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Friday, July 2, 1999

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Hays T. Sullivan

P. O. Box 206

• Burdette, AR 72321 •

(870) 763-4780

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June 24, 1999

President Bill Clinton
Attn: Nancy Hernreich
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear President Bill:

In 1982 we were there for you when you needed the farmers in NE Arkansas in your bid for reelection as governor after your unexpected defeat by Frank White. Had it not been for the complete support of the farmers in that election, you would not be President today.

Several of us accompanied you to Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, and Kentucky as Arkansas travelers. You will recall seeing me in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in August of 1992, and asking what I was doing up there. All I said was that I was helping a good friend of the farmers to be elected President.

The Farmers all across America are in the worst financial crisis today than at any time since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Soybean prices are at a 27 year low. Wheat prices are at a 25 year low, and rice, corn, hogs, milk, are all below the cost of production. Something has to be done!

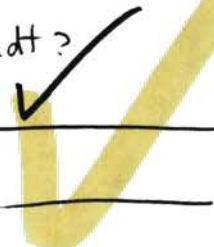
We need you today as much as the farmers needed FDR in the '30s. Big business is choking the farmer to death. The Plant Protection Act you signed into law in 1996 gives Monsanto, Pioneer, ADM, and others the right to keep us from saving planting seed grown on our own farm to plant back next year. This law has put most small seed cleaning operations out of business. I could be fined \$10,000 for saving one bushel of protected Roundup ready seed for next years planting. My grandfather started this seed business in 1932, cleaning soybeans and cotton seeds for neighbor farmers. My father, my brothers, and I ran the business until 1996. Thanks to this Plant Protection Act of 1966, I can no longer clean seeds for my neighbors because I could be fined if I cleaned a protected variety of seed if the owner told me a lie about the variety of the seed I was cleaning.

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Send to Burkhardt?

Yes

No



President Bill Clinton

Page 2

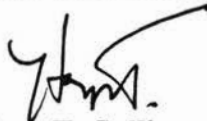
June 24, 1999

You have enough power to change this law so that a farmer can save enough seed after paying \$30 per bushel for planting seed to plant only his acreage back next year. South America and Mexico do this every year. It only makes good sense to save beans that I would sell for \$4.65 thereby saving me \$25 per acre during my spring planting 2000. Bill, farmers have saved seed for generations, from the time that our founding fathers first gave corn (Maze) to the Indians to plant in the spring.

We need you now! Wall Street had Santa Claus (you, the President) come in 1993 and from the looks of the stock market, your Presidency and policy is still present. We didn't elect Bob Rubin to jerk your chain; we elected you to do the jerking.

Bill don't take this personal, I have been with you from the start and personally have taken a lot of flack during the last 18 months. I, like you, have broad shoulders and I will be with you to the end. I am committed to visit with farmers in up state New York on Hillary's behalf.

Your friend always,



Hays T. Sullivan

PS: Mother is 88 and doing well; still driving and helping others. She says if and when I come to Washington, she will send you another one of the pecan pound cakes. She reminded me that she has not received the Presidential Cuff Links and lapel pin that you and she talked about in Cape Girardeau, Missouri in August of 1996.

**cc: Senator Blanche Lincoln
Representative Marion Berry
Senator David Prior
Mr. Carl Whillock**

bn

Written By
Shannon Cullum
1990

Farmer's Prayer*

As Farmers and Ranchers, Dear God, please give us wisdom and patience to understand why a pound of T-Bone steak at \$2.50 is high, but a three ounce cocktail at \$1.75 is not. And, a fifty cent cup of soft drink at the ball game is cheap but a fifteen cent glass of milk for breakfast is inflationary. And, Lord, help me to understand why five dollars for a ticket to the local movie is a bargain, but \$3.35 for a sixty pound bushel of wheat is unthinkable. Cotton is too high at sixty cents a pound, but a twenty dollar cotton shirt is on sale for \$18.50. And corn is too steep at two cents worth in a box of flakes, but the flakes are just right at fifty cents a serving. And also, Lord, help me to understand why I have to give an easement to the gas company, so they can cross my property with their gas lines, and then double my price for their gas. And also, Dear God, help me to understand the consumer, who drives by my field and scoffs at me for driving a seventy thousand dollar piece of equipment, that he built, so he could make money and drive down that right-of-way that they took from me to build a road, so that he could go hunting and skiing. Thank you God, for your past guidance and help, and please help me to make sense of it all.

*Reprinted from Arkansas State Plant Board News

Freedom To Plant Means Freedom To Go Broke

DELTA FARM PRESS
Clarksdale, Miss.

Gentlemen:

This letter is about provisions of a new farm law. As background for my suggestions, may I present the following information:

I grew up on a southwest Arkansas farm, am a graduate of the College of Agriculture of Iowa State University, and hold a master's degree from the University of Missouri. I am a member of the American Society of Agronomy, American Soybean Association, American Farm Bureau, and the Arkansas Seed Growers Association.

My professional experience includes 9 years as assistant agronomist at the Georgia Experiment Station, 6 years as associate agronomist with the USDA Soil Conservation Service in Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas and Oklahoma; president of the 3000-acre Burdette Plantation, Inc.; registered plant breeder by the Arkansas State Plant Board; and part owner and operator of the family's Hale Seed Farms from 1946 to 1976.

I have visited many of the Latin American, Southern European and African countries and made a study, in cooperation with the Foreign Agricultural Service of the USDA, of farming and experiment station projects in those countries. Seed from Hale Seed Farm soybean and cotton varieties are being tested and grown in many of those countries.

The following suggestions on new farm legislation spring from my more than half a century of experiences with government agencies, actual farming experience, and observations of farming in the U. S. and around the world.

Freedom To Plant: The present policy of so-called freedom to plant, without regard to supply or demand of crops, is also freedom to go broke as a result of burdensome surpluses and below-cost-of-production prices--as now seen for wheat.

Those of us who were farming during the 1920 to 1933 period know better than to advocate such a foolish policy. The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 saved millions of farmers from bankruptcy and the 1977 Act can be written to be as effective as the 1933 Act.

Crop Acreage Allotments: The best way I know to control crop surpluses is to adjust acreages, through the use of allotments for each farm, on all crops with more production than the markets will take at reasonable prices.

The only agency strong enough to regulate the planting plans of about three million farmers is our federal government. It has done a creditable job of keeping supplies and demand in balance and in helping stabilize farm prices in the past.

It would be less expensive for taxpayers to pay farmers to idle or set aside crop acreage than the present policy of letting huge surpluses accumulate in government loans. The new Act should provide for acreage controls.

Export Markets For Farm Crops: It is a sad day for our farmers when we have to depend on foreign countries to buy a large part of our production, while other industries are getting U. S. prices for their output.

If we could get parity prices here--which would add very little to consumer costs, since they pay relatively small parts of raw farm product prices for farm products sold in our stores--then farmers would not have to depend on worldwide weather conditions in Russia and other countries for farm markets.

The P. L. 480 law, which results in our dumping our surplus output into foreign countries--with payment in their money, which is not possible to spend outside those countries--should be amended. Payment for our crops should be made by trading our surplus output for commodities not produced here, such as coffee, oil, and other materials now imported from other countries.

Crop Prices and Production Costs: Some economists and farm organizations say that parity prices for farm crops, now about \$4.86 for wheat, \$7.23 for soybeans, and 79 cents per pound for cotton lint, are not logical today.

They and other so-called producers, who do not pay high production costs and are not affected by the cost-price squeeze, are wrong.

For example, my costs, not including land and management costs for operation of the 800-acre family Hale Seed Farms for the three-year period 1970-71-72, totaled \$58,163.

For 1973-74-75, my expenses increased to \$83,794. A combine I paid \$19,000 for in 1973 now sells for \$40,000.

Those high costs may be fine for agribusiness and the labor that produces the machinery, fertilizer, and other farm supplies farmers buy, but such costs are putting many farmers out of business.

Many who have had no farm experience do not know that lately, when farm prices reach profitable levels, farmers have poor crops and very little to sell.

Many people--and even farm organizations, whose policies are set by members who are landowners only, and do not pay high production costs--say we should get at least the cost of production for our crops. But I do not know many working farmers who can stay in farming without some profit.

CCC Crop Loans: Crop loans at least high enough to cover costs of production should be provided in new legislation so growers can practice orderly marketing, and not have to sell their entire output at below cost in order to pay their expenses and get credit for those expenses on their income tax returns.

Crop Insurance and Disaster Payments: Present disaster payments should be continued, unless higher loans and lower premiums for federal crop insurance are made available to at least cover production costs.

Under the present federal crop insurance program, many farmers find it

*President Bill
This was written
by the late George Hale
of Burdette
in 1976*

Provisions Suggested For Farm Legislation

(Continued from Page 30)

necessary to carry crop hail insurance from private insurance companies because of the high cost of government insurance. Premiums should be set by new farm legislation to at least be competitive with other insurance companies.

Crop Reserves: Reserves or accumulations of farm products for use during years with short supplies are advocated by some, and no doubt that practice would tend to stabilize prices and assure consumers of adequate food and fiber.

In past years, large amounts of farm products put in the loan have become the property of the government. Unless that is prevented by some control of outputs through controlled acreages, crop reserves are not practical for most crops. Most farmers are not able to hold crops for long periods.

Crop Acreages and Soil Conservation: About 40 million acres of meadow, pasture, and woodland have been planted to row crops under the freedom-to-plant program. That practice results in destructive soil erosion and stream pollution, unless erosion control practices are used.

Farmers have organized soil conservation districts and spent millions of dollars, along with the federal government, to control soil erosion and stream pollution, and now that constructive work is going down the drain for no good reason.

The policy of planting row crops on land that should be in permanent-type vegetation may be good for our balance of payments, provide cheap food for our consumers, and even help to reduce inflation (at the expense of farmers), but it is a shortsighted policy in the long run, and should be stopped by new farm legislation.

Low Crop Prices and Unemployment: A large number of the unemployed who have crowded into the ghettos of world cities are former farmers and farm workers who have been displaced by the fact that farmers had to use less labor and larger farm machinery to stay in farming, without parity prices for their products.

That trend will likely continue, unless new legislation corrects it. Farmers are unable to compete with others for labor at present farm prices and wages, and many of our workers are having to supplement their income with food stamps to stay on farms.

Food costs for U. S. consumers take less of their income than any other industrial nation. A loaf of bread has only 5 cents worth of wheat in it and a pair of denim jeans has only about 75 cents worth of cotton. Buyers, brokers, processors and merchandisers get most of the consumer's dollars for farm products.

Food For Foreign Consumption: Many people are advocating that our farmers grow food for feeding the millions of undernourished peoples of the many developing countries.

As a farmer and agronomist, I have visited many of the South American and African countries and my conclusion, after seeing the millions of uncultivated acres that could be used to grow food and fiber, is that the only logical and lasting solution to the hunger problem in most countries is to motivate and help those hungry to help themselves.

Money spent to provide undernourished people with medical help and agricultural materials such as seed and fertilizer, to be used under the supervision of Peace Corps and other self-help people, would be of greater benefit than the present policy of exporting our crops on an emergency basis.

Young and Future Farmers of America: Farms are getting larger, and many young people are getting ready to become farmers by taking agricultural courses in school to prepare for farming or agribusiness.

Some are taking over management of family farms, while many others are renting farm land. About 90 percent of the farm land in Mississippi County, Arkansas is operated by renters, who pay from \$40 to \$70 per acre cash rent--and often more--on a crop rental basis.

Under present farm policies, very few of them will be able to earn enough to buy additional land at present inflated prices of \$1,000 per acre or more, unless Congress makes some changes in the present farm law.

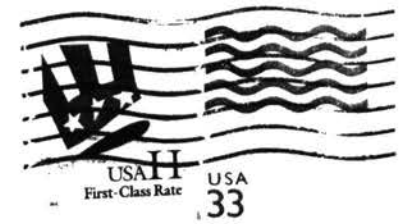
Our young people need all the help they can get from Congress. An extension of the present law will not get the job done. Please help them all you can.

In conclusion, please write the 1977 Act for a period of at least ten years, and provide for the following:

- (1) Ample protection for our most valuable natural resources - our soil, water and woodlands.
- (2) Adequate income for our retired farmers, who have rented their farms to younger farmers.
- (3) At least parity prices for farm commodities, and wages comparable to other workers for our farm labor.
- (4) Realistic CCC crop loans and disaster payments for farm products.
- (5) A good and reliable stock of food and fiber for our consumers at reasonable prices with enough to supply worldwide consumers on an emergency basis.

Sincerely yours,

Hays T. Sullivan
P.O. Box 206
Burdette, AR 72321-0206



President Bill Clinton
Attn: Nancy Hernreich *-The Oval Office*
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

20500/2000





June 30, 1999

ATTN: Mrs. Betty Currie
FROM: Ms. Tracy Johnson

Dear Mrs. Currie,

My name is Tracy Johnson and I, along with former *Rolling Stone* photographer/journalist Jon Sievert, am the editor of a new book on Bob Dylan titled "If You See Him Say Hello." The book is being published by Humble Press out in San Francisco and is due out in September.

The book--which is a tribute to the greatest singer/songwriter of our time--is a compilation of accounts from Dylan's fans and friends. Some of these accounts detail their personal experiences with Bob, some simply relate how his profound music has affected their lives as well as society in general.

Thus far, some of our more high-profile contributors include:

- *Coretta Scott King
- *Maya Angelou
- *Former President Jimmy Carter
- *Leonard Cohen
- *Roger McGuinn of the Byrds
- *Baseball legend Jim "Catfish" Hunter
- *Writer Nat Hentoff
- *Writer Jack Newfield

We are aware the Dylan performed the song "Chimes of Freedom" at President Clinton's Inauguration. We are also aware that President Clinton is indeed a Bob Dylan admirer. We would be most honored if the President might consider answering a few questions relating to his love of Dylan for the purposes of this book.

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7-2-99

Said to Counsel?
Yes
No

BURKHARDT/CABE

PLEASE ADVISE

- BT

If You
See Him
Say
Hello

Tracy
Johnson
Editor

Stories

from

Bob

Dylan's

Devoted

Fans

Handwritten signature

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Gina N. Dennis
06/30/99 05:34:48 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Betty W. Currie/WHO/EOP
cc:
Subject: Phone Message

Tracy Johnson is the editor of the book on Bob Dylan "If You See Him Say Hello" and would like to know if President Clinton would contribute some words to the books. She has faxed information regarding this issue her work number and fax number are attached to the fax.



June 30, 1999

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answering a few questions relating to his love
book.

7-2-99
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Said to Currie?
Yes
No
BURKHARDT/CABE
PLEASE ADVISE
- BT

Tracy

Johnson

Editor

Stories

from

Bob

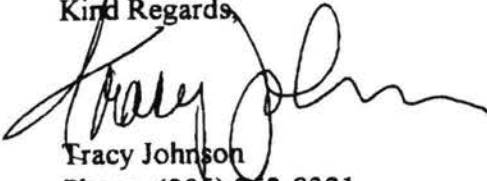
Dylan's

Devoted

Fans

Since the book is due out in September we are on a bit of a timeline at present. It would be greatly appreciated if you might could get back with us at your earliest convenience.

Kind Regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Tracy Johnson', with a large, stylized flourish extending from the end of the signature.

Tracy Johnson

Phone: (205) 752-8321

Fax: (205) 759-9853

QUESTIONS FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON

- *How and when did you first become aware of Bob Dylan's music?
- *How did his profound lyrics affect you?
- *Yourself and Mrs. Clinton seemed to truly enjoy his performance at your Inauguration. How did that performance come about?
- *Could you please tell me how you felt meeting Bob Dylan for the first time in person?
- *Was there anything particularly memorable about your meeting with Bob?
- *How do you feel Dylan's music has impacted society in general?



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-2-99

30 June, 1999

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Via Fax

Scamby
AD. Fy 1

*Pls read the attached
article* →

Bo

Dear Bill,

I have just spent five days in Israel and five days in Jordan. Some of my conversations and thoughts are worth passing on to you. In Gaza Betty and I spent a long hour with Yasser Arafat whose physical condition at first glance is a worry, but whose brainpower seems to be as sharp as it ever was.

Generally speaking, he and other Palestinians such as Nabeel Shaath are relieved—to put it mildly—by the coming of Ehud Barak. No surprise.

*copied
Berger
Podesta*

However, there is for them one element of concern. During the Bibi years they sensed—validly, I think—that Washington was manifesting an increasing concern for the welfare of Arafat and Company and the Palestinians generally. No surprise, with Bibi as the alternative.

Now, without that devil to be reckoned with—witness the bombing of Lebanon at this stage of the game by the outgoing Netanyahu—Arafat and Company are worried that the friendliness displayed toward them those last two years by Washington will dissipate as much more serious and rational relations will develop with Barak and Company.

Two particular things loom large for the Palestinians in terms of what they hope for as the peace process picks up again. (Barak's turning away from Sharon and Likud almost assures that.)

The first is that the new Israeli government must abide by the Wye Accords. Bibi's failure to do so was typical and predictable, but as you can well imagine it set back hopes of the Palestinians and made their controlling of their own extremists all the more difficult.

The second thing that is uppermost in their minds is the matter of the settlements. Simply put they would like a situation where no more were permitted. At a minimum they want a halt to any lending and other kinds of favors from the Israeli government which obviously would enhance further expansion. It all sounds very simple, but despite the encouragement from State and the White House in the last couple of years they are indeed concerned about the near future.

President Bill Clinton
30 June, 1999
Page 2

Certainly the other issues such as Jerusalem the refugees, and water loom large—very large. Final status resolution will take a determination and a creativity not only on their part but on ours as well.

All said as quickly and succinctly as possible.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Stanley', with a large, sweeping flourish extending from the end of the name.

Stanley K. Sheinbaum
SKS/kc

Washington: The

NY Review of Books

6/15/99

Lars-Erik Nelson

Report of the Select Committee on US National Security and Military/Commercial Concerns with the People's Republic of China submitted by Mr. Cox of California, Chairman. US Government Printing Office, three volumes, 909 pp., \$81.00 (paper)

Year of the Rat: How Bill Clinton Compromised US Security for Chinese Cash by Edward Timperlake and William C. Triplett II. Regnery, 275 pp., \$24.95

In the early 1950s, at the height of the McCarthy era, "allegations arose" (as the Cox report so vaguely and aptly puts it) that Qian Xuesen, a Chinese-born American rocket scientist, was a spy for the People's Republic of China. Qian had fled the Japanese invasion of China in 1935, emigrated to the United States, and earned a master's degree from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a doctorate from the California Institute of Technology. He was recognized as one of the world's foremost experts on jet propulsion, commissioned as a colonel in the US Air Force, and honored for the pioneering work he had done for his adopted country, including development of the Titan intercontinental ballistic missile.

Yet, when the "allegations arose," Qian was stripped of his security clearances and removed from missile work. In his disgrace, China invited him to return home, and in 1955 the United States let him go. He took four fellow Chinese scientists with him and, together, they created the Chinese ballistic missile system, including the CSS-4 missile, which is currently targeted against the United States. China's nuclear missiles, which carry about two dozen warheads compared to the eight thousand or so possessed by the United States, are universally believed to be intended as a retaliatory force, threatening the US with, say, the loss of Los Angeles if it ever went to war against China. One credible missile is all China needs to deter the kind of US military operation that was waged against Serbia. This is what Qian gave China.

Qian's history, recounted in the House investigating committee's report on Chinese espionage, offers the best explanation for the bizarre sequence of events that has led America once again into a witch hunt for Communist spies burrowed within our most secret defense establishments. Once again, as in the 1950s, the most reckless charges have been made against apparently innocent people, an opponent's military capabilities have been grossly exaggerated, and unscrupulous politicians have blamed this overdrawn national security threat on the complaisance and possible corruption of their political foes, in this case the Clinton administration.

On the basis of scanty evidence, Republicans and even a few Democrats have demanded the resignations of Attorney General Janet Reno and National Security Adviser Sandy Berger. A Chinese-American scientist at Los Alamos National Laboratory, Wen Ho Lee, has been identified by unnamed

Christopher Cox



government officials—and convicted in parts of the press—as a spy for China on the basis of evidence that is laughably thin. And, most irresponsibly, the Cox report suggests that every Chinese visitor to this country, every Chinese scholar, every Chinese student, every Chinese permanent resident, and even every Chinese-American citizen is a spy, potential spy, or "sleeping agent," merely waiting for the signal to rise up and perform some unimaginable act of treachery.

Congressional Democrats and the Clinton administration, the intended main target of this Republican-led investigation, refuse to fight back, apparently unwilling to be seen as minimizing the dangers of Chinese espionage. All four Democrats on the Cox committee signed the report, even though one of them, Representative John Spratt of South Carolina, forcefully and eloquently rebutted its leading conclusion that as a result of its technology thefts, China now has nuclear weapons design information "on a par" with the United States.

The leading Democrat on the committee, Representative Norman Dicks of Washington, apparently thought that, if he went along with the report's broad conclusions, he would both wake up the Energy Department from its past lethargy about admittedly lax security at the nuclear weapons labs and also defuse any Republican attempt to turn the report into a partisan political weapon. A White House official explained the Clinton administration's supine response this way: "They thought this thing would fall apart of its own weight as soon as it saw the light of day."

It is true that many nuclear weapons experts dismissed the Cox report's key findings. "This is completely overblown," Spurgeon Keeney, president of the privately funded Arms Control

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Lars-Erik Nelson



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Association, told me. "There is nothing to back up the assertion that this information puts China on a technical par with the United States. A lot of the stuff they are making a big deal about you will find in the *Nuclear Weapons Databook* that was put out [in the 1980s] by the Natural Resources Defense Council, including pictures." Harold Agnew, a former director of Los Alamos, wrote to *The Wall Street Journal* that stolen warhead information would have limited value for the Chinese and suggested that any purloined computer codes may have a hidden virus that would thwart attempts to replicate weapons. John Foster, former director of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, told *The Washington Post* that basic design data—size, weight, shape, and yield—even though highly classified, would not enable the Chinese to build a nuclear weapon.

Charles Ferguson, a nuclear physicist and former Navy officer now at the Federation of American Scientists, described the main Cox charges to me as "scaremongering," probably part of the ongoing conservative campaign to justify the creation of a costly and controversial national ballistic missile defense system. Similarly, Stephen Schwartz, publisher of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, wrote in an editorial entitled "A Very Convenient Scandal" that "the story broke at a fortuitous time for advocates of legislation promoting the swift deployment of ballistic missile defenses." Schwartz also noted that the first public allegations that China had stolen US nuclear weapons technology had been published in 1990, when George Bush was president, and resulted in no similar outcry—and no improvement in security at the labs. And the CIA released

a damage assessment that concluded that while China had obtained basic design information on US nuclear warheads, (1) it was not clear how comprehensive its information was, (2) it was impossible to tell how much had been obtained through espionage rather than dogged research, and, in any event, (3) China had not modernized its nuclear weapons arsenal as a result. On June 14, the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, headed by former Republican Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, scorned the Cox report in these words: "Possible damage has been minted as probable disaster; workaday delay and bureaucratic confusion have been cast as diabolical conspiracies. Enough is enough."

But this is a political uproar, not a scientific or military one. Instead of collapsing from its own overreaching, the Cox report has become a feature of talk radio and a staple of the Republican presidential campaign for 2000, which is already underway. Republican politicians and their supporters in the press and television have tried to make a scandal about when, precisely, President Clinton was first briefed on the suspicions of espionage, whether Berger dragged his feet, and whether Reno's Justice Department improperly thwarted an FBI request for wiretaps on a suspected spy. It does appear that Clinton and Berger were slow to respond, but their defense is that the information they received both was vague and referred to losses that had occurred a decade earlier. Reno herself told a news conference on May 27 that the FBI had never produced evidence that Wen Ho Lee had knowingly committed a crime, which is the prerequisite for ordering a tap on a US citizen. In the end, Clinton ordered a tightening of security at the nuclear laboratories.

From the information in the Cox report—as opposed to the unsourced and far more dire leaks that preceded it—it is clear that suspicions about espionage were sketchy, and it is not certain to this day whether any espionage, in the traditional cloak-and-dagger sense, occurred. So far, Wen Ho Lee has not been charged with any crime.

The press, which is supposed to function as a check on the excesses of government, has generally suspended its skepticism about the thinly grounded charges—no newspaper has been more credulous than *The New York Times*—and occasionally exaggerated them in defiance of common sense. In a front-page article on May 14, for example, the *Times* quoted its sources as asserting that China was installing a small nuclear warhead on a new mobile missile, the DF-31, even though it was clear from reading the story that China has not yet flight-tested the DF-31. According to Howard Diamond, a senior specialist on China at the Arms Control Association, it would be most unlikely that the characteristically prudent Chinese would place nuclear explosives on an untested missile that may or may not go where it is aimed. A US government official says more simply, "The

"Times just got it wrong." There has been greater skepticism—and far more balance—in the reporting of *The Washington Post* (especially that by Walter Pincus and Vernon Loeb), *The Wall Street Journal*, and the *Los Angeles Times*. But *The New York Times*, now a national paper, has single-handedly set the tone for the national debate.

The facts are these: in the late 1970s, China apparently stole information relating to the US neutron bomb, an enhanced-radiation weapon that kills people but is relatively harmless to property. The theft was disclosed in October 1990 by George Carver, former deputy director of the CIA, who told employees of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory that Chinese agents had taken the information from their lab. The information was apparently not all that complete; it took the Chinese ten years to test a neutron weapon, and to this day they have not deployed one. Then, between 1992 and 1996, China conducted a series of underground nuclear tests whose seismic patterns and other characteristics led some US weapons experts to believe it had managed to make a modern, small nuclear explosive like the US W-88, an aspherical weapon deployed as one of the multiple, independently targeted warheads on the D-5 missile aboard Trident submarines. In 1995, a Chinese intelligence agent, who claimed to be betraying secrets obtained by China, approached the CIA and handed over a document containing highly classified design information on the W-88 and technical information on other US nuclear weapons.

Much of this information had been published during the 1980s by the Natural Resources Defense Council, an environmental and antinuclear activist group; even though it has been made public, some of it is still classified. But two sensitive pieces of information on the W-88 were not available anywhere, a US government official says. The design and technical information was apparently fragmentary; there is no evidence that actual blueprints or complete designs have been lost to China. In addition—and perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this strange episode—the "walk-in" agent was soon determined to have been a plant, a controlled agent sent by the Chinese Ministry of State Security.

Despite this ambiguity—a double agent providing information that was largely in the public domain—the agent's document set off a hunt for a spy in US weapons laboratories. Investigators, chief among them the Energy Department's Notra Trulock, homed in on Wen Ho Lee, who knew how the W-88 was designed and who had visited China on an approved exchange mission in 1988. In addition, "allegations arose" that Wen Ho Lee was once seen hugging a person believed to be a Chinese intelligence agent; and he had once made a telephone call to another suspected spy that sounded as if they were in sympathy. Most damaging, Wen Ho Lee was later found to have downloaded so-called "legacy codes," a computer database that contains the history of US nuclear weapons development, into an unclassified computer.

There was—and is—no evidence that Lee conveyed these codes to an unauthorized source. He claims,

through his lawyer, to have downloaded only unclassified files for his own use, as he was permitted to do by lab policy. Even if he had passed the codes on, however, their usefulness is debatable. These are older, two-dimensional codes that would give the equivalent of a cross section of a nuclear weapon, rather than the three-dimensional codes the US has used since the late 1970s for design and simulated testing. "The difference between two-dimensional codes and three-dimensional codes is the difference between the special effects in a 1950s movie like *Destination Moon*—a cardboard rocket on a thread—and what you see now in *Star Wars*," said John A. Pike, an intelligence and weapons analyst at the Federation of American Scientists. "In computer jargon, the term 'legacy' means 'obsolete.'"

Nevertheless, the codes were a valuable part of history. "They're like a B-52 that has been updated and improved over the years," an Energy Department scientist told me. "There is no justification for downloading them onto an unclassified computer," as Wen Ho Lee did. He was duly fired from his job at Los Alamos for security infractions. In a comprehensive six-page rebuttal to the leaked accusations against him, his lawyer, Mark Holscher, pointed out that Lee's trips to China were approved in advance by Los Alamos and the Department of Energy. With Lee's approval, his wife became an FBI informant and let the FBI monitor her conversations with Chinese scientists. (In addition, the FBI ran a sting operation against Lee, inviting him to spy for China, and he refused.) As for the computer files, Holscher wrote, "In fact, Dr. Lee took substantial steps to protect his computer files and we are confident that federal investigators will also conclude that no third party could have or did access his protected computer files." On June 15, the *Times*'s David Johnston reported that the evidence against Lee is so thin that it is unlikely that he will ever face criminal charges for espionage—and may not even be accused of any wrongdoing.

If Lee turns out to be innocent of a crime, as he appears to be, we are left with a spy scandal—the worst case since the Rosenbergs. Republicans have called it—without a spy. It is undoubtedly true that China scours public sources, grills US scientists at seminars, and seeks to "reverse-engineer," or re-create, whatever US technology it can obtain. In the 1990s, the Department of Energy declassified many nuclear secrets, which then became easily available to Chinese scientists. In an article published on May 30, *The New York Times* asserted that these declassifications were made by the Clinton administration in hopes that somehow such openness would deter the spread of nuclear weapons. "That was a very bizarre ploy," says Robert S. Norris of the Natural Resources Defense Council, which sent two senior staff members to the Department of Energy to help carry out the department's "Openness Initiative" of 1993. "It is just a wacky idea that [the then Energy Secretary Hazel] O'Leary was gambling that releasing the information would stop weapons proliferation. This stuff was decades old." In fact, the declassified "secrets" cited by the *Times*—information on the construc-

tion of hydrogen bombs, minimum amounts of fuel, and how to boost a bomb's power—can be found in, or inferred from, the NRDC's *Nuclear Weapons Databook*. In any case, information declassified in 1993 or later would have been released long after China had supposedly gotten the W-88 secrets and would have come too late to assist in the nuclear tests of the early 1990s.

In addition to the Energy Department's declassifications, US suppliers have been relaxed about selling technology that might conceivably have military application, like the inertial navigation systems now used on jetliners. But it defies logic to accuse China of espionage for "stealing" what, in an open, mercantile society, is lying around in libraries or databases or is up for sale. Even in the case of nuclear weapons, theoretical information may be of marginal use. "Everyone knows the concepts anyway," a government official told me. "It's the engineering that's tricky."

The Cox committee was created by former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, a Georgia Republican, in the apparent hope that it would find evidence link-



Wen Ho Lee in front of his house near Los Alamos, New Mexico, April 10, 1999

ing illegal Chinese campaign contributions to the Clinton administration's approval of or complicity in illegal US aid to the Chinese military. This suspected connection is the subject matter of *Year of the Rat*, a work that ranges from the dishonest to the just plain goofy. The two authors are a current and a former staff member of the Republican-controlled House of Representatives and they marshal their evidence in the most damaging way possible for the Clinton administration, closing with a demand for his impeachment. Yet, while they recount the unattractive greed of the Clinton fund-raisers and the eagerness of Chinese hucksters to buy influence in the United States, they are never able to make the connection promised in their title, that Clinton compromised US national security for cash. And the very existence of this book begs the question they raise: If their speculations are valid, why did the House of Representatives for which they work—a House whose Republican leaders were eager to charge Clinton with truly impeachable offenses as opposed to the murky intrigues of the Lewinsky affair—fail to impeach Clinton for treason?

The answer is that Timperlake and Triplett have no case. Their notion of what constitutes evidence is truly bizarre: the *New York Times* columnist William Safire made a vague charge about suspicions of Chinese influence, and Safire's accusation has never been denied, so therefore for Timperlake and Triplett it must be true. According to the *Washington Times*, they write, it was "common knowledge" at the Commerce Department that Hillary Rodham Clinton had engineered the hiring

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House Majority Whip Tom DeLay, a Texan who is now screaming loudest about China's military might—have supported the corporations.

Perhaps the most important basic fact in this brouhaha is that in 1996 China accepted the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and has not conducted a nuclear test since. Spurgeon Keeney of the Arms Control Association argues that it is inconceivable that China would trust its national security to a new generation of nuclear weapons, based on stolen US codes, without conducting actual tests. Charles Ferguson of the Federation of American Scientists says that the best hope for US security is if this nation ratifies the Test Ban Treaty, which we signed in 1996, as an incentive for China's continued adherence. But at worst, Ferguson said in an interview, "China does not present any kind of nuclear warfighting threat to us and will not for many years to come." It is anticipated that China will deploy the DF-31 mobile missile in the next decade, government sources say, but its warhead will be a traditionally shaped spherical one, rather than a copy of the W-88.

To the Energy Department, the greatest danger is that in overreaction to the Cox report's thirty-eight recommendations for tighter security—many of them valid—Congress will demand draconian security measures at the labs. Over the years the General Accounting Office has issued repeated warnings that the national laboratories have inadequate security protections, including an untrained guard force, lack of background checks on foreign visitors, and

classified computer systems that were not physically isolated from unclassified systems. In addition, scientists who travel abroad, even those who go to China, have been free to share unclassified but potentially harmful information with foreign specialists.

Los Alamos, in the 1940s, was surrounded by double-barbed wire fences and military police. Scientists within were not allowed to tell their wives what they were doing and were not allowed to have telephones, except for the project director, J. Robert Oppenheimer—and his was tapped. Representative Spratt, the South Carolina Democrat on the Cox committee, warns, "You quickly diminish the pool of first-rate nuclear physicists willing to work for the government if you start strapping them to polygraphs." John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists agrees: "First-rate physicists don't want to work in prisons." Howard Diamond, a China analyst at the Arms Control Association, says that exchanges with Chinese nuclear physicists should be maintained because exchanges give the United States knowledge about China's closed society that could not be obtained in any other way.

If, as the scientific experts assure us, Cox has exaggerated the Chinese threat, why are we going through this self-torture? Politics aside, return for a moment to that mysterious Chinese-controlled "walk-in" agent who offered the CIA information on the W-88. He is the central mystery in this case. Why would China risk exposing its most sensitive sources within the US military establishment by telling us that it has stolen information on the W-88 warhead?

Houston Hawkins, a former Defense Intelligence Agency nuclear weapons expert who is now a top intelligence official at Los Alamos, told *The Washington Post* he suspected an exquisite Chinese strategy: deliberately trigger a spy hunt, raise suspicions about Chinese scientists in this country, make them feel unwelcome, and thus stop the loss of top Chinese physicists who remain in the US after graduating from US universities. "Are the Chinese sophisticated enough to do this?" Hawkins rhetorically asked the *Post*. "They've been practicing espionage for 2,000 years."

Even though Hawkins supports his suspicion with an apt citation of Chinese strategist Sun Tzu, his theory sounds too clever by half—until you remember the case of Qian Xuesen, the Chinese-American rocket scientist with whom we began this adventure. As a result of that McCarthyite spy hunt in the 1950s, China got him back—and with him the knowledge to build its most formidable current ballistic missile weapons system. Qian is today presumed to have been a spy but no charges against him were ever proven. He was fired when "allegations arose" and, in disgust, he went back to China. One government official, whose instincts tell him the Hawkins theory is overly convoluted, nevertheless told me, "We may be creating a whole new generation of Qian Xuesens." If Hawkins is right, the Chinese, desperate to stop a strategic brain drain, have given us exactly the kind of bait that tempted us into hysteria forty-five years ago, and we have swallowed it. □

—June 15, 1999



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-2-99

30 June, 1999

President Bill Clinton
First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Via Fax

Dear Bill and Hillary,

Some friends you two have turned out to be. I have just returned from Israel, Jordan, Paris and New York. In Paris Betty and I had reservations for dinner one night at our favorite restaurant, l'Ami Louis.

The trouble was that when we got there your protectors told us that we could not enter because the two of you were having dinner with President Chirac. I tried to persuade those overly protective protectors to take my card in to see you, and they would have none of it. Then because I know Jacques Chirac—even only slightly—I tried to get the card in to him. Again, no luck.

I began to have visions of you cutting me off from WWW com, that is the Whole Wide World. Should I regret that conversation on the steps of the Shangri la in Santa Monica? In some sense it is all my fault—at least that is what I hear you have been telling people!

Je suis triste,

Stanley K. Sheinbaum
SKS/kc

copied
Street
Podesta



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

Fax

To: Nancy Hernreich

From: Stanley

Fax:

Pages: 2

Phone:

Date: 06/30/99

Thanks for passing this on to the President!

*Let's
go*

Stanley Sheinbaum -- some friends you and Hillary have turned out to be. In Paris, he and Betty had dinner reservations at L'Ami Louis, but they weren't able to enter when they arrived because you two were in there. He tried to persuade the overly protective protectors to take his card in to you, but they wouldn't. He began to have visions of you cutting him off. Should he regret the conversation on the steps of the Shangri la in Santa Monica? In some sense it is all his fault -- at least that is what he hears you've been telling people!