Foreword by Leon R. Kass, M.D., Chairman XIII

Letter of Transmittal to the President XXV

Members of the President's Council on Bioethics XXIX

Council Staff and Consultants XXXIII

PREFACE XXXV

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY XXXIX

Human Cloning: What Is at Stake? XL
The Inquiry: Our Point of Departure XLI
Fair and Accurate Terminology XLII
Scientific Background XLIV
The Ethics of Cloning-to-Produce-Children XLVII
The Ethics of Cloning-for-Biomedical-Research L

- A. The Moral Case for Cloning-for-Biomedical-Research LI
- B. The Moral Case against Cloning-for-Biomedical-Research LIII

Public Policy Options LVI

The Council's Policy Recommendations LVII

Majority Recommendation LVIII

Minority Recommendation LX

1	THE MEANING OF HUMAN CLONING:	
	An Overview	I
	Human Cloning in Context 4 Cloning and Human Procreation 7 Cloning and Biomedical Science 12 Cloning and Public Policy 17 The Report 20	
2	HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF CLONING	23
	Scientific Milestones 24 Human Cloning from Popular Literature to Public Policy: From Brave New World to the Birth of Dolly 27 The Human Cloning Debate: From Dolly to the Present 34	
3	On Terminology	41
	Introduction: The Importance of Careful Use of Names 41 Tools of Analysis 44 Cloning: Toward an Appropriate Terminology 47 Cloning-to-Produce-Children; Cloning-for-Biomedical-Research 49 Cloned Human Embryo: The Product of SCNT 52 Conclusion 62	
4	SCIENTIFIC BACKGROUND	65
	Introduction 65 Some Basic Facts about Human Cell Biology and Sexual Reproduction 66 Cloning (Asexual Reproduction) of Mammals 68 Epigenetic Modification and Reprogramming 71 Cloning-to-Produce-Children 73	

Stem Cells and Regenerative Medicine 74

Human Cloning-for-Biomedical-Research 78

Parthenogenesis (Another Form of Asexual	
Reproduction) 80	
5 THE ETHICS OF CLONING-TO-PRODUCE-CHILDREN	83
I. The Case for Cloning-to-Produce-Children 85	
A. Purposes 86	
1. To Produce Biologically Related Children 86	
2. To Avoid Genetic Disease 87	
3. To Obtain "Rejection-Proof" Transplants 87	
4. To "Replicate" a Loved One 87	
5. To Reproduce Individuals of Great Genius,	
Talent, or Beauty 88	
B. Arguments 88	
1. The Goodness of Human Freedom 88	
2. The Goodness of Existence 90	
3. The Goodness of Well-Being 90	
C. Critique and Conclusion 91	
II. The Case against Cloning-To-Produce-Children 96	
A. The Ethics of Human Experimentation 96	
1. Problems of Safety 99	
a. Risks to the child 99	
b. Risks to the egg donor and the birth mother 100	
c. An abiding moral concern 101	
2. A Special Problem of Consent 105	
3. Problems of Exploitation of Women and	
Just Distribution of Risk 106 4. Conclusion 106	
	ni andrew
B. The Human Context: Procreation and Child-Rearing	IIO
C. Identity, Manufacture, Eugenics, Family, and Society	113
1. Problems of Identity and Individuality 114	
2. Concerns regarding Manufacture 116	
3. Prospect of a New Eugenics 120	

4. Troubled Family Relations 123

5. Effects on Society 126

D. Conclusion 128	
6 The Ethics of Cloning-for-	
BIOMEDICAL-RESEARCH	131
I. The Manner and Spirit of This Inquiry 131	
II. The Human Meaning of Healing 138	
	143
A. The Medical Promise of	.0
Cloning-for-Biomedical-Research 145	
1. Cloning to Improve Understanding of Human	
Disease 146	
2. Cloning to Devise New Treatments for Human	
Diseases 148	
3. Cloning to Produce Immune-Compatible Tissues	
for Transplantation 148	
4. Cloning to Assist in Gene Therapy 150	
B. Possible Moral Dilemmas of Proceeding 150	
1. Position Number One 150	
a. What is owed to the cloned embryo? 151	
(1) The possibility of twinning 153	
(2) The moral significance of pregnancy and	
implantation 154	
(3) The significance of the developed human form	155
(4) The meaning of "special respect" 156b. The problem of deliberate creation for use in	
research 158	
c. Development and use of cloned embryos beyond	
the earliest stages 161	
d. Exploitation of women who are egg donors 162	
e. The connection to cloning-to-produce-children 163	3
f. Conclusion 166	
2. Position Number Two 167	

IV. The Moral Case against Cloning-for-Biomedical-	
Research 170	
A. What We Owe to the Embryo 173	
B. What We Owe to Society 182	
1. Asexual Reproduction and the Genetic Manipulation	
of Embryos 183	
2. The Complete Instrumentalization of Nascent	
Human Life 184	
3. Opening the Door to Other Moral Hazards 186	
4. Conclusion: What Prudence Requires 189	
C. What We Owe to the Suffering 190	
V. Conclusion 194	
Public Policy Options	195
I C : I C - : - (00
I. Science and Society 197	
II. Public Policy Options: General Considerations 200	
A. The Scope of Policy 200	
B. A Legislative Complication 203	
III. Public Policy Options: Specific Alternatives 206	
A. Federal or State Jurisdiction? 207	
B. Seven Basic Policy Options 210	
Policy Option 1: Professional self-regulation with	
no legislative action ("self-regulation") 211	
Policy Option 2: A ban on cloning-to-produce-children,	
with neither endorsement nor restriction of cloning-for-	
biomedical-research ("ban plus silence") 213	
Policy Option 3: A ban on cloning-to-produce-children,	
with regulation of the use of cloned embryos for	
biomedical research ("ban plus regulation") 214	
Policy Option 4: Governmental regulation, perhaps by	
a new federal agency, with no legislative prohibitions	
("regulation of both") 218 Policy Option 5: A ban on all human cloning, whether to produ	1100
children or for biomedical research ("ban on both") 219	ue
219	

Policy Option 6: A ban on cloning-to-produce-children,
with a moratorium, or temporary ban, on cloning-for-
biomedical-research ("ban plus moratorium") 220
Policy Option 7: A moratorium, or temporary ban, on
all human cloning, whether to produce children or
for biomedical research ("moratorium on both") 222

8 Policy Recommendations

225

- I. The Council's Points of Departure in Formulating Policy Recommendations 226
- II. First Proposal: Ban on Cloning-to-Produce-Children,Moratorium on Cloning-for-Biomedical-Research(Policy Option 6 of Chapter Seven) 231
 - A. Strengths of the Proposal 232
 - 1. Bans Cloning-to-Produce-Children 232
 - 2. Provides a Highly Effective Means of Preventing Cloning-to-Produce-Children 233
 - Calls for and Provides Time for Further Democratic
 Deliberation 233
 - a. Seeking consensus on crossing a major moral boundary 234
 - b. Gaining needed scientific evidence 235
 - c. Promoting fuller and focused public debate,
 leading to a better-informed decision 235
 - d. Preserving a decent respect for the deep moral concerns of our fellow citizens 236
 - 4. Provides Time and Incentive to Develop Adequate Regulation Regarding Human Cloning 236
 - a. Comprehensive scope 237
 - b. Protections for egg donors 237
 - c. Transparency and accountability 238
 - d. Equal access to benefits 238
 - 5. Calls for and Provides Time for a Comprehensive Review of the Entire Domain of Related Biotechnologies 238

- 6. Provides Time to Garner Long-Term Respect and Support for Biomedical Research and to Reaffirm the Social Contract between Science and Society 240
- B. Some Specifics for the Legislation 241
 - 1. Broad Coverage 241
 - 2. Narrowly Drafted 241
 - 3. Temporary 241
- C. Conclusion 242
- III. Second Proposal: Ban on Cloning-to-Produce-Children,with Regulation of the Use of Cloned Embryos forBiomedical Research (Policy Option 3 of Chapter Seven)
 - A. Strengths of the Proposal 247
 - 1. Bans Cloning-to-Produce-Children 247
 - 2. Provides an Effective Means of Preventing Cloning-to-Produce-Children 247
 - 3. Approves Cloning-for-Biomedical-Research and Permits It to Proceed without Substantial Delay 248
 - 4. Establishes Necessary Protections against Possible Misuses and Abuses, Thus Paying the Respect Owed to Embryos Sacrificed in the Research 249
 - a. Prevent cloned embryos from being used to initiate pregnancies
 250
 - b. Provide enforceable ethical guidelines for the use of cloned embryos for research 250
 - c. Protect the adult participants in this research 251
 - d. Promote equal access to the medical benefits that flow from this research 251
 - 5. Who Should Regulate This? 251
 - 6. Calls for a Comprehensive Review of the Entire Domain of Embryo Research 251
 - B. Some Specifics for the Legislation 252
 - 1. Broad Coverage 252
 - 2. Narrowly Drafted 252
 - C. Conclusion 252
- IV. Recommendation 255

Notes	257
Glossary of Terms	267
Bibliography	271
Appendix: Personal Statements	2 79
Elizabeth H. Blackburn 280	
Rebecca S. Dresser 283	
Daniel W. Foster 288	
Michael S. Gazzaniga 290	
Robert P. George (joined by Alfonso Gómez-Lobo) 294	
William B. Hurlbut 307	
Charles Krauthammer 321	
Paul McHugh 332	
William F. May 334	
Gilbert C. Meilaender 335	
Janet D. Rowley 340	
Michael J. Sandel 343	
James Q. Wilson 347	