the dentist's.

Zimbabwe

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earlier... the invaders have caused substantial damage to property and crops, and have threatened the white owners. Tobacco farms, which account for nearly 40% of Zimbabwe's export earnings, have been hit. Total losses to date are estimated at Z\$400m (\$11m). Police have watched passively as numerous laws have been broken. No one has been seriously injured so far, but

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The Economist

A SURVEY OF THE UNITED STATES

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The new Americans

THE UNITED STATES



Oh, say, can you see?

IF YOU are looking for a parable of the rich variety of life in America, you could do worse than to take a drive along one of its most famous streets. Sunset Boulevard snakes away from the Pacific Ocean into the hills of rich west Los Angeles. In plush Brentwood, the only non-white faces are Latino maids and gardeners. As Sunset skirts Bel Air, elegant banners tell you what is happening at that haven of Eurocentric civilisation, the Getty Centre. Then comes the garish Sunset strip, where Tinseltown's blonde-studded billboards trumpet America's domination of the entertainment industry.

As Sunset works its way through Hollywood, you pass a sort of no man's land—or should it be everyman's land?—where El Pollo Loco, Hoy's Wok and a restaurant called Uzbekistan nestle beside Burger King. One shop claims to be "The Crossroads of the World". Gradually the number of Spanish signs increases. Television stations point out that they broadcast "Todo el día en español"; a website called quepasa.com urges Spanish speakers to get online. As you near Dodger Stadium, most dry cleaners and hairdressers have become *lavenderias* and *peluquerías*—although some shop-signs mix the languages, as in "Bonita y Cheap".

At the very end of Sunset lie two surprises. The first is a brief spell in Chinatown: suddenly Asian schoolchildren replace Hispanic ones, and Spanish signs give way to Chinese ones. The second is that soon afterwards Sunset becomes Cesar Chavez Avenue, after the leader of the Latino farm workers' movement.

The point about this journey down Sunset is that it is far from exceptional. Some Los Angelenos would say that Wilshire or Olympic Boulevard offer an even more cosmopolitan hodge-podge. In Chicago, Fullerton Avenue begins in rich white Lincoln Park, but soon takes you on a global walkabout through different parts of Eastern Europe and Latin America. In Queens, New York, a ride on the num-

ber seven subway train above Roosevelt Avenue offers you a quick demonstration that this is indeed the world's most ethnically diverse country.

And why stop at the immigrants' familiar haunts? Iowa has been quietly importing Bosnians and Sudanese to rejuvenate its ageing population. In Silicon Valley, whites are now an acknowledged minority. Levittown, Pennsylvania, the quintessential American suburb, boasts a Turkish mosque. In Orange County, the home of John Wayne Airport, the two first children to be born this millennium were Cambodian-American and Mexican-American. Detroit claims to be the Arab capital of America. Miami used to be thought of as a Cuban enclave, but is becoming more Haitian, more Jamaican, more all sorts of things. The mayor of Miami-Dade, Alex Penelas, says his region is home to 156 nationalities.

Latinos' turn

In the 1950 census, America was 89% white and 10% black. Other races hardly got a look-in. Now Latinos account for around 12% of the population. Within the next five years, they will overtake blacks to become the largest minority group. If current trends continue, they will be the majority in Los Angeles County in ten years. In 20 years, they will dominate Texas and California. By 2050, one in four of the 400m people who will then be living in the United States will be Latino—and if you add in Asians, their joint share will be one in three (see chart 1, next page). The bulk of the "new Americans" on whom this survey will concentrate are Latinos and Asians, although there are also newcomers among the "white" and "black" groups.

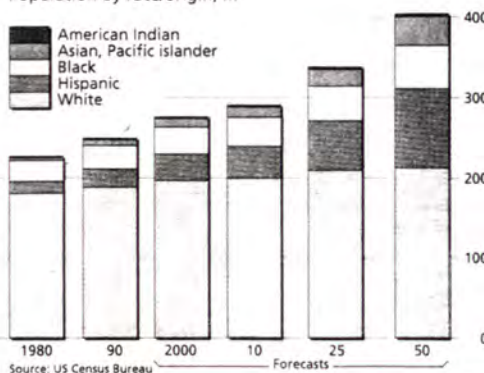
The rise of these new Americans is being fuelled by immigration (see chart 2, next page). Every year roughly a million new people arrive (700,000 legally, 300,000 illegally); more than in any other country in absolute numbers, though not as a proportion of the population. Once settled, the immigrants generally

Immigration will reshape America more profoundly than trade or technology, argues John Micklethwait





More colourful
Population by race/origin, m



have more children than their neighbours (an average of around three per woman, compared with 1.8 for non-Hispanic white women). Since 1990, the number of foreign-born American residents has risen by 6m to just over 25m in the biggest immigration wave since the days when newcomers from Europe crowded on to Ellis Island around the turn of the 20th century. Half of the 50m new inhabitants expected in America in the next 25 years will be immigrants or the children of immigrants.

So what is new? In America's short modern history, heavy immigration has been the rule; remember America's motto, *e pluribus unum*. In the period from 1850 to 1920, roughly one in eight Americans was foreign-born. As Michael Barone, a columnist for *US News and World Report*, has put it: "Ethnic diversity is as American as apple pie—or soul food or tacos or dim sum."

Indeed; and the effect of the current wave of immigrants seems likely to be every bit as momentous as that of the last great wave a century ago. In fact, it may turn out to be even more influential, for three reasons. To begin, America is now a well-established place rather than a frontier wilderness. Immigrants are no longer simply filling up empty space. Second, people have arguably become even more important than they were. A hundred years ago, Henry Ford complained that when he hired a pair of hands, he also got a human being; for the kind of work on offer in his factories, that was more of a hindrance than a help. Nowadays all the vogueish economic forces—the New Economy, globalisation, technology—emphasise the importance of human capital.

The third (and politically incorrect) point is that the current arrivals are different from their European predecessors—and many of them look different too. Xavier Becerra, a young congressman with an office in the most Latino part of Sunset Boulevard, explains that "I am always identified before I identify." Next, thanks to a mixture of improved technology and geographical proximity, Latinos feel (and are) much closer to their homelands than earlier European immigrants. They also have a common language that can at least put up a decent fight against English.

This survey will seek to answer three fundamental questions: Is the melting pot still working? If so, is it good for America? And how will this latest wave of New Americans change their chosen country? As for the first two, most of the available evidence suggests that the melting pot is still bubbling

away, and benefiting everybody. But there is a danger of overstating those benefits. Immigration plainly has its losers as well as its winners, and in economic terms the easily measurable pluses appear to be small. There are big doubts about America's immigration policy and its laws, and big worries over whether its education system can cope.

The third question might best be answered in culinary terms. If you add new ingredients to a thick stew, those ingredients are bound to lose some of their particular tang—but they will also change the flavour of the stew. Among other things, immigrants are helping to drag the country south-westward; they are changing what America listens to and what it eats; they are opening up a gap between half a dozen multi-ethnic centres that attract well over half the newcomers, and a much less diverse heartland; indeed, they may change the way the country thinks about everything from abortion to NAFTA.

Even the terms "Latino" and "Asian-American" are problematic. Does it make sense to lump together, say, a computer programmer from Bangalore, a shopkeeper from Seoul and a Hmong tribesman? Around two-thirds of Latinos hail from Mexico, but Texans of Mexican descent like to be called Tejanos, whereas other Mexican-Americans prefer to be known as Chicanos. This survey mostly uses the blanket term Latino because it seems mildly less disliked and more accurate than Hispanic.

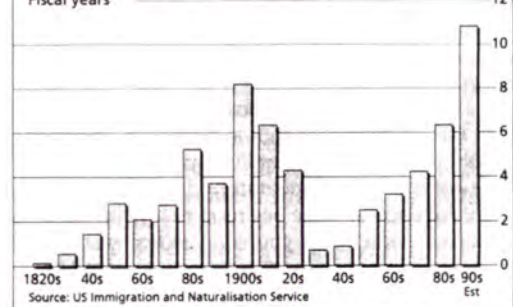
For the moment, the effect of the new immigrants has barely begun to be felt. Yet the issues they raise often lurk behind the headlines. One example is the sad tale of Elian Gonzalez, a six-year-old Cuban boy who recently arrived in Miami, having watched his mother drown during an attempted escape from Cuba. He immediately became the subject of a grotesque custody fight between his father (backed by the Cuban government) and his relations in Miami (backed by Cuban émigré groups).

Around the same time the sports pages were dominated by John Rocker, a white Atlanta Braves pitcher from a deprived background who had made unhelpful remarks about multi-racial New York ("The biggest thing I don't like about New York are the foreigners, Asians and Koreans and Vietnamese and Indians and Russians and Spanish people and everything up there. How the hell did they get in this country?"). Mr Rocker was immediately condemned by all concerned, but many Latino politicians worry that he simply spelt out what many people like him feel—and that those feelings could gather strength if the economy loses its fizz.

It has happened before. The Ellis Island wave of

A bigger wave

Legal immigrants, ten-year totals, m
Fiscal years



a century ago, now universally considered a good thing, also roused opposition in its time, eventually followed by legislation to stop it. In a nasty flirtation with eugenics in the 1920s, Congress imposed a series of quotas by national origin on immigration. Indeed, the current surge in new arrivals has its origin in the lifting of those quotas in the 1960s. Californians note that whites, who were once so generous to newcomers, are beginning to behave like a minority under pressure.

Demography is destiny

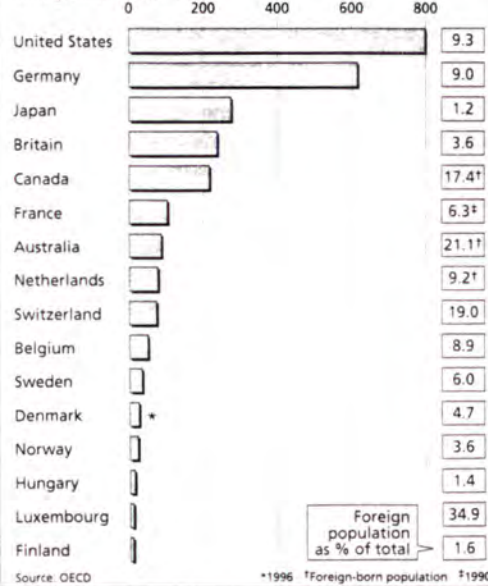
Americans have a somewhat schizophrenic attitude to immigration. Most polls show that around two-thirds of the population would like to reduce it (with the most recent arrivals often among the most hostile); but the same proportion think that legal immigration is a good thing, and that family members should have the right to bring in their relatives. The explanation may be that immigrants encapsulate the American dream, but they are also responsible for an embarrassing secret. A country built by immigrants, the United States still derives much of its youthful vitality from their presence. Pick up the biography of any American figure, and it will begin "He/his parents/his grandparents came to America with nothing, but...". Silicon Valley is merely the latest American showpiece to be built in large part by immigrants.

The embarrassing secret is the importance to daily life of illegal immigrants. Every American politician claims to condemn their presence, but without them the domestic life of middle-class America would fall apart; food prices would climb steeply as produce rotted in the fields; hotel rooms would stand uncleaned; swimming pools would become septic tanks; and taxis would disappear from the streets. In short, the country would grind to a halt.

For the most part, the system that has evolved suits both employers, who get cheap and plentiful labour, and employees, who although badly paid earn much more than they would at home. But it still has its problems. Many of those gardeners and

And still they come

Immigration, 1997, '000



cleaners live in conditions that shame such a rich country. The system also makes an ass of the law. America spends a fortune trying to stop people coming in, often putting their lives at risk, but does next to nothing once they have arrived.

This survey will argue that the current wave of immigration should be viewed with guarded optimism. That is partly because, without immigrants, rich countries tend to get old fast. Europe is beginning to notice that, and so is Japan. But the main justification is the attitude of the immigrants themselves. Whatever the problems, those people came to America because they wanted to be there. Drive along the streets of Los Angeles at seven in the morning, and you will see groups of Latino men gathered at street corners and in car parks, waiting to work long hours for low pay. If America squanders their enthusiasm, it will not be their fault.

Give me your tired, your confused

IN THE argument about immigration, the border plays a large and perhaps exaggerated part. For supporters, America's frontier is the place where the adventure begins; heroic or tragic stories abound about people trying to break into America. In January, three Chinese stowaways from Hong Kong lost their lives crossing the Pacific in shipping containers to reach the place known, poetically, as *Gum San* (mountain of gold).

Nativists, for their part, regard the border as a small picket fence holding back a flood of semi-criminals. Smuggling people into America has become a huge business, they point out. Illegal immigrants from China often pay \$50,000 a head to get to *Gum San*. Various parts of southern Texas, California and Arizona seem to have become as leaky as a sieve. Billions of dollars have been spent on strengthening the border with Mexico, and Congress is now pressing to defend America's "unpro-

tected" northern border against terrorists sneaking in from Canada. A new law, due to come into effect next year, will try to track all foreign visitors in America.

But for most immigrants, arriving in America is a mundane affair. About eight out of ten of the new Americans come into the country legally in the first instance. The 700,000 legal immigrants each year obviously have visas of one sort or another, but so do around half the 300,000 illegals (who become "illegal" by overstaying their welcome).

Creative chaos

What all immigrants discover sooner or later is that America's immigration law is a cumbersome mess. Most people blame this on the Immigration and Naturalisation Service. The INS is certainly inefficient. The phrase "INS data" is an acknowledged oxymoron, and there is a huge backlog of applica-

America's immigration system is a mess—which suits most people

Let me in

LIKE so many other revolutions, America's ethnic makeover officially dates back to the 1960s. In 1965, Congress dropped the hated national quotas it had imposed in the 1920s. Instead, it brought in quotas that favoured family ties. In some ways the act was a surrender to the status quo. Even before it was introduced, a large majority of the visas granted had been family ones. And it seemed to have little immediate effect: the current wave of mass immigration did not start until the 1980s.

Most immigrants fall into one of the following five categories:

- Family members, who account for around two-thirds of those coming to America. An American citizen can sponsor a spouse, child, parent or sibling. A holder of a green card (work permit) can sponsor a spouse, child or sibling. Around three-quarters of new family immigrants are spouses or children. In principle, though, the current system offers any resourceful group of people the chance to bring in an almost unlimited number of relatives.

Back in 1965, nobody really associated the change in law with a change in the country's ethnic composition. At the time, the main source of foreign immigrants was Europe. The main beneficiaries of the family system, however, have clearly been Latinos and Asians.

- Officially, around 140,000 employment-related green cards are available each year. But, thanks

to the long backlog in applications being processed by the Immigration and Naturalisation Service, last year only 40,000 green cards were issued. Under pressure from employers in Silicon Valley, Congress bumped up the number of "temporary" H-1B visas for highly skilled people from 65,000 a year in 1998 to 115,000 a year, and there are moves to increase the figure again. The Information Technology Association of America claims that some 340,000 skilled positions in American companies remain unfilled.

Most H-1B visa holders go on to apply for green cards, which would appear to defeat the "temporary" nature of H-1B visas. However, the delays in issuing green cards can be interminable (in California, the average wait is now around six years), and the limit of 9,800 employment-based green cards for people from

any one country hits certain countries disproportionately hard: green cards for Indian and Chinese applicants, for example, always run out well before the end of the year.

- America has a long and noble tradition of opening its doors to refugees, but it has contradictory (as well as increasingly tough) rules about who qualifies as one. All Cubans who arrive in Miami (or anywhere else) are welcomed with open arms; Haitians are not. In 1999, only 38% of all those seeking asylum received it. And, thanks to new laws, most of those waiting for their cases to be heard spend their time in county jails, often for months on end.

However, some immigrants certainly cheat. For instance, Amadou Diallo, a young street hawker from Guinea who died in a police shooting in New York last year, claimed that he was a victim of ethnic cleansing and his parents had been killed; in fact he came from a middle-class family and both his parents were alive.

- An extra 50,000 green cards are handed out each year in a lottery. Around 7m people apply. The lottery is subject to diversity rules limiting the number from any particular country. Countries with powerful political connections—notably Ireland—get a disproportionate number of cards.

- Nobody knows how many illegal immigrants there are. The INS put the figure in 1996 at 5m, which many people regard as low. Around 300,000 a year are thought to sneak in, and most seem to escape detection fairly easily.



Most just walk through the door

tions. The organisation recently boasted that it had cut the time it takes to become a citizen from 28 to 12 months. But the wait for green cards (work permits) is legendary and lengthening. Linus Torvalds, the creator of the Linux computer operating system and a man most governments would pay good money to have in their country, applied for his green card in August 1998; he is still waiting.

Don't shoot the messenger

However, most of the problem lies with the laws themselves, not their enforcers. The rules that govern immigrants' entry into America and their legal status thereafter are, in turn, contradictory, disingenuous, hypocritical, downright cruel and ridiculously over-generous. Were they to be efficiently enforced, the result would be total chaos.

The muddle begins with the selection of the people who are allowed in (see box). It continues with their treatment once they arrive. Despite all the talk about freedom and equality, America has al-

ways had a fairly strict class system. As Luis Plascencia of the Tomas Rivera Policy Institute at the University of Texas points out, the concept of "we the people" originally implied only "white propertied males"; and from the very beginning, the idea of the American nation excluded the separate nation of American Indians. Since then, immigrants have often been among those to whom nationality was denied. In the 19th century, a whole body of law was built up to fence off Chinese contract labourers. Asian-Americans got the vote only 50 years ago.

Wholesale discrimination has gone, except for communists and criminals, but America still divides its inhabitants into five groups, each with its own legal status: foreigners without papers who are intercepted at the borders; illegal immigrants living in America; visa holders; legal permanent residents (usually green-card holders); and full citizens. Which category you are in makes all the difference.

A foreigner at the border has virtually no rights; under a controversial 1996 law, border guards



Invasion by stealth

Illegal aliens, 1996 estimates, '000

4

Top countries of origin		Top states of residence	
Mexico	2,700	California	2,000
El Salvador	335	Texas	700
Guatemala	165	New York	540
Canada	120	Florida	350
Haiti	105	Illinois	290
Philippines	95	New Jersey	135
Honduras	90	Arizona	115
Poland	70	Massachusetts	85
Nicaragua	70	Virginia	55
Bahamas	70	Washington	52

Source: US Immigration and Naturalisation Service

can remove anybody on the spot without giving them access to a lawyer or judicial review. Last year some 89,000 people were subject to such "expedited removal". Increasingly, longer-term foreign residents are getting similar treatment. Immigrant housewives have been deported for shoplifting. Last November America at long last freed an Egyptian, Nasser Ahmed, whom the FBI had kept locked up for three years on "secret" evidence, not revealed to his lawyers.

The apparently slender gap between full citizenship and permanent residency also offers opportunities for discrimination, particularly at a local level. Cities and states have long earmarked various jobs, in the past including such things as "soda-pop sellers" and "barbers", for American citizens only. The current list includes "peace officers", which can mean anything from chief of police to caretaker at the local cemetery.

California's infamous Proposition 187, passed by referendum in 1994, denied various services to illegal immigrants, including public education and health care. It has since been ruled unconstitutional, but many of its traces remain. Legislation introduced in 1997 barred the use of federal money to pay Medicaid benefits to poor legal immigrants for their first five years. A new law in New York state which extends health coverage to the poor, using revenue from a cigarette tax, denies those benefits to new immigrants.

Then there is the thicket of local laws that just happen to discriminate against immigrants. In Long Island, a few snooty towns have introduced Neighbourhood Preservation Acts, limiting the number of people who can live in any one rented house. The ostensible aim was to improve immigrants' safety. Oddly, though, the law seems designed to exclude summer rentals, so rich Manhattanites are allowed to cram into holiday houses.

Immigrants, especially illegal ones, are also easy to exploit. There is a large network of phoney immigrant lawyers waiting to overcharge people to fix their papers, and an even larger network of people selling Social Security numbers and driving licences. And many employers are apt to bully newcomers. In January, a court forced a Holiday Inn Express to pay \$72,000 to nine illegal maids in compensation for firing them for a unionisation drive; all nine said they would happily trade their windfalls for the right to remain in America.

Life for immigrants, then, can be rough; on the other hand, America often adopts a surprisingly

generous "don't ask, don't tell" attitude towards illegal immigration. Its law in this respect is rather like a hedgehog: it has a hard, prickly exterior (as exemplified by the fence the height of two men that now runs along some stretches of the southern border), but its centre is surprisingly soft.

Some of this generosity has to do with simple human decency, often mandated by the courts. For instance, since a 1982 court ruling in Texas, public education has been made available to the children of illegal immigrants. The Equal Opportunities Commission has ruled that illegals should be protected from discrimination, just like everybody else. And just as some local authorities find ways to pick on illegals, others try to shield them. San Francisco, a little idiosyncratically, wants to make itself "a city of refuge" for gay illegals, banning city workers from helping to deport same-sex partners.

The central contradiction, however, is that Congress has always balanced toughness in stopping illegal immigrants at the border with relative leniency for those who employ the illegals inside the country. Until 1986, the law said explicitly that there was no penalty for employing an undocumented alien (though to be one was illegal). Now there are nominal fines and penalties. But the system is still lax. For instance, when a new employee gives his Social Security number, the employer is under no strong obligation to check it; moreover, there is a law preventing the Social Security system from reporting a fake number to the INS.

When would you like your surprise raid?

More galling to the purist are the industries that rely on the blatant large-scale employment of illegal immigrants. Visit any farm in California's Central Valley, any orchard in Florida, any slaughterhouse in Iowa, any restaurant kitchen in New York or indeed the garden of any middle-class suburbanite not running for political office, and undocumented workers are everywhere. The INS does sometimes make spot checks, but it nearly always tells the employer beforehand, which ensures that on the day many workers happen to be absent.

Mark Krikorian of the Centre for Immigration Studies concedes that the INS has a problem. Whenever it makes a half-serious attempt to catch workers, it sets off a stream of protests. For instance, a raid last year on onion growers in Vidalia, Georgia, produced letters of complaint from both the state's senators and three of its congressmen. When the INS recently arrested some 40 illegal Indian software programmers in Texas, it caused a storm.

The contradictions in America's immigration laws are becoming increasingly awkward to live with. Canada is getting cross with a partner who insists on ever freer trade but keeps on erecting barriers at its frontier. Some people ask whether a trade block need necessarily involve the free movement of labour as well as that of capital and goods. In Miami, the Haitian community complains about the favouritism shown to immigrants from Cuba.

One sensible idea supported by many Republican border-state politicians, including George W. Bush, is to simplify and expand a guest-pass system for agricultural workers. Immigrants could come and work for six months a year (which is all that many Mexicans want to do); if they did this for five





out of seven years, they could become eligible for a green card. The scheme has the support of the growers, but unions who worry about keeping farm jobs for Americans (as though there was a queue) are suspicious, and so are many immigrant groups.

The truth about America's immigration muddle is that it suits most people most of the time. Employers—from semiconductor firms to orange growers—get the workers they need, usually fairly cheaply; immigrants make a living and get an education for their children. An illegal farm worker is paid around \$7 an hour, half the rate for a legal one, but double what the same worker could get in Central America. And conservative voters are secure in the knowledge that their frontier is being patrolled, but they

will not have to forgo their indispensable low-cost gardeners or nannies.

The part of America where these contradictions really chafe is the border. The ranchers around Brownsville in east Texas, at the Mexican border, complain that both the chasers and the chased wander across their land. And for the Latinos who make up 80% of the local population, there is the added inconvenience of random checks. In Cameron Park, a poor immigrant area on the fringe of Brownsville, locals say the border guards have reached a rough *modus vivendi* with them: agents stop people in the streets, but seldom enter people's homes. However, that compromise still leaves many people afraid, and also annoys legal residents who resent being stopped. Most of Cameron County's top elected officials have been questioned at one time or another. People joke bitterly about the crime of "driving while Mexican".

Some schemes to import illegals are conducted like slick multinational businesses, but most are amateurish and clumsy. One recent ruse in Arizona involved renting out babies. This was because the border patrol had no family quarters, so if you were caught, the family would be released and told to report back later. South of San Diego, immigrants float up a river so polluted that the border patrol refuses to dive into it.

These ordeals will continue as long as America pursues its present policy of confining any serious efforts to catch people to the places where it is most difficult. Certainly, America's iron curtain has done little to stop people coming in. It may even be pushing up the number of illegals, by persuading seasonal workers to stay all year. To end this tragicomedy, America would need to adopt a different immigration policy. But that would require it first to make up its mind on what it thinks of immigration.



Welcome to Brownsville

Who gains?

Not only the immigrants, but America too

LOOK around Il Fornaio restaurant in Palo Alto, and the whole idea that immigration might be controversial seems as passé as analogue radio. In 1970, whites accounted for 80% of the population of Santa Clara County; last year they became a minority. One in four new businesses in Silicon Valley is started by someone of Indian or Chinese origin. The valley's success is based on merit: it depends on taking the best, wherever in the world they were born. The only debate is about how the authorities can be persuaded to let in more foreign talent.

Daniel Stern takes a different view. The head of the Washington-based Federation for American Immigration Reform argues that his country is being "held hostage by a group of globalists who want nation states to dissolve into some net-zen Utopia." He cites a long list of American heroes, from Benjamin Franklin to Woodrow Wilson, who opposed mass immigration, which he sees as a conspiracy against ordinary working people by big business (which wants cheap workers) and the public-service unions (whose jobs depend on looking after immigrants).

In the mid-1990s much of the running was made by Republicans who wanted to control immigra-

tion, but now a booming economy and the growing importance of immigrant votes have muffled nativists' objections. According to Stephen Moore of the (pro-immigration) Cato Institute, the nativists are changing their tune because their previous claims have become untenable: "Twenty years ago, they said that it would cause unemployment. We have let in another 15m people, and we have the lowest unemployment in living memory."

But as Mr Moore concedes, none of this means that the nativists will go away. To begin with, the economy may stop booming. More fundamentally, though, the case for immigration is not open and shut. Yes, most of the evidence suggests that the current wave of immigration is good for America. But it is not good for everybody; and the general benefits are often harder to identify than the specific costs.

Arguments about the benefits generally revolve around three issues: immigrants' net contribution to the economy; the amount of taxpayers' money they absorb; and the selectiveness of America's immigration rules.

The biggest effort to date to assess how immigration has affected America as a whole was a mam-

moth study carried out for Congress by the National Academy of Sciences in 1997. It concluded that immigration provided a net benefit to the American economy of around \$10 billion, quite a modest sum when set against an \$8 trillion economy. Pro-immigration experts say that the NAS study, which looked mainly at the difference between the wages paid to immigrants and the value of the goods and services they produced, missed the full benefits of importing people with different skills and the gains from a broader range of products and services—not to mention the many businesses started by immigrants. This is probably true, but hard to pin down.

James Smith, an analyst at the Rand Corporation and one of the authors of the NAS report, reckons that the figures could equally well be tilted the other way by isolating the costs of less desirable groups, such as immigrant prisoners. A recent study by the Centre for Immigration Studies showed that immigrants were in fact a little less likely to be self-employed than native Americans.

The \$300,000 question

Apart from the overall effect on the economy, there are also specific winners and losers from immigration. The most conspicuous winners are legal immigrants. A new study of this group in the 1990s by Mr Smith and others* shows that for any male newcomer the immediate effect of getting to America is equivalent to winning \$10,000. Over a lifetime, the gain comes out at an impressive \$300,000.

Perhaps surprisingly, some of those who lose out are highly paid workers. Some of the computer programmers ingesting their pasta at Il Fornaio would be paid even more if there were no Indians to snap at their heels. But many of the losers are poor and unskilled Americans. The NAS study reckoned that competition from immigrants (mostly the illegal sort) brought a 3% cut in the wages of locals who had only a high-school certificate. It also concluded that the worst-hit group were usually immigrants from the previous wave.

"The real problem with immigration is not its overall economic impact but its redistributive effect," says George Borjas. A liberal Harvard professor whose parents fled from Cuba, Mr Borjas is hard to caricature as a nativist, but he has become one of the stronger voices arguing for more restrictions on immigration. The rich, he argues, gain from having cheaper nannies. But for America's poor, the arrival of unskilled workers has made it harder to find jobs in an economy that demands ever more education. America, he thinks, needs a breathing space.

The fiscal effects of immigration, like its overall effects on the economy, are a mixed bag. Anti-immigrationists seize on the fact that a native Californian family typically pays around \$1,200 more in state and local taxes than it receives in benefits, whereas immigrants on average are net gainers. Fair enough: immigrants tend to have more children, so they consume more education services than natives.

But the methodology is flawed: the children who count as part of the costs of immigration when they are young are treated as "natives" when they

begin to pay taxes. If their taxes were counted as benefits, then immigrant families would usually be seen to contribute more than they take from the state. A study by Ronald Lee at the University of California at Berkeley calculated that taxpayers make a cumulative profit of \$80,000 from each new legal immigrant over his lifetime. But this number has to be treated with caution: it includes the taxes the immigrant's children pay, and most of the benefits come in the later years. On average, most newcomers are a fiscal burden for their first 22 years.

All these numbers, it should be said, rely on complicated guesstimates that can easily change with different assumptions, and they are bedevilled by the problems of counting illegal immigrants. Broadly speaking, most of the numbers suggest that in the long term America gains from immigration—but that the immigrants gain even more.

Opponents of immigration have recently changed tack, and now concentrate on going for higher quality instead of restricting numbers (though they do not put it quite so bluntly). America, they suggest, should use its clout in the market for immigrants to pick only the best—an argument that may gather force in a downturn. Mr Borjas reckons that today's immigrants are not only less skilled than the native population, but also less skilled than their predecessors. He suggests that America should use a points-based system which would take advantage of the investment that the immigrants' country of origin has already made in their education and training.

Such a system, which he concedes would have kept his parents out of America, would be good for Silicon Valley, because it would allow in many more programmers. Indeed, most of the changes in immigration rules over the past decade have been aimed at increasing the number of skilled immigrants. Even supporters of the present rules admit that there are blatant abuses, notably when elderly parents are brought in solely to take advantage of Medicare programmes.

All the same, a push for quality raises three immediate problems. The first is politics. Any move towards a preference for skilled people would dramatically reduce immigration from Latin America,



My broker says I'm economically integrated

*"The New Immigrant Survey Pilot", by Guillerma Jasso, Douglas Massey, Mark Rosenzweig and James Smith. July 1999, available from Rand Corporation.



and be condemned as racist. And the mathematics are complicated, says Stuart Anderson, a congressional aide and immigration expert—particularly if you want to reduce the overall number of immigrants as well. At the very least, America would continue to let in spouses and minor children, which alone would add up to some 250,000 people a year. To halve total new immigration to 500,000 a year, as Mr Borjas suggests, the number of illegal immigrants would need to be dramatically reduced.

The assumption that the present crop of legal immigrants are underskilled may also need to be revised. Mr Borjas bases his figures on census data that include both legal and illegal immigrants. Mr Smith's detailed study of legal immigrants in the 1990s finds exactly the opposite: that the newcomers' median length of schooling is 13 years, one year more than for the native population, and that new immigrants are more highly educated than their predecessors.

The main economic gain from immigration, however, comes not from the fact that newcomers have more skills, but that they have different ones. Mr Smith's study shows that immigrants, not surprisingly, are far more heterogeneous than the native population. Other studies have shown that the

main benefits to the economy come at both ends of the labour market—at the bottom as well as the top. In America's top six immigration states, not only were three-quarters of all the tailors and more than half the cooks, taxi drivers and farm workers born overseas, but so were 40% of the physics and political-science teachers and more than a quarter of the physicians, chemists and economists.

Yet in the end, all the statistics about immigration probably count for less than one basic fact, which is as true today as it was in the days of Ellis Island. Immigrants, as Mr Moore at the Cato Institute puts it, are a self-selected elite: in a world where nine out of ten people live within 100 miles of their place of birth, they have already taken a big, bold step simply by coming to America.

And even if the restrictionists' doubts turn out to be justified, it may be too late to put the lid back on the pot. The recent wave of immigration has already left large numbers of newcomers permanently settled, and even the harshest cutbacks envisaged would still allow in far more people than the average of 200,000 a year who arrived in the 50 years from 1925 to 1975. For better or worse, America is going to keep on adding more flavours to the melting pot. So is that pot working as it should?

The mixture as never before

Every new group of immigrants adds its own distinctive flavour

THESE immigrants are "the most stupid in the nation, few of their children speak English and through their indiscretion or ours, or both, great disorders may one day arise among us." Latinos? No: the speaker was Benjamin Franklin, and he was talking about German immigrants 200 years ago. A hundred years ago, America still had plenty of German-language newspapers; and doubts about German-Americans' loyalty were finally dispelled only when they took up arms against the Kaiser. Out of all the myths about the melting pot, none is more pernicious than the idea that it once worked perfectly.

One interesting thesis, put forward by Michael Barone in a recent speech to the American Enterprise Institute, is that today's minority groups resemble various immigrant groups of 1900. Blacks today have much in common with the Irish a century

ago; Latinos with the Italians; and Asians with the Jewish immigrants of that time. There are obvious limits to such comparisons, but also useful lessons.

To take just one of Mr Barone's comparisons, most of the Italians of 100 years ago hailed from the rural south. Like many Latinos, they came with a low opinion of politics, a strong sense of family, a habit of hard work, conservative views about the role of women and a tendency to drop out of school. They sent back much of the money they earned. The Little Italys were their *barrios*.

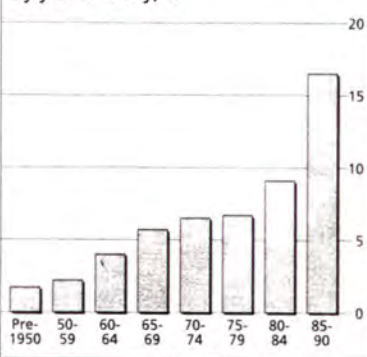
But gradually they assimilated. The breathing space afforded by the 1924 act to restrict immigration helped, and so, in their grim way, did the two world wars. In the second one, many Italian-Americans fought against their mother country; and once they returned, the veterans took advantage of the GI bill to get educated. Frank Sinatra and Joe Di Maggio became national idols. By the 1980s, the assimilation process was complete. "It took 100 years," Mr Barone concluded.

Need it take that long this time? In Britain, Norman Tebbit, a Conservative politician, once devised a way of measuring integration which he dubbed "the cricket test". When England hosted a cricket match against India or Pakistan, why, he asked, did so many British Asians support the visitors rather than their country of residence? For the American equivalents of Lord Tebbit, any soccer match between the United States and Mexico prompts a similar question. On the evidence of the cricket test, Latino integration is still some way off.

What makes it harder is that the debate about America's melting pot is fraught with emotion, and not just from the nativists. The multiculturalists, for example, maintain that "melting pot" is a code word

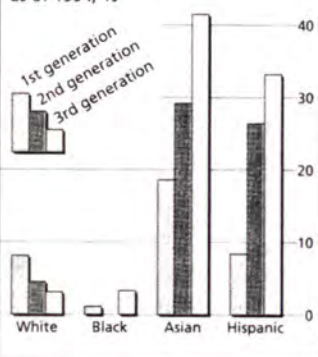
Becoming American

Immigrants who speak no English, 1990 by year of entry, %



Source: "From Newcomers to New Americans", by Gregory Rodriguez, National Immigration Forum

Intermarriage by generation as of 1994, %



for enforced assimilation, where "melting", in effect, means turning white. They prefer the image of a salad, with the constituent parts still clearly identifiable (and presumably no dressing). This survey takes a more moderate view: that the melting pot should allow all the flavours to mix, but should allow some fairly big chunks of ethnicity to remain intact, as indeed in America they always have done. What matters is that immigrants assimilate enough to take full advantage of the country that they have often made such an effort to reach.

To see whether that is happening, two main tests are usually applied. First, are the new Americans becoming more "American" in their general behaviour? And second, how well are they doing economically? The two questions are usually linked: if an ethnic group has achieved much the same income distribution as the country as a whole, it is a sign that it has melded into the whole. But they are not always the same: a community can flourish economically but still keep a sense of separateness. In California's Monterey Park, the first city on the American mainland to have a majority Asian population, a Chinese immigrant can lead a life that in terms of language, media and cuisine is not much different from one in Hong Kong. Conversely, some Asian-Americans face economic challenges to assimilation as well. Parts of the Laotian, Vietnamese and Cambodian communities remain wretchedly poor.

However, most of the doubts about the melting pot's efficacy revolve around the Latinos. This is partly because there are so many of them: 32m, of whom roughly half were born outside the United States. But it is also because, at first sight, there appear to be more obvious signs that they are not becoming American fast enough, either culturally or economically.

Begin with the debate about culture. One in five of America's Latinos lives in greater Los Angeles; seven American cities account for half of all Latino immigrants. William Frey, a demographer at the Milken Institute in Los Angeles, refutes the idea that, ethnically, the whole of America will slowly evolve into a nation of Californias. In effect, two very different Americas are emerging. One, centred on the 25 biggest metropolitan areas, is already thoroughly multi-ethnic: whites account for less than 60% of the population, and Hispanics and Asians together account for a quarter. But 147 out of America's 271 metro areas are at least 80% white. In this second America, the biggest demographic change is the arrival not of foreigners but of whites leaving cities in the first group.

In many parts of the south-western United States, English plays a secondary role. Rodolfo de la Garza of the University of Texas in Austin reckons that, unlike 100 years ago, stable bilingualism is now possible. Technology has given Spanish speakers many Hispanic television channels and Internet sites. Cheap travel and geographical proximity mean that Latinos can easily visit their homeland. And, perhaps most important of all, waves of new immigrants are still coming in, which is an incentive for earlier arrivals to keep up their Spanish.

In the eyes of many nativists, these non-melting tendencies are not only being tolerated, but positively encouraged. Miami is a favourite example.



But his daughter might start another Intel

The first big city to come under Latino control certainly speaks Spanish, and is governed by political rules that bear little resemblance to the rest of America. But then Miami, which was built by middle- and upper-class Cubans who assumed they were going to return to Cuba, is pretty unrepresentative of Latino America too.

Ampersand Americans

Is the hyphenated American (eg, Mexican-American) giving way to the ampersand one (Mexican & American)? Mexican-Americans can vote back home, and keep two passports. Some want to go further. Charles Truxillo, a professor of Chicano studies at the University of New Mexico, recently predicted that within 80 years his state, which already has a Hispanic majority, would secede alongside California, southern Colorado, Texas and Arizona to form a new sovereign Hispanic nation, "La Republica del Norte". Latinos in America's south-west, he said, "have been ruled by three empires, Spain, Mexico and the United States. Under all three systems we have failed to achieve self-determination."

In fact, most of the evidence suggests that the latest immigrants are bedding in at least as quickly as their predecessors. Again, modern communications help: when immigrants from Mexico arrive in America, they already know much more about their country of destination than, say, Sicilian immigrants did 100 years ago. A study carried out for the National Immigration Forum last year by Gregory Rodriguez of the New America Foundation shows that on four key indices of assimilation—home ownership, citizenship, learning English and intermarriage—modern immigrants are following much the same pattern as their predecessors. In general, the immersion increases with each generation. Any Latino will have a story about first-generation Spanish-speaking immigrant grandparents struggling to talk to third-generation grandchildren who speak only English. Already the number of Spanish-language cinemas in southern California is plummeting, and Spanglish is spreading.

In the same way, attitudes become more Americanised with each succeeding generation. Most first-generation Latinos oppose abortion, take a fatalistic attitude to life and think a woman's place is in the





home. By the third generation, they feel less strongly about abortion, read improving books such as "The American Dream" by Lionel Sosa, and consider the distinctly undomesticated singer Jennifer Lopez as a role model.

In fact, Latinos seem to take much the same view of assimilation as any other group of immigrants: yes, they want to become more American (if not, why bother coming?) but they also want to retain some aspects of their former way of life. A recent poll by the *Washington Post* of 2,500 Latinos showed that nine out of ten who have newly arrived in America think it is important to change to fit in. But nine out of ten also think it is important to retain part of their ethnic culture. With third-generation Latinos, this proportion rises to 98%. Just as there are Irish-Americans who try to be more Irish than the real thing, there is a growing number of Latinos who have never been to Latin America and can barely speak Spanish, but cherish their Diego Rivera posters.

Nostalgia aside, Latinos in America as a group are poorer than other Americans and do worse at school and at college. Some anti-immigrationists hint they should be regarded as permanently disadvantaged, like black Americans. In the past, Latino politicians were receptive to that idea, calling for special anti-discrimination measures based on affirmative action of the kind demanded by black politicians. But now the Latinos are beginning to point out differences between themselves and the blacks.

Like the blacks, the Latinos are producing a growing middle class; the only question is how to add to its number. Los Angeles now has around 450,000 middle-class Latino households, three times as many as in 1980. Latinos also own 210,000 businesses, compared with 57,000 in 1987. Some of them have even bought farms in the Central Valley. These people have generally become American citizens, speak good English and live in non-Latino areas.



Lopez at home

If Latinos as a whole are poor and undereducated, it is largely because they arrive that way. Out of the newcomers in the *Washington Post* survey, 60% had not finished high school and 40% earned less than \$20,000. Most had no credit cards, and one in three had no driving licence. But those newcomers are keen on hard work; among male Latinos, 80% are working, a higher proportion than in any other group. They also rely least on welfare programmes.

As a general rule, it seems that the longer ago an immigrant arrived, the better off he is likely to be. A study by the Cato Institute in 1998 showed that poverty rates fall below those of natives after around two decades. Mr de la Garza agrees that Latinos are joining the middle class in unprecedented numbers, especially in California, but he does not think that this group is growing as quickly as the Latino population as a whole. For every Latino that moves up, two may stay behind.

Mr Rodriguez retorts that what matters most is that the direction is still upwards. Latinos, he argues, now have a much better infrastructure to call on than ever before. "If you want to start a business, you can talk to a Latino bank manager, lawyer or even venture capitalist who understands what you need." And merely by being there, the new Latino middle class spurs others on.

Joel Kotkin, an urban analyst at Pepperdine University in Los Angeles, is probably closest to the mark when he argues that the real issue is not ethnicity but class. The Latinos' problems are simply those of all poor, undereducated people in a knowledge economy. The wage gap between college students and the rest has widened, and many Latinos are on the wrong side of it. That may not be quite as disastrous as it sounds: one congressional study recently forecast that even five years hence, half the jobs in America would require no more than a high-school diploma. But the public education system will have its work cut out.

A raw deal

America's schools
could serve
immigrants better

"TODAY'S learner is tomorrow's leader." The motto of Public School 220, which nestles beside the Long Island Expressway in Queens, New York, would do nicely for most New Americans. Sooner or later, everything seems to come down to education. But many of the other notes pinned on the boards—sample: "Snowflakes are different, and so are we"—hint at the challenges of trying to teach students who between them speak 26 foreign languages at home.

Even more perhaps than the border, places like PS 220 represent the front line in the immigration debate. All the literature for parents is translated into Chinese, Spanish and Russian. Around 40% of the school's pupils come from Uzbekistan. So many of them arrived with malnutrition and neurological problems that the principal, Athena Galitsis, set up a

special centre in the school to provide primary health care.

This makes the school sound a little grim; in fact, it is a heartening demonstration that public education can work. Its polite, cheerful pupils do well in tests, and morale among the teachers is high. Most of PS 220's virtues are simply those of good schools anywhere. Classes are organised so that pupils co-operate; parents are drawn into everything; and reading and writing in English is encouraged with an almost evangelical enthusiasm ("Drop everything and read something," is another of Ms Galitsis's mottoes). The school used to offer bilingual education in English and Russian, until parents rejected it. Like many other teachers, Ms Galitsis is unenthusiastic about bilingual education. English, she thinks, is the key to getting ahead. According to the

polls, so do most foreign-born parents.

New York is the next target for Ron Unz, a Silicon Valley millionaire who was the guiding force behind California's Proposition 227. This measure replaced bilingual education, which around half the students with poor English were receiving, with crash courses in English. Bilingual education, originally invented as a way to steer funds to poor people in the south-west, has always produced disappointing results. It is now merely a sop to the teachers' unions. Since bilingual education was banned in California about a year ago, test scores have risen. Even more tellingly, the students who were put on the English crash course or into mainstream classes are well ahead of those still stuck in bilingual ones (which a few students have waivers to continue).

The wrong side of the classroom

Bilingual education is only a small part of the problem, but it is indicative of the raw deal immigrants are getting from America's education system. They are usually stuck in the cities with the most bloated school bureaucracies (half of New York's budget goes on administration). In many parts of Los Angeles, the white middle class has abandoned public education. And multiculturalist wheezes—such as social promotion, whereby children are moved up a grade even if they have failed the exams—have done immigrant children few favours.

One reform that could help is school vouchers, which would allow parents to choose their children's school. In one recent charitable scheme, 168,000 poor New Yorkers applied for 2,500 places. Many good teachers suspect that vouchers would amount to privatisation. But the evidence suggests that good public schools have nothing to fear, and that poor people would benefit most.

Politicians have been little help. Democrats, including most Latino leaders, are unwilling to offend the teachers' unions. Republicans have some bright ideas, but are often scared to use them. Mr Unz's polls show that New York's normally combative mayor, Rudy Giuliani, could surge ahead of Hillary Clinton if he backed a proposition banning bilingual education, but he hasn't.

Many right-wingers aim their fire at the main citadel of multiculturalism, higher education. In both Texas and California, voters have abolished affirmative-action programmes in universities. That may be a good thing in the long term, but in the shorter term it has made life harder for Latinos at a time when a college degree is a vital rung on the ladder of opportunity.

As far as the redoubtable Ms Galitsis is concerned, the earlier she can start teaching children the better. The children who go to her small kindergarten outperform those that do not, but she has no space for more. In pre-school education, America still lags behind many other countries with far fewer resources.

All in all, the barriers preventing today's learners from becoming tomorrow's leaders still look worrying high. But immigrants have one enormous advantage: most of them desperately want to learn. That is why many of them have come to America.

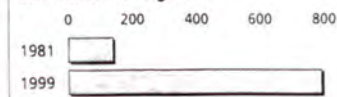
Imported Babel

6

Languages spoken by at least 1,000 students in southern California who are not proficient in English

Language	Speakers
Spanish	753,505
Vietnamese	20,563
Korean	12,463
Armenian	12,021
Cantonese	9,014
Khmer (Cambodian)	7,169
Mandarin	6,550
Tagalog (Pilipino)	6,474
Arabic	2,857
Japanese	2,630
Farsi (Persian)	2,490
Russian	2,189
Thai	1,205
Lao	1,138
Urdu	1,000

Number of schools in southern California at which ten or more languages are spoken by students not fluent in English



Source: Los Angeles Times

The next America

GREGORY RODRIGUEZ, a Los Angeles-based writer, has a nice story about a crowd of young Latinos getting into a good-natured wrangle with a white drink-seller at a Latin rock concert at Los Angeles Sports Arena. "What are you going to do?", asks one of the Latinos, gesturing at the huge crowd. "Chuck us all out of the country?" There is a growing self-confidence about the new Americans, particularly the young Latino "Generation *n*". They seem to realise that they have not merely joined a country, but they are going to change it.

Those changes begin with geography. Immigration is dragging the country's centre of gravity ever further south-westwards, most noticeably towards California and Texas. San Diego, which has long made a point of looking squarely north, now boasts about its proximity to Latin America. The fastest-growing states in the country—Nevada, Arizona, Idaho, Utah and Colorado—are getting a boost from immigrants, either directly or indirectly (through white flight).

The same is true for a number of cities (see chart 7, next page). But immigrants have also changed the geography within cities. Many people still associate them with inner-city ghettos, but, as Joel Kotkin, the

Los Angeles urban analyst, points out, their main destination is usually the inner ring of suburbs, leaving the city centres to young, rich, single people of all races and pushing the (usually white) middle class to suburbs further out. This suburbanisation is well under way in most of the places where immigrants are concentrated, including Atlanta, Silicon Valley and New Jersey. But Mr Kotkin's prime model is Los Angeles, especially the huge San Fernando Valley.

The valley has its problems. The gap between white and Latino incomes seems to have widened, largely because much of the white working class has moved out. Some detect racism behind a white-led scheme for the valley to secede from the city of Los Angeles, though its racial make-up—40% Latino, 10% Asian—is little different from the main city. But the overwhelming impression is not of strife but of commerce: specialist Asian supermarkets, Latino clothes shops, Korean restaurants. New Americans are too busy making money or trying to spend it to worry about racial politics.

The networks of immigrant businesses dotted all over California are a tribute to the incomers' entrepreneurship, but they also reflect the lack of imagination by mainstream white business in deal-

Business is only just waking up to the new Americans





Does it have my name on it?

ing with the new Americans. The fast growth of specialist Asian supermarkets in southern California has been partly at the expense of their established rivals, who thought that putting out some signs in Chinese and a few herbs would do. While the main

TV networks were considering Spanish subtitles, Spanish-speaking Univision stole the market.

A member of the advertising fraternity in Madison Avenue points out that a big car client goes to great lengths to customise its advertisements in Latin America: Argentina, for example, gets a different campaign from Mexico. "But in the United States, they just translate the ad into Spanish, and assume that one size fits all." Well-known examples of successful ethnic marketing by corporate America, such as AT&T's clever campaign to promote international calls, tend to go for the obvious opportunities (eg, immigrants might want to call home).

Stirring the pot

Migration to metropolitan areas
1990-98, '000

7

Rank	Metro	Immigration	Net domestic migration
High-immigration metros			
1	New York	1,045	-1,552
2	Los Angeles	991	-1,425
3	San Francisco	342	-304
4	Chicago	252	-404
5	Miami	213	-38
High domestic-migration metros			
1	Atlanta	53	371
2	Las Vegas	22	308
3	Phoenix	48	294
4	Portland	37	178
5	Denver	36	157

Source: William Frey, Milken Institute

Latinos control around \$300 billion of spending power, and Asians another \$100 billion. Yet immigrant groups complain about being patronised or ignored by mainstream business. The media are no help. The only conspicuous Asian-American on prime-time TV is Ling, the poisonous lawyer in the series "Ally McBeal". Only 1.5% of the journalists at America's top magazines are Latinos.

Overwhelming

This will change, if only because the newcomers, being young, will play a growing part in setting the trends. According to Jane Rinzler Buckingham of Youth Intelligence, a marketing consultancy, her fashion spotters increasingly concentrate on immigrant neighbourhoods. But sheer weight of numbers may turn out to be even more important. Ross DeVol at the Milken Institute says that in industries such as health care and housing, some of the best growth prospects lie in tailoring products to immigrants' needs. Newspapers everywhere are beginning to spin off local-language editions. The *San Jose Mercury News* recently launched the *Viet Mercury* to join *Nuevo Mundo*, its Hispanic version. As the editor of *Latina*, a magazine for young girls, explained to *Newsweek*: "Blacks said 'We will overcome'. Our motto is 'We will overwhelm'."

Mainstream American business will find it hard to attract these new customers. Much ethnic marketing is trench warfare, adding consumers almost one by one. But Holly Poirier at Intercultural Niche Strategies suggests that such efforts can be worthwhile. Her firm has helped sell Soviet classical recordings to Russian-Americans; she is also pushing a CD-and-biography deal to Indian fans of Ravi Shankar through some 1,000 Indian shops. The profits may be low, but so are the costs. For \$3,000, she claims, you can mount a credible national campaign in Indian papers that will reach most of the community. The Internet will multiply such opportunities.

Perhaps one reason why so few mainstream businesses have done well in the ethnic marketplace is that only a small number of them are run by new Americans. There are few Latino faces in the boardroom anywhere, and few Asian-American ones except in Silicon Valley. It may be no coincidence that this is also the centre of America's new economy.

Now for the ballot box

Gathering the immigrant vote is not easy



THE office of Congressman Xavier Becerra on Sunset Boulevard is an impressive illustration of Latino ascendancy. Copies of *Hispanic Business* magazine sit in the rack; a banner from Mr Becerra's *alma mater*, Stanford University, hangs on the wall; a new computer has just been delivered. Asked to define "Latino issues", Mr Becerra replies that they are much the same as everybody else's—things like jobs, schools and health care—but usually with an extra twist. For instance, whereas most other American voters are fuming about their Health Maintenance Organisations, Latinos are more worried about getting access to an HMO in the first place.

At the other end of the country, another young Democrat, Alex Penelas, who is Cuban-American,

delivers broadly the same message. "I am a bridge builder," says the mayor of Miami-Dade (and the sexiest politician in America, according to *People* magazine). To get elected in Miami-Dade, where Cubans account for only 40% of the vote, and most of them are Republicans to boot, Mr Penelas had to build a coalition that included a number of other Latino groups and blacks. He is now hammering away at issues such as corruption. Mr Penelas's mother was a hotel maid, his father a farm worker; he himself is sometimes mentioned as a running mate for Al Gore.

It is easy to pick holes in these two Latinos' show of modernity. In Miami, Mr Penelas dutifully inveighs against Fidel Castro. But playing the occa-

sional ethnic card is hardly an exclusive Latino preserve (listen to any Kennedy on Ireland). The new thing about politicians like Mr Penelas, Mr Becerra and many of the younger Latino politicians is that they have other cards to play as well.

New York politics was changed by the emergence of two figures: Fiorello LaGuardia, who was half-Jewish and half-Italian and built a multi-ethnic coalition to become mayor in 1933; and Al Smith, an Irish politician who realised that local politics had to bring in other groups, and went on to become governor of New York four times and to run for president. Is history beginning to repeat itself?

In New York, it is not only Latinos, but also Dominicans, Jamaicans and even Russians who are beginning to flex their political muscles. In California, Korean churches have been among the steeliest supporters of conservative causes such as restricting gay rights. Angela Oh, a Los Angeles civil-rights lawyer, says Asian-Americans are spitting with fury about two things: the arrest on spying charges (on minimal evidence, they say) of Wen Ho Lee, a Chinese-American scientist; and the prominence given to Asian donors in the various Clinton fund-raising scandals.

Be patient

But the Latinos are the ones who matter most, if only because of sheer numbers. And they are finding power elusive because their supporters will not turn out at elections. Despite its large Latino community, Los Angeles is still essentially run by Jews and blacks. Of the city's 15 councillors, only three are Latinos. In the forthcoming mayoral election, Latinos may cast only 20% of the votes, even though they make up 45% of the electorate. It will probably take another election for a Latino mayor to emerge.

In national politics, Latinos make up only around 7% of the likely voters, half the figure for blacks, but they may punch above their weight in the election later this year. Most of their votes are concentrated in states such as California, Florida, New York, New Jersey and Illinois, which enjoy an above-average representation in the electoral college. Intriguingly, both Republican candidates, John McCain and George W. Bush, have won majorities of Latino voters in their home states.

Latinos are strong believers in the family and most of them work in the private sector, but in the past they have mostly voted Democratic: in 1996, 72% of them plumped for Bill Clinton. Of America's elected Latinos, some 90% are Democrats. But there are differences. Cubans in Miami and Mexican-Americans in Texas tend to be much more conservative than, say, Puerto Ricans in New York and Mexican-Americans in California.

If Latinos are mainly in the Democratic camp, it is largely thanks to a Republican. "Wherever I speak, I can rally support just by mentioning Pete Wilson," says Mr Becerra. The erstwhile governor of California infuriated Latinos by sponsoring Proposition



Becerra: Latino ascendancy

187, which cut off benefits to illegal immigrants. Since 1994, 600,000 Latinos have registered to vote in California, most of them as Democrats.

Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, an analyst at Claremont College in southern California, points to another dangerous sign for the Republicans: the increasing importance of Latinos in trade unions, which have managed to halt their decline by recruiting Latino service workers as members. The unions have also been contributing heavily to Latino candidates.

What will Latinos do as and when they gain power? Privately,

almost all of them pledge "not to do another Miami". This is a veiled hint at Miami's pervasive corruption, but also reflects a genuine belief that Miami is too separate from the rest of America. Outside Miami, Latino politicians have been much less proprietorial about their fiefs, and Latino voters seem much more inclined than blacks to vote for politicians of any hue.

Yet it would be odd if Latinos did not put their stamp on national politics. A more conservative attitude to abortion and stronger ties with Latin America are sometimes mentioned. Rodolfo de la Garza of the University of Texas thinks that in the longer term the closest political comparison for Latinos will not be Italian-Americans (who have largely stopped being an identifiable constituency) but Jews. Latinos, he thinks, will have "a set of prior commitments", such as improvements in immigration policy. Provided that candidates are offered the chance to honour those commitments, they might give their loyalty to either political party.

The white minority

It is conceivable that the new Americans' biggest impact on politics will be among whites. Ron Unz, the man who ended bilingual education, points out that white voters in California have begun to assume the political habits of a minority. California's previous generosity to immigrants was rooted in white voters' self-confidence, he says; now that their numbers are declining, they are developing the same protective instincts as any minority group. They are attacking affirmative action and immigrant benefits, and are preparing a new version of Proposition 187.

On the national stage, the only candidate who voices white concerns is Pat Buchanan, now of the Reform Party, who says he wants to reduce the number of immigrants to 250,000 a year. Wander around west Los Angeles, and you will hear complaints about changing neighbourhoods; but you will also see children of all races playing together. The odds are still on the side of the melting pot.



Penelas: bridge builder

Nora, Maria and the American dream

For America, immigration may hold the secret of eternal youth

CAMERON PARK is a slice of America that few Americans would recognise. This settlement of 2,000 families is just inside Texas, but it gives every impression of being in Mexico: dirt roads, stray dogs, broken-down cars and a lot of children. One of its residents is "Nora", an undocumented 42-year-old Mexican who has been in the country for 12 years. She lives in a caravan trailer with her husband and four children, two of whom are American citizens.

The family finances are tight. Her husband brings in \$200 a month, working as a bricklayer across the border in Matamoros. She gets \$200 in food stamps and \$90 from Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Rent, water and electricity come to about \$100 a month. Occasionally Nora is helped out by the Cameron Park Cultural Centre, a local help group founded by a resident, Gloria Moreno.

Money aside, Nora worries about the border patrol and about what would happen if she became ill. But she is determined to stay in America. Asked why, she points to a photograph that dominates the kitchen wall: a picture of her daughter clutching a high-school certificate. Many of the women in Cameron Park stumbled, pregnant, across the border for the same reason: to give their children a better start.

A few miles on the other side of the border, Maria, who is about the same age as Nora, tells exactly the opposite story. She, too, lives in poverty; her husband, too, is a bricklayer. She has lived almost her entire life in Matamoros, the twin town of Brownsville, and she has never visited the United States. She is, she insists, a Mexican.

Leap into the dark

Among all the statistics about immigration, a simple fact is sometimes neglected: it is a momentous personal decision. Those who want to come to America, like Nora, will endure a great deal. But there are plenty of people who do not want to come. In the longer term the only real solution to America's "Mexican problem", as an official Californian report

in the 1930s ungenerously called it, is greater economic progress or a lower birth rate to the south. Neither is impossible. Freer trade should certainly help to narrow the present three-to-one wage gap between the United States and Mexico. And other Catholic countries, such as Italy, have shown that a sudden reduction in the birth rate is possible.

But that is in the future. Even if immigration were to be reduced to a trickle within ten years, states such as California, Texas and Florida would still face demographic change of a sort that few countries (and few other American states) can imagine. At the moment American politicians prefer not to talk about that change. Caught between nativism and multiculturalism, they know they cannot win.

There is a strong feeling that it is better simply to leave the melting pot on the stove, and to come back when it has cooked. The transformation that America is now going through will need a generation to take full effect. "Yes, one-third of my country will claim Asian or Hispanic roots by 2050," says James Smith at Rand. "But most of that one-third will also be something else. And our kids will live in that world. We will not." After all, everything worked out all right last time. And when the government has taken active steps to help the new Americans in the past—as with bilingual education—it has often done more harm than good.

Yet leaving the pot on the stove smacks of complacency. Whatever your reading of history, the Ellis Island immigrants were not just left to stew: laws were changed, wars fought, the English language imposed. Moreover, this time round the demographic changes may be not just quicker, but more important. If you believe even a fragment of the hype about the new economy, then education, above all, clearly cannot just be left alone. The contradictions and injustices in America's immigration laws may become even more glaring. And if you want to keep yourself awake at night, you can think about white-minority politics and La Republica del Norte.

One event may come to be seen as pivotal to all this: the Los Angeles riots in 1992. Pessimists need only play the tape of Rodney King, the black motorist whose beating began the whole horror, muttering to himself: "Why can't we all just get along?" But optimists, too, have come away with a lot from that episode. Los Angeles has rebuilt itself, and it is immigrants who have done most of the rebuilding.

And that is the right note on which to end: change, surely, is not a problem, but an opportunity. Thanks to immigration, America has once again assembled a team of people who, simply by having made the journey to their new country, have shown their willingness to compete and their belief in the American dream. Look around the United States—not only at the affluent Indian programmers in Silicon Valley and the newly self-confident Latino middle class in Los Angeles, but at the undernourished Uzbek children in Queens or the wretched Tejanos in Cameron Park—and you will find the drive is still there. The rest of the country must not waste it.

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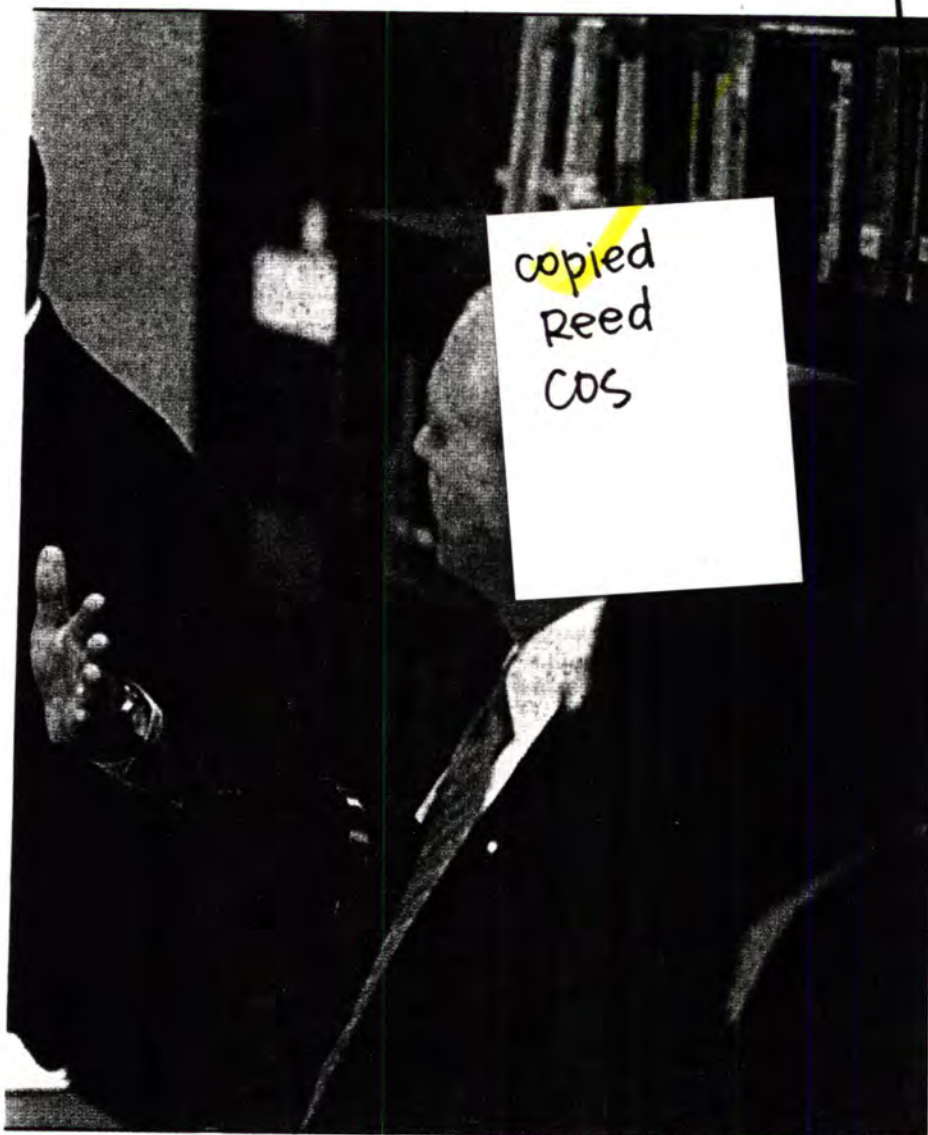
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Bush talks education in LR visit

Presidential hopeful uses Central as stage

BY CYNTHIA HOWELL
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

Texas Gov. George W. Bush, the apparent Republican presidential nominee, took his campaign to Little Rock Central High on Friday, promising that if elected he will work to give states and school districts more flexibility and authority.

"In my administration we will have minimal regulations but high standards," said Bush, who called President Clinton's administration one of educational "dictates and mandates."

"We will have local control of schools with one national goal, excellence for every child," he said.

Bush, the first GOP presidential candidate to visit the civil rights landmark, spent the morning at the school. Later Friday, the Texas governor was the guest of honor at a \$1,000-a-plate fund-raising luncheon at the Embassy Suites. Afterward, he addressed

See **BUSH**, Page 13A

onds to fund-raiser and send-off rally in the afternoon. Gov. Mike Huckabee (behind Bush); Sue Strickland (far left), Little Rock School Board president; and Les Car-nine, superintendent of the Little Rock School District (second from right), also spoke at the education forum.

Bush

Continued from Page 1A
a crowd at a send-off rally at Central Flying Service at Little Rock National Airport, Adams Field.

Asked about coming to Arkansas, home of President Bill Clinton, whose vice president, Al Gore, is Bush's rival for the White House, Bush said he's convinced he can carry the state in the November general election.

"I understand that this is President Clinton's home state, but I don't think that means the people of Arkansas are going to vote for his vice president," he said. "Al Gore is not from here. People are going to vote for me because of my message."

Before the Central High audience of educators and dignitaries that included Sen. Tim Hutchinson, R-Ark., and Gov. Mike Huckabee, Bush talked briefly about the high school's historic significance, his record on education in Texas and his presidential aspirations.

"For Americans, Central High is a symbol," Bush said. "A symbol that prejudice may run deep but goodness runs deeper. This is a place where African-Americans confronted injustice and white Americans confronted their conscience and the rule of law ended the reign of segregation."

Forty years later, "All can enter our schools but, unfortunately, not all are learning," he said. "There is a tremendous gap in achievement between rich and poor, between white and minority and this too leads to a divided society."

But Bush said educational reforms, such as those in Texas and Arkansas that hold schools responsible for student achievement and make them face consequences, can lead to improved achievement for all children.

Bush invited Huckabee, his Arkansas counterpart and Republican Party colleague, to describe his educational initiatives, Smart Start and Smart Step, which are intended to improve reading and mathematics skills through teacher training and student assessments.

Huckabee acknowledged that the initiatives are modeled after efforts in Texas.

Bush, energized and witty, then presided over a panel of Little Rock educators and community members who spoke enthusiastically about the district, its teachers and its preschool and middle-school programs. But panel participants also expressed concerns about teacher salaries and workloads, deteriorating school buildings and student needs.

"Public education is in the dog-fight of its life," Central Principal Rudolph Howard told Bush.

Howard said that despite efforts to give schools and districts greater control of their programs, there will remain a need for greater resources.

"Public education has carried the ball for many years, and we have taken a pounding," Howard said. "We need a lift up. We need your help."

Bush said public education shouldn't fear competition with private and other kinds of alternative schools, as competition will make the system stronger — as long as the schools aren't ham-



Arkansas Democrat-Gazette/STATON BREIDENTHAL

A volunteer gets an autograph from Texas Gov. George W. Bush before the Republican presidential candidate spoke to supporters at a fund-raising lunch at the Embassy Suites hotel in west Little Rock on Friday afternoon.

strung by regulations in their ability to compete.

"You have two governors here that made the decision to send their children to public education," Bush said about himself and Huckabee. "If you can attract governors, you can attract anyone."

"I'm sorry you feel I fear anything," Howard joked. "If I did," he added, "I wouldn't be at Central High School!"

"It's not fear," he continued. "We want a level playing field. We want our buildings and technology to be jump-started to the extent we can be competitive."

Derrick Williams, Central's Student Council president and a debate student, told Bush that he was 18, a new voter and "a little zealous." He said he disagreed with the governor's support of taxpayer-funded vouchers to send students to private schools.

"Having school districts and school industries fight over children as if they are commodities is kind of appalling to the American way, especially when we are trying to improve education," Williams said.

Bush said the use of vouchers should be decided at the local level. He has pushed unsuccessfully in his own state for tying private school vouchers to public school accountability.

"If a failed public school doesn't improve, parents ought to be able to exercise choice to move out of the school," he said and added, "I don't know if the voucher system is the panacea that people say it is. But, I'm willing to give it a shot in my state to determine whether it makes sense."

Bush said repeatedly Friday that schools must be held responsible for student achievement and

that test results must be broken down by demographic factors and publicized.

"When you have success, it breeds success. One of the things we have to do is herald successes in public education," he said. "When there is no accountability, when there is no system of measurement, people often assume the worst."

Michael Faucette, an English and creative writing teacher at Central, voiced frustrations over the barriers encountered by people who wish to become teachers. A former faculty member at the University of Washington, Faucette said that despite his earning four college degrees and speaking three languages, he must spend time attending workshops to attain a teaching certificate.

"I've seen firsthand why people choose other professions," Faucette said. He also said he knew what teacher salaries were when he decided to teach high school, but he said he didn't know he was taking on the equivalent of two full-time jobs.

Pulaski Heights Middle School Principal Nancy Rousseau put in a plug for making teacher salaries competitive with other jobs as a way to attract and retain teachers.

Bush responded that while he pushed for \$3,000 raises for teachers in Texas, people can't expect the federal government to pay teachers more. Teacher pay is a local matter, he said.

Later, in response to questions from reporters, Bush said the federal government similarly cannot build classrooms, although as a state governor he helped raise \$5 billion for school construction.

He said that as president he would work with Congress to pass

power and possibly out of Washington governments and have the authority to run schools in a meets student need

"If we federalize any way shape or form to lead to convenience failure," Bush said.

While states show cation their top priority the federal government assist on the states' efforts meeting their especially if they go. He said he does tional test because dermine local effort curricula and stand

Throughout the exchanged quips and panel participants that the University the Cotton Bowl for the University of A this year, Bush said tough trip across the

And in an exchange Bush and Williams asked whether he Bush's comments and charter schools



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Gazette/STATON BREIDENTHAL
George W. Bush before the Re-
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to run schools in a way that best
meets student needs.

"If we federalize education in
any way shape or form, it is going
to lead to convenient excuses for
failure," Bush said.

While states should make edu-
cation their top priority, Bush said
the federal government should in-
sist on the states and school dis-
tricts meeting their own standards,
especially if they get federal mon-
ey. He said he does not favor a na-
tional test because that would un-
dermine local efforts to develop
curricula and standards.

Throughout the morning, Bush
exchanged quips with Huckabee
and panel participants. Teased
that the University of Texas lost
the Cotton Bowl football game to
the University of Arkansas earlier
this year, Bush said, "This is a
tough trip across the border."

And in an exchange between
Bush and Williams, the student
asked whether he could rebut
Bush's comments about vouchers
and charter schools.

"Of course, it's your school,"
Bush responded, as the audience
laughed.

Other panel participants in-
cluded Superintendent Les Car-
nine, School Board members Sue
Strickland and Baker Kurrus,
teacher Agnolia Gay, parent Libby
Thalheimer and Central High
Neighborhood Association Presi-
dent Ethel Ambrose.

Outside the high school, leaders
of the state Democratic Party and
the Arkansas Education Associa-
tion criticized the Texas governor
for his support of efforts in Texas
to funnel public funds into private
schools through voucher systems.

Linda Pondexter, president of
the state's largest teacher union,
said the Little Rock School Dis-
trict erred in allowing Bush to
hold a meeting on educational re-
form at the school, in light of his
support for vouchers and opposi-
tion to President Clinton's effort to
provide tax-free bonds for renova-
tion and maintenance of public
school buildings.

"I'm surprised that Gov. Bush
did not choose Catholic High,
Mount St. Mary Academy or Pulas-
ki Academy for his visit," Pondex-

ter said. "After all he seems to be-
lieve that private and parochial
schools are doing a better job than
public schools."

Bush is one of many visitors to
Central over the years who ac-
knowledgeed the school's place in
civil rights history.

Central became internationally
known Sept. 2, 1957, when Gov. Or-
val Faubus sent Arkansas Nation-
al Guardsmen there. Faubus said
he called out the National Guard
"to maintain ... the peace and good
order of the community" and di-
rected the Guard to prevent nine
black students from entering the
all-white school.

Faubus removed the Guards-
men on the order of a federal
judge. When the black students
went to Central three days later,
on Sept. 23, a violent crowd gath-
ered. The students were removed
for their protection.

President Eisenhower then fed-
eralized the National Guard and
sent 101st Airborne Division
troops to the school the next day to
enforce the school's integration.
The black students attended
school the rest of the year under
federal protection.

MISSY • PETITE • WOMEN • MISSY • PETITE • WOMEN

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dress, missy 8-18, \$70;
women's 14W-24W, \$80.
Right: red border print pin-
tuck dress, missy 8-18,
petites' 4-14, \$70; women's
14W-24W, \$80.

Misses', Petites', Women's
Dresses

Dillard's

Guns

4/1/2000

Gaming the surplus *Fyl - 132*

Now that the contenders for the White House have been chosen, attention can shift to the biggest policy question—what to do with America's budget surplus. For pointers, consider some "political economy"

DRAWING on a variety of different assumptions, America's Congressional Budget Office (CBO) has produced a range of projections for the economy's budget surplus—the excess of taxes over public spending—over the next ten years. Even the least optimistic of these forecasts expects a ten-year cumulative "on-budget" surplus of more than \$800 billion. (The administration, using slightly different assumptions, expects a ten-year surplus of roughly \$750 billion.) However you look at it, this is a lot of money. Will it really materialise? The short answer is no.

It is unfair to blame the CBO for the specious forecasts it produces: by and large, it does what the law requires it to. But, to begin with, the practice of adding together ten years' worth of surpluses is absurd. Why ten? Why not 100? Why not calculate the cumulative surplus over the entire millennium just beginning? The margins of error surrounding projections of the fiscal balance are enormous even when the forecast horizon is months away, never mind years.

Next come the assumptions. Even the CBO's least optimistic ones say that discretionary spending will stay constant in real terms. But this is in fact far too optimistic. Suppose the growth of defence spending were indeed held to the rate of inflation (a brave assumption), but that other kinds of discretionary spending grew as fast as they did in the (fiscally stringent) 1990s. The surplus would shrink to \$300 billion. With a little further tinkering, guided only by supposing that the future will be quite like the past, the surplus can be sliced even thinner.

Whatever the exact numbers, the ten-year adding-up approach creates the false impression that the surplus is permanent. Again, this is incorrect. If future liabilities in Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid were properly accounted for (in the way a business accounts for such liabilities), the overall budget would be in deficit right now. If the present "cash" basis is not to be hopelessly misleading, it is important to remember that inescapable demographic trends will drive the officially measured budget strongly towards deficit in future years. In short, the present surplus is much smaller than it looks, and it has a powerful

ECONOMICS FOCUS

built-in tendency to shrink even more. The first condition for sensible analysis of the fiscal prospects is that the current optimism must be severely curbed.

Where do you go from there? Basic economic principles suggest that the public accounts should be in surplus during booms and in deficit during recessions. One tradition in economics favours this because counter-cyclical fiscal movements provide an automatic Keynesian cushion-



ing of the economy, restraining demand in good times and supporting it in bad. Another tradition favours it because the distortionary costs associated with taxes are non-linear: they rise more than proportionately with the rates at which taxes are collected. It follows from this that taxes should be set at a level that balances the budget over the course of the whole cycle, and left there: a fluctuating budget balance, in other words, provides for microeconomically useful "tax-smoothing". Both views favour leaving the surplus, such as it is, in place—using it, in other words, to retire public debt.

In a recent paper, Alberto Alesina of Harvard University discusses some alternatives, and the constituencies that support them*. On the face of it, a permanent

* "The Political Economy of the Budget Surplus in the United States". NBER Working Paper 7496.

cut in taxes is a bad response to a temporary budget surplus: it militates against tax-smoothing and it makes fiscal policy procyclical. But what about the shrewder-sounding argument much favoured in the days of Reaganomics: that tax cuts, as well as being desirable in their own right, are a way of forming political coalitions that will then cut public spending. "Starve the Leviathan", Mr Alesina calls it. And, as he says, looking back at the 1980s, the idea cannot be lightly dismissed.

The Reagan deficits emerged because his administrations cut taxes by more than they cut spending. As the deficits ballooned, Republicans in Congress held their ground, by and large, against big tax increases. In the end, the deficits were eliminated mainly by a combination of rapid economic growth, which boosted revenues at largely unchanged tax rates; low interest rates; and, yes, lower government spending, although Mr Reagan would not have liked the fact that it was defence spending that took the biggest hit.

Mr Alesina and a collaborator have devised a model which proves that, if the strategy is not carried too far, a conservative policymaker might sensibly abandon the benefits of tax-smoothing in return for the constraint that is thereby imposed on public spending. If you believe, moreover, that institutional failures of one kind or another bias the political system in favour of excessive spending, then excessive tax cuts can sometimes be the appropriate response.

This doctrine of two wrongs making a right is difficult to accept just now, however. Few of the advocates of big tax cuts have any good ideas, or indeed any ideas whatever, about where spending cuts under duress could actually be made. The prevailing mood among Democrats and Republicans alike is that the surplus provides scope both for tax cuts and spending increases; the only question is the mix.

In economic terms, the obvious candidate for spending cuts is Social Security. At the moment, however, most Republicans are promising to protect ("save") this endangered national treasure with apparently unfeigned sincerity, no less than Democrats. How can avowed believers in small government plausibly hope to use lower taxes as a way to squeeze spending when even they cannot say where any such cuts should fall?

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DOJONES

VOL. C

10 ***

MONDAY, MARCH 27, 2000

Doves Marching

Obscured by the Roar
Of the World's Battles,
Peace Is Advancing

Economics, New Approaches
To Preventing Conflict
Cool Some Hot Spots

Buckets of Hope in Belfast

By G. PASCAL ZACHARY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Listen to the nightly news and hear the dogs of war growling as fiercely in this new century as ever: the meat grinder in Chechnya, religious slaughter in Indonesia and Kashmir, tribal warfare in the Congo, China rattling its giant saber.

Now hear this: It is peace, not war, that is on the march these days.

Implausible as it may seem, peace is advancing—fitfully but unmistakably—in the world. Consider these events since the start of the new year:

In Northern Ireland, a power-sharing pact between Catholics and Protestants collapses but the guns stay silent. Despite renewed fighting along its borders, Israel commits to a unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon and a peace deal with Syria—the focus of yesterday's meeting between President Clinton and Syria's Hafez Assad, their first full-scale talks since 1994. Greece and Turkey, enemies for decades, sign important cooperative agreements. Nelson Mandela, who led the peaceful dismantling of apartheid in South Africa, volunteers to mediate Burundi's bloody civil war. The U.S. relaxes trade curbs on Iran, raising hopes for easing tensions—and, some day, terrorism.

War Cries

Yes, wars rage on in some places. Some people will always find a reason to shoot each other, and blood will grab the headlines. But blotted out by the cries of doomsayers is the reality that wars between nations are becoming rare and that even civil wars, while more numerous than during the Cold War, are being settled more quickly than a decade ago.

"Contrary to public perception, we're seeing a declining number of conflicts," says David Malone, president of the International Peace Academy in New York, which advises the United Nations. "Wars between states have declined sharply, and many civil wars have been addressed very effectively."

From 1992 to 1998, armed conflicts declined in all of the world's five major regions to a total of 36 from 55, according to Sweden's Uppsala University's peace department, which keeps a widely cited list. Preliminary figures from 1999 show at least a slight rise from the year prior, but the numbers are still way down since the early 1990s.

Even fights once thought intractable are yielding. Despite the ups and downs for peace in Northern Ireland and Israel, the overall advances there suggest that "even very protracted conflicts are solvable," says Peter Wallensteen, a peace researcher at Uppsala University.

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Finance

World-Wide

MICROSOFT MADE several major concessions in its offer to settle antitrust charges, including freeing computer makers to embed competitors' software in Windows, people close to the settlement talks said. While some U.S. officials said the offer doesn't go far enough, others said that it addresses key government concerns and that talks will likely continue.

(Article on Page A3)

OPEC ministers considered a range of proposals to increase the world oil supply by another one million barrels a day, working toward a consensus to stop the rise in prices.

(Articles on Page A2 and in Column 6)

Spain's Iberdrola is in talks to buy FPL Group, parent of the Florida Power & Light utility, in a deal that could be valued at about \$11 billion, people familiar with the matter said.

Veba and Viag are talking with France's Suez Lyonnaise about a merger, even before the German energy firms have completed their deal.

(Articles on Pages A3 and A21)

US Air reached a tentative contract with flight attendants, positioning the airline to resume its turnaround plans. The five-year pact is subject to approval by the union's ruling council and ratification by the attendants.

(Article on Page A3)

DaimlerChrysler plans to take a controlling stake in Mitsubishi Motors for about \$1.95 billion, giving the German-American company a boost in Asia and in the small-car market.

(Article on Page A21)

Durable-goods orders fell a larger-than-expected 2.3% in February, their largest drop since April 1999, but the data don't point to a big slowdown.

(Article on Page A4)

TrizecHahn is expected to unveil plans to sell about a third of its \$8.24 billion of property assets. The big commercial landlord will use some proceeds to buy back 25% of its shares.

(Article on Page B2)

Exxon Mobil sued BP Amoco, Arco and Phillips Petroleum, seeking to halt a sale of Alaskan assets that may clear the way for BP Amoco to buy Arco.

(Article on Page A4)

Qwest is teaming up with IBM to build 28 U.S. Internet data centers, in an attempt to beef up its business of running Web sites for companies.

(Article on Page B8)

VLADIMIR PUTIN edged toward victory in Russia's presidential election.

With just under half the ballots counted, a strong showing by Communist leader Gennady Zyuganov raised a slight possibility that Yeltsin's chosen heir may be denied a first-round majority and forced into an April 16 runoff. Exit polls, however, indicate Putin will win with a bit more than half the votes, sparing him a humbling setback in his steady march to the presidency. Turnout well exceeded the 50% needed to validate the election. (Articles on Pages A21 and A22)

A strong explosion rocked the capital of Dagestan. Earlier, Chechen rebel attacks took place inside Chechnya near the Dagestan and Ingushetia borders.

Clinton and Syria's Assad failed to agree on reviving Israel-Syria peace talks, and the White House said "significant differences" were exposed in the three-hour discussion in Geneva. Damascus later issued a statement blaming Israel for the impasse. In Lebanon, shelling from the Israeli zone damaged a Red Cross station. (Article on Page A22)

Clinton ended his South Asia tour without persuading India or Pakistan to slow a nuclear-arms race. Meeting Pakistan's military ruler Saturday, the president also criticized Islamabad's support of Kashmiri militants. The visit took place amid elaborate security precautions. (Article on Page A22)

Pope John Paul II left Israel after an emotional and grueling Holy Land tour that also took him to Jordan and Palestinian lands. In Jerusalem, he made a plea for forgiveness at the Western Wall and visited Al Aqsa Mosque and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. He made an unscheduled return to the latter site for private prayers.

Manipulation of evidence in EPA cases is under investigation by the agency and the Justice Department. Many cases are frozen pending the outcome. Most of the 1,000 matters being reviewed involve allegations of Midwest Superfund violations. The focus is on a Chicago lab. (Article on Page A50)

Serbia backed down in its campaign to silence opposition broadcasters, returning a transmitter it had seized in Kraljevo after a week of protests. Separately, foreign businessmen are doing deals in Belgrade, bargain hunting or getting ready for the day that sanctions end. (Article on Page A24)

The Elian Gonzalez case may be headed for a quick resolution. The U.S. Friday told Florida relatives they must agree by today to a speedy timetable for appeals or else the boy will be sent back to Cuba. About 50,000 rallied in Cuba to demand he be returned.

Ugandan police combed property belonging to a millennialist cult after mass graves were found last week holding the bodies of 153 members. The site was about 20 miles from the church that was set afire March 17 with more than 330 of the cultists inside.

Canadian conservatives formed an alliance Saturday that could mount a strong challenge to the governing Liberal Party.

Inside The Debate

- When will the U.S. only be an industrial market, and tech, as never before.
- The Jekyll & Hyde market, at a mutual-fund

On Brazil: The Rio And The

Surfers Love That Rogue I

By P

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SAO DOMINGO Surfing the Amazon browsing for the best least not to Rio

The former Brazil has come to this stage from Rio de Janeiro to hang ten on the unpredictable massive wave upstream through the system.

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Mao Waxes Ly

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On the Amazon mecha-colored pebbles full moons in the wave can rise achieve speeds of 10 a tree from the child's toy," said a resident who says neighbors to the 1 Facing down the glass is a pale making. Anno the sound

Preliminary figures from 1999 show at least a slight rise from the year prior, but the numbers are still way down since the early 1990s.

Even fights once thought intractable are yielding. Despite the ups and downs for peace in Northern Ireland and Israel, the overall advances there suggest that "even very protracted conflicts are solvable," says Peter Wallenstein, a peace researcher at Uppsala University.

Waging Peace

This isn't happening because human beings are suddenly less prone to the darker impulses. Basic factors are converging to give peace a chance.

The cost of war has grown, especially given the new emphasis on humanitarian and reconstruction aid. Global economic growth has given prospective foot soldiers in some trouble spots — Ireland and Turkey, for instance — the promise of something better to do. International forces, meanwhile, have been more willing to eventually intervene in civil wars, bringing some to a relatively swift end, as in East Timor, and, to a shakier degree, Kosovo. All-out wars between China and Taiwan or India and Pakistan are fear-some prospects, but most experts believe they are unlikely because the price would be suicidal.

Perhaps most importantly, people around the world are trying harder to prevent conflicts from turning violent in the first place — and forging links between divided groups even during shooting wars. That has spawned a new field, called "conflict prevention," that growing numbers of countries and institutions are placing at the core of diplomatic and foreign-aid efforts.

A half-dozen major European nations, the European Union and Canada have begun to stress conflict prevention along with their traditional diplomatic agendas. The World Bank is trying to create financial incentives to discourage political violence. The U.S. lacks a formal peace-building unit, but has a "transition initiatives" office in the State Department's Agency for International Development.

"This response is healthy," says former U.S. Sen. George Mitchell, who has been a crucial mediator in Northern Ireland. "While there isn't any magic wand someone can wave and prevent conflicts, there are certain universal principles that are applicable."

One big challenge, however, is how to handle the inevitable violent setbacks in peace processes. When, in August 1998, a terrorist bomb killed 29 people in Omagh, Ireland, many feared a resumption of war, but Mr. Mitchell and others pushed on and the bombing ended up further isolating opponents of a peace pact. Similarly, rather than promote Israeli intransigence and retribution, the deaths of Israeli soldiers in recent firefights in Lebanon may lead an Israeli withdrawal, boosting the chance of renewed peace talks with Syria.

Wars often start because they pay in

and Phillips Petroleum, seeking to halt a sale of Alaskan assets that may clear the way for BP Amoco to buy Arco.

(Article on Page A4)

Qwest is teaming up with IBM to build 28 U.S. Internet data centers, in an attempt to beef up its business of running Web sites for companies.

(Article on Page B8)

OpenTV will buy Spyglass, a pioneer of Web-browser technology, for \$2.5 billion in stock, in a sign of consolidation in the Internet industry.

(Article on Page B2)

J&J defended prospects for its products, as its shares fell 11% and analysts cut earnings estimates after its decision to halt U.S. marketing of its Propulsid heartburn drug.

(Article on Page B10)

Short interest jumped 3.49% to 2.71 billion shares, hitting its sixth straight record, during the month ended March 15 on the Nasdaq Stock Market.

(Article on Page B16)

The FCC was told by a federal appeals court to reconsider a ruling that all Internet calls are long distance.

(Article on Page B8)

Markets—

Stocks: NYSE vol. 1,027,937,000 shares, Nasdaq vol. 1,627,372,317. Dow Jones industrials 11112.72, off 7.14; transportation 2688.15, off 32.61; utilities 287.27, off 1.68.

Bonds: Lehman Brothers Treasury index 8404.45, off 75.88.

Commodities: Oil \$27.93 a barrel, up \$0.70. Dow Jones-AIG futures index 98.730, up 0.623; DJ spot index 120.77, up 0.10.

Dollar: 106.88 yen, off 0.49; 1.0232 euros, off 0.0058; 2.0013 marks, off 0.0114.

Ugandan police combed property belonging to a millennialist cult after mass graves were found last week holding the bodies of 153 members. The site was about 20 miles from the church that was set afire March 17 with more than 330 of the cultists inside.

Canadian conservatives formed an alliance Saturday that could mount a strong challenge to the governing Liberal Party. The new Canadian Alliance boosts corporate hopes for broad tax cuts, deregulation and pro-business policies. (Article on Page A22)

Iran has arrested 10 suspects in the recent shooting of a top reformer, but found no link to hard-line opponents of President Khatami. A U.S. court Friday ordered Iran to pay \$341 million for Terry Anderson's long captivity by a Lebanon ally of Tehran.

Northern Ireland Protestants re-elected David Trimble to the head of the Ulster Unionists Saturday, but the margin was a blow to hopes of reviving the peace process. A Good Friday accord foe got 43% of the party vote.

Belarus police continued to hold more than 100 opposition activists after a big rally in Minsk was broken up and many people beaten on Saturday. Putin had to step in to free Russian reporters covering the event.

Pinochet won further protection from prosecution for the crimes of his dictatorship. Lawmakers Saturday passed a constitutional amendment that shields him even if he should lose his legislative immunity.

A top Colombian legislator is to quit today after President Pastrana pressured him into taking responsibility for a corruption scandal. Armando Pomorica is the president of the lower house of Congress.

Shipwreck survivors told how a sinking Greek bulk carrier pulled a life raft under with it 400 miles northeast of Bermuda last week. Bodies of six of the 31-man Filipino crew were found; 12 are presumed dead.

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MONEY & INVESTING: Treasury and Fannie Mae call a truce, C9.

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War Gets the Headlines, But Peace is Quietly A

Continued From First Page

the short term, and end when combatants see long-term gains in not fighting. Recent scholarship on the roots of war documents how much seemingly irrational violence is linked to the seizure of resources: diamonds in Angola and Sierra Leone, drugs in Colombia, food aid in Sudan.

But increasingly, peacemakers believe they have an antidote: Soldiers can be given land or cash or a place in a national army in exchange for demobilizing, and targeted boycotts can rob profits from those stealing resources. The Khmer Rouge, scourge of Cambodia for two decades, were strangled in the late 1990s in large part by the refusal of Thailand to purchase the rebel group's timber and gems and the Cambodian government's willingness to absorb Khmer fighters into its own army.

Of course, settling one conflict is no guarantee that another won't break out. The primacy of peace over war has been declared many times before in history, only to meet a bloody end. And if, say, China were to attack Taiwan, the recent progress toward peace elsewhere would be swiftly forgotten.

But for every place that has blown up or threatens to, many more haven't ignited. The bloodbath once widely predicted to accompany the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa never happened. The Baltic states accommodated their restive Russian minorities after the Soviet Union's fall. El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala also have seen political violence essentially end and have undergone peaceful electoral transitions, defying predictions that peace couldn't hold.

All these countries received "peace building" funds, which pay for things such as training and education in cross-community relations, improvements to courts and schools and regular contacts at the grass roots level between people prone to violent rivalries. These efforts are central to "conflict resolution." Their effect isn't easily measured: It's hard "to say that, because of a certain project, we didn't have a conflict," says Susan Blankhart, who co-directs the Dutch government's peace-building activities. "When successful, conflict prevention won't appear in the headlines," because peace isn't news.

To see why maybe it should be, visit the Corrymeela Center in Ballycastle, on the windswept coast of Northern Ireland. One rainy afternoon recently, two dozen student teachers sit on the floor in a room warmed by a turf fire. Half are Protestant, half Catholic. All but a few are total

ten spur fighting.

Thus, many in Northern Ireland hope that even if the political peace process falters, the personal one won't. Says Mari Fitzduff, a psychologist in Derry, "There are so many contacts in place that it's difficult to go back" to war.

This isn't automatic, however. Look at the central African nation of Burundi, home to many conflict-prevention programs. Since 1993, fighting between majority Hutus and minority Tutsis (who control the government and the Army) has left tens of thousands dead. To keep the violence from spiraling out of control, foreign donors help Hutus and Tutsis form mixed

groups that agitate for tolerance. When giving out aid, donors try to ensure that each group gets a fair share. Now Nelson Mandela himself has lent his stature as an African hero to the cause, meeting with the country's political and militia leaders to help broker peace.

On the surface, the results seem promising. One Saturday morning last month, hundreds of teenage boys and girls visit a large youth center in Kamengi, a neighborhood in Burundi's capital of Bujumbura and the scene of savage ethnic violence in the mid-'90s. Tutsis were driven out of the neighborhood back then. In one room, a stocky Italian priest, Marano Clau-

dio, booms Tutsi boys a tournament. by foreigner worst of the the kidnappi the youth cer Kamengi wh cent neighbo

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because peace isn't news.

To see why maybe it should be, visit the Corrymeela Center in Ballycastle, on the windswept coast of Northern Ireland. One rainy afternoon recently, two dozen student teachers sit on the floor in a room warmed by a turf fire. Half are Protestant, half Catholic. All but a few are total strangers. They attend different universities, take different courses and are likely to spend their whole careers in separate school systems—all because of religious divisions in Northern Ireland.

The students are here to fill new university requirements that they gain some appreciation of the "other" community through structured contact. Split into mixed groups, they conduct various exercises that a corporate consultant would call team-building. In one, each group is asked to carry a bucket of water, using team members' feet. One group suffers a few false starts, then Mary, a Catholic, persuades Helen, a Protestant, to hang the bucket from her leg. Mary then lifts up Helen's leg and the rest of the group carries her 10 feet. "We'd never do anything like this on our own," says Mary, who attends a Catholic college and ordinarily never meets Protestant students.

That evening, everyone visits a pub to share a few pints. After an hour of talk, the Catholic students start singing, then the Protestants join in. Soon the pub is drowned out by a rowdy rendition of "American Pie." When the evening ends, a mixture of students plan another get-together—on their own.

Cornball as it may seem, the event offers students insights that can get lost in the mistrust spawned by civil war. Since the 1994 cease-fire in Northern Ireland, scores of similar programs aimed at building ties between Protestant and Catholics have been launched. The European Union alone spent more than \$250 million on such programs. Some would make sense anywhere: help for the long-term unemployed, for instance. But others are specifically targeted at triggers of violence. One such program seeks to swiftly rebut the kind of baseless rumors—of Protestants preparing to attack Catholics or vice versa—that of-



Azalea Tráce

A life-care retirement community in Pensacola located on 80 acres of rolling woodlands adjacent to the University of West Florida. Pensacola is rated as one of the best places to retire with its sugar-white beaches, golf courses, low cost of living and mild four seasons. Azalea Trace

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dio, booms out instructions to Hutu and Tutsi boys competing in a table-top soccer tournament. This program, funded mainly by foreigners, kept operating during the worst of the violence—and even survived the kidnapping of Father Claudio. Today, the youth center is one of the few places in Kamengi where Tutsis, visiting from adjacent neighborhoods, can feel safe.

Father Claudio believes that youths who play together are less likely to kill one another. Such basic ideas—taken for granted by Americans—can have a powerful effect on societies scarred by violence. Even small acts can save lives. One of the foreign-sponsored dialogue groups—this one

comprised of prominent Hutus and Tutsis—hasn't spawned any breakthroughs but has still proved useful. When one Hutu member of the group found himself surrounded in the street recently by Tutsis in a murderous mood, he called an influential Tutsi from the group who was able to secure his safety.

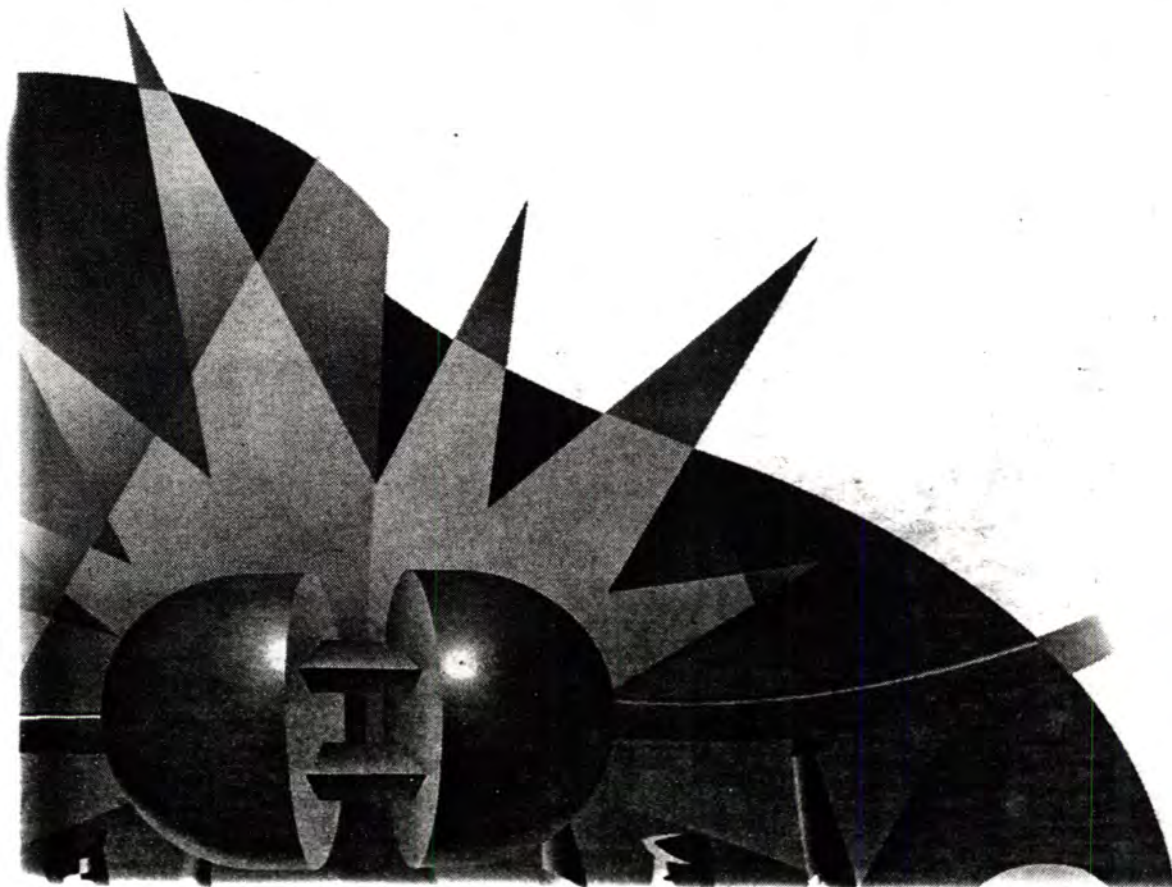
Peace-building in Burundi is hardly an outright success, but it isn't a failure either. Measuring movement toward peace within a country is, after all, difficult. On a global scale, it is even harder. Are lots of conflicts, where relatively few people die, better than a few big ones where many die? An even trickier question is how far to go in rewarding those who do violence, or even threaten it.

The old approach of trying to isolate

and crush any group that took up arms is now seen as counterproductive. Today, combatants are rewarded—through money and positions—for setting down arms. Though this is a main reason for peace's progress, it can create perverse incentives; people may turn to violence simply to improve their bargaining position.

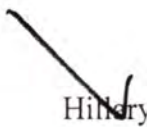
Hence, the weird logic that it may take a war to secure a peace. In the former Soviet republic of Moldova, a stalemate has existed for years over a dispute with a secessionist region that is backed by nationalists in Moscow. Mediators have recently complained that the truce between the two sides actually has lessened the chances of permanent settlement. "Because no one is dying," says one frustrated mediator, "we can't get anyone to pay attention."

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4/1/2000

March 28, 2000

TO:  Hillary
FROM: Melanne
RE: Slovakia

The NSC is finalizing decisions for the President's June travel. At this point, it does not appear that a stop in Slovakia will be recommended.

The Slovak government -- knowing of your interest in them and in having the President visit -- has been keeping us apprised of their accomplishments. As you underscored on your trip, Slovakia has made a remarkable turn-about since the 1998 election, when Meciar was turned out and the current democratic coalition -- led by PM Dzurinda -- came into power.

Since your visit, the current government has passed legislation to fund programs for the Roma minority, an example of its concrete commitment to human rights domestically. Economically, U.S. Steel just signed a MOU with a Slovak producer; this large investment project is a harbinger of Slovakia's opening up to Western business since 1998 (which Dzurinda became personally involved in, I think at the President's urging). New privatization legislation is also pending before the Parliament. Slovakia has stood with us staunchly in Kosovo and continues important military reforms and investments; and the Slovak NGOs have been involved in promoting democracy building there.

Shuster raised the prospect of a Presidential visit in Davos and the Slovak papers quoted Shuster as saying the President would be coming.

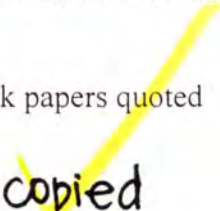
Melanne Verveer

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

March 2000

*Presidential Calendar

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
February SMTWTFS 12345 6789101112 13141516171819 20212223242526 272829		April SMTWTFS 1 2345678 9101112131415 16171819202122 23242526272829 30	1 Down Until 11:30AM DNC Lunch, DC Hi-Tech Event & Mtg, Dulles Corridor (China) Hold 1 Hour Evening Off RON DC* Gore/Bradley Debate	2 Today Show Interview Hold 9-10AM (NH) Meeting on Vaccines Patients Bill of Rights Event Congressional Mtg (Home Heating Oil) FL State NCAA Championship Event Evening Off RON DC	3 Travel to CA Agenda for the Information Age Event, San Jose, CA Tape Radio Address (Guns Violence) DSCC \$ Recep & Dinner, San Francisco, CA (2 Tiers) DNC \$ Dessert Reception, San Francisco, CA RON San Francisco, CA Employment #'s	4 Down for Day (Palo Alto, CA) Travel to Los Angeles, CA DNC \$ Reception, Los Angeles, CA DNC \$ Dinner, Los Angeles, CA RON LA
5 Travel to AL Pettus Bridge Event, Selma, AL Return to NY RON NY*	6 Day & Evening Off RON DC	7 Congressional Meeting & Statement (Guns) B.K. Photo/Presentation China Mtg Evening Off Productivity #'s MO,NY,OH,RI,VT Primary (D&R) CA,CT,GA,ME,MD,MS Primary ()	8 Minimum Wage Event China Speech, DC Evening Off RON DC International Women's Day Ash Wednesday	9 Hold 9-10AM (NH) Waterford Photo-Op Medicare Departure Statement DCCC \$ Lunch, DC One America Religious Leaders Event Carnahan \$ Dinner, DC RON DC SC Primary (D)	10 FAA Meeting & Statement Child Abuse Prevention Act Bill Signing DNC Lunch, DC Videos Evening Off RON DC WY Caucus (D&R) CO, UT Primary (D&R)	11 Live Radio Address Day & Evening Off RON DC* AZ, MI Primary (D)
12 Address NLC Conference, DC Afternoon & Evening Off RON DC* NV Caucus (D)	13 Hold 8-10AM for A. Mtg Rx Drugs Event, Cleveland, OH DCCC \$ Lunch, Cleveland, OH Travel to Chicago, IL Official Meeting, Chicago, IL (MM) DNC \$ Reception, Chicago, IL DNC \$ Dinner, Chicago, IL Return to DC	14 Down Until 12:30PM Arnold Newman Photo-Op Medals of Science & Tech Presentation China Mtg Evening Off RON DC FL,LA,MS,OK,TN,TX Primary (D)	15 Gun Event, WH Economic Meeting DNC \$ Dinner, Baltimore RON DC	16 Hold 30 Mins (SS) Briefing & Budget Departure Statement Speaker's St. Patrick's Day Lunch, Capitol Hill Dallas Stars NHL Championship Event Mtg w/ India Experts Attend American Ireland Fund Gala RON DC PPI Released	17 Briefing for Foreign Trip Tape Radio Address Actualities Briefing & Statement Irish PM Ahern Mtg & Shamrock Pres Irish Leaders Meetings St. Patrick's Day Reception, WH RON DC* St. Patrick's Day CPI Released	18 Briefing & Departure Statement (TBI) Depart for Foreign Travel (3:15PM) RON AF1
Projected Senate Recess						
19 Arrive New Delhi, India RON New Delhi, India Projected Senate Recess	20 Depart en route Bangladesh Bilat w Bangladesh PM Memorial Ceremony & Tree Planting School Event MicroCredit Event Mtg w/ Opposition Leader Bilat w/ Bangladesh President Official Dinner Depart en route New Delhi, India RON New Delhi, India	21 Arrival Ceremony Gandhi Wreath Laying Ceremony Bilat w Indian PM Official Lunch Bilat w/ Indian President State Dinner Cultural Entertainment RON New Delhi, India US Trade #'s IL Primary (D&R)	22 Mtg w/ Opposition Leader Address Joint Session of Parliament Farewell Call US Ambassador Reception Photo-Op w/ US Embassy Staff Environmental Event, Taj Khema Visit Taj Mahal Depart en route Jaipur, India RON Jaipur, India	23 Visit Nayla Village Tour Amber Fort Tour Tiger Preserve Evening Off RON Jaipur, India	24 Depart en route Hyderabad Hi-Tech Event Reception Health Event Depart en route Mumbai, India Business Reception RON Mumbai, India 2nd Anniv. Jonesboro, AR Shooting AK Caucus (D)	25 Youth Leaders Round Table Event & Remarks Depart en route Pakistan Official Meetings Speech Depart en route Geneva, Switzerland RON AF1/Geneva, Switzerland
26 Meetings w/President Asad of Syria Depart en route Washington, DC Arrive WH TBD RON DC* PR Primary (D&R)	27 Day & Evening Off RON DC DE Caucus (D)	28 Official Working Visit of Egyptian President Mubarak Mtg with Arab Americans Videos DSCC (Stabenow) \$ Reception O'Bannon \$ Reception, DC RON DC	29 Down Until 10AM Hold for Press Conference Travel to SC Open Airport Arrival, SC Clyburn Tribute Dinner, Allen Univ., Columbia, SC RON NY*	30 Down Until 11:00 AM DNC \$ Lunch, NY Fiscal Responsibility Event, Queens, NY DNC \$ Dinners, NY (2) RON DC 4th Quarter GDP (Revised)	31 Tape Radio Address Day & Evening Off RON DC* Women's NCAA Bball Championship Vice President Gore's B-Day Oxford University's Reunion, NY	

April 2000

*Presidential Calendar

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
						1 Day & Evening Off RON DC* Women's NCAA Bball Championship, P Men's NCAA Bball Championship, Ind Oxford University's Reunion, NY CyberSecurity Report Due
2 DNC \$ Lunch, Las Vegas, NV DNC/State Party \$ Reception, Las Vegas, NV DCCC \$ Dinner, Silicon Valley, CA RON San Jose, CA Daylight Savings Opening Day of Baseball Men's/Women's NCAA Bball Championships	3 DLC Speech & Roundtable, San Jose, CA Return to DC RON DC* Men's NCAA Bball Championship, Ind Opening Baltimore Orioles Game	4 Down Until Noon Working Visit w/ President Salih of Yemen Digital Divide Kickoff Event President's Cup Photo-op Leahy \$ Reception/ DNC \$ Dinner, DC RON DC* WI, KS Primary (D&R) Building & Construction Trades Conf, DC	5 Economic Summit, WH RON NY* Kick Butts Day	6 Down Until 1PM Return to DC Intern Photo One America Corporate Event MIL/PPD Departure Photos Radio-TV Correspondents Dinner RON DC	7 Hold 9-10 (NH) Women's Health Event, WH Drop-by C.H. Tung Mtg/Tape Radio Address Movie Night - "American Presidents" / RON DC World Health Day Employment #'s The Masters, Augusta, GA	8 Travel to Louisiana DNC \$ Lunch, New Orleans, LA Evening Event, Alexandria, LA Return to DC RON DC*
9 Day Off Depart en route TBD RON TBD The Masters, Augusta, GA	10 Hold for New Markets Travel	11	12 Hold for Possible Travel to CO Gun Event, Colorado (T) RON DC	13 Down Until Noon Address ASNE Convention, DC China Mtg DSCC \$ Dinner, DC RON DC Export-Import Bank Conf, DC	14 Address Education Writers Conf, Atlanta, GA DCCC (McKinney) \$ Lunch, Atlanta Official Meeting (MM)/ Tape Radio Add John Lewis Tribute Dinner, Atlanta RON TBD CPI Released Nat'l Youth Service Day	15 Earth Day Event, City State TBD DNC \$ Dinner, Los Angeles, CA RON LA or AFI (TBD) Tax Day VA Caucus (D)
16 Day & Evening Off Palm Sunday	17 Hold 10-11AM for A. Mtg Hold 45 Mins (NH) Hold for Service Event Afternoon & Evening Off RON DC	18 Day & Evening Off RON NY*	19 Down until Noon/Hold 1 Hour (NH) Message Event (T) Videos TBD Evening Off/ RON DC US Trade #'s Passover Begins at Sundown 5th Anniv OKC Bombing & Grand Opening Projected House & Senate Recess	20 Interviews TBD Videos TBD China Mtg (T)/Mtl Aide Dep Photos (2) (T) WH Volunteers Event (T) Evening Off/ RON DC Anniv Columbine Shooting	21 Tape Radio Address Day & Evening Off RON Camp David (T) Good Friday Passover	22 Day & Evening Off RON Camp David (T) Earth Day Earth Day Celebration, National M
23 Day & Evening Off RON Camp David (T) Easter Projected House & Senate Recess	24 Return to DC (T) Easter Seals/Make-A-Wish Photo-Op Easter Egg Roll Forbes \$ Lunch, NY WLF/Saxophone \$ Recep, NY DNC \$ Dinner, NY/ RON NY	25 Return to DC/ Hold 12-1PM for A. Mtg Message Event (T) China Mtg (T) Evening Off PA Primary (D&R) Passover	26 Hold for Possible Travel (China/AG Event) City/State TBD RON Little Rock, AR (T) Homeownership #'s	27 Daisy Bates' Memorial Service Bowen Law School Dedication Remarks to Arts & Humanities Adv Cmte Down Time/ RON DC* 1st Quarter GDP (Advance) Projected House Recess	28 Down Until Noon WH Nordic Luncheon Message Event TBD Tape Radio Add / Movie Night (NH) NAACP Summit, Detroit, MI	29 Day Off WH Correspondents' Dinner 8th Anniv Los Angeles Riots
30 Day & Evening Off Projected House Recess NAACP Summit, Detroit, MI						

March

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May 2000

*Presidential Calendar

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	1 Day & Evening Off Joint Center for Political & Econo... Nat'l Charter Schools Week	2 WH Conference on Raising Respon- sible Teenagers Diplomatic Corps Reception, WH Evening Off Holocaust Memorial Day DC, IN, NC Primary (D&R)	3 Education Tour	4 Education Tour Productivity #'s	5 Tape Radio Address Hold Day Employment #'s	6 Hold Day National Day of Prayer Guam Caucus (D&R)																																																																																											
7 Hold Day	8 Down Until Noon DNC Dinner, DC (T) Hold for Possible Commencements	9 Hold for Working Visit of President Rodriguez of Costa Rica Hold for CINC Trophy Presentation Landrieu \$ Reception, DC (T) Akaka \$ Reception, DC (T) NE, WV Primary (D&R)	10 Speech to Delta Conference WH Delta Reception Evening Off Israel Independence Day	11 National Teacher of the Year Event (T) Anniv. Valuejet Crash	12 Queen Noor Event TBD Tape Radio Address Evening Off Hold for Possible Commencements																																																																																												
14 Day & Evening Off Mother's Day MillionMomMarch, National Mall	15 FOP Peace Officers Memorial Event (T) Houston Comets WNBA Cham- pionship Event Wexler \$ Reception, DC DSCC (Robb) \$ Reception, DC	16 Evening Off CPI Released 2000 Olympics Dinner, Union Stat... OR Primary (D&R) DSCC Taste of the States, DC	17 U.S. Coast Guard Commencement, New London, CT DNC \$ Dinner, City TBD, CT (T) RON DC	18 Down Until Noon Hold for Possible China Event (WH) Evening Off	19 Travel to Philadelphia, PA (T) Message Event, Philadelphia, PA (T) DCCC \$ Lunch, Philadelphia, PA (T) Tape Radio Address TBD \$ Reception, Chicago, IL (T) DSCC \$ Dinner, Chicago, IL (T) Return to DC (T) US Trade #'s	20 Day & Evening Off Armed Forces Day																																																																																											
21 Evening Off Hold for Possible Commencements 2nd Anniv. Springfield, OR Shooti...	22 State Visit of Mbeeki of South Africa	23 Down Until Noon Tauscher \$ Reception DC (T) DNC \$ Dinner, DC (T) AR, KY Primary (D&R)	24 Official Working Visit of President Zedillo of Mexico DNC \$ Gala, DC	25 Evening Off 1st Quarter GDP (Revised) Sons of Italy Dinner Hold for Possible Commencements	26 Evening Off	27 Live Radio Address Day & Evening Off																																																																																											
	Service Employees Int'l Union Annual Conf, Pittsburgh																																																																																																
	Hold for Pre-Congressional Recess																																																																																																
28 Day & Evening Off	29 Memorial Day Events, Arl. Nat'l Cemetery Afternoon & Evening Off Memorial Day City Year 2000 Convention, CA Projected House & Senate Recess Hold for Possible Foreign Travel to Countries TBD & Portugal	30	31	April <table> <tr><td>S</td><td>M</td><td>T</td><td>W</td><td>T</td><td>F</td><td>S</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td></tr> <tr><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td></tr> <tr><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td></tr> <tr><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td></tr> <tr><td>30</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table> June <table> <tr><td>S</td><td>M</td><td>T</td><td>W</td><td>T</td><td>F</td><td>S</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1 2 3</td></tr> <tr><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td></tr> <tr><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td></tr> <tr><td>18</td><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td></tr> <tr><td>25</td><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td>30</td><td></td></tr> </table>			S	M	T	W	T	F	S							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30							S	M	T	W	T	F	S							1 2 3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
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June 2000

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		Productivity #'s D-Day 56th Anniversary NJ, AL, MT, NM Primary	Stanford's Last Day of Class Day & Evening Off	Hold for Possible Commencements																																																																																													
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	Hold for Millenium Event (Afternoon) (T) Senator Dodd 25th Anniv Gala, DC	Hold for Official Working Visit of President de la Rua of Argentina FAPE Reception, WH (T)	CPI Released 225th Army B-Day Celebration, F Flag Day	\$ Reception TBD, DC (T) Mayor Williams Tribute Dinner, DC		Hold for Possible Commencements																																																																																											
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	DSCC Message Event, City TBD, TX (T) DSCC \$ Lunch, City TBD, TX (T) DSCC \$ Dinner, City TBD, TX (T)	Hold for State Visit of King Mohammed of Morocco (T)		Departure Statement (T) DNC \$ Lunch, City TBD, AZ (T) DNC \$ Dinner, San Diego, CA (T) Official Meeting (MM), San Diego, CA (T) RON San Diego, CA (T)	Message Event, San Diego, CA (T) Afternoon Down, San Diego, CA (T) State Party \$ Recep., Los Angeles, CA (T) DNC \$ Dinner, Los Angeles, CA RON Los Angeles, CA (T)	Feinstein (DSCC) \$ Brunch, Los Angeles, CA (T) Return to DC																																																																																											
Father's Day Hold for Possible Commencements		US Trade #'s			28th Anniv. Title IX																																																																																												
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Korean War Memorial 50th Anniv Celebration, DC (T)			TBD \$ Reception, DC (T) NDN \$ Dinner, DC (T)	1st Quarter GDP (Revised)	Departure Statement or Message Event (T) DSCC \$ Lunch/Recep, City TBD, NJ (T) Official Mtg (MM), City TBD, NJ (T) DNC/WLF \$ Recep, Philadelphia, PA (T)																																																																																												
Hold for Pre-Congressional Recess																																																																																																	

July 2000

*Presidential Calendar

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2 RON NY* (T)	3 RON NY* (T)	4 International Naval Review, NYC Harbor Independence Day	5	6	7	8 NGA Summer Meeting, PA																																																																																				
Projected House & Senate Recess																																																																																										
9 Projected House & Senate Recess Hold for Possible Foreign Travel	10	11	12	13 Hold for Working Visit of PM Kok of the Netherlands (T)	14 DLC National Conversation	15																																																																																				
NGA Summer Meeting, PA																																																																																										
16	17 Anniv: TWA Flight 800 Crash	18	19	20	21	22 G-8 Summit, Okinawa, Japan																																																																																				
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23 G-8 Summit, Okinawa, Japan Hold for Foreign Travel	24	25 Day & Evening Off	26 10th Anniv: ADA Hold for Pre-Congressional Recess	27	28	29 Republican National Convention, P Projected House & Senate Recess																																																																																				
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30 Republican National Convention, Philadelphia, PA Projected House & Senate Recess	31	June <table> <tr><td>S</td><td>M</td><td>T</td><td>W</td><td>T</td><td>F</td><td>S</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td></tr> <tr><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td></tr> <tr><td>18</td><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td></tr> <tr><td>25</td><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td>30</td><td></td></tr> </table> August <table> <tr><td>S</td><td>M</td><td>T</td><td>W</td><td>T</td><td>F</td><td>S</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td></tr> <tr><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td></tr> <tr><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td></tr> <tr><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td></tr> <tr><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td>30</td><td>31</td><td></td></tr> </table>					S	M	T	W	T	F	S					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		S	M	T	W	T	F	S				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
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August 2000

*Presidential Calendar

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		Republican National Convention, Philadelphia, PA				3rd Anniv: Balanced Budget Act
		Projected House & Senate Recess				
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Ministers Leadership Conf., Chicago, IL		Projected House & Senate Recess				
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
		Democratic National Convention, Staple Center, Los Angeles, CA				POTUS/MEG B-Days
		Projected House & Senate Recess				
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
		4th Anniv: Welfare Reform Bill Si	Projected House & Senate Recess			
27	28	29	30	31	September SMTWTFSS 12 3456789 10111213141516 17181920212223 24252627282930	
		Projected House & Senate Recess				

T. Edmonds
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4/1/2000

"The Four Most Miserable Years of My Life." The View from the White House

By Michael Kelly

"After the White House what is there to do but drink?"

- Franklin Pierce

For all the fierce competition for the White House, those who survived the struggle and set up residence in that famous mansion have not found it to be a source of pure joy. President Andrew Jackson described the Presidency as "a situation of dignified slavery." His successor, President Martin Van Buren, said it was a position of "toilsome and anxious probation."

As our first President began his term, George Washington said, "My movements to the chair of government will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of execution." James Monroe's wife, first lady Elizabeth Cortright Monroe, reported that "My husband pays dear for his White House. It has cost him all his peace and the best of his manly attributes."

Abraham Lincoln joked that "being President makes you feel sometimes like the man who was ridden out of town on a rail. If it wasn't for the honor of the thing, I'd rather walk."

Here are the words of a few presidents about life in the White House.



Thomas Jefferson (1801-9)

I am tired of an office where I can do no more good than many others, who would be glad to be employed in it. To myself, personally, it brings nothing but unceasing drudgery and daily loss of friends.

Every office becoming vacant, every appointment made, *me donne un ingrat, et cent ennemis* [gives me one ingrate and 100 enemies]. My only consolation is in the belief that my fellow citizens at large will give me credit for good intentions.



John Quincy Adams (1825-29)

I can tell you this: no man who every held the office of President would congratulate a friend on obtaining it. Make no mistake about it - the four most miserable years of my life were my four years in the Presidency.

Andrew Jackson (1829-37)

In this campaign, the whole object of the coalition is to calumniate me. Cart loads of coffin hand-bills, forgeries and pamphlets of the most base calumnies are circulated by the franking privilege of Members of the Congress, and Mr. Clay, even. Mrs. Jackson is not spared, and my pious

REPUBLICANS

Turn out, turn out and save your Country from ruin!

From an Emperor—from a King—from the iron grasp of a British Tory Faction—an unprincipled banditti of British speculators. The hireling tools and emissaries of his majesty, king George the 3d have thronged our city and diffused the poison of principles among us.

DOWN WITH THE TORIES, DOWN WITH THE BRITISH FACTION.

Before they have it in their power to enslave you, and reduce your families to distress by heavy taxation. Republicans want no Tribute-laws—they want no ship Oceans-laws—they want no Rufus King's for Lords—they want no Varick to lord it over them—they want no Jones for senator, who fought with the British against the Americans in time of the war.—But they want in their places such men as

Jefferson & Clinton,

who fought their Country's Battles in the year '76



On the left is a rare poster featuring Thomas Jefferson and his running mate, Vice President George Clinton. Note that our current President is named William Jefferson Clinton but few observers have mentioned the "Jefferson Clinton" coincidence. On the right is an Andrew Jackson sewing box.

Mother, nearly 50 years in the tomb, and who, from her cradle to her death, had not a speck upon her character, has been dragged forth and held to public scorn as a prostitute who intermarried a Negro, and my eldest brother sold as a slave in Carolina....I am branded with every crime, and was not my hands tied, and my mouth closed, I would have soon put an end to their slanders. This they know, but suppose when the election's over all things will die away. NOT SO! The day of retribution must come.

Martin Van Buren (1837-41)

Mr. Jefferson said that the two happiest days of life were those of his entrance upon his office and of his surrender of it. The truth of the matter may be stated in a word: whilst to have been deemed worthy by a majority of the People of the United States to fill the office of Chief Magistrate of the Republic is an honor which ought to satisfy the aspirations of the most ambitious citizen, the period of his actual possession of its powers and performance of its duties is and must, from the nature of things, always be, to a right-minded man one of toilsome and anxious probation.

William Henry Harrison (1841)

The job-seekers pack the White House every day, pushing their applications at me – in my hands, in my pockets. They pursue me so closely that I can not even attend to the necessary functions of nature.



James Buchanan (1857-61)

When I parted from President Lincoln, on introducing him to the Executive Mansion, according to custom, I said to him: "If you are as happy, my dear sir, on entering this house as I am in leaving it and returning home, you are the happiest man in this country!"

James A. Garfield (1881)

My God! What is there in this place that a man should ever want to get in it?

Chester A. Arthur (1881-85)

Have you seen this – this so-called White House? The way the Garfields left it? I will not live in a house looking

**M. VAN BUREN,
FOR
PRESIDENT.**



A myriad of items from presidents who had bad things to say about their job. Top: William Taft celluloid and Benjamin Harrison badge. Bottom (left to right): Ribbons from Martin Van Buren, William Harrison and a James Garfield-Chester Alan Arthur jugate.



this way. It Congress does not make an appropriation I will go ahead and have it done and pay for it out of my own pocket. I will not live in a house like this. It is full of modern abominations in upholstery and garish gilding, and all the rooms look staring, pretentious and Frenchy. The old portwine colored mahogany sofas and chairs which were in the State Parlors in Lincoln's time were better than anything that has come in their place. At least they were dignified.

Benjamin Harrison (1889-93)

It is a rare piece of good fortune during the early months of an administration if the President gets one wholly uninterrupted hour at his desk each day. His time is so broken into bits that he is often driven to late night work, or to set up a desk in his bedroom, when preparing a message or other paper requiring unbroken attention.

William Howard Taft (1909-13)

I have come to the conclusion that the major part of the work of a President is to increase the gate receipts of expositions and fairs and bring tourists into the town. I'll be damned if I'm not getting tired of this. ... And to those who envy me in this office – let me say, the White House is the loneliest place in the world. ... But, on the whole, my wife seems to enjoy it. On those occasions when she does complain to me about living conditions in the White House, I just tell her, "Well, my dear, we must serve notice on the landlord."

Woodrow Wilson (1913-21)

The office of President requires the constitution of an athlete, the patience of a mother, and the endurance of an early Christian....The President is a superior kind of slave.

Warren G. Harding (1921-23)

I knew this job would be too much for me. Oftentimes, as I sit here, I don't seem to grasp that I am President. If there is anything wrong with the White House job, it is the inability to be a human being. The White House is a prison. I can't get away from the men who dog my footsteps. I am in jail.

Herbert Hoover (1929-33)

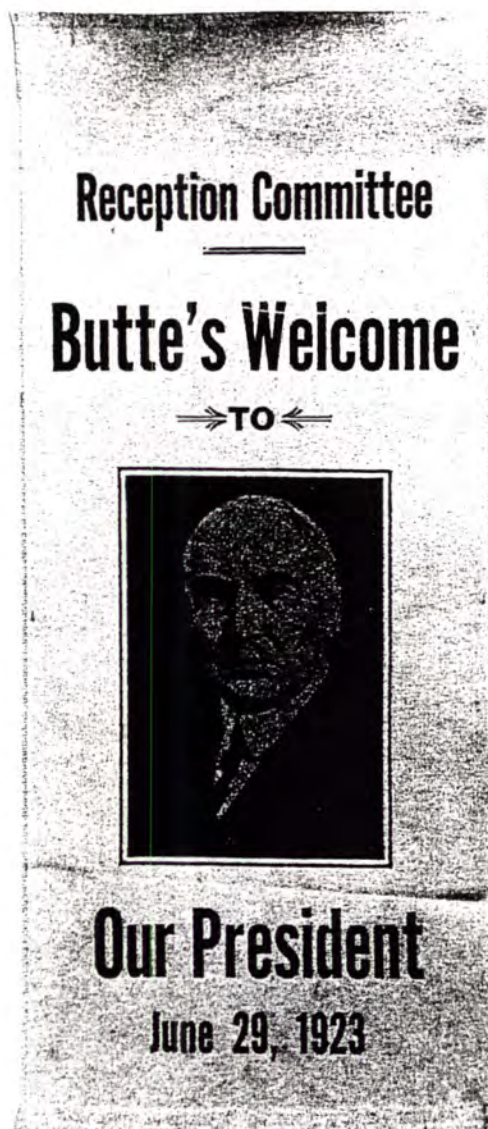
Many years ago I concluded that a few hair shirts were part of the mental wardrobe of every man. The President differs only from other men in that he has a more extensive wardrobe.

Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-61)

The nakedness of the battlefield when the soldier is all alone in the smoke and the clamor and the terror of war is comparable to the loneliness – at times – of the Presidency.★



Even modern presidents have had negative things to say about their experiences. Top: Harding ribbon. Center: Hoover stamp (shown enlarged). Right: Eisenhower sticker (shown reduced).



4/11/2000

TO: Nancy Hernreich

FROM: Wendi Boxx

DATE: March 28, 2000

MEMO: Summary LA Times article "Goodwill Toward U.S. Is Dwindling Globally."
By Tyler Marshall & Jim Mann.

Sandy
the too time
except my alleged
"sporadic" interest *PS*

copied
Berger
COS
Hernreich

America has long been a beacon of goodwill but since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the U.S. has been able to pursue its interests without world rival, and now America's shadow is assuming a darker character. The preponderance of America's power – economic, political, military, and cultural – is fast becoming a liability. America is starting to have a "hegemony problem" or rather a growing resentment in the international community. The world community's complaint is not that America is withdrawing into an isolationist shell, rather suffering from a bad case of "me first."

The Clinton years have focused on U.S. interests in global economy, championing democracy, and upholding human rights, but the manner in which these goals have been pursued appears inconsistent, sporadic, and occasionally capricious.

With communism vanquished, American political leaders appear to have tossed aside their inhibitions against using their foreign policy differences as an area for partisan bickering. For instance, the rejection by the Senate of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was interpreted by allies and adversaries alike as a move not as a judgement of the treaty's merits but as part of the Republican vendetta against the President.

This damage is not irreversible, but it is staining old friendships and diminishing America's efforts to rally support. The article points out many instances of backlash and points that there may be a shirking circle of governments that see their interests coinciding with the US.

The article also sights the major causes of the U.S. becoming so aloof in foreign affairs:
1. A President who engages only episodically; 2. A Congress that cares little about foreign affairs; 3. A poisonous relationship between the two branches; 4. An American public that is inattentive to world affairs.

The article concludes that the current damage does not appear to be permanent. Some analysts are convinced that a new President, a more actively engaged business community, and a new emphasis on foreign affairs by nonprofit foundations will turn the tide and help to push foreign affairs toward the top of the national agenda. Others are counting on the younger generation to reverse America's go-it-alone tendencies. Until then, analysts prescribe a measure of humility for the world's only surviving superpower.



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

FAX TRANSMITTAL

DATE: 27 MARCH*Weekly
Summary*TO: NANCY HERNREICH

FIRM: _____

FROM: STANLEY SHEINBAUMCOMMENTS: FOR THE PRESIDENT# OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 7

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Stanley K. Sheinbaum

FAX TRANSMITTAL

DATE: 27 March

TO:

PRESIDENT CLINTON

FIRM:

FROM:

Stanley Sheinbaum

COMMENTS:

WORTH YOUR TIME.

OF PAGES (including cover sheet)

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SUNDAY REPORT

Goodwill Toward U.S. Is Dwindling Globally

■ The nation's prominence as the world's sole superpower leaves even allies uneasy. They fear that Washington has lost its longtime commitment to international order.

By TYLER MARSHALL
and JIM MANN
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—America's dominant shadow has long been welcome in much of the world as a shield from tyranny, a beacon of goodwill, an inspiration of unique values.

But 10 years after communism's collapse in the Soviet Union left the

United States to pursue its interests without a world rival that shadow is assuming a darker character. The preponderance of America's power—economic, political, military and cultural—is fast becoming a liability.

In State Department meeting rooms it's called the "hegemony problem," a fancy way of describing the same resentment that children harbor for the biggest, toughest and smartest kid in school.

While there always have been those who resented America's power, influence and priorities, even allies have grown queasy in the waning years of the Clinton administration. They are unsettled by fears that, in its hour of triumph, the United States seems to have lost its commitment to the global community and the international order it helped create from the ashes of World War II. The sentiment is mounting that no single country—however benevolent or well intentioned—should hold such a monopoly.

The complaint abroad is not that America is withdrawing into an isolationist shell, as it has so often in the past. Rather, foreigners diag-

FIRST OF TWO PARTS

nose America as suffering from a bad case of "me first."

Free of the need to contain the Soviet Union, a goal that guided foreign policy for nearly half a century, the United States during the Clinton years has focused on new objectives: pressing American commercial interests in the global economy, championing democracy

Please see GOODWILL, A30

Russians Go to the Polls to Pick a New President

By RICHARD C. PADDOCK
TIMES STAFF WRITER

MOSCOW—Against a backdrop of rising nationalism and lingering economic hardship, Russian voters head to the polls today to elect a president for the second time since the collapse of communism in 1991.

After a six-week campaign most notable for the effectiveness of the Kremlin propaganda machine, voters in large numbers are expected to cast their ballots for a retired KGB colonel: acting President Vladimir V. Putin.

Putin, who promises to restore order in Russia, is expected to outdistance the other 10 candidates in a vote that appears less an exercise in democracy than a Soviet-style ratification of the candidate chosen by the power elite.

The only suspense is whether Putin will receive the majority



With stepped-up security, President Clinton arrives in Islamabad, the Pakistani capital.

Microsoft Settlement Is Inadequate

■ Computers: Firm reports antitrust violation. U.S. officials may sue.

By JUBE SHIVER Jr.
and JOSEPH MENN
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—Microsoft Corp.'s eleventh-hour bid to settle its antitrust case appeared to have fallen short Saturday, leaving the outcome of the biggest antitrust case since the breakup of Standard Oil in the hands of a federal judge.

Sources close to the government said a detailed settlement proposal that Microsoft sent Friday to the Justice Department, 19 states and

GOODWILL: U.S. Dominance Uns

Continued from A1

and intervening militarily to protect human rights.

These goals concern foreign leaders less than the manner in which they have been pursued—a manner that appears inconsistent, sporadic and occasionally capricious. With communism vanquished, American political leaders appear to have tossed aside their inhibitions against using their foreign policy differences as an arena for partisan bickering.

Last year's rejection by the Senate of a treaty banning nuclear weapons testing is a case in point. America's allies and adversaries alike interpreted the move not as a judgment of the treaty's merits but as part of a Republican vendetta against President Clinton.

While the damage is not necessarily irreversible, it strains old friendships and diminishes America's ability to rally support. It risks depriving the U.S. of the goodwill that has been a priceless asset for decades—in building the post-World War II order, winning the Cold War and setting the international agenda.

"It's a very big issue," acknowledged Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott.

The backlash is global:

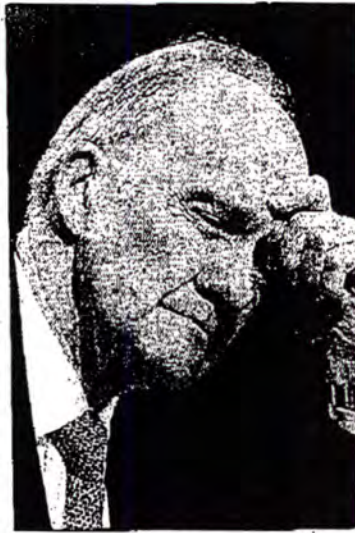
- In the Persian Gulf, where the United States rallied 38 nations to its cause to fight Iraq in 1991, only Britain answers the call to strike the same nation seven years later.

- At a retreat deep in the French countryside, the presidents of America's oldest ally (France) and Washington's fast-emerging Asian adversary (China) spent much of their time mulling a common problem: the enormity of American power.

- In New Delhi well before Clinton's recent visit, the Russian prime minister suggested that India, China and Russia form a partnership as a counterweight to the United States.

- In Tokyo, the Japanese government announced plans to develop its own intelligence-gathering satellites, a sign of its desire to build an independent military capability.

- In Brussels, the European Union's drive for a common foreign and security policy is propelled in part by the conviction among America's closest friends that they can no longer rely on the United States to "be there" to the extent that they could during the Cold War. Even in NATO's U.S.-led intervention in Kosovo, one of the chief U.S. objectives was to avoid



'We've lost the sense of what we're really good at: getting people to join us. We don't think as much about the effects of our actions on other people. We don't consult, we don't ask ahead of time. We behave to much of the world like a latter-day colonial power. It's a very dangerous thing that's happening.'

BRENT SCOWCROFT

Former national security advisor

casualties.

Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington points to a "shrinking circle of governments who see their interests coinciding with those of the United States." He says the consistent 4-1 American majority of earlier years among the five permanent U.N. Security Council members (the United States, Britain, France and China against the Soviet Union) has degenerated into a potential standoff, with the U.S. and Britain siding against Russia and China, and with France holding a swing vote.

A recent example: When Russia objected to the U.S.-sponsored nomination of Swedish diplomat Rolf Ekeus to lead U.N. weapons inspectors back into Iraq, it was quickly joined by both France and China, dooming America's candidate.

"We've lost the sense of what we're really good at: getting people

A World of Troubles

Unhappiness with U.S. dominance is built around the globe, among both America's traditional allies and its longtime adversaries.

European Union:

Reflexive pro-Americanism is waning among leaders who cut their teeth on anti-American protests of the 1980s, not on American aid packages in the 1940s.



Latin America:

Resentment toward U.S. trade policies that are viewed as protectionist is driving South and Central American nations to regard the European Union as the role model for greater economic integration.

to join us," Brent Scowcroft, national security advisor during the Reagan and Bush administrations, said in an interview. "We don't think as much about the effects of our actions on other people. We don't consult, we don't ask ahead of time. We behave to much of the world like a latter-day colonial power. It's a very dangerous thing that's happening."

Former Rep. Lee Hamilton, who served as chairman of the House International Relations Committee, says the distance between America and the world it dominates is particularly evident at the United Nations.

"I don't want to blow this into a major crisis," said Hamilton, who now heads the Woodrow Wilson Institute, a Washington-based think tank. "But I put it in the category of serious concern."

His concern grew when Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) warned the U.N. in January that the United States would pull out if the world body did not serve American interests. The crusty lawmaker's message wasn't en-

tirely new. Scowcroft gave even the closest of allies a warning tone.

In a similar vein, American officials place a high value on immigration, to which they agreed powerful nations. A global issue.

"If you generate Charles of the Found ally, just on definition, to commit only the is forced to force the will to

ice Unsettles Foes and Allies Alike

Troubles

dominance is building
ong both America's
its longtime adversaries.

ism is waning among leaders
anti-American protests of the
aid packages in the 1940s.



Russia:

Disillusionment with what Russians see as second-rate treatment by the U.S. and anger with American condemnation of Moscow's assault on Chechnya are sinking relations to lowest point since Cold War.

China:

Political wounds still fester in the wake of U.S. bombing of Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia last spring, proposed legislation boosting aid to Taiwan and official allegations that China infiltrated American nuclear installations.

Japan:

Anger over casual U.S. response to recent North Korean missile test and U.S. flirtation with China is fuelling a drive to establish a military capacity independent of the United States.

South Asia:

Washington's efforts to coax India and Pakistan to sign the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, especially after the U.S. Senate refused to ratify the treaty, have diminished U.S. credibility.

trade policies that are viewed
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Union as the role model for
ation.



'This worries me more than any one thing. It worries me first because most of us are not picking this up on our radar—this sense that we don't care about what our trading partners or our allies . . . think. It's going to come back and snap us in some ways that are very bad for this country.'

SEN. CHARLES HAGEL

Los Angeles Times

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tirely new, but delivering it in per-
son gave it additional oomph, and
even the ambassadors of America's
closest allies resented his threaten-
ing tone.

In a world filled with skepticism
and stifling bureaucratic barriers,
America has stood out as a special
place: an unlikely melting pot of
immigrants, fresh ideas and free-
dom that people everywhere aspire
to, whether their governments
agreed with U.S. policy or not; a
powerful nation promoting univer-
sal values but not pushing for new
land. Any erosion of this feeling
would directly affect America's
global influence.

"If you don't have it, you need a
gendarme on every corner," said
Charles William Maynes, director
of the Washington-based Eurasia
Foundation. "Society internation-
ally, just as domestically, depends
on deference—deference to tradi-
tion, to authority, to law, to treaty
commitments. If you lose that, the
only thing you can back it up with
is force, and there isn't enough
force to go around.

"There's still a reservoir of good-
will for America, but we're squan-

dering it."

Contributing mightily to this
concern was the way in which the
Senate voted last year to kill the
Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban
Treaty, not on its merits but largely
as a tactical ploy by Republicans in
a game of domestic political
"gotcha" with Clinton.

Such casual dismissal of a treaty
widely viewed outside the United
States as a cornerstone of a safer
world seriously wounded America's
stock as the global superpower.
"It's had a profound effect," said
former Defense Secretary William
J. Perry.

Some European commentators
equate the vote with the Senate's
1920 rejection of the Versailles
Treaty establishing the League of
Nations—one step down the path
that eventually led to World War
II.

"It was similar to 1920, but with
hubris and nukes thrown in," said
French defense analyst Francois
Heisbourg.

"The impression is one of com-
plete disregard for the rest of the
world," said Denis Lacorne, a spe-
cialist on transatlantic relations at

the Center for International Stud-
ies in Paris. "If you are as multicul-
tural as you claim to be, how can
you show such little interest in the
outside world?"

Beyond the test ban treaty, crit-
ics point to a host of other Ameri-
can deeds, misdeeds and nondeeds.

In 1997, powerful U.S. lawmak-
ers declared an international agree-
ment to control so-called green-
house gases "dead on arrival" in
the Senate. The Clinton adminis-
tration declined to join more than
130 other nations in signing a
treaty banning the use of land
mines, insisting that the United
States is a special case.

Likewise, the United States re-
fused to join more than 90 coun-
tries establishing an International
Criminal Court in 1998 after unsuc-
cessfully insisting on immunity
from prosecution for American sol-
diers and diplomats—but not those
of other countries. Delegates to the

Please see GOODWILL, A31

GOODWILL: Growing Gap Between

Continued from A30

founding conference for the court cheered the defeat of a U.S. attempt to exempt American soldiers.

The United States, which in the 1960s threatened action against nations that were late in their dues payments to the U.N. and other world organizations, has itself become a major deadbeat.

For nearly two years, the U.S. withheld \$1 billion in dues to the U.N. while the White House and the Republican Congress wrestled over whether to allow any of that money to be spent on abortion. And the U.S. has fallen behind in its dues to the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Organization of American States and an array of others.

Countless little things also contribute to the view that America considers itself not only special but detached.

Former German opposition leader Wolfgang Schaeuble, viewed as the likely next chancellor of Europe's economic behemoth until his party's recent political scandal, was forced to cancel a planned trip to Washington last year because the senior policymakers he wanted to see had no time for him.

Many expect the distance between America and its friends to grow.

Pressure from Congress for a new national missile defense system that would protect America—and America alone—against a limited attack looms as the next issue. Allies fear that a decision to go ahead would not just add to worries about America's isolation but also touch off the first arms race in defensive weapons.

Some foreign affairs specialists argue that an American missile defense system would be in the allies' interest because the United States cannot preserve peace in the world or project its force if it feels under threat. But they admit that the administration must work harder to get its message across.

Festering trade frictions, especially with America's traditional friends in Europe, are a special concern because they so quickly become explosive political issues.

At last fall's World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle, the American hosts found themselves so out of touch with so many nations that they were forced to suspend business without reaching any agreements at all. The result was a major embarrassment for the United States, especially because



'Congress, the Senate specifically, is peopled by individuals who arrived here with . . . a blank slate on notions relating to foreign policy and America's power in the world.'

SEN. JOSEPH R. BIDEN JR.

such events are normally scripted in advance to assure at least some kind of agreement. Critics accused the U.S. of failing to consult with other participants in advance, out of the arrogant assumption that particularly the smaller nations would naturally follow its lead.

"This worries me more than any one thing," said Sen. Charles Hagel (R-Neb.), one of a new generation of internationalists in the Senate. "It worries me first because most of us are not picking this up on our radar—this sense that we don't care about what our trading partners or our allies . . . think. It's going to come back and snap us in some ways that are very bad for this country."

The complaint of lack of consultation reaches well beyond trade issues. In 1998, U.S. officials declared that funding for North Korea's civilian nuclear reactors—more than 80% of which is coming from Japan—could go ahead despite North Korea's test-firing of a medium-range missile over Japan.

"The Japanese were not included in any way in these negotiations," said Michael Green, a Japan scholar at the Council on Foreign Relations. "They were absolutely furious."

Why has the United States become so aloof? Analysts point to four major causes:

- A president who engages only episodically on the international issues and too often has failed to use either the personal prestige or the power of his office to pursue key foreign policy goals.

- A Congress that cares little about foreign affairs in the wake of the Cold War and seems to understand even less.

- A relationship between the two branches of government that is so poisonous in the wake of Clinton's impeachment that a simple political vendetta can trump the national interest. When the Berlin Wall collapsed more than a decade ago, so too did the long-held tradition that parti-

san politics ends at the water's edge.

- An American public generally receptive to an active global role for the United States, but inattentive to world affairs and confused by partisan backbiting now that its principal reference point—the evil of communism—has all but vanished as a major threat.

While opinion polls during the run-up to last October's nuclear test ban treaty vote in the Senate found that 80% of the public said they supported treaty ratification, surveys taken after the vote found that less than half even knew that it had been defeated.

"It's a familiar pattern of public support for foreign affairs in this country—a mile wide and an inch deep," noted Alton Frye, who tracks how foreign affairs issues are handled with Congress for the Council on Foreign Relations. "The country is . . . ready to follow a lead, but when the president and Congress disagree, the public is stranded."

In Congress, interest in foreign affairs has plummeted as much as a result of changing priorities as of public apathy. The absence of any visible threat to the nation's security also helps reduce international issues to just one more arena for partisan politics.

"Congress, the Senate specifically, is peopled by individuals who arrived here with . . . a blank slate on notions relating to foreign policy and America's power in the world," said Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.), the ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "I'd bet that in the last eight to 10 years, not 1% of those who come here talked about foreign policy during their campaigns."

Interest in foreign affairs is so low among Senate Republicans that they have struggled to fill the party's 10 slots on the Foreign Relations Committee. Last year, they considered—but put off—a proposal to downgrade the committee's importance. Senators may sit

en U.S., Allies

on just one high-level committee; demoting Foreign Relations might encourage some to select it as a second choice.

But political analysts say it is wrong to blame Congress alone. They trace much of the problem to a failure of presidential leadership.

"We've got a president who's not interested in foreign policy, so domestic lobbies are decisive when foreign policy issues arise," said Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security advisor to President Carter.

For instance, domestic political concerns last spring led to Clinton's failure to agree with China on the terms of Beijing's entry into the World Trade Organization and to his determination to avoid American casualties during the Kosovo bombing campaign, Brzezinski said.

The damage does not appear permanent. Some analysts are convinced that, if a new, involved president takes office next January, accompanied by a clear-sighted staff and decent relations with Congress, that would go a long way. It remains unclear, however, whether either Al Gore or George W. Bush, who have their parties' presidential nominations all but locked up, would come to office with such a favorable constellation.

Richard Haass, a foreign affairs specialist at the Brookings Institution in Washington, also hopes for a more actively engaged business community and a new emphasis on foreign affairs by nonprofit foundations.

"It can't be fixed overnight," he said. "You just hope it doesn't take events to fix it—because if it does, it's going to be a disaster that focuses the mind."

Hagel says that American business will push foreign affairs back toward the top of the national agenda as the country's \$2.2 trillion in total international trade binds American prosperity ever tighter to the world at large. "This is starting to build," he said.

Others are counting on the younger generation to reverse America's go-it-alone tendencies. "We've got an entire generation who see the world in very different terms than we did," Biden said. "You tell them we can do everything on our own in this interconnected world, and they'll tell you you're crazy."

Until then, analysts prescribe a measure of humility for the world's only surviving superpower.

"Triumphalism is hard to control," said Maynes of the Eurasia Foundation. "We have to be conscious of the dangers."



Agence France-Presse

A Russian soldier stands guard near a burning oil well in Chechnya. Travel in the area was curtailed amid fears of election-day violence.

Guerrillas Hit Federal Troops Deep in Russian-Held Chechnya

From Associated Press

GUDERMES, Russia—Rebels invaded a village deep in Russian-held western Chechnya on Saturday, while smaller clashes were reported throughout the breakaway republic and four Russian police were killed by a mine, the military said.

After a few days' lull in large-scale battles, a group of rebels entered Samashki, near Chechnya's border with the Russian republic of Ingushetia, Russian news reports said. Federal troops were battling guerrillas, the military said.

A Defense Ministry spokesman in Moscow denied that the rebels had gained any ground in Samashki. He said Russian troops found a rebel band hiding in the woods out-

side the village Saturday and wounded it with artillery.

He would not comment on casualties or say how the rebels reached Samashki, which is deep in the area that Russian troops wrestled away from Chechen rebels last fall.

The raid highlighted the damage guerrillas can still inflict on federal troops, even though the Russians occupy most of Chechnya.

The invasion came a day after Russian authorities banned nonmilitary travel around Chechnya, citing fears of rebel attacks ahead of today's Russian presidential election. Troops guarded polling stations around the republic, and election officials brought ballot boxes to refugee camps in neighboring Ingushetia for displaced Chechens.

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4/1/2000

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effort - B.C.

NO MORE OPEC EXTORTION: ENOUGH IS ENOUGH

Isn't it about time our leaders demonstrated some real leadership in addressing the perennial, recurring oil crisis or "OPEC ripoff"? When will we finally stop permitting the OPEC cartel to impose ever higher prices, now at a nine year high, and which amount to the largest external tax on our citizens in history? Isn't it a fact that if the representatives of these all-powerful oil entities met to conspire to limit output and fix - - or, more accurately, to inflate - - the price of their product within the U.S., they would all be indicted as criminals? Recently, Christian Pierret, the French Industry Minister, echoing Energy Secretary Bill Richardson, warned that these rising prices and dwindling supplies could ignite inflationary pressures that would threaten global economic growth. Why do we remain paralyzed in the face of this alarming situation?

Is it that we really are totally helpless? Is it that we remain indifferent to this appalling bullying by a handful of unremarkable countries because we are fearful of alienating supposedly vital allies? Indeed, is Saudi Arabia, for example, such a wonderful, dependable ally? When Secretary Richardson appealed to the Saudis to raise output so as to avoid the manipulated, fabricated shortage which they themselves perpetrated, their oil minister, Ali Alnami, responded, "if you are seeking a number (by which we, OPEC, will increase production), you are not going to get it". Paradoxically, when asked whether he was aiming to achieve a lower specific price level (than the \$32-a-barrel price that prevailed only fourteen months ago), he claimed "we are going to leave that up to the markets for now." Suddenly, after collaborating to artificially restrict the supply and thereby rig the market so that the price tripled in just over one year, he is advocating that we now let the market determine the price. This from a country our military commitment prevented from being invaded and overrun by Iraq, as was Kuwait, during the

"Desert Storm" war. Why do we so meekly countenance such a one-sided, distorted relationship? Let's stand up for what's fair and right.

It's now costing New York City \$27 million more. Just to put a face on it, Comptroller Alan Hevesi says it has gone up 3 times in the last 12 months! Think of the cost and the pain to those low income, poor people and the hard pressed middle class people of the City and the country who can't meet their bills because of this manipulated OPEC foreign taxation.

What can, what should we do about it? World oil production was running around 77 million barrels a day before OPEC arbitrarily instituted production cuts last March which dropped output to 75 million barrels a day. The enormous price jump has resulted from a shortage of only 2 million barrels worldwide, or less than 3%. We need to enlist our citizenry to reduce consumption by 4% or 5% and force OPEC members to compete (and possibly to cheat each other, as they have in the past, to supply more than they agree to in their unholy collaboration). Moreover, we should once and for all break up this unconscionable OPEC monopoly by announcing that we will not purchase one barrel of oil from any country that meets with another country to in any way limit the supply of oil. Let oil, like every other product, find its price level in the free marketplace between supplier and consumer that brings a healthy competitive equilibrium and relative dependable stability to world markets. Genuine leadership would initiate such a worthwhile crusade that our always underappreciated, magnificently patriotic citizenry would join if it was made clear to them how imperative and rewarding it is to win such an objectively legitimate, righteous economic war.

We complain about so many of our young people's addiction to drugs - - are we so addicted to oil that we could not, through wise conservation and other short term actions, so reduce our consumption until we break this unjustifiable, inexcusable and illegal oil conspiracy.

Let's at least demonstrate that we can contain and restrain our addiction for a brief period until we break this outrageous extortionist monopoly. If we do, oil will most likely decline to \$10 per barrel or less, or whatever the free competitive marketplace fairly determines; and we will finally cease being victims held economic hostage to a group of mean, self-obsessed, greedy nations. Let's do it. Leaders, lead this most worthy crusade!

Senator Ted Stevens of Alaska, a major oil supplier, asserted, during hearings on the emerging energy crisis, that this outrageous spike in crude oil prices would upset the federal budget, costing the Defense Department alone over \$2 billion. Even more potentially devastating to our nation's economy is the imminent threat raised by this inordinate rise in oil prices. The price of gasoline to consumers is projected to be \$2 a gallon, a 100% rise in a year; imagine the implications to the middle class American's budget and the impact on the ability to continue to spend on other consumer products - - a consumer spending that fuels our economic stability and growth. This is a train wreck ready to happen and we have to act decisively if we are to avoid it.

Let's develop a new paradigm in which we would no longer be dependent on the unreliable imported foreign oil and see that these foreign oil companies, with their surfeit of swelling oil reserves, depend on our consumption for their survival.

J. Morton Davis is Chairman of D.H. Blair Investment Banking Corp. Charles M. Haar is professor of law at Harvard University

4/11/00

Mr. President -

After many discussions, Georgetown has expressed a willingness to create a Clinton Center as a wholly integrated component of the School of Foreign Service. They have also put forth a proposal as to how the center might operate. It is important that we (Baczkos, Seiberts and us) get together with you as soon as a meeting can be arranged to get your reaction to the Georgetown proposal or to see if you envision a different model.

Bob Galucci, the Dean of SFS, would like to join us to describe their proposal in detail. He understands that you might prefer a different approach. This is a long way from where we started with Georgetown.

Because time is running short and considerable resources need to be raised, we need to meet as soon as possible. Please let me know if you would like to go ahead with this meeting and who you would like to have there (e.g. Bruce).

Thanks -

Melanne → OK
OK

Melanne Verveer

Hillary - Could
you p/s give
this to the POTUS.
I don't want it
to go thru formal
channels.

✓
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Verveer
Lindsey
Hennrich
Podesta

4/1/2000

We're bringing our boys to Washington for their first visit at the beginning of April. Naturally, our oldest decided to write a letter to President Clinton inviting himself for a visit (he did this last year with Mr. Rogers and ended up doing a story on him, so Ben is convinced it is that easy!)

I promised Ben that I would try to get his letter to the President (what are dads for, after all). If there is anything you can do or suggest, I would be most grateful.

Yours,

Henry Schuster

ph: 404.827.1482 f: 404.827.4443 email: henry.schuster@turner.com

copied
Lockhart
COS
Street
Burkhardt

Dear Mr Clinton

I have two brothers

I want to meet you in April
in Washington DC.

you saw me on TV

on CNN a time.

Love,

Ben
age 7



THE DIRECTOR

4-1-00
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

March 31, 2000

copied
Lew
Podesta

MAR 31 PM 3:13

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Jacob J. Lew

SUBJECT:

Timing of Call to Senator Lott on the Supplemental

The House passed the supplemental yesterday by a vote of 263 to 146. The bill contains essential funding for Colombia, LIHEAP, the victims of Hurricane Floyd, and partial funding for Kosovo. It fails to provide funding for HIPC and approximately \$360 million for Kosovo (including UNMIK). The House-passed bill totals nearly \$13.2 billion, \$7.6 billion over your request.

X During House action, we were able to defeat a Kasich amendment (200 to 219) that would have forced a withdrawal of US troops from Kosovo on June 1, 2000 if certain burden sharing benchmarks are not met. This increases our leverage to work with Senator Warner on the amendment he will offer in the Senate. The bill was also increased by \$4 billion in what is likely an effort (sponsored by Representatives Lewis, Spence and Murtha) to forward fund the FY 2001 Defense bill in order to make room for unrequested Member projects in the FY 2001 Defense Appropriations bill. Given Senator Lott's objection to the overall size of the supplemental, this becomes another reason for him to block floor action. Senator Lott continues to be of the view that the supplementals should be considered as part of the FY 2001 appropriations process later this summer.

The Senate Appropriations Committee is scheduled to mark up the bill on Tuesday. Senator Stevens met earlier this week with Senator Lott in an effort to get a commitment to consider the bill in the Senate. While Senator Stevens did not get such a commitment, Senator Lott did not direct him to cancel his Committee mark up. We believe that a call from you to Senator Lott to urge him to take the bill up in the Senate early during the week of April 10th would be most effective after the full Committee mark up. A call to Senator Lott prior to the mark up may result in Senator Lott directing Senator Stevens not to mark up. The combination of a House-passed bill, a Senate Committee reported bill and your call following mark up may push Senator Lott to make the right choice.

Met this woman
at PM's lunch
in Julia - Doagly
ask her to ~~send~~
Send tape of song
for

THE PINE BOLT 400

4/1/2000

To Burkhardt 4/1
For Reply

✓ yes

Coordinate
w/ NSC

- no

DS.

Please Bounce with me and Read this message?

Mobile-9820024985 -

(Dehi contact - 4619431 - Rm 36, until 2nd March)
I return to Mumbai

Parvati Khan

NB A-14, Bandstand Bldg., Kane Rd., Bandra, Bombay 400 050

Tel: 91-22-645 9809, Telefax: 91-22-640 8488, e-mail: parvatikhan@snl.com

Dear Mr Clinton, A very warm welcome to you, Chelsea and your entire entourage to India! We are all so excited to see you! You have done so well for America, one wishes you stay in office forever!

I am a writer/singer known amongst the people of India and Trinidad. I was born in Trinidad. I passionately and unflinchingly promote Global Peace and National Harmony through my music, for over eleven years. I consider myself a citizen of the world community and truly understand intuitively the deeper meaning of "caring for each other," since I was a child. The President of India, the Prime Minister and the government are aware of my commitment to the cause of Peace, as an artiste. I have been singing a strong though simple composition, DOWN WITH THE GUNS, written and composed by myself, in promotion of humanity and Global Unity. India's present PM, Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee graciously contributed one of his unique poems towards my "special" music album promoting peace. I also had the honour of presenting this composition at the Closing Ceremony of India's 50th Independence Celebrations, Aug 15th '98, before the nation. I have been requesting a listening of DOWN WITH THE GUNS, before a heads of state meeting at the U.N. on wherever possible for 3 years! I know you are an artiste and would appreciate the sentiment and anguish of a driven artiste for a noble cause!

Today, the gods are kind and I have the greatest honour in my life to meet the most POWERFUL head in the world! And, I am unable to present my global peace song to you. It's only 5 minutes? Still, I am an optimist and hope continues - I rely on your SPIRITUAL INTUITION. If five minutes could be accommodated at your convenience in Mumbai or wherever, it would be great! If not, may I get a chance to perform in Washington for you? Maybe through Mr Celeste? To get a real Focus on a critical matter as Global Peace, for an artiste, your support is critical and invaluable! Important heads would wake up! People of the world community would become more conscious of their duty! As a cultural ambassador of the world community I feel my plea is fitting. A mere mention through your interviews etc of your awareness of my effort, by way of my music promoting Global Unity, made known to you through our meeting today, will be a gigantic help indeed, in creating alertness among people. I can't begin to tell you what a good turn this would be. I wrote this note because I was certain 'time' would not permit me the opportunity to explain. Any chance of meeting or talking with each other? All my numbers are recorded above. They are also with Mr Celeste's office. Sorry for the congestion of words but so little space!

I am certain your visit to India will be successful and I hope your stay here is remembered. We all will always remember you. We support you though we do not live in America. Been watching CNN. Some meanings in the world don't give up, but you'll be okay - all our heartfelt good wishes are with you always!

Hoping for a miracle - hearing from you? All the very best. Until.

Sincerely,

Parvati

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 24, 2000

4/1/2000

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Balderston
Podesta

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

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

SUBJECT: Summary of Cabinet Weekly Reports
March 18 - 24, 2000

DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY

- **Oil:** On March 22, the House passed the Oil Price Reduction Act, addressing foreign oil production. The bill instructs you to report on the international oil situation and to make diplomatic efforts encouraging OPEC countries to boost production. A stronger provision of the bill, requiring you to cease arms sales to countries found to be engaged in oil price fixing, was dropped under lobbying from the defense industry.
- **International Financial Institutions Commission:** On March 23, Secretary Summers testified before the House Banking Committee on IMF reform and the recently-released IFI Commission report. Secretary Summers described recent progress in strengthening the IFIs and outlined the Administration's agenda for future reform of the IMF and the international development institutions, particularly the World Bank. He stated that the IMF's recent difficulties in handling loans to Ukraine was of "especially serious concern" and that the Administration was pressing the Fund "to do everything possible to ensure against any recurrences of such abuses whether in Ukraine or any other borrowing country." Secretary Summers closed his testimony by responding to the recommendations of the IFI Commission report, which Treasury believes would drastically reduce our ability to respond effectively to destabilizing financial crises and to help poor countries develop into stable democracies and markets.
- **CRA:** During the week of April 10, Treasury will release the first phase of the CRA study required by the Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act. In order to meet the requirements of the Act, Treasury staff proposed that the second phase of the CRA study include: 1) detailed case studies of up to 10 large financial institutions concerning their changes in CRA

lending, service, and investment practices in low- to moderate-income areas since the Act was passed; and 2) metropolitan case studies that examine the variation in CRA lending and performance and the reasons behind this variation.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

- **Former U.S. Olympic Officer Pleads Guilty:** On March 14, Alfredo La Mont, former Senior Director of International Relations and Director of Protocol for the U.S. Olympic Committee pleaded guilty to a with conspiracy to defraud the U.S. and making a false declaration on an IRS tax return. La Mont is the third person charged in connection with DOJ's investigation of the Salt Lake City's campaign to host the Olympic Winter Games. The investigation is continuing.
- **Settlement with Adam's Mark Hotels:** On March 21, announced a settlement of its claims of racial discrimination in public accommodations against the Adam's Mark Hotels. The state of FL and private plaintiffs also settled their cases against the hotel chain. The settlement includes injunctive relief prohibiting discriminatory treatment of hotel guests, an outside compliance monitor, paired testing, and training of hotel employees. Settlement of the private suit includes \$8.1M in compensation for guests and visitors who can show discrimination, scholarships and other assistance to hotel management programs at four historically black colleges, and attorneys fees and costs.
- **Computer Hacker Interferes with Stock Trade:** On March 15, an individual was arrested and charged with coordinating a series of "denial of service" attacks against the computer systems of Internet Trading Technologies, Inc. (ITTI), the largest provider of inter-broker dealer trade execution services for NASDAQ broker dealers. The denial of service attacks caused significant interruption of ITTI trading activities over three business days. He launched his attacks from a computer at a Manhattan Kinko's and a computer at Queens College in Flushing, NY.
- **Criminal Charges in Largest Insider Trading Case:** On March 14, nineteen defendants were charged with collectively making approximately \$8.4M in illegal profits by knowingly trading on "inside" information about 23 mergers, acquisitions, and buyouts. The inside information was allegedly provided by a part-time computer graphics worker assigned by a temporary employment agency to work at two investment banks. He allegedly stole the inside information by piercing the codes used by the banks in certain documents to conceal the identities of the companies involved in the deals.
- **Juvenile Justice Publications:** OJJDP also expects to release *Violent Neighborhoods*, *Violent Kids*, which looks at the delinquent behavior of boys living in the three most violent neighborhoods in Washington, DC, and the role of basic institutions, such as families, schools, churches, and youth-serving organizations. The bulletin finds that a

majority of boys in the study have basic needs that are unmet, and proposes specific steps to intervene with this at-risk population. In late March, OJJDP is expected to release *The Community Assessment Center Concept*, which discusses a system for consolidating services for juveniles who come to the attention of juvenile justice authorities.

- **Juvenile Firearm Prosecutions:** Next week, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) is expected to release *Seattle's Effective Strategy for Prosecuting Juvenile Firearm Offenders*, which reports on the Seattle Youth Handgun Violence Initiative funded by the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services and OJJDP. The program devoted resources to prosecution of juvenile firearm offenders, which improved how police, the courts, and probation department handled these cases.
- **NC Redistricting Plan:** On March 16, the Supreme Court stayed the March 8 judgement of a three-judge panel striking down one of NC's two majority African American congressional districts. The district court had enjoined further elections using the 1997 redistricting plan which contained the challenged district. The Supreme Court stay should allow the May 2 primary to proceed on schedule under the 1997 plan.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR

- **CAL-FED:** On March 27, Secretary Babbitt will meet with CA Governor Davis's top advisors to continue federal/state discussions regarding a potential resolution of the long-standing CA water issues involved in the CAL-FED Bay Delta process. Two follow-up meetings are scheduled for April. If discussions with the Governor are fruitful, the outline of a potential water plan for CA may be floated to stakeholders in the coming weeks. Final action must be taken on a new water plan for CA by summer because the 1994 Bay Delta Accord, is due to expire in September.
- **Gulf of Mexico Oil and Gas Lease Sale:** MMS recently held a sale of offshore oil and natural gas leases in the Central Gulf of Mexico. The sale attracted \$300.6M in high bids from 63 companies. The sale was the ninth lease sale held subject to the provisions of the 1995 Deep Water Royalty Relief Act. MMS received 469 bids on 344 of the 4,203 tracts offered offshore AL, LA, and MS. The total of all bids was \$454.9M. The highest bid received was \$23M submitted by Exxon for a tract in more than 1500 meters of water. Approximately 34 percent of the tracts receiving bids are in ultra-deep water (more than 800 meters). The deepest tract bid on was in 3,379 meters of water. Approximately 60 percent of the bidding activity was for tracts in relatively shallow water with heavy bidding from many independent oil and gas companies.
- **San Joaquin River Salmon:** BOR is seeking to purchase additional water from the San Joaquin River Group Authority for the Vernalis Adaptive Management Plan's spring pulse flow this year. Extra water is needed for a 31-day period in April and May to help

salmon smolts travel from the San Joaquin River tributaries into the Pacific Ocean where they will develop into adults. BOR may need as much as 47K acre-feet above the 110K acre-feet provided under the San Joaquin River Agreement to meet the 2000 April/May pulse flow of 7K cfs which is measured at Vernalis.

- **Removal of CA Diversion Dam:** BOR and Townsend Flat Water Ditch Company announced they have “agreed in principle” to pursue a proposed project that would bring down the 93-year-old Saeltzer Diversion Dam, south of Redding, CA, and allow spring-run salmon and steelhead to gain access to valuable spawning and nursery habitat on northern CA’s Clear Creek. Federal and State biologists say that as many as 2,000 steelhead and 2,000 spring-run salmon could successfully spawn in the presently blocked 12-mile reach of Clear Creek once the dam is removed. Spring-run salmon are listed as threatened under both the CA and the Federal Endangered Species Acts. The Federal Endangered Species Act also lists Central Valley steelhead as threatened.
- **Underground Railroad:** "Blazing Trails to Freedom: The Underground Railroad in TX," a forum and workshop, will be held March 24-25, in Huntsville, TX. The forum is the result of a partnership between the NPS's Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program in the Intermountain Region, Sam Houston State University, and Talking Back Living History Association. The objectives of the forum are to bring together people who represent agencies, organizations, institutions, and grass-roots efforts to learn about the Underground; and to establish the basis for a network of individuals who are interested in commemoration, research, preservation, and education opportunities in this unique theme in TX and Borderlands history.
- **Air Tour Overflights of Parks:** The FAA Reauthorization bill, expected to pass the House later this week, contains language defining a process by which the FAA and NPS will work together to manage commercial air tourism over national parks. A final rule is expected to follow nine months after the bill is signed.
- **Pine Ridge Reservation:** On March 23-24, a DOI team met with the Oglala Sioux Parks and Recreation Authority Board of Directors, other tribal officials and other federal and state agency representatives in Hot Springs, SD, to finalize their cooperative projects work plan and review progress. The Pine Ridge projects include: 1) design and construction of the Lakota Cultural and Education Center to be built on tribal land adjacent to federal land and serve simultaneously as a visitors center for the Badlands NP South Unit; 2) upgrade from gravel to pavement of BIA Highway 2 and potential Scenic Byway designation; and 3) efforts to create a bison range and relocate surplus bison from the North to the South unit of Badlands NP.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

- **Fuel Surcharge:** Several major processing and marketing firms advised poultry market news reporters they are to add 30 percent to customary delivery charges to help offset sharply higher fuel costs. Other processors are evaluating the potential impact of similar fuel surcharges. On March 10, the Southeast Council of Dairy Farmers of America announced that effective with the price announcement for April, for each 25-cent increase in the average diesel fuel cost, an 8-cent surcharge per hundredweight will be applied on Class I milk.
- **Civil Rights Consent Decree:** On March 26, USDA will begin Phase II of Consent Decree implementation when the first of three rotating teams assembles to begin processing up to 2,500 late-filed Consent Decree claims, as well as to handle Adjudicator Reviews of case files. Because of court-mandated deadlines, additional staff may be added based on the number of additional claims, decisions, and reevaluations requested by the court-appointed monitor. Through March 15, 18,229 cases were forwarded, with 10,164 decisions: 4,147 were denied (40.8 percent) and 6,017 were approved (59.2 percent).
- **Decline in *Salmonella* Prevalence:** On March 21, USDA reported substantial reductions in the prevalence of *Salmonella* in raw meat and poultry products produced under USDA's new science-based inspection system at both large and small plants, and in all product categories. Meanwhile, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention credited HACCP implementation for a large part of a wide-ranging decline in food borne illness.
- **China Agricultural Imports from EU Double:** During the week of March 13, an analysis of China's official statistics showed that total agricultural imports from the EU have doubled over the preceding two years to \$1.3B in 1999. China's direct imports from the EU now nearly equal those from the U.S., with U.S. shipments remaining larger due to indirect trade through Hong Kong.
- **Commodity Markets:** Wheat prices were boosted by spillover support from higher corn and soybean prices, plus speculation about exports to Iran. Fears of a Midwest drought led corn and soybean prices higher. Rice cash prices held steady, but futures moved higher following a solid *Export Sales* report. Cotton cash prices were up marginally and new-crop futures were supported by drought fears in the South and on the Texas High Plains. Higher boxed beef prices led to a modest rise in cattle prices. Slow marketings led to a sharp increase in hog prices. Broiler prices moved slightly higher. Butter and cheese prices were unchanged.

- **National Drought Policy Commission Report:** USDA expects to issue for public comment the draft report of the NDPC. The NDPC, formed in 1998, will submit a report to and the Congress providing recommendations on creating a coordinated Federal policy on preparing for and responding to drought emergencies. Comments will be solicited through March 31.
- **Multi-Family Housing Program Funds:** USDA will announce the selection of funding recipients under the Section 515 Rural Rental Housing Availability and the first section of the Section 538 Rural Rental Housing Guaranteed Loans. The funding total for the two announcements could exceed \$60 million.
- **Food Assistance and Nutrition Report:** On April 3, USDA's Economic Research Service will release *Food Assistance and Nutrition Research Report No. 5*, finding that participation in the WIC program has a significant positive effect on children's intakes of iron, folate, and vitamin B-6. The data set used reflects a dramatic increase in program enrollment during the 1990s.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

- **U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade:** Secretary Daley and Chinese Trade Minister Shi will co-chair the 13th JCCT session on April 6-7 in Beijing. DOC/International Trade Administration officials were in China the week of March 20 to chair two working groups of the U.S.-China JCCT. In addition, they will work with Chinese Government officials to advance deliverables that can be announced during the Secretary's visit next month.
- **Indian Organizations Removed from Entity List:** On March 17, the Bureau of Export Administration (BXA) published a rule in the *Federal Register* that removed 51 Indian organizations from the Entity List. The Entity List contains those organizations for which exporters require an export license because of proliferation concerns, and includes Indian and Pakistani organizations sanctioned after each country's nuclear tests. The rule also revised the license review policy for items bound for Indian and Pakistani organizations on the Entity List.
- **Marine Sanctuary Sediment Problem:** CA landslides, each carrying approximately 40,000 cubic yards of sediment and boulders, occurred recently along CA Highway 1. CalTrans officials have requested disposal of landslide debris within the Monterey Bay National Marine Sanctuary, managed by NOAA. Sanctuary regulations prohibit such disposals, and this could become a divisive political issue. The sanctuary is working full time to defuse tension while maintaining its regulatory intent.

- **European Satellite Navigation Talks:** On March 9-10, the Technology Administration participated in negotiations with the EU toward a possible agreement on cooperation in satellite navigation. Despite the apparent consensus, Europe is proceeding with its proposed Galileo system on a path that could conflict with the U.S. Global Positioning System and undermine its status as the world standard in satellite navigation.
- ✓ • **Partnership for a New Generation Vehicles Concept Cars:** On March 30, Vice President Gore will host a rollout event for the 2000 PNGV Concept Cars. Attendees will include representatives of Federal agencies, national laboratories, automakers, trade associations, and members of Congress. The Concept Cars mark the achievement of the second major PNGV program milestone; the final milestone is the planned delivery of production prototypes in 2004.
- **Biological Weapons Convention:** BXA is participating in a three-week Ad Hoc Group Biological Weapons Convention session in Geneva, Switzerland, to negotiate a binding protocol. Discussions are focused on procedures for conducting transparency visits, export controls, and declarations. BXA seeks to ensure that on-site activities are unobtrusive and limited to confidence-building measures that maximize the protection of confidential business information.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

- **Irish Delegation Employer-to-Employer Visit:** A delegation of ten Northern Ireland employers visited Kansas City area employers with family-friendly workplace policies. Discussion topics included childcare, elder care, flextime and flexplace and athletic/healthcare facilities.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

- **Steroid Use:** On April 14, the National Institutes of Health's National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) is planning a news conference and a scientific roundtable about steroid use by young people. Two NIDA grantees, Drs. Linn Goldberg and Diane Elliot, are authors of a paper that will be published in the April issue of the *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine* about a study done in Portland, OR.
- **Framework Convention on Tobacco:** On March 27-29, The HHS Office of Public Health and Science, who will lead the U.S. delegation to the World Health Assembly's Second Working Group Meeting for the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in Geneva in May, will hold a second public consultation in Washington, DC in preparation for those negotiations.

- **Diabetes Drug Withdrawn:** On March 21, Parke-Davis/Warner-Lambert, agreed to FDA's request to remove Rezulin, a drug used to treat adult-onset diabetes, from the market. FDA made the request after its review of recent safety data on Rezulin and two similar drugs, SmithKline Beecham's Avandia and Takeda/Lilly's Actos, showed that Rezulin is more toxic to the liver than the other two drugs. Data show that Avandia and Actos, both approved in the past year, offer the same benefits as Rezulin without the same risk. After up to nine months of marketing experience with these two newer drugs, it has now become clear that these newer drugs carry less risk of severe liver toxicity than Rezulin.
- **Head Start Fellows Program:** On March 22, HHS announced the availability of funds and request for applications for the FY2000 Head Start Fellows Program. The purpose of the program is to identify individuals with outstanding leadership potential and provide them with a variety of experiences in the early childhood and family services field. Approximately \$1M in funds will be made available to design and implement the program, and it is anticipated that one project will be funded.
- **Child Support Enforcement:** In late March, the Office of Inspector General will release a set of inspection reports on methods used by State and local public assistance agencies to obtain cooperation of their clients in identifying and locating absent parents in order to establish child support orders. The reports deal with *Policies and Practices; Challenges and Strategies for Improvement; the Role of Public Assistance; and the Use of Good Cause Exceptions.*

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

- **Communities for Safer Guns Coalition:** Officials from 29 cities and counties, and three state attorneys general have joined the Administration in forming the Communities for Safer Guns Coalition, which will support purchase preferences by government law enforcement agencies for guns made by companies that have adopted new gun safety and dealer responsibility standards.
- **Task Force to Fight Cyber-Hate and Discrimination:** Secretary Cuomo announced the creation of a national task force to fight hate and discrimination on the Internet, and reopened a housing discrimination investigation of the United Klans of America.
- **Public Housing Survey:** Secretary Cuomo announced that a new nationwide survey of public housing residents shows that 87 percent are satisfied or very satisfied with the services and overall living conditions that public housing authorities provide, up from 75 percent last year.

- **Grants to the Nez Perce Tribe in ID:** HUD awarded nearly \$1.5M in grants to the Nez Perce Tribe during a visit to the tribe's reservation in ID. The Nez Perce Tribal Housing Authority will use the funds to rehabilitate 38 rental and owner-occupied homes, construct eight new homes and finance several community services and crime prevention programs. In addition to the grant, an employee of HUD's Office of Native American Programs will work on the reservation to help the tribe get the best use of loan guarantee programs, as well as other federal initiatives.
- **Health Care for Low-Income Families:** Low-income adults, seniors and children at selected HUD Neighborhood Networks centers nationwide will gain access to dental care, health screenings, and other preventive health care services and education. Uninsured children also can sign-up for health insurance. These services will be provided by health care professionals and trained volunteers.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

- **Open Markets in Europe:** On March 27-29, Secretary Slater will travel to Europe to promote the opening of global aviation markets. Secretary Slater will visit Brussels and Berlin to meet with his transportation counterparts and officials of the European Union. While in Brussels, he will also meet with the French Minister of Transport.
- **Millennium Trails:** On March 23, Secretary Slater presented a check for \$500,000 to representatives of the 16 National Millennium Trails in Annapolis, MD. The National Millennium Trails were designated in June 1999 and announced by the First Lady. This funding was in the form of a check from American Express and will help the designated trails fund their program activities.
- **Anacostia Waterfront Initiative:** On March 22, Secretary Slater, along with DC Mayor Williams, Delegate Holmes Norton and other federal and local officials, participated in the signing of an MOU committing federal and local public agencies to work together to develop and implement a plan for improvements along the Anacostia waterfront and its surrounding neighborhood. DOT recently provided \$75,000 to the DC government to hire a project manager for the Riverwalk, an initiative in conjunction with the Earth Conservation Corps.
- **Open Skies Agreement with Ghana:** On March 17, Secretary Slater announced that the U.S. and Ghana have agreed to an Open Skies aviation relationship. The agreement will eliminate over six years of restrictions on air services between the two countries. It is the first formal aviation relationship between the two countries and the fourth U.S. Open Skies agreement with an African country, following Tanzania, Namibia, and Burkina Faso.

- **United Transportation Union Withdraws from AFL-CIO:** On March 15, the UTU, North America's largest rail-transportation union, withdrew from the AFL-CIO. The UTU cited irreconcilable differences including the Federation's support for a "Shippers Bill", opposition to UTU-supported candidates for positions on the Surface Transportation Board and National Mediation Board, and monetary sanctions against UTU in a representation dispute with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

- **Fuel Cell System Dedication:** On March 30, Secretary Richardson will dedicate installation of an advanced fuel cell system at Brookhaven National Laboratory in Long Island, NY. The dedication will celebrate the public-private sector partnership between the Long Island Power Authority, New York State Energy Research Agency, Plug Power, and Brookhaven Lab that worked to install the fuel cells at the Laboratory for testing and evaluation.
- **Shipment of Russian MOX Fuel to Canada:** A U.S. District Court hearing has been scheduled for April 7 in MI. A group of citizens in MI, as well as several organizations from Canada, have amended a December 1999 complaint filed against DOE concerning the shipment of a small quantity of mixed oxide (MOX) fuel to Canada. The amended complaint seeks an injunction against the shipment of a similar small quantity of Russian MOX fuel to Canada.
- **Strength Through Science Exhibit:** DOE's Office of Science and Technology is sponsoring an exhibit of cutting edge technologies for the Nation's environmental cleanup. The exhibit will be held at the House of Representatives on April 10 and the Senate on April 11. The purpose of the exhibit is to demonstrate the value of technology investment to DOE site cleanup and individual state programs. The exhibit is tailored around problem areas of tanks, soil and groundwater contamination, and decontamination and decommissioning.
- **Gasoline Prices Mixed, Stocks Up:** Convinced that OPEC is likely to yield to international pressure and increase output following the March 27 ministerial meeting, traders allowed crude oil spot prices to plunge in the last week. In the Midwest, gasoline supplies eased with the successful restoration of movements on the Explorer Pipeline that transports Gulf Coast product to Chicago and the restart of a refinery in IL. Conventional gasoline in the New York Harbor ended down over 13 cents at 80.50 cents per gallon on March 20. (The spot price for West TX Intermediate crude oil at Cushing, OK went from \$32.11 per barrel to \$29.33 per barrel during the same time period.) Prices on the West Coast replicated trends in the East to some extent and were further impacted by the restart of units at two refineries. The steady uphill march in the average U.S. retail gasoline price since mid-January slowed to 0.2 cent this week and closed at 152.9 cents per gallon

on March 20, 51.2 cents higher than last year. Survey data for CA, which dates back to the end of 1994, indicate that another record high of 179.3 cents per gallon was established this week. In the week ended March 17, low gasoline stocks were supplemented by a slight build of 0.5 million barrels bringing the total to 199.3million barrels, 22.3 million barrels less than a year ago.

- **Diversity Stand-Down:** On April 5, DOE will undertake a nationwide diversity training program that includes all federal and contractor employees. The purpose of the training program is to raise the awareness of DOE's commitment to diversity by committing its resources to the education of a large number of employees, with the goal of moving DOE further toward a culture that values, supports, and develops all employees.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

- **School Construction Press Conference:** On March 22, Secretary Riley participated in a press conference on the Hill to announce a bipartisan agreement on a school construction bill. The new bill is the result of a compromise between Rep. Rangel and Rep. Nancy Johnson, who had sponsored a bill on school construction. Rep. Etheridge also attended the press conference. If combined, the number of supporters of the earlier bills would constitute a majority of the House. Rangel and Johnson have called on supporters of the earlier bills to support the new bill.
- **Student-Fee System:** On March 22, the Supreme Court voted unanimously to uphold the University of Wisconsin's student-fee system, which the justices said does not violate any student's free-speech rights. Had the justices ruled the other way, public colleges and universities would have had to stop giving money to controversial student groups or provide partial refunds to those students who wanted them.

DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

- **Winter Sports Clinic Opens:** On March 26, and the Disabled American Veterans will open the 14th National Disabled Veterans Winter Sports Clinic in Crested Butte, CO. Over 300 participants from 40 states are expected to attend. The Sports Clinic promotes rehabilitation to severely disabled veterans through recreational activities and sports such as adaptive Alpine and Nordic skiing. On March 31, Secretary West will present medals to skiers and provide closing remarks at the Awards Ceremony.
- **Presentation:** On March 20, VA made a ceremonial grant presentation for over \$1M to the Compass Center in Seattle, WA. With this grant, the Compass Center will renovate property in Seattle and create 38 new beds for transitional housing with supportive services for homeless veterans.

- **Calverton National Cemetery:** On March 20, Secretary West announced the transfer of 143 acres of land from the Department of the Navy to VA to expand the Calverton National Cemetery located on the eastern end of Long Island, NY. The property was part of the Naval Weapons Industrial Reserve Plant at Calverton, NY, which closed under the base realignment program. Calverton National Cemetery is the largest, most active national cemetery, averaging approximately 30 interments daily. The cemetery serves more than one million veterans and their families.
- **Patient Safety:** On March 6, American Medical News distributed a story that said VA's patient safety program has identified about 1,000 common medical problems and their solutions and made that information available to health-care workers across the country via the internet. VA began its Lessons Learned Project in 1996.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

- **Diesel Engine Pollution:** On March 22, EPA announced a new voluntary program called the Diesel Retrofit Initiative. This program is designed to reduce pollution from older heavy-duty diesel engines used in trucks, buses, and construction equipment. EPA is in the process of developing tough new emission standards for new diesel engines and diesel fuels and will release a proposal for public comment later this Spring. However, because of their durability, older, higher-polluting diesel engines make up a large portion of the heavy-duty fleet.

UNITED NATIONS

- **Iraq:** On March 24, the Security Council will discuss Iraq. The meeting was expected to include briefings on the Secretary-General's recent report and the humanitarian situation. USUN planned to introduce a resolution that would raise the ceiling for oil spare parts from \$300M to \$600M, as recommended by the Attorney General.
- **East Timor:** USUN is consulting with the UN Secretariat and the Security Council Presidency on the possibility of holding an informal consultation on the situation of refugees in West Timor during the week of March 27, to follow-up on the March 21 Open Briefing. The goal of a second session would be to agree on a statement that would call for renewed Indonesian attention to outstanding problems.
- **Scale of Assessments:** UNMR has been actively advocating the U.S. position concerning the UN's regular and peacekeeping budget scale of assessment this week in multi-lateral negotiations in the UN's Fifth Committee. U.S. arguments have focused on the need for a reduction in the ceiling, and for other adjustments to the scale of methodology that will stabilize the organization's financial base. There remains a great

deal of skepticism and resentment over the unilateral nature of our proposals, but there are also signs that the U.S. approach -- which is open-minded and flexible -- is winning some converts.

UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

- **Meeting with Egyptian Economy and Trade Minister:** On March 27, in advance of your meeting with President Mubarak, Ambassador Barshefsky will meet with Egypt's Minister of Economy and Trade, to discuss next steps at the WTO and a range of trade-related bilateral issues.
- **WTO Transparency:** On March 29, Deputy USTR for Geneva, Ambassador Rita Hayes, will represent the U.S. at a meeting of the WTO's General Council to discuss ideas for improving transparency and decision-making at the WTO.
- **Steel Antidumping Measure:** On March 20, a WTO Dispute Settlement Body established a panel, at the request of Japan, to examine the U.S. imposition of antidumping duties on hot-rolled steel products from Japan. The panel is expected to issue its report by the end of the year.
- **New Special Trade Negotiator:** On March 16, Ambassador Barshefsky announced that Greg Frazier, Chief of Staff for USDA, will join USTR as Special Trade Negotiator for Agriculture and Food Policy. Mr. Frazier will replace Ambassador Peter Scher.

OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY

- **Gary, IN and Chicago, IL:** On March 29, Director McCaffrey will travel to Gary, IN to deliver a joint address with IN Attorney General Karen Freeman Wilson to the Northwest IN Substance Abuse 2000 Summit. The goal of this conference is to help health care professionals, government officials, educators and community leaders plan a regional strategy to address drug prevention, drug abuse treatment and supply reduction issues in this area. The Director will then travel to Chicago to meet with the Lake County High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area Executive Committee and local law enforcement.
- **Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign:** The Media Campaign staff is making final preparations for the national magazine "roadblock" in late April and early May. This effort will feature ads in 61 popular national magazines, many of which will also include feature stories or "advertorials" to inform readers about the danger of substance abuse and the importance of prevention. On March 30, Director McCaffrey will take part in the "Take Action 2000" Awards ceremony, which is sponsored by REACT Magazine (a teen-oriented magazine published by PARADE Magazine). These awards recognize high school seniors who have been involved in programs that benefit their local communities.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

- **HUBZone Anniversary:** On March 22, the HUBZone Program celebrated its first anniversary. This week and through the month of April, SBA's District Offices and Women's Business Centers will hold 48 events, workshops and seminars to mark the anniversary.
- **Women's History Month:** On March 30, at the State Department, in honor of International and Women's History Month, SBA's Office of Women's Business Ownership and Office of Government Contracting will demonstrate the Online Women's Business Center and PRO-Net as part of your Interagency Council on Women's Information Fair. The Online Women's Business Center provides information and opportunities to help women start and grow businesses; PRO-Net offers a marketing link for businesses interested in selling to the federal government.
- **Public Service Announcements:** SBA's Office of Veterans Affairs is exploring the development of a Public Service Announcement for new procurement opportunities for small businesses owned by Service Disabled Veterans. The Public Service Announcements will be developed with the support of celebrity personalities to highlight SBA's outreach efforts.
- **Faith-Based Outreach:** On March 16, SBA and the Black Clergy of Philadelphia and Vicinity co-sponsored a training session on Faith-Based Credit Unions at SBA's Philadelphia District Office. The Black Clergy of Philadelphia and Vicinity joined the SBA with their area members in jointly sponsoring this event as part of a partnership agreement signed a year ago. This workshop is part of Region III's effort to recruit, educate and train faith-based credit unions to participate in SBA's capital access programs. Every major African American church in the organization attended the event.

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

- **Distribution Operations:** GSA has made a decision on the Federal Supply Service distribution system. In April 2001, the Palmetto, GA, and Fort Worth, TX, distribution centers will close. The four forward supply points located in Franconia, VA; Chicago; Denver; and Auburn, WA, will also close by April 2001. The distribution centers at Burlington, NJ, and Stockton, CA, will absorb and adjust work to accommodate these changes. GSA customers will be offered new and better products and services based on enhancements underway for GSA's award-winning e-commerce system, GSA Advantage!, and new commercial partnerships.

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

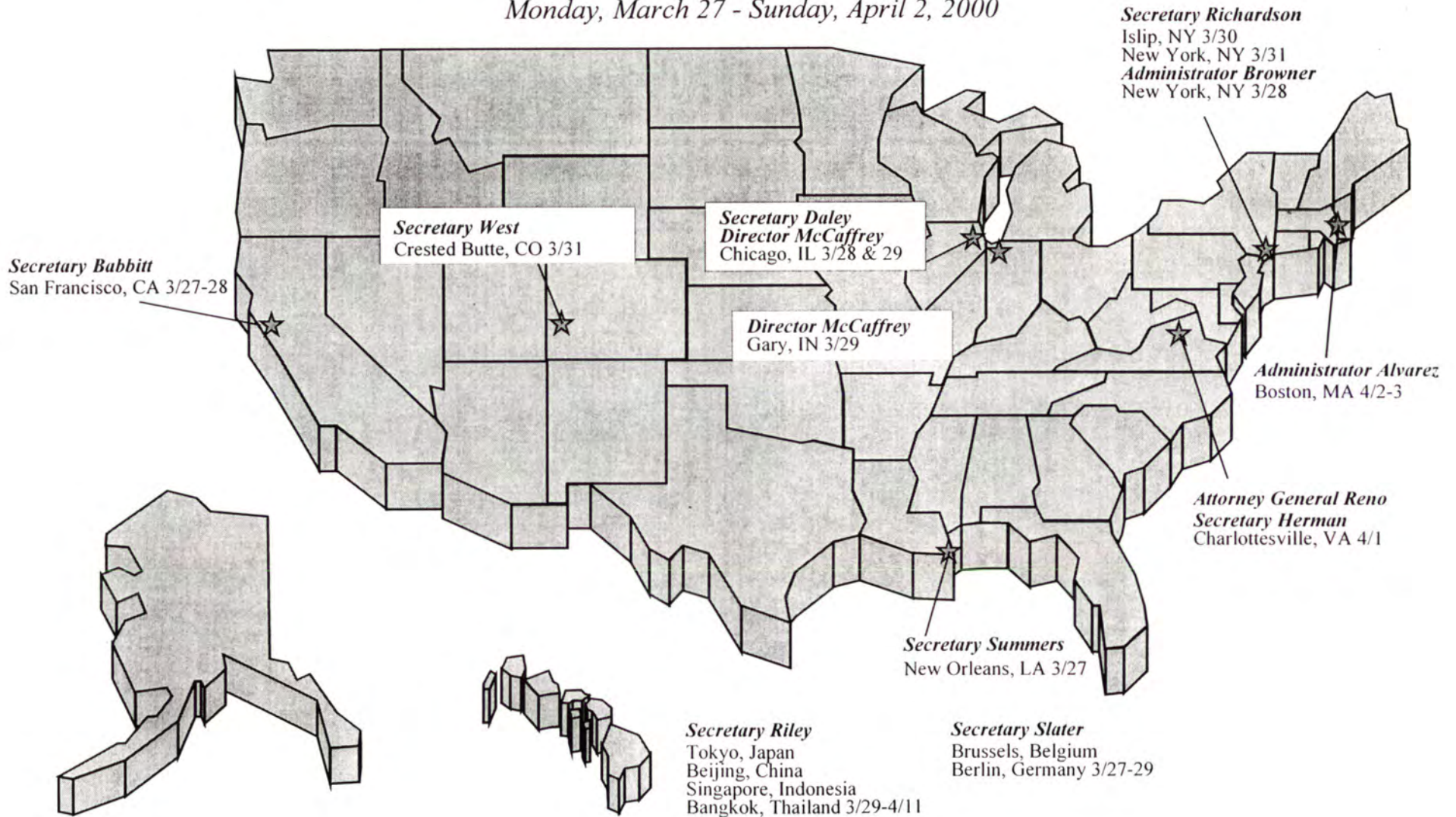
- **Women's Issues Conference:** On March 31, SSA will participate in a daylong conference focused on women's issues in the areas of education, economics and domestic violence. The conference, Celebration of Women: The Power to Move in New Directions, is presented by the Women's Council of Greater Baton Rouge in collaboration with the President's Interagency Council on Women and DOL's Women's Bureau. The conference is one of several regional events taking place across the nation in anticipation, preparation, and celebration of the fifth anniversary of the UN Fourth World Conference on Women and the Special Session of the UN General Assembly in June. State officials and congressional representatives will participate in the conference.

cc:

The Vice President
John Podesta
Martin Baily
Sandy Berger
Sidney Blumenthal
Chuck Brain
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
Gene Sperling
Lauren Supina
Loretta Ucelli
Melanne Verveer

Cabinet Travel

Monday, March 27 - Sunday, April 2, 2000



4/1/2000

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONcopied
Nash
cos

March 24, 2000



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bob J. Nash, Assistant to the President and Director of Presidential Personnel

RE: Office of Presidential Personnel Weekly Report for Week Ending March 24, 2000

NEW ISSUES

Baca Ranch

Bob Armstrong, former Assistant Secretary, Department of Interior, has expressed his interest in serving on the proposed Baca Ranch Board. The Federal government is still negotiating with the family that owns the Baca Ranch. Until this ranch is bought and the legislation that relates to the commission is voted on, no action can be taken on appointments. We will keep you updated.

Federal Election Panel

According to a newspaper article in the Washington Post on Thursday, March 23, Senator McCain has voiced his opposition to the confirmation of Bradley Smith (R) for the Federal Election Commission because of Smith's opposition to federal campaign fund-raising controls. Danny McDonald (D) is currently serving in a holdover capacity. He was nominated on February 9, 2000 for the six year term as Commissioner.

Former Governor Ned McWherter

Former Governor McWherter has expressed an interest in being appointed as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army in the state of Tennessee. This is a Secretarial appointment. Fred DuVal has been selected as his replacement on the U.S. Postal Board of Governors and we will nominate him as soon as Governor McWherter resigns from the board.

Jim Zogby, Arab American Outreach

I met with Mary Beth Cahill this Tuesday as a follow up to the Arab American meeting you had on February 18. As for statistics on previous Administrations, 10 Arab Americans served in the Reagan Administration and 5 Arab Americans served in the Bush Administration. We have decision memos for six Arab American candidates en route to you. Three more decision memos are being

being finalized. I will let you know when we surpass President Reagan's numbers for the number of Arab American appointees.

ONGOING ISSUES

Recess Appointments

The Senate is scheduled to recess again from April 14 to April 24. I will continue to discuss our strategy with Podesta, Chuck Brain, Mark Childress and Marty Paone, Secretary to Minority Leader Daschle. However, we may not be able to do recess appointments during this period because the recess must be at least ten (10) days before we can do so. I will confirm this as soon as possible. I don't think we will have an opportunity to do any appointments during the upcoming nine (9) day recess. If this situation changes, I will update you.

CC: John Podesta
Maria Echaveste
Beth Nolan
Sean Maloney

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

copied
Berger
Podesta

00 MAR 25 PM 4:01

March 25, 2000

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *SB*
SUBJECT: Addressing Health Concerns in Southern Africa

On a March 9 USA Today story regarding increased risk of disease due to flooding in southern Africa, you asked that we do all we can to control disease outbreaks.

We have allocated over \$50 million to address flood-related needs in southern Africa. While much of the assistance initially focused on search and rescue efforts, we have since turned our attention to the delivery of food and relief supplies and provision of health care, clean water, and sanitation facilities. Health is a particular concern in Mozambique, where endemic cholera is exacerbated by contaminated floodwaters, damaged sanitation facilities, and crowded conditions in displaced camps. For the moment, the health situation appears under control: the Ministry of Health reports 1,800 cases of cholera since January, which is normal for this time period. However, we have seen increases in diarrheal disease, and the possibility of further outbreaks of water-borne disease and increased incidence of malaria is high.

We are addressing health needs in several ways. USAID is funding emergency health projects, and UNICEF and several relief organizations are providing health care with our assistance. Our Center for Disease Control experts are in the region and, at their recommendation, USAID delivered three emergency health kits last week, which provide sufficient essential medicine for 30,000 people. Unfortunately, the Ministry of Health lacks the capacity to fully assess health needs and effectively coordinate health efforts. USAID has thus deployed two additional teams, comprised of health, water and sanitation experts, to supplement Mozambican efforts and determine further ways we can help. The teams will arrive in Mozambique this week.

Attachment

Tab A USA Today article, dated March 9

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

4/1/2000

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 1, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY 
JUSTIN COLEMAN

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

- (A) **Berger memo on Egyptian-Libyan Peace Initiative for Sudan** – In response to your question on a recent *Economist* article about Egypt's efforts to broker peace in Sudan, Sandy reports that while we continue to support the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development's (IGAD) regional peace process, Egypt, frustrated by IGAD's slow pace, launched its own peace initiative, which we believe threatens the cohesion of the opposition and potentially an ultimate settlement. Egypt is concerned that the IGAD process includes no Arab states and fears that an IGAD-brokered peace would lead to the independence of southern Sudan, reducing Egyptian influence over Nile waters. Within the IGAD process, the goal is to reach agreement within the context of a united Sudan, but the framework allows for a referendum if the parties can't reach agreement: we think this is the right approach.
- (B) **Berger memo re: health concerns in southern Africa** – In response to your request, noted on a *USA Today* story, that we do all we can to control disease outbreaks, Sandy reports that we have already allocated over \$50M to address flood-related needs in southern Africa, including search and rescue efforts, food and relief supplies, health care, clean water, and sanitation. Mozambique is at particular risk of cholera, although for now that appears under control; it has seen increases in diarrheal disease, however, and the risk of increases in water-borne diseases and malaria remains high. To address health needs, AID is funding emergency health projects, and, to supplement the local Health Ministry's efforts, has deployed two teams of experts; UNICEF is providing health care with our help; and CDC is in the region.
- (C) **Berger memo on "Brain Drain" from Africa** – In response to your inquiry about developing a UN program, like the Russia program, to encourage professionals to remain in Africa, Sandy describes the greater complexities of the African situation, including a larger, more diverse population and systemic poverty and insecurity that fuel Africa's brain drain. To reverse the trend requires addressing these fundamental issues -- a long-term proposition (e.g., Nigeria, where institutionalizing the democratic transition, which we're supporting, is the best way to reverse the trend); the shortage of appropriated funds

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 31, 2000

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INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER AND JACOB LEW

SUBJECT: Memorandum from SECDEF on Junior ROTC and DoD Schools

During the CINCs Conference you asked Bill Cohen and the CINCs to look into whether increased Junior ROTC (JROTC), which many local and state officials desire, could also help solve the recruiting challenge today. You also noted the DoD school system successes and that they may hold some important lessons for our national effort. Bill has provided two information papers that contain amplifying information on both issues raised in the conference.

Key points in the JROTC information paper include:

- The proportion of JROTC graduates who enter the military following completion of high school is roughly five times greater than the proportion of non-JROTC students.
- For FY96-98, JROTC participation has led to approximately 8,000 new recruits per year.
- DoD surveys indicate that 35 percent of high school graduates with more than 2 years in JROTC end up with active, reserve, or guard affiliation within both officer and enlisted ranks.
- DOD is in the process of expanding the JROTC program from its current 2,591 units to the authorized maximum of 3,500 by FY05.

Additional information regarding JROTC not in the Cohen memo:

- Begun in 1954, JROTC is popular throughout the nation with a long waiting list of schools and instructors wishing to join the program.
- After the Los Angeles Riots, General Colin Powell proposed a significant expansion of the program, particularly in inner-cities, to provide alternatives to drug use and gang membership.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

- Services normally pay about 65 percent of the cost to establish and run a unit but the services pay all costs for disadvantaged schools for the first three years.
- In FY99 the 2,591 units cost \$177 million and in FY01 program cost will be \$209 million.

Highlights from the DoD education information paper:

- DOD school students are consistently among those receiving the highest rankings on national level academic achievement tests. Achievement of minority students is particularly noteworthy.
- Contributing factors may include: better education level among teachers; rigorous curriculum standards with teacher development programs linked to the curriculum; accountability measures; and an unparalleled level of community and parental support.

We will look into scheduling a visit to a DOD school as you mentioned in the conference.

Attachment

Tab A Incoming Correspondence



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

1127
PLEASE STAFF

FEB 17 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps and Department of Defense Education Activity Schools

During our session with the CINCs, we covered a number of important topics. You asked for additional information on two of those topics, the Junior ROTC program and the Department of Defense Education Activity (DoDEA) schools. Attached are information papers that provide background on each of these topics.

We are expanding our Junior ROTC program to fund the 3,500 units Congress has authorized. The program has been an enormous success because it instills citizenship values, encourages service to country and gives students a sense of accomplishment and personal responsibility. Moreover, Junior ROTC has made a strong positive impression on teachers, school administrators and parents.

The DoDEA schools are another great success story. Our students are consistently among those receiving the highest rankings on national tests of academic performance. In addition, DoDEA teachers are better educated than their peers nationwide, with approximately 63% in our domestic schools and 68% in our overseas schools holding advanced degrees. We believe that a focus on excellence in teaching and learning coupled with parental and community involvement have led to the DoDEA schools' success.

The Department is proud of both of these programs. We stand ready to assist you should you need more information or desire to visit any of our JROTC units or DoDEA schools.

2 Attachments
As stated



INFORMATION PAPER

JUNIOR RESERVE OFFICERS TRAINING CORPS (ROTC) PROGRAM

JUNIOR ROTC'S MISSION IS TO INSTILL CITIZENSHIP VALUES: Junior ROTC is DoD's largest youth program with over 400,000 students enrolled in 2,588 secondary schools (2,526 in United States, 62 overseas). The statutory mission statement for Junior ROTC, codified in 1993, is to instill in students the value of citizenship, service to the United States, personal responsibility, and a sense of accomplishment.

JUNIOR ROTC INCREASES VISIBILITY IN SCHOOLS AND IN THE COMMUNITY: Military recruiting faces the challenge that a smaller military results in fewer veterans being visible in communities and schools around the nation. Recent surveys reveal that youth who had been exposed to people with military experience enjoyed a far greater understanding of the nature of military life than those who had no such exposure. Misconceptions about daily life in the military can operate against recruiting. The Junior ROTC program represents an excellent means to address that problem. Moreover, the program builds better citizens which, in turn, strengthens the nation. Further expansion of the program will increase military awareness among youth and those who influence their career decisions.

PARTICIPATION IN JUNIOR ROTC INCREASES INTEREST IN MILITARY SERVICE: Surveys of Junior ROTC cadets indicate that about 35 percent of the graduating high school seniors in School Year 1997-98 with more than two years participation in the Junior ROTC program are interested in some type of military affiliation (active duty enlistment, officer program participation, or service in the Reserve or Guard). Translating this into hard recruiting numbers, in FYs 1996-1999, about 8,000 new recruits per year entered active duty after completing two years of Junior ROTC. The proportion of JROTC graduates who enter the military following completion of high school is roughly five times greater than the proportion of non-JROTC students.

DoD IS EXPANDING THE JUNIOR ROTC PROGRAM: In 1992, 1,481 schools had Junior ROTC units (1,452 in the United States and 29 overseas). The Fiscal Year 1993 Defense Authorization Act expanded the program by increasing the number of units authorized from 1,600 to 3,500 units. Currently, the number of Junior ROTC units totals 2,584.

The number of schools seeking a Junior ROTC unit has continued to grow. Currently, there are 616 schools on Service waiting lists (Army – 232, Navy – 151, Marine Corps – 75, Air Force – 158). The volume of inquiries and letters from Congress and from educators nationwide, who seek further program growth, also is increasing. As part of their POM submissions, the Services programmed additional Junior ROTC units, beginning in FY 2000. The Army included funding for 275 additional Junior ROTC units (its statutory limit) in its most recent POM submission. The Marine Corps planned to add 32 units to reach its limit of 210. The Navy would add 75 units over the FYDP with 50 more units in FY 2000 and 5 additional per year until FY 2005.

The Air Force would clear its existing unit waiting list with funding for an additional 160 units.

Even with these additional units, the services would not reach the maximum 3,500 units authorized. DoD leadership reviewed the matter as part of its Summer 1999 Program Review. The decision was favorable and, in August 1999, the following additional resources (Alternative 2 below) were provided to JROTC.

<i>(\$M)</i>	<u>FY99</u>	<u>FY00</u>	<u>FY01</u>	<u>FY02</u>	<u>FY03</u>	<u>FY04</u>	<u>FY05</u>
Alternative 1 (POM)	169.6	181.2	186.5	192.2	193.0	204.5	206.4
Alternative 2 (Expand to Statutory Limit)	-	-	+11.1	+16.7	+22.2	+27.6	+22.2

Secretary's Direction, August 1999 Program Decision Memorandum

INFORMATION PAPER

DoD EDUCATION ACTIVITY SCHOOLS

DoD STUDENTS EXCEL ACADEMICALLY: Students in the Department of Defense Education Activity (DoDEA) schools consistently rank at the top of the scale on national tests of academic performance. This year, when the results of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) test were released, the country took notice of this exceptional performance. National publications such as the Wall Street Journal, the Boston Globe, the New York Times, and the Sacramento Bee featured or editorialized about the remarkable performance of students in DoD schools, seeking keys to improving student performance in other school systems. National columnists have asked the question, "What makes DoD students so successful?"

In his December 28, 1999, Boston Globe column, "There Are Things We Can Learn From the Schools On Military Bases," writer William Raspberry discusses his thoughts about the success of military schools. He ends by saying, *"There are other possible explanations for the disproportionate achievement of military schools, and some of them – the presence of fathers who are both self-disciplined and accepting of military discipline, for instance – are quite attractive. Which are the correct explanations? I don't know, but I can tell you this: If I were running a failing school system, I'd surely try to find out."*

COMPETENCE, ACCOUNTABILITY, AND COMMUNITY ARE THE KEYS TO SUCCESS: The groundwork for improvements in DoDEA was laid with a multiyear, data driven Community Strategic Plan (CSP) that identified a common vision and strategic direction, goals and benchmarks. DoDEA took its direction from the President's education initiatives and the eight National Education Goals – plus two additional organizational goals – in adopting a corporate approach to educational programming. We do not presume to have all the right answers! However, we believe we have identified key ingredients that have helped DoDEA focus on student achievement. These are: (1) a sustained and rigorous focus on excellence in teaching and learning, (2) a data-driven accountability system to identify student learning gaps and measure and report student progress, and (3) strong community and parental involvement.

Educators, parents, and military leaders reached a consensus on academic goals, a joint venture that produced the first DoDEA CSP in 1995. The shared vision and quantifiable benchmarks outlined in that document guided the activities of the schools and their communities for the past 5 years. The CSP serves as an ambitious agenda helping all DoDEA schools and communities to achieve success for all students. The major features of the three key ingredients of DoDEA's success are discussed below.

DoDEA SCHOOLS FOCUS ON EXCELLENCE IN TEACHING AND LEARNING: DoDEA's teachers are better educated than their peers nationwide. In our domestic schools 63 percent of our teachers hold advanced degrees, i.e. masters, specialist or doctorate degrees. In our overseas

schools, 68 percent of our teachers hold advanced degrees. According to Department of Education data, only 47 percent of teachers nationwide hold advanced degrees.

The performance of DoDEA's minority students is particularly noteworthy. Throughout the country, African American and Hispanic students were scoring below the expected levels while in DoDEA's domestic and overseas schools, those same student groups ranked number one and two when compared to their peers nationally. In the December 22, 1999, Wall Street Journal article "Making the Grade, Pentagon-Run Schools Excel in Academics, Defying Demographics," writer Daniel Golden says "...*Their students are poorer and more racially diverse than the national average, and only 60 % finish the school year where they started it. Instead of struggling, however, the schools the Pentagon runs at Fort Knox and other U.S. military bases are defying demographics by acing the National Assessment of Educational Progress, a federal exam regarded as the best gauge of pre-college academic performance.*"

EVERY STUDENT CAN LEARN AND BE SUCCESSFUL: One of the basic premises of the 224 DoD schools is that EACH of the 112,000 students in our schools in 13 countries, 7 states, Guam and Puerto Rico, can learn and be successful. DoDEA's students are the most diverse ethnically, racially, and geographically of those in any U.S. school system. They are not, however, diverse in the expectations for all students. To achieve and sustain high levels of student achievement, DoDEA adopted rigorous curriculum standards, including the national standards in such areas as Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, Language Arts, Foreign Languages, Health and Physical Education, and Technology. They adopted new curriculum materials to reflect the new standards as well as adopted new performance assessments to measure student achievement, including the Terra Nova and Work Sampling. To complement these efforts, DoDEA linked professional development opportunities for teachers to the reform efforts and provided high quality, research-based training in the new curricular approaches, improved teaching strategies, and use of technology in the instructional process.

ACCOUNTABILITY MEASURES ARE IMPORTANT AND IN PLACE: Data drives all decisions regarding curriculum, training, staffing, and funding. A School Improvement Process that includes teachers, parents, and community leaders, has been implemented in every school to analyze their schools' achievements and implement strategies for improvements that are linked to the CSP. DoDEA provides an annual ***Accountability Report*** to stakeholders reporting progress against the goals and benchmarks. Individual ***School Profiles*** were developed as companion documents to the ***Accountability Report*** to provide leaders and parents with an in-depth look at the schools, student achievement, and progress made over the past year.

Creation of a system to provide targeted support and resources for low-performing schools was an outcome of a data-driven process. Sixteen schools that were farthest from meeting the achievement benchmarks were selected for special emphasis based on performance on standardized tests in reading, language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. Both overseas and domestic targeted schools have made significant progress.

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT PLAYS A CENTRAL ROLE IN THE SUCCESS OF DoDEA SCHOOLS: In his December 28, 1999, New York Times column, "Military Bases Succeed with Schools," writer Anthony Lewis says, "*Finally, I think there is a deeper sense of community among*

military families...we have to recognize that the military is one of our most successful institutions: profoundly effective in achieving racial integration in the services and now, we find, in educating its children. We should be able to learn from its successes."

DoDEA enjoys an unparalleled level of community and parental support. The military community values and supports education as a critical element of its quality of life and military readiness. Surveys demonstrate both high levels of parental involvement in our schools and high expectations of parents of both the students and the schools. Systemic changes were made to create avenues for the greater involvement of administrators, teachers, parents, and the military commands. William Raspberry wrote, "*My guess—and that's all it is—is that people who believe they can achieve based on their own efforts tend to raise children who share that belief. Military children, I am suggesting, may have an unusual degree of academic success because they hold to an unusual degree the empowering belief that they are in control of their destinies.*"

ADDITIONAL INITIATIVES ARE UNDERWAY: America's military forces are willing to risk their lives for their country, but they are not willing to sacrifice their children's future in the process. Therefore, quality education has been a central quality of life issue for the military. DoD has recognized that quality costs. Most recently, the Department has funded a 5-year program to implement the President's educational initiatives to expand full-day kindergarten to all schools and reduce the pupil/teacher ratio in grades 1-3. DoD has also included the funding for the modernization of all schools to support these initiatives, and to incorporate and accelerate technology into the classroom. Recognizing the unique factors of military life, DoD has also funded an increase the numbers of school counselors, psychologists, and nurses. Each community has unique needs that must be met and resources to implement community-wide initiatives.

RECOMMENDED DoDEA SCHOOLS TO VISIT: DoDEA's success in action can be seen at any of our 224 schools. Specific recommendations for visits include: **in Germany** -- the Heidelberg School Complex, Heidelberg (2 elementary schools, 1 middle school, and 1 high school); Hanau Middle and High Schools, Hanau; Hainerberg Elementary School, Weisbaden; Darmstadt Elementary School, Darmstadt; **in Italy** – the Aviano Elementary and High Schools, Aviano; **in Okinawa** – Lester Middle School.

A separate list of ten of our top domestic schools is attached.

Attachment

Top* DDESS Schools and Descriptions

School	Description
West Point MS West Point	West Point Middle School is located on the base at West Point in New York. There are about 240 students in grades five through eight. The community is made up of 95% Army personnel. Average student performance on standardized achievement tests at the school in 1999 ranged from a low of the 77 th percentile to a high of the 90 th percentile. West Point MS received special recognition at the national, state, and county level as scholars, musicians, and athletes.
Dexter ES Ft. Benning	Herbert J. Dexter elementary school is located at Ft. Benning, Georgia. There are about 300 students in grades pre-kindergarten through fifth grade. The community is made up of 99% Army personnel. Average student performance on standardized achievement tests at the school in 1999 ranged from a low of the 61 st percentile to a high of the 88 th percentile. The Dexter school is focusing on programs to increase parental involvement and become partners in their child's literacy development.
West Point ES West Point	West Point Schools are located on the base at West Point in New York. There are about 500 students in grades pre-kindergarten through fourth grade. The community is made up of 95% Army personnel. Average student performance on standardized achievement tests at the school in 1999 ranged from a low of the 73 rd percentile to a high of the 88 th percentile. West Point ES upgraded the computer lab and currently is piloting the Jason Project in grades 2-4.
Stone Street Camp Lejeune	Stone Street Elementary is one of six elementary schools on Camp Lejeune. The school serves approximately 430 students in preschool through fifth grade. The community is made up of 88% Marines and 12% Navy. Average student performance on standardized achievement tests at the school in 1999 ranged from a low of the 57 th percentile to a high of the 86 th percentile. Stone Street teachers and parents are working together to improve learning for all Stone Street Elementary students.
Dahlgren ES	Dahlgren Elementary is located in Dahlgren, Virginia. The school serves approximately 200 students in preschool through eighth grade. The community is made up of 99% Navy. Average student performance on standardized achievement tests at the school in 1999 ranged from a low of the 57 th percentile to a high of the 85 th percentile. Students, teachers, and parents are working together to improve student's technology skills.

DeLalio ES Camp Lejeune	DeLalio Elementary School sits amidst one of the most supportive communities in DDESS, MCAS New River at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. The school serves about 300 students in grades pre-kindergarten through fifth grade. Marines are 91% of the students' sponsors. Average student performance on standardized achievement tests at the school in 1999 ranged from a low of the 61 st percentile to a high of the 78 th percentile. Parent contributed 3,000 classroom volunteer hours in 1998-99.
Kingsolver ES Ft. Knox	Kingsolver Primary School is located at Ft. Knox, Kentucky. The school serves about 250 students in grades pre-kindergarten through third grade. The school serves a community which is about 95% Army. Average student performance on standardized achievement tests at the school in 1999 ranged from a low of the 51 st percentile to a high of the 72 nd percentile. Students at Kingsolver ES made significant gains on achievement tests in 1999.
Bowley ES Ft. Bragg	Bowley Elementary School is located at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina. The school serves about 500 students in grades pre-kindergarten through fourth grade. The school serves a community which is about 99% Army. Average student performance on standardized achievement tests at the school in 1999 ranged from a low of the 59 th percentile to a high of the 82 nd percentile. Bowley Elementary School students made great strides in school-home partnerships, technology, science, and mathematics in 1998-99.
Maxwell ES Maxwell AFB	Maxwell Elementary School is located at Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery, Alabama. The school serves about 500 students in grades pre-kindergarten through sixth grade. The school serves a community which is about 94% Air Force. Average student performance on standardized achievement tests at the school in 1999 ranged from a low of the 58 th percentile to a high of the 79 th percentile. Two full-scale technology labs and multiple computers in each classroom provide ready access to technology for all students.
Quantico MS Quantico	Quantico Middle/High School is located at Quantico, Virginia. The school serves about 400 students in grades six through twelfth grade. The school serves a community which is about 94% Marines. Average student performance on standardized achievement tests at the school in 1999 ranged from a low of the 61 st percentile to a high of the 79 th percentile. Quantico is poised to complete the DoDEA Technology Standards for grades 8 and 11 as a result of a very successful pilot program using electronic portfolios.

*Based on 1999 Standardized Reading and Mathematics Scores

4/1/2000

for African development limits our ability to effect change. Sandy reports a positive trend, however, among successful Africans in the U.S. now investing in Africa; also, the UN Development Program (UNDP) is expanding its programs that address this issue into Africa; providing financial and technical support to African companies to create incentives for Africans to return home; and focusing on strengthening governance. Economic opportunity and political stability remain the most effective ways to stop the drain.

(D) **DoD Annual Report** (via Berger) – Sandy forwards DoD's annual report, similar to last year's, which emphasizes three priorities: taking care of people; protecting readiness today; and modernization to protect readiness tomorrow. The report highlights additional pay raises in our recent budget (0.5% above inflation); improvements in housing benefits; full funding for O&M budgets; and full funding for '01 expected contingency costs for Bosnia and Kosovo. Sandy agrees with Secretary Cohen's conclusions that stopping the annual migration of procurement funding, which has slowed modernization, will leave the military far better able to meet challenges in the future; NSC and DoD will remain vigilant on personnel issues.

(E) **Sec'y Cohen memo re: Junior ROTC (JROTC)/DoD schools (via Berger/Lew)** – Sandy and Jack summarize Secretary Cohen's memo to you, responding to your questions at the CINCs Conference regarding potential lessons from JROTC and DoD school system successes. Highlights from Secretary Cohen's reports include: the proportion of JROTC graduates who enter the military after high school is about 5 times greater than non-JROTC students; for FY96-98, JROTC participation has led to roughly 8,000 new recruits annually; DoD is in the process of expanding the JROTC program from 2,591 (\$177M) to the authorized maximum of 3,500 by FY05; on the DoD schools issue, DoD school students are consistently among the highest ranking students on national tests; achievement among minority students is noteworthy. Jack and Sandy will explore the possibility of your visiting a DoD school. cc Brend

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(F) **Berger memo on Bosnian students from Sarajevo** – Sandy reports on the two Bosnian high school students whom you met in Sarajevo during the Stability Pact Summit and who expressed interest in studying in America. Adnan and Nermina Memić have been accepted at St. Mary's College in Michigan; the school has offered them four-year scholarships and an opportunity to work on campus. The Jewish Community Council and a local Muslim group are cosponsoring housing; transportation has also been arranged.

Good
I should
write them
congratulatory
note

(G) **Sec'y Slater letter re: FAA Reauthorization Bill** – Prior to your India trip, Rodney sent a letter regarding the FAA bill to Betty. We have now received the bill (last day for action is April 8th). Like Rodney, your White House advisers will recommend that you sign the bill. *The letter is attached.*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
March 31, 2000

*Copied
Berger
Podesta
NSCWWDesk*

2207

INFORMATION

0 MAR 31 PM 12:10

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *JS*
SUBJECT: Bosnian Students You Met in Sarajevo
Accepted at U.S. University

I would like to update you on the fate of two Bosnian high school students, Adnan and Nermina Memić, whom you met in Sarajevo last year during the Stability Pact Summit. Adnan and Nermina expressed to you their interest to come to the United States to attend a university.

Our Embassy in Sarajevo has worked closely with the Memić family to make their wish come true, and we have good news to report. St. Mary's College, near Detroit (a school with a tradition of accepting students with links to Eastern and Central Europe), offered the Memićs a four-year scholarship and an opportunity to work on campus to help with incidental expenses. The Memićs have accepted St. Mary's offer of admission.

The Jewish Community Council of Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, is cooperating with a local Moslem group to "cosponsor" housing for the two students. If, for some reason, the housing arrangement does not work out, the President of St. Mary's promises the college will find suitable accommodations. Finally, an American attorney in Michigan who works on a pro bono basis with Jewish and Moslem organizations is organizing funds to pay for the Memićs' transportation to the U.S. The Embassy believes that Adnan and Nermina are extremely impressive students and that they will do well in the United States.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

4/11/2000

for African development limits our ability to effect change. Sandy reports a positive trend, however, among successful Africans in the U.S. now investing in Africa; also, the UN Development Program (UNDP) is expanding its programs that address this issue into Africa; providing financial and technical support to African companies to create incentives for Africans to return home; and focusing on strengthening governance. Economic opportunity and political stability remain the most effective ways to stop the drain.

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(G)

Sec'y Slater letter re: FAA Reauthorization Bill – Prior to your India trip, Rodney sent a letter regarding the FAA bill to Betty. We have now received the bill (last day for action is April 8th). Like Rodney, your White House advisers will recommend that you sign the bill. *The letter is attached.*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 4.1.00

To: PODESTA, MICCHETTI, L. MARCUS

From: The Staff Secretary

ANY COMMENT?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

00 MAR 31 PM 5:54

March 31, 2000

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE EXECUTIVE CLERK

FROM: SAMUEL R. BERGER 

SUBJECT: Transfer of Leadership of the Domestic Preparedness Program (DPP) from Defense to Justice

Purpose

Receive your designation of the Department of Justice as the lead federal agency for the DPP.

Background

Under §§ 1412(a) and 1415(a) of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997 ("Act"), the Secretary of Defense is responsible for implementing the Emergency Response Assistance Program, commonly known as the Domestic Preparedness Program (DPP). The DPP provides civilian personnel from federal, state, and local agencies with training and expert advice regarding emergency responses to a use or threatened use of a Weapon of Mass Destruction or related materials. The Secretary of Defense is also responsible under the Act for developing and implementing a program for testing and improving the responses of agencies to emergencies involving chemical or biological weapons and related materials. The Act authorizes you to transfer leadership of these programs to the head of an agency outside of Defense after October 1, 1999.

Bill Cohen has institutionalized the training program at the federal, state and local levels and now recommends that you turn DPP leadership over to the Attorney General. In addition to being the lead federal agency for crisis management of a terrorist incident, Justice also would be in charge of a

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

parallel effort to equip the first responders who are being trained under the DPP. NSC, Justice, and FEMA concur with this proposal.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the designation of the Attorney General as the lead federal official with responsibility for carrying out the DPP effective October 1, 2000.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab A Designation Memorandum for the Attorney General

Tab B Incoming Correspondence from Secretary Cohen

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE
THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY
THE SECRETARY OF VETERAN AFFAIRS
ADMINISTRATOR, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
DIRECTOR, FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE

SUBJECT: Designation of Lead Official for the Emergency
Response Assistance Program

Reference: Sections 1412 and 1415, National Defense
Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997
(Public Law 104-201) ("Act")

Under §§ 1412(a) and 1415(a) of the Act, the Secretary of Defense is responsible for implementing the Emergency Response Assistance Program, commonly known as the "Domestic Preparedness Program," to provide civilian personnel of federal, State, and local agencies with training and expert advice regarding emergency responses to a use or threatened use of a weapon of mass destruction or related materials, and for testing and improving the responses of such agencies to emergencies involving chemical or biological weapons and related materials.

Under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, including §§ 1412(a)(2) and 1415(d)(1) of the reference, I designate the Attorney General to replace the Secretary of Defense as the lead federal official with responsibility for carrying out these programs.

These designations are effective October 1, 2000, and constitute designations pursuant to §§ 1412(a)(2) and 1415 (d)(1) of the Act. The Attorney General is authorized and directed to publish this memorandum in the Federal Register.



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

1148

FEB 18 2000

The President
The White House
Washington DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

In September 1998, senior representatives from the Department of Justice (DoJ) (including the Federal Bureau of Investigation), the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the National Security Council, and the Department of Defense (DoD) met, pursuant to Presidential Decision Directive 62, to discuss how best to coordinate joint efforts to combat domestic terrorism. We agreed in principle that the DoJ should assume leadership, as lead federal official, for implementing the nation's Emergency Response Assistance Program, commonly known as the Domestic Preparedness Program (DPP) for training state and local first responders. The Attorney General agrees with this designation.

The National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997 authorized you to designate the head of an agency other than DoD to assume responsibility for the program on or after October 1, 1999. I am asking, therefore, that you designate the Attorney General as the lead federal official for the DPP effective October 1, 2000. In that role, the Attorney General, assisted by federal agencies outside of the DoJ, will provide training and expert advice to civilian personnel of federal, state, and local government agencies, who have emergency preparedness responsibilities and will conduct a program for testing and improving the emergency responses of such agencies.

DoD has worked in concert with DoJ to develop a formal memorandum of understanding that will transfer most facets of the DPP to DoJ. The year-long effort to develop the joint transition plan has gone extremely well. DoD will retain only those portions of the program that have direct impact on the military's war-fighting capabilities. DoD will maintain responsibility for the city training and equipping program until the end of fiscal year 2000, at which time DoJ will honor the commitment to train the remainder of the originally designated 120 cities. The transition will occur in stages to accommodate existing budgets and program plans. The redesignation of the lead official must take place in order for the appropriate budgetary activities to proceed.

FEB 18 12:22



I firmly believe designating the Attorney General as the lead official will further your commitment to provide state and local first responders with an integrated program to increase their effectiveness in countering the threats posed by weapons of mass destruction. This redesignation will have the added benefit of placing responsibility for federally supported weapons of mass destruction training and equipping for the first responder community in one location, as part of the "one-stop shop" that the members of this community have consistently requested. Your signature on the enclosed memorandum will designate the Attorney General as the lead federal official for the DPP with an effective date of October 1, 2000.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a stylized flourish at the end.

cc: Attorney General
Enclosure:
As stated

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY
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DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE

SUBJECT: Designation of Lead Official for Emergency Response Assistance Program

Reference: Sections 1412 and 1415, National Defense Authorization Act For Fiscal Year 1997 (Pub. L. No. 104-201, September 23, 1996, 110 STAT. 2718)

Under §§ 1412(a) and 1415(a) of the reference, the Secretary of Defense implements the Emergency Response Assistance Program, commonly known as the Domestic Preparedness Program, to provide civilian personnel of Federal, State, and local agencies with training and expert advice regarding emergency responses to a use or threatened use of a weapon of mass destruction or related materials, and for testing and improving the responses of such agencies to emergencies involving chemical or biological weapons. Under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, to include §§ 1412(a)(2) and 1415(d)(1) of the

reference, I designate the Attorney General to replace the Secretary of Defense as the lead Federal official with responsibility for carrying out these programs.

These designations are effective October 1, 2000, and constitute designations pursuant to §§ 1412(a)(2) and 1415(d)(1) of the reference. The Attorney General is authorized and directed to publish this memorandum in the *Federal Register*.