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and Gore "measuring the White House drapes." Yes, their efforts should be carried out with more discretion than is the norm. But let's not let the political rhetoric and media spin about who is prematurely jumping the gun further damage the new presidency.

Seize the Moment, Ban the Bomb

By John O. Pastore and Peter Zheutlin

Special to the Los Angeles Times

While Americans were counting votes in Florida, Russian President Vladimir V. Putin dropped a proverbial bombshell, likely to receive little notice given the postelection chaos. Putin, too, is conducting a recount of his nuclear weapons stockpile and the numbers aren't adding up. With Russia's military spending down to about \$5 billion per year (compared with U.S. military spending of approximately \$300 billion per year), and his economy in tatters, Putin knows that trying to maintain nuclear parity with the United States is a losing proposition.

Today, 10 years after the end of the Cold War, the United States and Russia retain tens of thousands of nuclear weapons, many of which, astonishingly, remain on hair-trigger alert, ready to be launched on a moment's notice. So earlier this month, Putin went beyond previous calls for Russia and the United States to reduce their nuclear arsenals from current levels to 1,500 warheads per side. Without specifying a number, he said reductions could go well below that number. The United States should seize the moment.

The wrong conclusion to draw from Putin's offer is that the United States should hang tough and simply wait until Russia drops out of the nuclear weapon competition, clinging, perhaps, to a mere few hundred warheads.

First, even with a relatively small nuclear arsenal Russia could wreak incalculable devastation. Indeed, a 1998 New England Journal of Medicine study by Physicians for Social Responsibility reported that just 16 warheads fired at U.S. targets from a single Russian Delta-4 submarine could cause as many as 6 million immediate deaths, and just as many, if not more, injuries from radioactive fallout and other after-effects. Under what circumstances would the United States possibly take such a risk?

Second, Putin's offer, even if made out of weakness, stands on its own merits, and the United States should accept the challenge. Earlier this year, the United States, Russia and the more than 180 other nations that have signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty reaffirmed their obligation under the treaty to abolish nuclear weapons, stating that elimination of nuclear weapons was "an unequivocal undertaking." And, a few weeks ago at the United Nations, the United States voted in favor of a resolution that calls for complete nuclear disarmament under international agreement. While the very last steps in such a process are likely to be the most difficult, the United States can quickly move the world in that direction by reaching agreement with Russia to reduce nuclear arsenals to a few hundred.

Third, the world's last, best hope of preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons lies in rapid progress toward a global ban on nuclear weapons. Ambassador Richard Butler, the Australian diplomat once charged with overseeing U.N. inspections of Iraq's nuclear weapons program, recently stated in Boston that all of his experience leads to the conclusion that as long as any nation has nuclear weapons, others will seek them. Jonathan Schell, writing recently in Foreign Affairs, described the status quo this way: "The current American policy is to try to stop proliferation while simultaneously continuing to hold on to its own nuclear arsenal indefinitely."

Under an international ban on nuclear weapons there is, of course, always the risk that a nation might cheat. However, the risks of defying the international norm would be great for a such a state, far greater than in a world where the international norm is a world divided between nuclear "haves" and "have-nots." Indeed, in a world where the current nuclear powers had agreed to abolish their nuclear arsenals, there would be great unity of purpose in stopping would-be proliferators, and ample conventional military power to enforce the international norm.

No treaty is perfect and all entail risks. A treaty banning nuclear weapons would be no exception. But which is the greater risk: to live indefinitely in a world where thousands of nuclear weapons are on hair-trigger alert and more and more nations seek nuclear weapons, or a world in which an outlaw nation might try to

harbor a bomb in the basement?

Putin has put before the United States a bold proposal to significantly reduce the risk of nuclear war. The next U.S. president should say "da." It's time to ban the bomb.

It's an Imperfect System Designed to Handle Stress and Mess

By Ross K. Baker

Special to the Los Angeles Times

A few years after the disputed election of 1876, Russell Conwell, the Baptist clergyman who founded Philadelphia's Temple University, reflected on the struggle for the presidency that was waged by Democrat Samuel J. Tilden and Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, the ultimate winner.

Conwell recalled that "the government was carried on so unostentatiously that the people seemed unconscious of the presence of executive power, and felt as if the vast machinery of government had found some means of propelling itself without help." How much more revealing about the nature of American government was Conwell's observation in light of the fact that the nation was barely a decade past the national trauma of civil war. And were he alive today, Conwell would have even more grounds for confidence, and he would proclaim the events since Nov. 7 not a constitutional crisis but a triumph of a political system durable and flexible enough to ride out momentary and fleeting political hitches.

The framers of the Constitution, that much-maligned group of dandies, eggheads and slave-holders, were an exceptional collection of amateur psychologists who based that document on a view of human nature that was sensible and realistic.

James Madison, arguably the greatest of them, observed: "If men were angels, no government would be necessary." He saw humans as imperfect and designed a government for imperfect beings. Critics of American government criticize the system of checks and balances as an impediment to governing because they require both houses of Congress to pass a bill and then send it to a president who has the ability to veto it. This certainly tends to limit the amount of law-making that takes place. Yet the founding fathers wisely preferred a trickle of legislation to an avalanche of statutes, and they ensured that whatever dramatic changes in public policy that would occasionally occur would be the product of a national consensus.

Even the federal bureaucracy, now 2 million strong, which has evolved over the years from the handful of clerks in a few executive departments in 1789, constitutes a source of stability. Certainly, the men who wrote the Constitution could not have imagined an Occupational Safety and Health Administration enforcing workplace safety, or a Consumer Product Safety Commission pulling unsafe kitchenware from the shelves of stores, but they cleverly included a clause in Article I that enabled Congress to do what was "necessary and proper." The fact that the OSHA inspectors and the consumer product safety officials were on duty on Nov. 8 and not participating in street demonstrations tells us a great deal about our mature and stable system of government.

Federalism the term that makes the eyes of most Americans glaze over is on magnificent display in the disputed Florida returns. The writers of the Constitution saw complexity and diversity even in a nation vastly more homogeneous than it is today, and they concluded that important responsibilities be reserved to the states. Among these powers was the control over elections. This seems to have been conveniently overlooked by Gov. George W. Bush's lawyers, who asked a federal judiciary to consider the kind of case they have long shunned because of the paramount role of the state in conducting elections, even those elections for federal office.

The framers of the Constitution did not regard institutional neatness as much of a virtue, and they vastly preferred a little messiness and complexity to a system that might work smoothly enough to suit the purposes of a tyrant.

Much concern is now being expressed over the ability of the new president to get much accomplished. Perhaps that is not so bad a thing. If there is so little agreement among the American people about who they want as president, there would probably not be a great deal of agreement on what policies the new president should pursue. As the 19th century statesman John C. Calhoun once cautioned: "Great innovations should never be forced on slender majorities."

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Circumstantial Case in Lockerbie Trial May Fail to Convict

By DONALD G. McNEIL Jr.

PARIS, Nov. 23 — Prosecutors in the Lockerbie trial closed their case this week with a theatrical flourish, calling Pierre Salinger, the former Kennedy press secretary and ABC News correspondent, to replay interviews he taped with the defendants in 1991. The defendants apparently lied to him back then because evidence introduced earlier in the trial, some of it from their own government, contradicts them.

But old videotapes about minor points of evidence are not going to convict Abdelbaser Ali Mohamed al-Megrahi or Al Amin Khalifa Fhimah, the Libyan defendants, of blowing up Pan Am 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, killing 270 people. Nor has there been any smoking gun in the prosecution's arsenal. No witness said he had helped the defendants make the bomb or heard them confess later. No unused bombs or traces of explosives were found in their homes.

Instead, the prosecution has methodically built a wall of circumstantial evidence, showing that the two men could have sent the bomb on its way. Whether that will convince the three-judge jury that they did remains to be seen. For the biggest mass murder trial in British history and the most expensive crime investigation in world history, the trial has gathered surprisingly little attention. And experts following the case are skeptical about whether the prosecution will succeed.

Robert Black, a University of Edinburgh law professor, insisted today, as he has before, that the lack of any evidence that the suitcase bomb began its journey in Malta, where the defendants allegedly sent it on its journey, is "a gaping hole in the prosecution's case." No one saw the defendants check it in, and a luggage carousel in Frankfurt that recorded a lone suitcase headed for Pan Am 103 did not show where it came from. "A conviction is — I kid you not — impossible," he concluded.

Clare Connolly, of the University of Glasgow law school, was more circumspect, but also did not make much of the prosecution's chances. A murder charge "requires a very high level of evidence," and the case's complexity and the lack of a witness or forensic evidence "mean proof beyond a reasonable doubt is very difficult to achieve," she said. The backup conspiracy charge, she pointed out, has a lower threshold.

Mr. Fhimah's lawyer, Richard Keen, has said he will argue that the evidence against his client is so thin that there is "no case to answer." Mr. Megrahi's lawyer, William Taylor, has indicated that he will mount a defense, and that it will blame Palestinian terrorists in Europe for the bombing.

So far, the 12-year investigation and the long trial held on a former NATO air base in the Netherlands have cost more than \$250 million. Libya's ruler, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, contends that sanctions imposed on his country cost it \$30 billion.

The trial began in May and went more quickly than expected after the two sides agreed on the origin of dozens of bits of debris, many of them gathered by officers crawling on their knees over 854 square miles of Scottish terrain.

But weeks were added by delays to gather new evidence that came to light during the trial — some of it Central Intelligence Agency cables about one witness, other parts not yet explained.

The prosecution contends that Mr. Megrahi and Mr. Fhimah, both Libyan secret service agents, brought to Malta a Toshiba Bombast radio-cassette recorder packed with Semtex high explosive and a Swiss-made McBo MST-13 timer. It maintains that they put it in a brown Samsonite suitcase padded with clothes bought in Malta and checked it aboard an Air Malta flight tagged so that it would change at Frankfurt to Pan Am 103, bound for London and New York.

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Time Is Short for U.S. to Join the International Criminal Court

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

More than 100 nations will be watching the Clinton administration over the next two weeks for an indication whether the United States will sign the treaty establishing the International Criminal Court.

The court would be the first such permanent body set up to try individuals accused of war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity.

On Monday a two-week preparatory meeting is to begin at the United Nations. The United States is expected to announce its final position during this session.

Until Dec. 31, a nation can indicate its support for the court by signing the treaty, even if ratification is not immediately likely. So far, 115 nations — including all of Europe and the NATO governments, except the United States — have signed and 22 countries have ratified the treaty. After Dec. 31, a country will have to ratify before it can join.

Administration officials have said they support an international court. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright was instrumental in establishing temporary tribunals for the Balkans and Rwanda, which are seen as precursors of a permanent body.

But objections from the Pentagon have forced the administration to demand a guarantee that no American officer or civilian official on duty abroad will fall under its jurisdiction.

Senator Jesse Helms, the North Carolina Republican who is chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has vowed that the court would be "dead on arrival" if the administration sends the treaty for ratification. Diplomats at the United Nations assume this view would be strengthened by a Republican administration in Washington, and look to the departing Clinton administration as a last chance.

Richard Dicker, a counsel at Human Rights Watch, said that in mid-October, Washington in effect hardened its position against prosecution and offered the same opportunity to other non-signers if they pledged to try their own citizens charged with infractions, as the United States now does in courts-martial and civilian courts. This proposal violates the 1998 treaty establishing the court, he said, and moreover is unnecessary.

"The court's statute, the rules of procedure and evidence and the elements of crimes more than adequately address the risk of an unjustified prosecution of a United States national," he said. "An outright exemption would codify a two-tier system of justice: one for the United States and another for the rest of the world."

President Arthur Robinson of Trinidad and Tobago, who in 1989 first introduced the motion in the General Assembly that ultimately established the court, said in an interview in New York this week that it was "a most significant achievement in the history of mankind."

"This court recognizes that persons can be held individually responsible for violations of international law," he said. "And the statute does not differentiate between persons in authority and anyone else," which he called a "dramatic step" in international law.

Mr. Robinson recalled that it was the United States that had established the principle of trials for the worst crimes against humanity and crimes of war by insisting on the Nazi trial at Nuremberg, when Stalin and Churchill were satisfied to have offenders shot without a hearing.

"The U.S. wanted trials so that the world could see the gravity of the offenses," he said. "Nuremberg established individual guilt. Now there is a tremendous acceptance internationally for this kind of court."

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U.S. Trade Debate Heats Up With Steel at Its Core

By STEVEN PEARLSTEIN
Washington Post Staff Writer

Just two months ago, Bethlehem Steel Corp. cut the ribbon on a new state-of-the-art plant at Sparrows Point—all part of a \$700 million modernization program designed to revive steel-making at the venerable Baltimore facility.

But with foreign imports driving down the price of cold sheet steel by 30 percent since the spring, Bethlehem Steel's losses have mounted and its stock has plummeted to less than \$3 a share.

The result: Bethlehem Steel could be bought today for \$375 million, or about half the cash it has poured into Sparrows Point during the last three years.

In fact, so thorough has been Wall Street's abandonment of steel that the entire American industry could now be bought for about \$7 billion. And even at that bargain-basement price, nobody wants to buy it because the owner would inherit billions of dollars in debt, environmental liabilities and pension obligations.

The steel industry has been troubled for a long time, but its latest woes come at a delicate moment for the U.S. economy and the political debate over trade.

With the economy booming and unemployment low, the American public in recent years has shown little concern about the plight of basic manufacturing industries that did not share in the prosperity. A broad political consensus developed around the advantages of free trade, symbolized by ratification of a new trade treaty with China. And during the recent presidential election campaign, trade issues were rarely mentioned.

But now, with U.S. economic growth slowing overall and a broad swath of the low-tech manufacturing sector showing little if any growth, many analysts predict that trade will again become a hot political issue. And steel's plight already has revived debate over how much the federal government should try to help industries hurt by imports.

"To maintain open trade policies in the fu-

ture, we're going to have to do a better job in dealing explicitly with the losers from trade," said Murray Weidenbaum, a former economic adviser in the Reagan White House who served as chairman of the U.S. Trade Deficit Review Commission, a blue-ribbon panel appointed by Congress to explore the causes and consequences of the nation's record trade deficit.

"These disputes are going to get ugly again," warns Robert Reich, a former secretary of labor in the Clinton administration who now teaches at Brandeis University.

The partisan gap in viewpoints was revealed just last week in the final report of the Trade Deficit Review Commission. After a year of hearings and meetings, the panel was so divided that Republicans and Democrats were forced to issue what were, in effect, dueling reports. Republicans argued that the deficit was largely a reflection of the relative strength of a U.S. economy that, on balance, had greatly prospered because its markets were open. Democrats countered that the deficit was largely the result of unfair trading practices by other countries that had hollowed out the manufacturing sector and opened up a glaring income gap between the rich and the poor by eliminating millions of "family wage" jobs.

In both camps, however, there was agreement that government had to do a better job of protecting U.S. industry from unfair competition and compensating workers who lose jobs or earning power because of trade.

Even ardent free-traders such as Weidenbaum acknowledge that the steel industry presents the best example of an industry that deserves some government assistance, precisely because the global market is anything but free and open.

Steel imports now account for about a third of U.S. steel consumption, up from 22 percent before the Asian financial crisis unleashed a flood of exports onto world markets late in 1997.

In the past two weeks, Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. filed for protection from its creditors, joining six other steel companies in the precincts of Chapter 11 of the federal bankruptcy code, while Weirton Steel Corp. idled two of its giant blast furnaces in West Virginia and Bethlehem shuttered an old slab plant in Indiana.

In recent weeks a coalition of steel

The Steel Lowdown

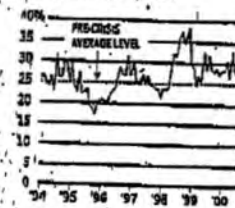
Lower costs in developing economies translate into lower prices for steel...

Production operating costs per ton for cold-rolled coil, April 2000

United States	\$401
Japan	\$392
Taiwan	\$327
South Korea	\$295
Mexico	\$292
China	\$216
Commonwealth of Independent States	\$233

...and that lower-priced steel has been flooding into the American market.

Import share of steel mill products, apparent consumption, January 1994 to July 2000



SOURCE: World Steel Census, April 2000; United States Department of Commerce

companies filed dumping complaints against 11 steel exporting countries, alleging they were selling steel into the U.S. market at less than the full cost of production.

Congress, meanwhile, has moved to help the industry by agreeing to legislation, pushed through without hearings, to recycle billions of dollars in tariffs on imported steel directly to American steel companies. Trade lawyers said the provision, inserted in an agricultural appropriations bill by Sen. Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.), flagrantly violates certain trade treaties. The European Union immediately took steps to challenge it at the World Trade Organization.

The Clinton administration, which had previously turned back the entreaties of the industry and the steelworkers union, signaled to industry leaders at a recent meeting that it would explore the possibility of imposing a package of import quo-

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tas and tariffs to give the U.S. industry time to consolidate and recapitalize.

According to an analysis conducted earlier this year by the Commerce Department, the basic problem of the steel industry is that there is simply too much production capacity around the world because too many governments believe that having a steel industry is vital to their economic strategies. Many think that because steel is a critical component for so many other industries, including defense, it is essential for a nation to have its own reliable supply.

In some countries, such as Japan and South Korea, that has meant subsidizing construction and operation of huge, modern plants whose only purpose is to sell into the U.S. market. In others, such as Russia and Ukraine, it has meant handing over former state-owned plants at no cost to private investors on condition that they keep them running and keep everyone employed, even if it means paying workers in wages and bonuses. In industrialized places such as Europe and Japan, it has always meant using import quotas to keep out lower-priced foreign steel whenever there is a glut on world markets.

Because of these nationalistic economic policies, the global steel industry simply doesn't adjust to the realities of the marketplace. Rather than being inebriated, old and inefficient factories are subsidized to maintain production. And while other industries have consolidated around a handful of global competitors that are better able to adjust supply to demand, the steel industry remains firmly in national hands that insist that it remain highly fragmented.

This situation creates both winners and losers. In the United States, the winners include auto, construction and appliance industries that benefit from the lowest steel prices in the world. The losers include most of the big, integrated steel companies, whose profits have been so paltry and unreliable that they now cannot raise additional capital to finance their continuing modernization.

Meanwhile, steelworkers have seen their numbers drop 16 percent and their inflation-adjusted pay decline 20 percent during the 1990s.

Industry critics are quick to point out that most of the steel industry's problems are of its own making. For example, steelworkers continue to earn wages that are more than 30 percent above other workers with similar education. And even though

American steelworkers are the most productive in the world, their higher wages and pension benefits translate into operating costs that are the highest in the world. (By one estimate, there are now more than two steel industry pensioners for every one active worker.)

Others, like Weldenbaum, blame the industry for under-investing in research and modernization. And customers in the auto and appliance industry complain that steel industry managers who are quick to raise prices in times of supply shortages should not complain when excess supply temporarily drive prices down.

"The domestic steel industry must be the only industry in the U.S. that can increase prices, ignore market conditions and then, when the market adjusts because of its actions, run to the U.S. government for protection," said Horst Buelte, chairman of the American Institute for International Steel, a coalition of steel importers and purchasers.

But while much of official Washington has grown inured to the steel

industry's incessant belly-aching, industry and union officials warn that this time the future of the industry truly is at stake.

"This period, from the beginning of the Asian crisis until now, has been the most devastating period we've been through in this industry," said George Becker, president of the United Steelworkers of America. "What I'm hearing from the companies is that the fourth quarter will be an absolute disaster. No one is making any money now, not even the mini-mills, and nobody is investing. I'm afraid that if nothing is done, we're going to lose this industry."

"The industry is collapsing now, right before our eyes," agreed James Bradley, president of Wheeling Pittsburgh, the day after his company filed for protection from creditors.

Industry executives and analysts acknowledge that outmoded facilities, accounting for as much as a quarter of U.S. production, need to be shut down. And greater foreign ownership is considered inevitable if the industry is to raise the capital needed to modernize and survive.

The White House and congressional leaders are also looking at ways for the government to assume some of the billion of dollars-per-year in unfunded pension costs of the old-line steel companies as a way of spurring consolidation and reducing operating costs.

Ron Bloom, a top strategist for the steelworkers union, wants more government protection for the industry. "We need a three- to five-year window of comprehensive import restraint to restructure, refinance and level the playing field."

Whatever is done, however, there is general consensus that the American steel industry cannot continue to muddle through by relying on repeated trips to the bankruptcy court and endless filings of anti-dumping complaints against foreign producers.

"The history of the last 15 years," said Bloom, "is one of ineffective half-measures that have made some lawyers rich [and] got people ripped at the steel industry, but yielded little return for steel company shareholders and employees."

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Rural Jails Profiting From INS Detainees

Immigrant Advocates Object as Counties Like Md.'s Wicomico Contract With U.S.

By Lori Montgomery
Washington Post Staff Writer

SALISBURY, Md.—Warden John W. Welch says he has learned some things about foreigners. One: They're not hard to intimidate. Throw a troublemaker in a jail cell with 30 American thugs. That, Welch says, adjusts his attitude.

Two: There's money to be wrung from the plight of immigrants who

run afoul of the system. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service pays \$50 a day for a bed in Welch's jail, a bed that costs just \$17.29 to provide. That's \$32.11 clear profit. Last year, the Wicomico County Detention Center made \$2.7 million, two-thirds of it gray.

Just south of the Delaware line on Maryland's Eastern Shore, Wicomico County is cashing in on a soaring number of immigrants

housed behind bars.

Tough new immigration laws passed by Congress in 1996 require that foreigners facing deportation be jailed while awaiting a final decision on their fate. The imprisoned include immigrants who have criminal records or expired visas, as well as new arrivals who have requested political asylum from violence at home.

The average number of INS de-

tainees has tripled to 21,000 each day, making them the fastest-growing sector of the nation's booming prison population. Desperate for jail space, the INS uses more than a third of its \$400 million detention budget to rent cells in about 225 jails—most of them in rural counties where costs are low and there are beds to spare.

As a result, jails that once consumed big chunks of local budgets are becoming profit centers for small-town America. In Farmville, Va., the growing profits have made the Piedmont Regional Jail self-supporting. In York County, Pa., a new jail wing built exclusively for the INS funded a property tax cut.

In Wicomico County, warden Welch has proposed building a whole new prison for the INS that would generate an estimated \$4 million a year at a time when county voters have rejected new taxes.

Advocates say the arrangement gets people who overstay a student visa: write a bad check or show up at Dulles International Airport with a bad story of persecution in jail with local criminals accused of rape, robbery and murder.

And they contend that the remote jails are too far from the lawyers that immigrants need to navigate complicated deportation proceedings. Wicomico County, for example, is 115 miles from Washington and 110 miles from Baltimore.

Wicomico County spends less on its inmates than any other jail in Maryland. In July, more than 80 INS detainees signed a letter complaining that they "sleep on the floor with cockroaches," eat bologna "2 and sometimes 3 times a day," and receive a single set of clothes, forcing them "to walk naked when they [are] washed."

There are also allegations that jailers use excessive force and abusive restraining devices and provide insufficient medical care. Last month, the civil rights division of the U.S. Justice Department began an investigation into reports of abuse and neglect in Wicomico County.

Welch says the investigators will find nothing: No one sleeps on the floor in his jail. Food, clothing and medical care all meet guidelines set by the Maryland Commission on Correctional Standards, of which Welch is vice chairman.

Welch run a constitutional jail,

INS officials say they have no reason to doubt Welch, nor to question his shiny style.

"It's his facility," said Chris Bentley, spokesman for the INS's Baltimore District. "What he says goes."

Life of a Detainee

The Wicomico County Detention Center sits in a slight hollow not far from the Salisbury shopping mall. The modern, low-slung jail constantly operates at its maximum capacity of 935 inmates. On a recent day, 128 were INS detainees, including 97 residents facing deportation after criminal convictions and 31 people who had violated immigration laws.

Florida's Cocau was among the latter group.

He was a 20-year-old stowaway when U.S. border guards pulled him off a ship in the Port of Baltimore in May 1999. He told them he was afraid to go home because he was beaten in his tiny Romanian village by corrupt police who accepted bribes from a rich man who covets Cocau's land.

He wanted to go to his relatives in Detroit. Instead, he was shackled and led to a van for the drive to Wicomico County.

When his sister-in-law, her husband and their daughter, Daniela, 25, arrived after a 12-hour drive from Detroit, they were informed that visits were limited to 30 minutes, twice a week, and that no one younger than 18 was admitted. Cocau had a brief, tear-stained reunion with the parents while Daniela sat in the car. Visits on consecutive days are not allowed, so the family turned around and went home.

Since then, Cocau has spoken to his relatives by telephone, but that's a problem, too. In Wicomico County, inmates must use pay phones that force them to call collect. The people they call are charged \$4.94 for the first minute and 69 cents a minute thereafter. The jail profits from the arrangement that allows the phone company to bill at those rates.

This summer, after receiving a \$2,000 phone bill, Cocau's family had to start refusing his calls.

"We miss him," Daniela David said from her home in Detroit. "We thought he was going to get out pretty soon, but it passed a year and a half now."

Cocau feels trapped, isolated and miserable. Detainees have no right to bond, and the INS refuses to release him. He also has no right to a court-appointed attorney, but a sympathetic United Nations refu-

se official asked the only Salisbury firm that handles immigration cases to represent Cocau for free.

To get out of jail, Cocau must convince a judge that he deserves political asylum. Or he can give up and agree to go home. After 18 months in Wicomico County, he still, impoverished Romania is starting to look like the better option.

Boorish and slight, Cocau is terrified of the much bigger American inmates, who range from killers and

drug dealers to drunk drivers and thieves. Not long ago, he said, an inmate was stabbed.

"I can't keep my soul clean here with these people. They curse every single minute. And they fight for no reason," Cocau said. "If I escape here without getting cut, I'm a lucky guy."

In the broken English he has picked up in jail, Cocau said he has no trouble with the guards. But everyone has heard stories.

There's the Nigerian who says jailers put him in a cell with an American inmate. Knowing the American had threatened him, the man was badly beaten, said his attorney, Penny Venetta, associate director of the Constitutional Litigation Clinic at Rutgers Law School.

On another occasion, Venetta said, jailers locked the man naked in a solitary confinement cell. The man was granted asylum and released a few years ago.

In 1996, a pregnant Haitian woman who spoke little English mistakenly nodded, yes when a guard asked if she was suicidal. Yvonic Emmanuel was placed in an isolation cell wearing a paper gown, said her Washington attorney, John O'Leary.

After five days, Emmanuel persuaded jailers to release her. Two weeks later, she suffered a miscarriage. Jailers kept her shackled on the way to the hospital, O'Leary said. A few months later, she was deported.

The Rev. Mark Horak, an immigration lawyer with Catholic Charities in Baltimore, said a mentally ill Jordanian man in the Wicomico jail did not see a doctor or receive medication for six months.

Wicomico County "contracted with the INS to make money.... They don't have any particular incentive to provide services that you or I would think are pretty basic," Horak said.

The Wicomico Way

Warden John Welch is a gruff and blustery former military man fast approaching retirement age. He takes great pride in his jail. It is modern. It is efficient. Its operating costs are the lowest in the state. In 1988, the jail became the first in Maryland to win an INS contract, and as Welch will tell you, that contract has repeatedly baited out Wicomico County.

Twenty years ago, the county needed to raise \$65,000 in 30 days. Welch said, puffing on a cigarette in a jailhouse office stacked high with inmate files, "I picked up the phone and called the INS and said, 'Send me 70 inmates.' And it was done."

The Washington Post

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Welch's INS contract requires an annual inspection by the INS. But when advocacy groups show up at the jailhouse door, he turns them all away. Out-of-town attorneys with clients in the jail say they also have had trouble getting in. Welch, who teaches a law class at Wor-Wic Community College, is unapologetic.

"I am an expert on correctional law. Basically, I will push the legal envelope to the limit," he said. "I'm not going to let anybody be abused. But I don't want anybody looking over my shoulder, either."

Some INS detainees do have special needs, Welch said. But Wicomico County accommodates them all.

"If you spoke Russian, I would treat you the same way I treat an American. I'd say, 'This is your food. Sit your tray down. You can eat,'" he said, speaking slowly and miming the actions with his hands.

"All our inmates, we treat as if they're innocent," Welch said. "We do use dogs. I will turn dogs loose on a pod of inmates if they're raising hell."

But dogs are ideal jailers, he said. They have no conscience. They're colorblind. And they don't care who they bite.

The dogs—big Rottweilers—are one of the things that prompted the Justice Department investigation, sources said. There's also talk of improper use of the restraint chair, a plastic device draped with straps in which inmates are immobilized for 24 hours or more.

Welch has plenty of defenders. John O'Malley, assistant INS commissioner for detention and deportation, used to work in the Baltimore District office and has known Welch for years. He said Wicomico County has been cooperative in meeting INS needs.

"I personally was saved by those dogs once," O'Malley said, adding that the animals are "glibbery, friendly" and likely to "lick you to death more than anything else."

As for the Justice Department, "we're aware of what the allegations are," O'Malley said. "If there was a finding of abuse in a jail, we would take everybody out. No matter how much of a problem it would be for us."

New INS Standards

The INS recognizes problems in its detention program. After human rights organizations published a raft of scathing reports about the treatment of detainees, INS Commissioner Doris Meissner vowed to

increase the use of discretionary releases for asylum seekers who pose no threat to the community, to improve access to legal representation and to set higher standards for county jails holding INS inmates.

"People who come to this country yearning to breathe free should not languish behind bars," Meissner told the Senate subcommittee on immigration in 1998.

Two years later, advocates say there has been little progress. An INS initiative to review the cases of criminal detainees held for more than six months produced 1,800 releases. But the INS still counts 2,700 people who have been in custody longer than six months. And that doesn't include detainees without criminal records such as Florin Cacan.

Meanwhile, the INS this month released the first-ever set of standards for the care of INS detainees, promising ample recreation time, fewer strip-searches, cleaner sheets and more consistent separation of nonviolent INS inmates from violent local offenders. The standards also call for better access to the outside world, including free phone calls, law libraries and regular presentations explaining detainee rights.

No one believes that implementing the standards will be easy. And the standards do not address the biggest barrier to legal representation: jails in the middle of nowhere.

"We're at the mercy of available space," O'Malley said. "There are things we wish were different."

Jails that do upgrade their facilities are likely to demand more money. If Wicomico County has to let every inmate go outside every day, for example, Welch estimates that instead of \$50 a day, the INS would have to pay him \$80.

Next year, Welch hopes to put together some kind of advisory board to promote public support for his idea to bring more INS detainees to Wicomico County.

"Renting beds is a lucrative business. If I built 500 beds, I could rent them all tomorrow morning," he said.

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Ex-Rivals Unite in Wider Health-Insurance Plan

By LAURIE MCGINLEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Former enemies in health-care reform battles put aside their differences to propose steps to cut the ranks of the uninsured—largely through expanding Medicaid and creating a tax credit for employers.

"Political gridlock should no longer be an option" in dealing with the problem of 43 million uninsured Americans, said Ron Pollack, executive director of Families USA, a liberal advocacy group that backed the Clinton administration's failed health-overhaul effort in 1993 and 1994.

He was joined by the Health Insurance Association of America, which helped doom the Clinton health-care overhaul plan by airing the "Harry and Louise" television ads, and the American Hospital Association, which is less ideologically driven than the other two groups.

Estimate of Costs

The plan, a framework rather than a detailed proposal, could help as many as 23 million low-income Americans who lack insurance, the groups said. They didn't provide an official cost estimate but said costs could reach \$23 billion a year, an amount they said was affordable given the bulging federal surpluses.

But Congress may not agree, considering competing requests for big-ticket projects, including a prescription-drug benefit for Medicare, the federal program for the elderly.

In developing the plan, the three groups agreed that it shouldn't disrupt existing coverage and should build on existing structures, such as Medicaid, the state-federal program for the poor and the disabled, and the Children's Health Insurance Program, which covers low-income children who aren't eligible for Medicaid.

Focus of Plan

The focus is on people with annual incomes of as much as 200% of the federal poverty level. Under current law, eligibility for Medicaid varies from state to state. But generally, people with children are eligible only if their incomes are well below the federal poverty level. In 32 states, a

parent who works at a minimum wage job, making \$5.15 an hour, makes too much money to qualify for Medicaid if he or she works full time, according to Families USA's Mr. Pollack. People without children are eligible only if they are disabled as well as poor. For a family of three, for example, the cap would be \$28,300. Under the plan:

- Medicaid would be expanded for all people with incomes of as much as 133% of the federal poverty level, or \$18,820 for a family of three. The federal government would provide the states with additional funds.

- States would be encouraged to provide coverage for parents and childless adults with incomes between 133% and 200% of the poverty level through Medicaid or a program like the Children's Health Insurance Program. The federal government would increase its matching rates to the states.

- Employers would receive a tax credit to help make company coverage more affordable for low-income workers. For example, a business that pays 70% of the premium for its workers would receive a tax credit to pay all or part of the remain-

ing premium for low-income workers who couldn't pay their share.

Mr. Pollack, who favors aggressive government action on health matters, and HIAA President Chip Kahn, an advocate of private-sector solutions, said the proposal wasn't the ideal one for either one.

But they said coverage can be expanded only if interest groups compromise.

The proposal is a sharp break in another way. It would provide coverage to low-income individuals without children. Currently, most childless couples, no matter how poor, are excluded from Medicaid coverage in most states.

Reactions Vary

Chris Jennings, a top health-care adviser to President Clinton, called the proposal encouraging.

But Neil Trautwein, director of employment policy for the National Association of Manufacturers, called it a "big-government approach."

At the other end of the spectrum, Jamie Court, a Santa Monica, Calif., consumer advocate, said the plan wouldn't work because insurers would block any meaningful cost containment.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 2000

The New York Times
November 24, 2000

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The New York Times
November 24, 2000

China Conducts a Secret Trial of U.S. Resident in Spy Case

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

BEIJING, Nov. 23 — A United States resident arrested in China on spying charges after she helped publicize the government's crackdown on the Falun Gong spiritual movement was tried today under a veil of secrecy.

The resident, Teng Chunyan, tipped off foreign reporters to Falun Gong protests and helped arrange interviews with members of the banned group. She was charged with passing intelligence to foreign organizations, according to diplomats and a Falun Gong spokeswoman.

Ms. Teng, a Chinese citizen with permanent-resident status in the United States, could face 10 years in prison if convicted — or more if the information she is accused of passing on is deemed highly important.

After a three-hour trial, Beijing's No. 1 Intermediate People's Court recessed without issuing a verdict, the Hong Kong-based Information Center for Human Rights and Democracy said. Ms. Teng was represented by two lawyers but her family members were barred, the rights group said.

An official with the prosecutor's office who identified himself as Mr. Zhao confirmed Ms. Teng's trial on spying charges, although court officials denied knowledge of the case.

The officials' reticence is typical for cases involving alleged state secrets, a concept intentionally left vague in partly unpublished laws. The campaign against Falun Gong is a sensitive political issue in China, where Communist officials are embarrassed by their inability to quash the popular meditation movement.

Ms. Teng joined Falun Gong last year in New Jersey, and her acupuncture clinic in New York became an informal clubhouse for the group, said Gail Rachlin, a Falun Gong spokeswoman in New York. Ms. Teng went to Beijing in February and, under the name Hannah Li, helped publicize the crackdown and was in contact with foreign journalists on and off for several months.

The indictment, dated Sept. 13, also accused Ms. Teng of taking reporters to interview Falun Gong members in southwestern Beijing on Feb. 7. It said the police detained her on May 13 and formally charged her two months later.

Ms. Rachlin said that Ms. Teng's husband, an American citizen whom she would not identify, flew to Beijing to monitor the trial, although diplomats in touch with the man earlier said China had refused to grant him a visa.

The United States Embassy in Beijing said it had no information on Ms. Teng. American diplomats are not required to provide legal assistance to residency holders.

Falun Gong drew millions of adherents in the 1990's to its slow-motion exercise and ideas culled from Taoism and Buddhism and those of Li Hongzhi, the founder, who now lives in the United States.

Worried that the group's size and organizational prowess could challenge the Communist Party's monopoly on power, China banned the group in July 1999, branding it a dangerous cult.

END

Russia Hopes to Revive Sagging Power Industry

By SABRINA TAVERNISE

MOSCOW, Nov. 23 — After years of dwindling investment and neglect, Russia's power industry is beginning to crumble.

A decade after the fall of the Soviet Union, investment is down by two-thirds, and nearly half of the existing infrastructure has aged beyond its intended life span. With economic growth surging and generation capacity last expanded in the 1980's, Russia needs to modernize fast.

To upgrade its sagging infrastructure, built mostly in Soviet times — portions predate the 1917 revolution — Russia's monopoly electricity company said it would need \$30 billion over the next 10 years. This investment, roughly equivalent to all of this year's federal government spending, is far greater than what local capital markets can provide. The solution, the company said, is to deregulate the industry and sell stakes in newly formed companies to foreign buyers.

"Russia's power sector, its technology and the condition of its equipment, is a disaster," said Anatoly B. Chubais, the chief executive of the national grid company, Unified Energy System. "Russia hasn't just reached the point of needing a restructuring, it has no other choice. The only way to rescue this sector is through private investment."

Russia's post-communist government tried to reorganize the electricity industry during the country's mass privatization in the 1990's. In that initial sale, Russia broke the industry into two layers. Unified Energy, the grid operator, was given almost all the biggest, most efficient power generators, while a second layer of 73 regional companies took weaker generators and local distribution. Foreign portfolio investors, like banks and mutual funds, snapped up stock in both Unified Energy and many of the regional companies during the stock market boom of 1996 and 1997, and now own about a third of Unified Energy.

But that first reorganization failed to generate new investment for the sector or to solve the chronic problem of nonpayment that, until recently, had strangled the industry. Regional companies fell hostage to powerful local politicians who blocked cutoffs and protected large customers who sometimes failed to pay their bills. And though Unified Energy is still one of Russia's most popular stocks, its share price is down more than 75 percent from its 1997 peak, and public offerings on the stock market no longer look like a viable way of raising cash for investment.

There does not seem to be a single, foolproof formula for deregulation, which is a recent development even in countries with well-established market systems. In California, for example, brownouts and soaring electricity prices have followed deregulation. Power cuts can have tragic consequences in Russia, where temperatures in parts of Siberia regularly plunge to 60 degrees below zero in winter, and power lines cross 11 time zones, so would-be reformers must tread carefully.

The aim of the new change is to liberalize Russia's highly regulated market and expand a wholesale market for electricity, where the country's biggest companies could shop around for the best price. Russia's existing federal wholesale market is extremely limited, with only 13 commercial consumers granted the right to buy electricity.

Mr. Chubais's new plan would separate power generators from the distribution companies that deliver power to and collect the bills from the end consumers. These generators, from hydroelectric plants to coal-powered plants, would be grouped into new companies, which would compete among one another for the best customers. In this way, reformers hope that intrusive local politicians would lose their grip on the power companies. Once a rudimentary market is established, Mr. Chubais would begin to sell stakes in those companies to big foreign power companies.

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A Child Custody Case That Evokes Elián González, in Reverse

By REUTERS

SAVANNA, Nov. 24 — A 5-year-old Cuban-American boy and his mother have arrived in Cuba, where they are seeking residence, setting off an international custody battle evoking the Elián González case, but in reverse.

The boy's father, Jon Kenneth Colombini of Florida, said he had not consented to his son's departure and was fighting to have the child returned, with help from the F.B.I. and the United States government.

In a statement issued here, the governing Communist Party said that the parents were divorced and that the boy's 29-year-old mother, Arletis Blanco Pérez, arrived in Cuba on Nov. 12 with her son, Jonathon Loren Colombini, and her new husband, his cousin and their baby daughter. She told the Cuban police that she had fled Florida after becoming embroiled in a dispute involving anti-Castro exiles, missing funds, secret tapes and death threats, the government said.

The paradox of a flight from the United States to Cuba — when thousands go by boat each year in the opposite direction — was not lost on Cuban authorities. "Cases of this nature do not often occur in our country," said the official statement in the Communist Party daily Granma.

In the Elián González case, the boy's mother died during flight to the United States with her son, setting off a custody battle that pitted the Castro government against many in the Cuban-American exile community. Elián's father eventually won his legal battle in United States courts and took his son home to Cuba on June 28. In this case, however, Ms. Blanco arrived safely on the coast of the western province of Pinar del Río 11 days ago and is still with her son; the United States has requested help from Cuban authorities in finding the boy and having him returned. The Cuban government has offered to help resolve the case.

"Cuban authorities are willing to offer all necessary facilities to process any claim or litigation that results from this case, so as to resolve the problem as quickly as possible," their statement said.

Two other Cuban-American men on the boat, Ms. Blanco's husband, Agustín Lemus Arzola, 37, and his cousin, Yuriel León Lemus, 21, were still being held in jail in Pinar del Río, presumably under investigation for illegal entry.

Another child on the boat, Ms. Blanco and Mr. Lemus's year-old daughter, Jessica Lemus, was with her mother and half-brother at a Cuban relative's home, also in Pinar del Río, the government said.

The government seemed to avoid taking sides in a custody dispute, but the official statement quoted Ms. Blanco as saying that she was divorced from Jon Kenneth Colombini and that he had already lost custody of their child.

The statement also cited Ms. Blanco's and Mr. Lemus's version of the events that led them to leave the United States from their home in Key Largo, Fla. They said that Ms. Blanco had been caught by her boss as she secretly taped a discussion over the sale of fuel to a Miami-based anti-Castro group, the government statement said. It quoted the couple as saying that the boss was using those profits secretly to finance the activities of another, more militant group.

The statement said the boss then threatened Ms. Blanco's life and those of her children if she ever made the transactions public.

When an audit of the company showed \$150,000 unaccounted for, Ms. Blanco feared she might be under suspicion, and she received several threats by telephone. It was then she decided to leave for Cuba.

END

As Rules Expand Competition, Irish Cabdrivers Blockade Roads

By BRIAN LAVERY

DUBLIN, Nov. 23 — For the second day, thousands of taxi drivers blockaded roads in Irish cities today to protest a government decision allowing full competition in the taxi market.

The blockades caused an initial wave of traffic chaos, which subsided slightly today as taxi drivers' unions called on their members to stop the unofficial demonstrations. A court order also removed a blockade that began on Wednesday at Dublin airport, which had forced an estimated 45,000 airline passengers to walk as far as a mile with their baggage.

But the drivers insisted that they would halt services and continue disrupting traffic until the government agreed to negotiate. Late tonight their protest finally persuaded Bobby Molloy, the government minister whose changes brought about the protests, to agree to meet with driver representatives next week.

Mr. Molloy's new rules permit anyone with a car and a clean driving record to drive a taxi after paying a license fee of \$5,000. Until now, the number of taxis on the streets has been decided in each locality. The drivers say that their significant investments in the licenses — which used to cost as much as \$100,000 on the black market — are now worthless, and that government plans for compensation through tax breaks is inadequate.

"People are going to have to give up their houses," said Liam Flanagan, 40, who took out loans to buy his car and taxi license nine years ago. "Santa Claus won't have a chimney to climb down," he added, standing with a group of drivers who were protesting near a line of empty taxis in the center of Dublin.

The strikes do little to offset widespread public frustration with taxis, one of several unreliable and inefficient methods of transportation here. Ireland's growing commuter population drags city streets to a standstill every rush hour.

As for bus service, "people who use public transportation have an even lower opinion of it than people who don't," said James Wickham, a Trinity College professor and an author of a report on the topic. On a national level, frequent strikes by airline and railroad workers have recently made longer-distance travel an unpredictable venture.

Deregulation became inevitable earlier this year when a court ruled that the government had no authority to restrict the number of taxi licenses. But the inadequate supply of taxis has been a subject of complaint since demand began rising in the late 1990's. Dublin's 2,721 licensed taxis now serve a population of more than a million.

"Everyone knows that there aren't enough taxis out there," said Eileen Brady of Dublin Corporation's traffic division.

On weekend nights, bus service ends at 11:30 p.m., and revelers hoping to take taxis home face waits in lines of up to 100 people. This year at least two people were killed during walks home through dangerous areas — incidents attributed to the scarcity of taxis.

The shortfall can be measured by the number of hackney cabs, taxis available only via telephone, said John Evans, an economist with the Irish Competition Authority. Since 1992, hackneys have increased their presence to 4,300 from 300. Even if the number remained at that level, Mr. Evans said, Dublin could easily sustain double its current number of taxis.

On Wednesday, after the government lifted the taxi restrictions, more than 1,000 interested drivers requested applications from Dublin Corporation, Ms. Brady said.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND THE FIRST LADY

From: Capricia Penavic Marshall *CPM*

Date: November 21, 2000

Re: National Medal of Arts and Humanities Ceremony

Here is the list of the Arts and Humanities awardees:

2000 NATIONAL MEDAL OF THE ARTS

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| • Barbara Streisand | Singer/Songwriter, Actor |
| • Mikhail Baryshnikov | Dancer |
| • Benny Carter | Jazz Musician, Composer, Conductor |
| • Chuck Close | Painter |
| • Horton Foote | Playwright |
| • National Public Radio | Cultural Programming |
| • Maya Angelou | Author, Actor |
| • Eddy Arnold | Country Singer |
| • Lewis Manilow | Patron |
| • Claes Oldenburg | Sculptor |
| • Itzhak Perlman | Violinist, Conductor |
| • Harold Prince | Musical Theater Producer, Director |

2000 NATIONAL MEDAL OF THE HUMANITIES

- Will D. Campbell
- Judy Crichton
- David Driskell
- Ernest Gaines
- Herman Guerrero
- Quincy Jones
- Edmund Morgan
- Toni Morrison
- Virginia Driving Hawk
- Robert Bellah
- Barbara Kingsolver
- Earl Shorris

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The proposed program for the Arts and Humanities Awards is as follows:

- 10:30 AM Small Meet and Greet in the Blue Room with NEA, NEH and PCAH Council Member
- 10:40 AM Awardees and their families meet with YOU in the East Room
- 11:05 AM YOU depart from the White House with the awardees and their families in the motorcade en route DAR Constitution Hall for the Arts and Humanities Ceremony
- 11:15 AM Arts and Humanities Award Ceremony begins on stage on Constitution Hall
- 12:20 PM YOU depart from DAR en route the White House
- 1:00 PM YOU host an open house for those who attended the awards ceremony
- 7:00 PM Guests begin to arrive for the Arts and Humanities Dinner

The entertainment for the evening is Leonard Slatkin and the National Symphony Orchestra. They have sent us three different proposals. Please let me know which proposal you prefer.

Program Proposal 1 (with Mr. Hampson narrating)

- Schuman *Chester* from New England Triptych
- Gould American Salute
- Ellington *Rialto Ripples* from The River
- Grofe Excerpt from Grand Canyon Suite
- Copland Three Songs from Old American Songs (with Mr. Hampson)
- Ives American Variations

Program Proposal 2 (with the President narrating)

- Schuman *Chester* from New England Triptych
- Gould American Salute
- Ellington *Rialto Ripples* from The River
- Grofe Excerpt from Grand Canyon Suite
- Ives American variation
- Copland Excerpt from Lincoln Portrait (the President narrating)

Program Proposal 3

- Combination of first two programs with Mr. Hampson and the President narrating

Each program is 18-20 minutes in length

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Lee Sells Memoirs, TV Rights on Data Probe

No Secret Information In Book, Lawyer Says

Associated Press

LOS ALAMOS, N.M., Nov. 21—Former Los Alamos scientist Wen Ho Lee, once the center of an investigation involving China and American nuclear weapons data, plans to tell his story in a first-person book next year.

A television miniseries on Lee is also in the works, said David Weil, the Los Angeles lawyer who helped broker both deals.

Lee, 60, was fired last year from Los Alamos National Laboratory and was arrested last December on charges of downloading nuclear weapons data to portable computer tapes, seven of which are missing.

He pleaded guilty two months ago to a single felony count of mishandling classified information and was sentenced to the

nine months he already had served while awaiting trial. The government dropped the other 58 counts against him in return for his promise to tell investigators, under oath, why he made the tapes and exactly what he did with them.

The handling of Lee's prosecution brought stinging criticism from the federal trial judge and allegations from Asian American organizations that he was singled out because of his ethnic background. Born in Taiwan, he is a 60-year-old naturalized U.S. citizen.

zen.

As part of his plea agreement, Lee is undergoing an extensive FBI interrogation. Much of that information is classified and will not end up in print, Weil said.

Lee signed the book deal with the publishing firm Hyperion, a branch of ABC Inc. With help from a coauthor, Weil said, Lee will reveal the personal side to his saga.

"It'll be 'Doctor Lee tells all' within the confines of the security clearances he has," Weil said.

The book is due out in the fall

of 2001.

The planned miniseries is tentatively scheduled to air during the fall sweeps week of 2001, said Stacey Cohen, a spokeswoman for the Lee family. It will be produced by Robert Greenwald Productions Inc. of Culver City, Calif.

Alys Shanti, vice president of the production company, would not discuss how much Lee and his family were being paid in the miniseries deal. She did say, however, that Lee was reluctant to sell his story.

"It took me four months to even get the door open," she said. "He was actually still in court when we were aggressively pursuing the family rights."

Lee has given just one substantial media interview, to the CBS TV magazine show "60 Minutes." He has never publicly explained his motive for copying the equivalent of more than 400,000 pages of nuclear weapons data from the classified computer system at Los Alamos to his unsecured desktop computer and to the tapes.

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For Lake, Retirement Offers Little Time to Rest

Ex-Clinton Adviser Filled Book With 'Nightmares'

—And He Has One to Add

By VERNON LOEB
Washington Post Staff Writer

Having shuttled back and forth between the United States and Africa twice in the past two weeks as special envoy to Ethiopia and Eritrea, Anthony Lake can hardly catch his breath in retirement.

Mediating the crisis, Lake allowed yesterday, is his "seventh nightmare."

Lake's first six fill his new book, "Six Nightmares: Real Threats in a Dangerous World and How America Can Meet Them," a tour of national security problems he wrestled with and worried about as President Clinton's first national security adviser.

For a man whose self-described "ungainly dismount" from public life came almost four years ago, when he withdrew from consideration as CIA director after a bitterly partisan confirmation battle in the Senate, it should come as no surprise that Lake's sixth nightmare is Washington.

"McCarthyism was more evil than what we are facing now," but it was part of a debate about an issue of great importance: how to pursue a Cold War in which our very existence was at stake," Lake writes in the book. "Today . . . politics has become an end in itself, not a means of deciding great issues. All that matters to most of the participants, most of the press, and too much of the public is who wins and loses, not what the game is about. And it has become a game."

But Lake, 61, admits to little bitterness and says he has tried to "disguise" that which he does feel, settling no scores in the book.

"My publisher wanted me to write much more about my [confirmation] in early '97 and to do more payback," Lake said in his cramped office at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, where he is now a professor. "I just don't think that's—I just didn't want it. The payback can go on forever."

Lake said he didn't want to write the typ-

ical insider's memoir, which invariably involves some level of personal and professional betrayal, and almost never stands as good history.

As an alternative form, Lake chose to introduce each of the six nightmares with a fictional device, from a Clancyesque description of a biological attack on MCI Center in Washington—Nightmare No. 1—to a made-up soldier's journal on the rigors of endless peacekeeping—Nightmare No. 4.

Lake is most prescient, however, with Nightmare No. 3, which he calls "ambiguous warfare" and describes using a fictional terrorist attack on a U.S. ship that goes a long

way toward anticipating last month's suicide bombing of the USS Cole in Yemen.

What to do after an "ambiguous" attack, when policymakers believe they know who carried out the slaughter but lack enough hard evidence to prove it in court?

In perhaps his most controversial recommendation, Lake advocates refined covert action by the CIA and the Pentagon, including cyber-attacks, so that the president will have retaliatory options that fall somewhere between Tomahawk cruise missiles and "posturing."

But launching a cyber-strike, Lake said, is something a new wave of presidential aides will have to ponder and debate. Lake said he's through his "final cycle," having begun his public career as a State Department consular officer in Saigon in 1963 and bounced back and forth between government and academia as Democratic administrations came and went over the years.

"I'm not going back, if it's Gore, Bush, or never determined," Lake said. "I don't know about being asked. I'm certainly not trying to be asked. I had what I think is the best job in the government. It was a great opportunity, but I can't think of another job that I would want."

So he's taken on three jobs in the private sector—teacher, author, open source-spy. It may not be the CIA, but for a fee, Lake's Intelligence Corp. can deliver open source intelligence briefs—and expert opinion—to desktop computers all over the world.

As for the politics of personal destruction—his sixth nightmare—Lake isn't entirely pessimistic.

"In the end, [change] won't come from Washington," he said. "It will come from the public, and we're starting to see it: a public revolution in all of this."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 2000

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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McCarrick will replace Hickey as D.C. leader

Archbishop lauded by peers; appointment starts Jan. 3

By Larry Witham
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A

Archbishop Theodore E. McCarrick of Newark, N.J., yesterday succeeded Cardinal James A. Hickey as the spiritual leader of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Washington.

Traveling here by train, the multilingual and widely traveled New Yorker — a self-described “workaholic” and “people person” — announced with Cardinal Hickey the papal appointment that becomes active Jan. 3.

“His Holiness has chosen well and wisely,” said Cardinal Hickey, who retires at age 80 after 20 years leading the archdiocese.

Cardinal Hickey said God had given the nation’s capital “a superb new archbishop.”

He added, “From my perspective, Archbishop McCarrick is a young man — he’s only 70. And when you observe his energy, you’ll agree with my assessment.”

Archbishop McCarrick learned of his appointment two weeks ago while here on business with the papal nuncio to the United States, Archbishop Gabriel Montalvo.

It was as a moment of “extraordinary grace,” Archbishop McCarrick said. “You gasp a couple of times, and you say deep down, ‘Can I really do this? I really believe you don’t say no.’”

He spoke warmly of a friendship with Cardinal Hickey that goes back to 1967, and the days when he was secretary to Cardinal Terrence J. Cooke of New York, whom then-Father Hickey would visit to raise money for North American seminarians in Rome.

“He was often the one designated by Cardinal Cooke to render whatever assistance was needed,” Cardinal Hickey recalled.

A frequent visitor to Washington, Archbishop McCarrick will leave an archdiocese of 1.4 million Catholics to serve one of 500,000 — but in what is regarded as a seat of the Catholic voice to political pow-

ers here and abroad.

It is rumored that in February, Pope John Paul II will name new members to the College of Cardinals, whose 120 members elect the next pope. The new archbishops of Washington and New York are likely candidates.

“I am a people person rather than a think person,” said the archbishop, who has a doctorate in sociology and was president of the Catholic University in Puerto Rico. Now, he said, “the really important thing is to get to know my priests, get to know my people. Once I’ve been in every parish, then we’ll take it from there.”

His first assignment as a priest took him to impoverished sectors of Puerto Rico, which he said imbued him with a concern to ease suffering. For the U.S. bishops, he has headed advocacy for migration services and debt relief for poor nations — preaching that he practiced in his own archdiocese.

“Some of our poorer parishes received debt forgiveness that amounted to \$10 million,” said Auxiliary Bishop Paul G. Bootkoski, who visited from Newark yesterday.

Seven days a week, the arch-

bishop works from 5 a.m. to 11 p.m., Bishop Bootkoski said, adding that at breakfast ideas and projects are all the talk — as they are again after 10 p.m. prayers. Still, he said, “The archbishop’s got any easygoing style. If he sees you’re hurting, he goes out of his way.”

Archbishop McCarrick takes over an archdiocese that also includes Georgetown University, Catholic University and Trinity College, plus a political climate in the area that often conflicts with church teaching on morality, abortion and homosexual rights.

“I certainly hope to be orthodox,” he said, noting that “authentic church teaching” advocates for the poor and for faith and morals.

He acknowledged the church’s problems, which include an increasing shortage of priests and bringing the alienated section of its membership back into the folds of the church. “I hope we will concentrate on vocations [to the priesthood],” he said. He also believes that the way church teaching is presented is key to how modern Catholics can accept its demands.

Born July 7, 1930, in New York

City, the archbishop studied at Fordham University and St. Joseph’s Seminary. He was dean of students and chief fund-raiser at Catholic University, becoming a bishop in 1977. He has served in Newark since 1986.

Cardinal William H. Keeler of Baltimore lauded the archbishop’s “gifts of great faith and diligence,” and fellow members on the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom noted his “gentle nature, clear-mindedness, and strict devotion to the cause of religious freedom.”

For his part, Archbishop McCarrick wished that for all his joy in hard work that he also “be a more holy person,” and noted that bishops are on a team and face an unknown future.

“No bishop of the church can do anything by himself,” said the smiling prelate. “There is no crystal ball given to an archbishop.”

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-25-00

Should see Congress
before to him - ~~yes~~

11-25

send to Cohen
for response?

☒ yes
☐ no

Emily

McCarrick will replace Hickey as D.C. leader

Archbishop lauded by peers; appointment starts Jan. 3

By Larry Witham
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A/

Archbishop Theodore E. McCarrick of Newark, N.J., yesterday succeeded Cardinal James A. Hickey as the spiritual leader of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Washington.

Traveling here by train, the multilingual and widely traveled New Yorker — a self-described “workaholic” and “people person” — announced with Cardinal Hickey the papal appointment that becomes active Jan. 3.

“His Holiness has chosen well and wisely,” said Cardinal Hickey, who retires at age 80 after 20 years leading the archdiocese.

Cardinal Hickey said God had given the nation’s capital “a superb new archbishop.”

He added, “From my perspective, Archbishop McCarrick is a young man — he’s only 70. And when you observe his energy, you’ll agree with my assessment.”

Archbishop McCarrick learned of his appointment two weeks ago while here on business with the papal nuncio to the United States, Archbishop Gabriel Montalvo.

It was as a moment of “extraordinary grace,” Archbishop McCarrick said. “You gasp a couple of times, and you say deep down, ‘Can I really do this.’ I really believe you don’t say no.”

He spoke warmly of a friendship with Cardinal Hickey that goes back to 1967, and the days when he was secretary to Cardinal Terrence J. Cooke of New York, whom then-Father Hickey would visit to raise money for North American seminarians in Rome.

“He was often the one designated by Cardinal Cooke to render whatever assistance was needed,” Cardinal Hickey recalled.

A frequent visitor to Washington, Archbishop McCarrick will leave an archdiocese of 1.4 million Catholics to serve one of 500,000 — but in what is regarded as a seat of the Catholic voice to political pow-

ers here and abroad.

It is rumored that in February, Pope John Paul II will name new members to the College of Cardinals, whose 120 members elect the next pope. The new archbishops of Washington and New York are likely candidates.

“I am a people person rather than a think person,” said the archbishop, who has a doctorate in sociology and was president of the Catholic University in Puerto Rico. Now, he said, “the really important thing is to get to know my priests, get to know my people. Once I’ve been in every parish, then we’ll take it from there.”

His first assignment as a priest took him to impoverished sectors of Puerto Rico, which he said imbued him with a concern to ease suffering. For the U.S. bishops, he has headed advocacy for migration services and debt relief for poor nations — preaching that he practiced in his own archdiocese.

“Some of our poorer parishes received debt forgiveness that amounted to \$10 million,” said Auxiliary Bishop Paul G. Bootkoski, who visited from Newark yesterday.

Seven days a week, the arch-

bishop works from 5 a.m. to 11 p.m., Bishop Bootkoski said, adding that at breakfast ideas and projects are all the talk — as they are again after 10 p.m. prayers. Still, he said, “The archbishop’s got any easygoing style. If he sees you’re hurting, he goes out of his way.”

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