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FIRST CALL FOR CHILDREN



WORLD DECLARATION
AND PLAN OF ACTION FROM
THE WORLD SUMMIT FOR CHILDREN



CONVENTION ON THE
RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

Legal Services to Children

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR YOUTH LAW

JUNE 21, 1996

Good evening. I'm so sorry I cannot be there with you in person for the 25th Anniversary Celebration of the National Center for Youth Law. I am delighted to hear that Mayor Brown will be addressing you and that Senators Boxer and Feinstein are serving as the honorary chairs of the event.

I have long admired the work of the National Center for Youth Law. Children are one of the most vulnerable groups in our society. Children cannot vote. They cannot hire lobbyists to represent them on Capitol Hill. And they cannot represent themselves in a court of law. What you all have done so well for the past twenty-five years is provide our children with a voice - a voice in the courtroom, a voice in our foster care offices and a voice in our legislative and legal systems.

By providing legal services for our nation's children, you are keeping alive our country's fundamental promise of justice for all. You are some of democracy's most vital guardians. Every time you help a child escape an abusive home, help a state reform its child welfare system, or defend teenagers who have been abused in juvenile institutions, you help America live closer to its ideals.

Like all of you, I have watched with great distress efforts by some in Congress to move the cause of justice backward. This is a foolish calculation that this country cannot afford. It is a calculation that has forced many of you to make impossible choices as you try to help our neediest citizens obtain justice under law.

Last year, the National Center for Youth Law lost over \$800,000 in funding when Congress slashed funding for legal services. With leadership from dedicated advocates like all of you gathered here tonight, however, the struggle for equal justice will continue.

I know that the President joins me in saluting all of you for the important work that you are doing. Today, as the very notion of what we stand for as a society is at stake, we must carry on America's commitment to justice. Thank you.

file PB9 Child

MICHAEL D. BARNES

WASHINGTON SQUARE
1050 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
202-657-8170**MEMORANDUM**

TO: Hillary Clinton, Esq.

FROM: Michael D. Barnes
Chairman, Maryland Clinton/Gore Coordinated Campaign
Vice Chair, Maryland Democratic Party

RE: a) Appointment of U.S. Representative to the UNICEF Executive Board in time for April, 1993, meeting; status of the Representative as an Ambassador. Your special appearance and speech at the opening session of the UNICEF Executive Board at the United Nations on April 26, 1993.

b) U.S. Signature and Ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. (Signature by April 26, 1993?)

DATE: December 10, 1992

Executive Summary

a) The most visible, high-level appointment on international children's issues President Clinton will have an opportunity to make upon taking office is that of the U.S. Representative to the UNICEF Executive Board. The appointee, up to now an individual from private life who serves without compensation, leads the U.S. delegation to the annual 2 week meeting of the 41 member UNICEF Executive Board and serves as the administration's spokesperson with regard to U.S. efforts on behalf of the world's children. The U.S. Representative is assisted by an Alternate. Given the priority which the President-elect and you attach to the needs and rights of children, I recommend that the Clinton administration move very quickly on this appointment, confer upon the appointee the rank of Ambassador, and seek his/her confirmation by the U.S. Senate in time for the next meeting of the UNICEF Executive Board in late April, 1993.

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The Executive Board meeting provides a highly visible forum for the new administration to signal its support for child survival and development and for U.S. action on the Convention on the Rights of the Child. I recommend that you consider attending the opening session of the board on April 26, 1993, to announce the administration's support for UNICEF, the goals of the World Summit for Children and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

b) The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1989, establishes minimum standards for the survival, protection and development of children. The Convention has been ratified by 126 countries, including all of the major western allies of the United States. An additional 30 countries have signed and are moving toward ratification. Only a small number of island nations and countries with dubious human rights records remain with the United States as neither having signed nor ratified the Convention, including South Africa, Libya, Iraq, and Somalia. The Convention has the support of several hundred national organizations, both Houses of Congress and a number of prominent American advocates for children. I recommend that President Clinton sign the Convention in time to make possible your announcement of his action at the opening session of the UNICEF Executive Board meeting on April 26, 1993.

Background

a) The UNICEF Executive Board meeting is held annually at the United Nations Headquarters in New York. UNICEF's board, composed of representatives of 41 Member States of the UN, including the United States, is a policy making, oversight and program and budget approval body. It is largely for the Clinton administration to define a new and more critical role for the U.S. Representative to the UNICEF Executive Board. The previous administration did not appear to view the position as other than a high level political "plum" and its holders for the past twelve years have not viewed themselves as spokespersons for the cause. (The last true advocate in the position was Marjorie Craig Benton who was appointed by President Carter.) This is despite the continuation throughout the 1980's of the U.S. as a major donor to UNICEF and child survival programs.

The position has enormous advocacy potential, both for domestic and international gains. The present is an ideal time for such an appointee and a new administration to be at the forefront of efforts to improve the well-being of children throughout the world. The children's movement has been gathering considerable momentum internationally, as evidenced by the success

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of the World Summit for Children (1990), the achievement of Universal Child Immunization by 1990 and the rapid international acceptance of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. These historic events and attendant major gains for children have built a strong base for greater success in the near future and have forever raised the political priority of the needs of children to the highest levels. President-elect Clinton's election on a campaign which highlighted the need to invest in critical programs for children reflects this new priority and its acceptance among the American people.

The task before the international children's movement over the next eight years is to work toward achievement of the goals for the year 2000 adopted at the World Summit for Children.

Principal among these are:

Reduction of under-5 child mortality rates in all countries by one third;

Reduction of maternal mortality rates by half;

Reduction of severe and moderate malnutrition among under-5 children by one half;

Universal access to safe drinking water and to sanitary means of excreta disposal;

Universal access to basic education and completion of primary education by at least 80% of primary school age children;

Reduction of the adult literacy rate by one half, with emphasis on the literacy of women; and,

Protection of children in exceptionally difficult circumstances, particularly in situations of armed conflicts.

For the United States, these goals can have significant domestic impact. As you know, the U.S. ranks 22nd in the world with regard to infant mortality. Reduction of the U.S. rate of infant mortality by one-third by the year 2000 can be accomplished at low-cost and could be one of the great accomplishments of the Clinton administration.

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The appointment of a nationally known figure to be U.S. Representative to the UNICEF Executive Board, and conferring upon the holder the rank of Ambassador to represent the personal interests of the President, would provide the new administration a unique vantage point from which to promote these goals and its focus on children in the international arena. Therefore, I recommend that you advise the President to fill this appointment in time to enable his appointee to join the U.S. delegation to the UNICEF Executive Board meeting beginning April 26, 1993. (I would be pleased to suggest potential candidates for the position of U.S. Representative to the UNICEF Executive Board.)

b) The United States is among very few nations that has not signed or ratified the human rights treaty that has been called the "Magna Carta" for children, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. The Convention establishes minimum standards for the survival, protection and development of children. Among the Convention's provisions are included the right of a child to a name and nationality, freedom of expression and to be heard in administrative and judicial proceedings, the right to adequate health care and education and the right to be protected from economic and sexual exploitation.

The idea for an international treaty for children was launched in 1979, the UN International Year of the Child. A working group of the UN Human Rights Commission drafted the treaty over the next ten years, with U.S. representation throughout, and approved its text by consensus early in 1989. The Convention on the Rights of the Child was brought before the UN General Assembly and adopted by consensus (including the U.S.) on November 20, 1989. The Convention achieved status as international law on September 2, 1990, in record time for a human rights treaty. As of this writing 124 nations have ratified the Convention, including Canada, the United Kingdom, Mexico, Germany, France, Japan and all of our major Western allies. The shrinking list of nations which are non-party to the Convention includes, in addition to the U.S., Libya, Iraq, South Africa, and Somalia. Clearly, the U.S. is keeping very poor company by remaining on this list and is trailing on an issue with universal appeal and merit when it should be leading the call for global adherence to a treaty for the rights of children.

Within the United States the Convention has generated considerable support from the Congress, national organizations and prominent individuals. Both Houses of Congress have passed resolutions in support of U.S. ratification of

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the Convention on a bipartisan basis. Also, leading Senators Bill Bradley (D-NJ) and Richard Lugar (R-IN) have co-chaired a National Advisory Council of prominent figures on the Rights of the Child to promote U.S. consideration of the treaty. Over two hundred national organizations have expressed strong support of the treaty, including the National Education Association, the American Association of Retired Persons, the Children's Defense Fund, the Association of Junior Leagues and the YWCA. The White House and the State Department have received thousands of letters in support of the Convention.

The Bush administration was hesitant to move on the Convention for fear of alienating the right wing. The treaty was reviewed by the executive departments but a final report was never produced and the Convention was never forwarded to the Senate for consideration of ratification.

In consideration of the President-elect's and your support for the right of children to the basic necessities of life and proper development, and to reposition the U.S. as a leading international voice for the protection of children, I recommend President Clinton sign the treaty as soon as possible after taking office and forward it to the Senate for consideration of ratification within one year. These announcements can be made by you in a special appearance before the UNICEF Executive Board in April, 1993, and thus broadcast to the world.

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A CULTURE OF CARING

Nicole -
file

A high-contrast, black and white photograph showing the silhouettes of a family walking away from the viewer. In the center is an adult, flanked by two children. The child on the left is holding the adult's hand. The child on the right is slightly behind. They are walking on a light-colored path against a dark, textured background.

**America's Commitment to
Children and Families**



INTRODUCTION



Americans have always passed on to the next generation a more prosperous and more humane society than the one they inherited. That's what has given America strength. That's what has made the United States a lighthouse for the world. We have a responsibility to continue this tradition, to make sure that our actions today produce a brighter future for our children tomorrow. We must make sure America remains a land of opportunity for our children. America's plan of action is simple: we will give our children a more prosperous, healthier and more secure future.

The current generation of American adults recognizes that to do this, we must provide our children with the tools that will enable their generation to experience progress. For this to occur, we must have an education system that works. Children must arrive at school healthy and ready to learn. With these tools our children can assure themselves of a growing economy so that they can continue to build our Nation and prosper in the same way previous generations of Americans have prospered. This report, a response to the World Summit for Children held in New York in September 1990, presents both the steps the Administration is taking to improve the lives of children in the United States and the initiatives the United States is undertaking to improve the lives of children worldwide.

This report's narrative focuses for the most part on the activities of the Federal Government. Yet the Bush Administration has always stressed that the answer to creating a better future for America's children does not lie primarily with Washington. The answer is in the home life of all American families, reinvigorated local communities, and economic conditions that ensure a growing and prosperous economy.

The Bush Administration recognizes that the Federal Government plays an important role in protecting children from poverty, disease, malnutrition, illiteracy and abuse. But the primary responsibility for America's children must rest with the family and the local community. The state of our children is the state of our families.

As U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Secretary Louis W. Sullivan, M.D. has said, "The family is the first and the most effective Department of Health and Human Services." That's because the forces that truly shape a child's development — care, love, and the instilling of moral values — are best provided by the family and the local community.

The Bush Administration believes that the Federal Government should look for ways to reinforce and strengthen the basic building blocks of a healthy society, including family, community, business and schools. Such policies will go further toward improving the lives of children than all the government programs money can buy.

Nonetheless, the Administration also recognizes that far too many children are deprived of the nurturing environment that family

and community can best provide. For millions of American children, government serves as a provider, paying welfare benefits in lieu of the wages that would be provided by an absent parent. But children need the care and support of both parents. Without a mother and father, a child would be left to depend on the government for warmth, love, and moral guidance as well as economic assistance.

In addition, far too many children grow up in areas where work is not readily available. So the U.S. Government, in pursuit of its long-standing commitment to ensure the well-being of its citizens, provides many programs designed to offer assistance when these traditional front-line institutions break down.

This report provides an overview of innovative Federal efforts. By no means is the information contained here intended to be comprehensive or all-encompassing. Instead, this report outlines the Administration's general approach to tackling many of the most pressing and critical issues facing the next generation of Americans and demonstrates the President's commitment to America's children, our most precious resource.



A BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR OUR CHILDREN

The United States is proud of its accomplishments for its children. As a whole, America's children are at or near the top among nations in almost every important measured index on the quality of life: standard of living, health, expected lifespan, and level of education. America's families have worked hard to achieve this level of success. Nevertheless, too many children in the United States have not received the full benefit of the American system. Too many children today must still be considered "at risk." Prosperity is not universal, even in the United States. The lives of too many American children are still blighted by poverty, violence in their homes and communities, lack of education, and inadequate health care.

Despite efforts dating back 25 years to the "War on Poverty" declared by President Johnson, government efforts, including significant growth in government spending, have been largely unsuccessful for some segments of our population.

The Bush Administration has outlined a new strategy to improve circumstances for children in America. The President's new ideas for the future will move us toward such goals as:

1. Strengthening the family
2. Supporting community action
3. Creating a stronger economy
4. Making streets and school yards safe
5. Comprehensive health care reform
6. Improving education



STRENGTHENING THE FAMILY

A major cause of poverty in America is the breakdown of the family. The numbers tell the story. Nine out of ten children from two-parent families avoid poverty, but half of the children living in single family households are poor. The vast majority of single parents are women raising their children without any male support at home. The increase in the proportion of mother-only families accounted for about half of the overall increase in child poverty from 1979 through 1987. It would be an over-simplification to say that two parents are always better than one. Not all absent parents are willing, or able, to make a positive contribution to family life. And there are many courageous and loving single-parents who are able to balance

the competing demands on their time and attention to provide and care for their children. Still, children who are missing a parent are 500 percent more likely to be poor and 200 percent more likely to drop out of school than children who live with both parents.

Absent fathers also take their toll on the physical, mental and emotional health of children. A recent study by the National Center for Health Statistics found that children living in single-parent or step-parent families suffer from more health problems and emotional distress. Even after controlling for age, gender, race and socioeconomic status, children from disrupted families were 20 percent to 40 percent more likely to suffer health problems than children living with their biological parents. These children were also

much more likely to display antisocial behavior.

Nearly one half of all black families are now headed by females. Among black families consisting of married couples and their children the poverty rate is 14 percent, which is about the national average. But among families headed by single mothers, the poverty rate is a staggering 52 percent. Two-thirds of all black infants today are born of unwed mothers.

Approximately 70 percent of juveniles in long-term correctional facilities did not have a father at home while growing up. As Secretary Sullivan has said: "We are raising a generation of young males who measure their manhood by the calibre of their gun and the number of children they have fathered — a generation for whom the comradery of a gang has replaced the love of a family." All this points to one conclusion: children need the love, support and guidance of both their mother and their father.

There has also been an accompanying erosion in traditional moral values. The television and movie industries often depict scenes of casual sex, violence, lack of responsible behavior and defiance of legitimate authority. The legacy of the "Sexual Revolution" of the 1960s and 1970s is an epidemic of sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancies, shattered lives and children lacking a moral compass. For the middle class, the majority have survived this sea change in social mores. But many of the poor, with a less secure family life, have not. The inter-generational poverty now plaguing America's inner-cities is the legacy of a break-

down of the traditional family and of family values.

A series of initiatives has been proposed by President Bush that would reward instead of discourage family formation, and discourage instead of reward the break-up of families. These include:

1. Project KIDS: Making absent parents responsible for their children.

In families where one parent is absent, the parent who cares for the children can seek from the courts a judicial decree that the absent parent should financially support his or her children. Presently, only half of women legally entitled to receive child support receive the full-amount owed, a quarter receive partial payment, and a quarter receive nothing. Most significant is the behavior of fathers among low-income Americans. More than 90 percent of children now in the Aid to Family

lies with Dependent Children (AFDC) program have able-bodied absentee fathers, but only 10 percent receive any child support from these fathers. The Bush Administration believes the law should be tough on these delinquent fathers. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' new Administration on Children and Families has dramatically stepped up child support enforcement. Child support payments during the first three years of the Bush Administration have increased by \$3 billion. But more must be done.

President Bush recently announced a new initiative, Project KIDS. Its goals for 1996:

- Three quarters of absent parents will be required to support their children, up from half now.
- Three quarters of absent parents will pay child support in full, on time, up from half now.

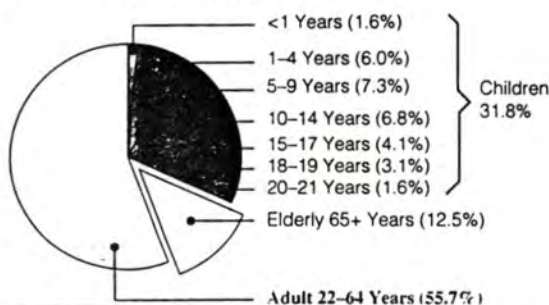
Improved Child Support

"Americans want to see government at every level work together to track down the deadbeat dads — the ones who cannot be bothered to pay child support. They want to see us break this cycle of dependency that destroys dignity and passes down poverty from one generation to the next."

— President Bush
March 16, 1992

U.S. Population

by Age Group 1989
Source (1.1): U.S. Bureau of the Census



Population of Children

In 1989, there were 79 million children through the age of 21 in the United States, representing 31.8% of the total population.

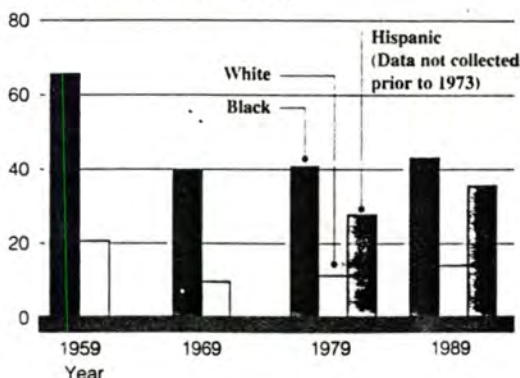
Between 1980 and 1989, there was a 13.9% increase in the number of children under 5 years of age. Although there were 23 million more children younger than 22 in 1988 than in 1950, this age group is declining relative to other age groups in the population.

In 1989, persons aged 65 and over represented 12.5% of the total population. By the year 2000, this group is expected to increase by 12.6%, whereas the child population is expected to increase by only 2.1%.

Children in Poverty

Under 18 Years of Age: 1989
Source (1.2): U.S. Bureau of the Census

Percent of Children Below Poverty



HOPE

"We must promote new hope through homeownership. People want a real stake — a real stake in their community, something of value that they can pass along to their kids. And that's what the HOPE initiative does. It turns public housing tenants into homeowners."

— President Bush
May 8, 1992

- Two out of three children born to single mothers will have their fathers identified, up from one in three.
- Half of absent parents will cover their children on their health coverage plans, up from one in five.

Absent parents who do not support their children would lose many of the privileges State and Federal governments extend to citizens and would be subject to stiffer criminal penalties. The Internal Revenue Service would collect overdue child support along with taxes owed the Federal government.

2. Fully funding HOPE (Home Ownership for People Everywhere).

Under the HOPE program proposed by President Bush and Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, residents of public housing would be empowered to purchase their units in public or American Indian housing properties. Assistance would be made available in the form of two types of grants:

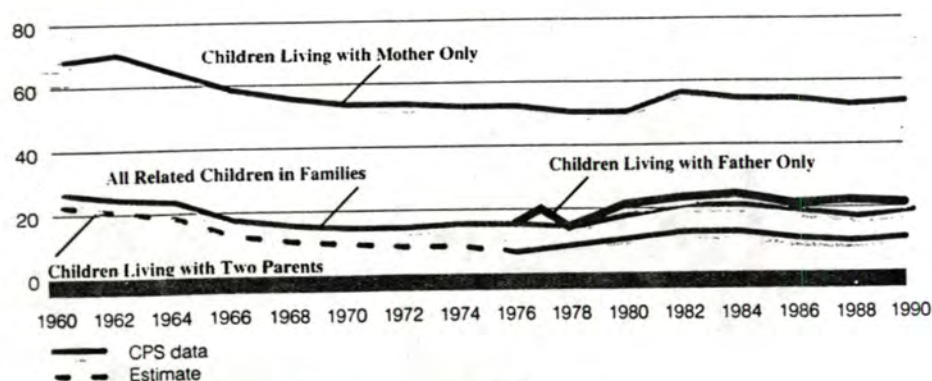
- Planning grants to assess viability and provide technical assistance to prepare public and American Indian housing residents for home ownership;
- Implementation grants for the rehabilitation of public housing projects, as well as counseling and training, capital and operating reserves, and helping to cover the costs of actually buying the properties at heavily discounted prices.

Families with incomes below 80 percent of the local median income would be eligible for Federal assistance to buy their homes in public or Indian housing facilities. HOPE would also make grants available to organizations that help families in public housing or FHA distressed multi-family buildings to buy and maintain their homes and properties.

By providing opportunity for home ownership, HOPE would give low-income families greater control over their homes and neighborhoods; help expand the supply of decent housing; and promote economic self-sufficiency. HOPE will help give low-income Americans a stake in the American Dream. Home ownership is one of the most powerful equity-building, wealth-creating investments families can make. HOPE would allow low-income families an opportunity to reap the benefits of home ownership. Home ownership helps provide stability and security to family life — essential to healthy child development.

Poverty Rate of Children by Living Arrangement

By Percentage
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, series P-60, No. 175 and earlier reports.





SUPPORTING COMMUNITY ACTION

The Administration has proposed a new approach, one that would strengthen community and family life and encourage local, grass-roots initiatives. President Bush speaks often about the "Points of Light," meaning people who pull together and volunteer to aid a neighbor in need. The residents of a particular neighborhood understand their needs far better than the remote bureaucracy in Washington, D.C. And, for the most part, residents of neighborhoods are better equipped to deal with their own problems

when encouraged to do so. A successful attack on poverty must foster self-sufficiency instead of need. It must highlight and strengthen the many positive aspects that already exist in communities. For this reason, community action is one of three great engines of progress — together with economic growth and government action. In order to ensure that government fully supports the initiatives of groups and individuals at the community level, the Bush Administration has proposed the following plan of action:

Thousand Points of Light

"These individuals and groups realize that we build a better America not by protesting or demanding that others assume responsibility for our problems; we build better futures by taking on the problems we see in our own communities."

*— President Bush
September 28, 1991*

Welfare Reform

"It's time to replace the assumptions of the welfare state and help reform the welfare system... when able-bodied people receive government assistance, they have responsibilities to the taxpayer; a responsibility to seek work, education, or job training, a responsibility to hold their families together and refrain from having children out of wedlock."

*— President Bush
January 28, 1992*

1. Creating enterprise zones in poor areas.

Enterprise zones will attack poverty by promoting investment in economically distressed neighborhoods. These designated areas will be given tax incentives and regulatory relief to attract new seed capital for small business start-ups and to make risk-taking possible.

Many people are deterred from starting a business because taxes are too high and regulations are too complicated. The Administration has proposed eliminating costly legal barriers that discourage low-income people from starting their own businesses. Barriers that small businessmen must overcome include: zoning ordinances that prevent people from running a business out of their home; occupation licensing and bonding requirements; property taxes, inventory taxes and other business taxes. By removing all non-health related government barriers to private enterprise in enterprise zones, we will be better able to provide additional incentives to expand the economy.

2. Giving greater authority to State and local government to experiment with new approaches to fighting poverty.

The Bush Administration has been waiving many Federal restrictions on AFDC and other public assistance programs to allow State and local governments to experiment with new approaches to alleviating poverty.

Wisconsin, through a program called Learnfare, requires students to attend school for their parents to receive maximum welfare benefits. Maryland officials have announced a plan to encourage more responsible behavior among the poor by paying bonuses to those who get preventive health care, keep children in school and pay their rent.

New Jersey no longer pays mothers additional AFDC benefits if they have more children out of wedlock, but allows mothers to continue to receive benefits if they marry ("wedfare"). New Jersey's welfare law allows mothers to get a job and earn up to 50 percent of their total benefits without being forced off welfare. The New Jersey law also requires mothers with children over the age of 2 to work or get job training. This is the kind of innovation the Bush Administration is encouraging. Government works best when it's closest to the people. State and local governments are much better positioned, strategically, to address the real needs of their people than is distant Washington, D.C. Each project will be carefully evaluated to determine its effectiveness.

3. Full funding for Head Start.

One Federal anti-poverty program that has worked very well is Head Start. Head Start offers preschool experience to children who live in poor households. Head Start works because it relies on parents and volunteers in the local

community to run the program and make it work.

Neighborhood volunteers at Head Start centers outnumber paid staff three to one. Head Start attempts to give poor children some of the advantages they may be missing at home, advantages that have enabled other kids to arrive at kindergarten and first grade ready to learn. Head Start teaches disadvantaged preschool children basic values, values such as respect for teachers and authority, integrity, hard work, patience, and service to others.

President Bush is a strong believer in the value of Head Start, which is why he has proposed and Congress accepted a record \$600 million increase in Head Start funding for Fiscal Year 1993. This will enable every eligible 4-year

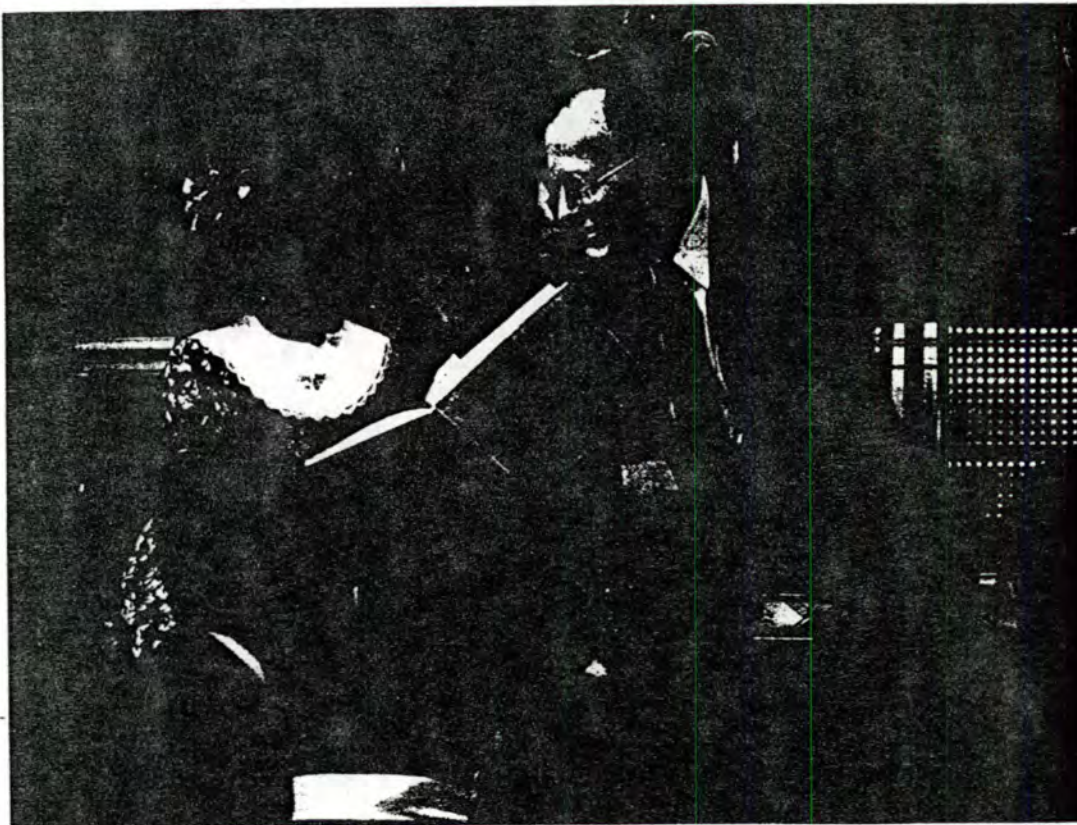
old to participate in Head Start. It will also enable Head Start to open Family Service Centers, which will assist parents who are involved in the program and face problems such as illiteracy, unemployment, and drug or alcohol abuse. By addressing these problems, the Centers will help parents create a more positive, nurturing home environment for their children.

Head Start

"Everyone agrees Head Start is a program that works for children — by enhancing their educational performance and really fostering success in life. Head Start also works for families by offering child care and child development programs for parents which build self-confidence by encouraging a commitment to improve the lives of the children."

— President Bush

May 24, 1990



CREATING A STRONGER ECONOMY

The best anti-poverty program is a growing economy. The historical record shows that poverty in America has declined, not when spending on social programs has increased, but during periods of economic expansion. Poverty plunged during the post-war period while the economy was growing at a rapid pace. In 1959, the poverty rate was 22.4 percent, and dropped to 12.1 percent by 1969. But then the decline in the poverty rate stopped in 1969, just as the Great Society's War on Poverty programs were kicking in. The poverty rate began to climb from 11.7 percent in 1979 to 15.2 percent in 1983 when the economy slowed and sank into a recession. Poverty fell again throughout the 1980s to 12.8 percent in 1989 as the economy improved. This was certainly true of the period between 1983 to 1989 when American aggregate output grew by a staggering 24 percent, the equivalent of creating another economy the size of Germany's inside the United States. The facts show that the poor did not get poorer between 1983 and 1989, when the economy was growing. All income

groups were better off as a result of the 19 million jobs created by the longest economic expansion in American history. The average income of the poorest fifth of American families increased by 10.4 percent during this period. The average income jumped 9.5 percent for the second lowest fifth; 11.7 percent for the middle fifth; 12.2 percent for the second highest fifth; and 13.6 percent for the highest fifth. As President Kennedy often said, "a rising tide lifts all boats." And that was certainly the case during that period of economic growth, from 1983 through 1989. If we are to give our children a bright and prosperous future in which their opportunities are limited by their dreams and not their circumstances, we must have a growing economy. The Bush Administration has proposed an economic growth program to lessen the burden of government on those who pay the country's bills — families and businesses:

1. A Balanced Budget Amendment to the Constitution.

We have a moral responsibility not to leave a legacy of debt to

Balanced Budget

"We've got to remember, these aren't government dollars, they're taxpayer dollars. And when it comes to the deficit, let's remember who foots the bill — our children, our grandchildren. We need a balanced budget amendment."

*— President Bush
May 27, 1992*

our children and grandchildren. We cannot give the next generation the same opportunities our parents and grandparents gave us so long as the Federal Government continues to run up yearly deficits in excess of \$300 billion. Washington must stop spending more than it takes in.

Nearly 15 percent of the entire Federal budget is spent just on paying interest on the Federal debt. A Balanced Budget Amendment is clearly needed. Sadly, the House on June 11, 1992, once again rejected a Balanced Budget Amendment to the Constitution, this time by only nine votes. We owe our children better leadership and more responsible fiscal policy than this.

2. Tax relief for first-time home buyers.

The Administration has proposed allowing the use of Individual Retirement Accounts by first-time home buyers to purchase a home. In addition, the Administration has proposed a \$5,000 tax credit for first time home buyers. President Bush has also recommended efforts to provide a much-needed boost to the real estate industry, the backbone of the American economy.

3. A moratorium on new regulations.

President Bush, in his State of the Union Message to the Nation on January 28, 1992, announced a 90-day moratorium on Federal agencies issuing new regulations. The President has since extended that moratorium indefinitely. Meanwhile, the President's Council on Competitiveness, chaired by Vice President Dan Quayle, is conducting a comprehensive review of existing regulations to identify unnecessary government red-tape that can be streamlined or eliminated. The regulatory burden on business and enterprise is crushing economic growth.

A growing economy is vital not just to the economic well-being of families and children, but to their emotional well-being as well. Life at home is more secure and far less stressful if dad, mom or both have decent jobs that provide the necessary financial support for the family. Children cannot achieve their full potential in life without opportunity, which results from the continuous creation of new businesses and industries.

New Regulations Moratorium

"I won't neglect my responsibility for sound regulations that serve the public good, but regulatory overkill must be stopped."

*— President Bush
January 28, 1992*



MAKING THE STREETS AND SCHOOLYARDS SAFE

The threat of violent crime constitutes an assault on family and community. The basis of community is the confidence that we can live, work and play in our neighborhoods free from the threat of violence. If a single mother in an inner-city neighborhood must worry about drugs being sold outside her home on the street corner or whether her children will get drawn into joining a gang, this makes the already difficult job of motherhood nearly impossible.

More than tough law enforcement is needed to address problems in the inner-cities. But ridding communities of violent crime is an

absolutely necessary pre-condition for any social progress. The following three-part plan has been launched by the Administration to make America's streets and playgrounds safe:

1. Stronger law enforcement.

There is no mystery as to how to protect our families from violent crime. Study after study shows that only a small segment of our population commits violent crimes, and that almost all violent crimes are committed by repeat offenders. A 1980 study of just 240 habitual offenders found that this small group was responsible for over 500,000 crimes over an 11-year period — an average of 190

crimes per year per offender. A 1982 study by the Rand Corporation found that the average state inmate committed between 187 and 287 crimes per year while on the street (not including drug deals). A recent study by the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms found that criminals serving time for firearms offenses averaged 160 crimes per year prior to being incarcerated. These are career criminals who began their careers in crime as juveniles and continue to commit crimes as adults. There is only one way to make America's streets safe, and that's to make sure that chronic violent offenders are not released from prison until they have served their full sentences.

The Bush Administration's Crime Bill now before Congress includes the following reforms:

- Mandatory 5- and 10-year prison terms for firearms possession by a person with one or two prior convictions for violent felonies or serious drug offenses.
- Override of State negation of convictions for armed career criminals.
- Broader definition of serious drug offense for armed career criminals to include State offenses where conduct would have carried a maximum term of 10 years or more if federally prosecuted.
- Broader Federal jurisdiction and adult prosecution for juvenile offenders

- Mandatory 10-year term for use of a semi-automatic firearm in a Federal crime of violence or a drug trafficking crime.
- A workable Federal death penalty for murders implicating Federal interests or responsibilities, including substantially all drug-related murders.
- A workable Federal death penalty for certain non-homicidal offenses, including "drug kingpins" and those convicted of treason and espionage.
- An objective reasonableness ("good faith") exception to the "exclusionary rule."

2. Expand the Administration's "Weed and Seed" program.

Operation Weed and Seed is a new initiative to combat violent crime and drug trafficking in targeted distressed neighborhoods. Weed and Seed improves the circumstances of children living in these neighborhoods by reducing crime and providing social services. President Bush requested from Congress \$500 million for the Weed and Seed initiative for 1993.

The key to Weed and Seed is not so much in new spending as in a new way of operating. It involves the integration of Federal, State and local law enforcement activities to "weed" out violent criminals, drug traffickers and youth gangs. It then provides community revitalization and social welfare programs to "seed" the areas for long-term economic growth and revitalization of low-income communities. The Weed

Crime Bill

"It's time for a criminal justice system that allows us to see the truth come out, the guilty punished, the law upheld, and justice done. And that's what I believe our crime bill stands for."

— President Bush
October 16, 1992

Weed & Seed

"Families can't thrive, children can't learn, jobs can't flourish in a climate of fear. And so first is our responsibility to preserve the domestic order... we can reclaim our crime-ravaged neighborhoods through a new initiative that we call Weed & Seed."

— President Bush
May 8, 1992

and Seed initiative involves four basic elements:

- **Eliminating violent crime.**

The Administration is working to build on a partnership among State, local and Federal law enforcement agencies to target aggressively violent street criminals and street gangs. Programs such as the Justice Department's "Project Triggerlock" target violent and armed offenders for prosecution in Federal court to take advantage of tough Federal firearms laws. Between April 1991 and February 1992, Project Triggerlock resulted in approximately 4,500 cases charged with a conviction rate of 91 percent.

- **Providing hope and assistance.**

Weed and Seed coordinates social programs and services to help residents reclaim their lives and their neighborhoods from

the criminals and street gangs. These programs include access to primary and prenatal health care, drug abuse treatment and prevention, Head Start, job training, and after-school education programs.

- **Creating jobs and economic opportunity.**

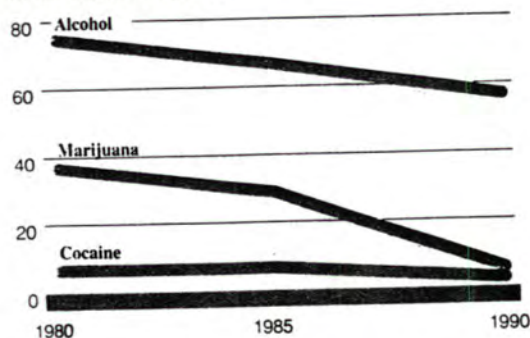
The Administration has earmarked up to \$400 million in its weed and seed proposal budget for enterprise zones (described above). In poor areas designated by the Department of Housing and Urban Development as enterprise zones, taxes and regulations discouraging business activity would be eliminated or dramatically reduced. Stimulating economic growth in economically distressed areas (especially in the inner-cities) is critical to breaking the cycle of drug use, poverty and unemployment.

- **Housing and community development.**

Public housing developments in Weed and Seed areas would be eligible for assistance through the HOPE program. HOPE gives more authority to residents of public housing to manage their own buildings and to evict drug users and troublemakers. In addition, HUD, under the Weed and Seed initiative, would provide housing vouchers, community development block grants for

Trends in Student Drug Use

Percent of 12th graders who reported using the following during the previous 30 days, 1980 to 1990
Source: University of Michigan, 1991



Drug and alcohol use by high school seniors has declined noticeably since 1980.

recreation areas and other community infrastructure improvements.

Riot-torn South Central Los Angeles is an important test site for the Weed and Seed program. On May 7, 1992, President Bush announced a \$19 million Weed and Seed operation designed to revitalize the burned, looted and terrorized communities of South Central Los Angeles.

3. Commitment to a drug-free America.

President Bush on September 5, 1989 declared a "War on Drugs," announcing a two-pronged attack to make America's school yards, streets and workplaces drug-free. First, the President said he would strike aggressively at those who supply illegal drugs. Second, the President said he would work to provide greater prevention and treatment programs to reduce the demand for drugs. Over the last 3 years, the Bush Administration has:

- Enforced drug laws with greater certainty and regularity, both to make our neighborhoods safer for those who do not use drugs, as well as to hold drug users strictly accountable for their actions.
- Tried to prevent drug use before it starts by requiring every elementary, secondary and post-secondary school to adopt, implement and enforce tough anti-drug policies and effective drug education programs.
- Expanded opportunities for treatment each year so that those who might benefit would have

treatment available.

- Worked closely with our allies in Latin America to close America's borders to drug traffickers.

The President has committed huge, unprecedented funding to the War on Drugs. Since taking office, funding has increased 81 percent to nearly 12.0 billion for Fiscal Year 1992. The United States has added nearly 26,000 employees, including agents, attorneys, and prevention and treatment specialists to the Federal effort. Federal funding for drug treatment has nearly doubled since 1989, so that now 1.8 million Americans can be treated for drug dependence.

The results of these efforts in this short period of time have been impressive. Overall drug use has dropped by 13 percent since 1988. Occasional use of cocaine has dropped by 23 percent. Current adolescent cocaine use has dropped by 63 percent; and student approval of drug use dropped by 28 percent. Drug-related crime rates have also started to fall. Despite stepped up law enforcement efforts, drug-related arrests are down by 24 percent from 1989 to 1991, indicating major gains in the War on Drugs in the inner-cities.

There is certainly much more to be done. But these trends show that the Administration has adopted the right strategy. We have sent out the message that Americans will not permit the drug traffickers to poison our children

with drugs. With continued vigilance, we can achieve victory.

Some complain that the Administration's anti-crime and anti-drug policies are too tough. But if we truly are to have a kinder and gentler America, if America is truly to be a brighter and happier place for our children tomorrow, the perpetrators of violence and drug trafficking must be removed from our communities. We cannot have social progress in the midst of chaos. We cannot raise our families, educate our children, build our businesses and enjoy the blessings of liberty without law and order.

War on Drugs

"To win the war against addictive drugs like crack will take more than just a Federal strategy. It will take a national strategy, one that reaches into every school, every workplace, involving every family."

— President Bush
September 5, 1989



COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE REFORM

The strengths of America's health care system include: the freedom of Americans to choose their own doctors and hospitals and health plans; the diversity in health plans and flexibility in financing; and the enormous advances the United States makes every year in medical research and technology. But none of this is assuring to those who cannot afford

health coverage. In America, lack of funds should not disqualify anyone from seeing a doctor and getting critical medical treatment. The answer is not to scrap America's current health care system, as some are advocating. The answer is to build upon the strengths of America's health care system and to address its deficiencies.

President Bush has offered a comprehensive, market-based

reform plan that builds on the best features of our current system to ensure access to affordable medical coverage for all Americans. The President's plan would:

- Guarantee access to health insurance for all poor families through a transferable tax credit (certificate) that would enable poor families to purchase a basic health insurance package costing \$3,750;
- Eliminate the fear that Americans have that they may lose their insurance if they change jobs;
- Eliminate limits on the availability of insurance for those with "pre-existing conditions";
- Allow families with incomes of up to \$80,000 to deduct up to \$3,750 from their income taxes;
- Help consumers make wise choices about their health coverage and enhance market-mechanisms to keep costs down by providing better information on available health plans;
- Reduce administrative costs through regulatory reforms that would streamline the current paperwork maze, and through market reforms that allow small employers to share administrative costs;
- Reduce the costs of malpractice through comprehensive liability reform;
- Expand services in poor areas, which now have acute shortages of doctors and clinics.

The President's plan would

not ration health care or include government-mandated price regulation. The President's plan would not burden small businesses with new and costly mandates that could smother economic growth. The President's plan would not require new tax increases, as would the employer mandate proposals and other nationalized health insurance plans. The President's plan would not threaten older Americans with Medicare or Medicaid benefit reductions.

The President's plan is designed to address two major defects in the present health care system: soaring medical costs and the inability of low-income Americans to buy their own health coverage. The poor are given the means to pay. At the same time, the President's plan would strengthen the market mechanism for keeping medical costs down and quality high. Thus the two major defects of the present health care system would be addressed, and the high quality of medical care in the United States would be maintained. Every child deserves the very best chance possible for a healthy life. This requires, first and foremost, an affordable health care system that ensures access to health care for every child, but refuses to sacrifice the high quality of medical care offered by our present system. The President's health plan achieves both objectives.

Health Care Reform

"My plan puts the emphasis on expanding access while preserving the choice people now have over the type of health care coverage and health care they receive. My plan helps us make health care more affordable, and more affordable means more accessible."

*— President Bush
February 6, 1992*

Healthy Start

"We must reverse the factors that cause preventable infant deaths. That is why I have personally made the Healthy Start Program a Presidential Initiative and a top national priority."

*— President Bush
September 18, 1991*

A SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON HEALTHY CHILDREN

America prepares for the future by paying special attention to health of our young ones, especially in poor communities where children are more likely to be neglected. This year alone, 40,000 babies will die before their first birthday, and a quarter of a million will be born with low birth weight, making them susceptible to early death, disability and lifelong chronic illness. Black babies are more than twice as likely as white babies to die. The Bush Administration has made healthy children a national priority through the following initiatives:

1. Healthy Start.

The strategy behind this Bush Administration initiative is to concentrate resources in 15 communities throughout the Nation with stubbornly high infant

mortality rates. Each community is given the flexibility to design their own programs and strategies tailored to the needs of its people. The goal is to reduce infant mortality in these communities by at least 50 percent over a 5-year period. The practical knowledge gained from these demonstration projects can then be used as models for communities across the nation.

Healthy Start emphasizes the importance of personal responsibility. Many factors leading to high infant mortality rates, especially in low-income urban areas, stem from the behavior of the expectant mother. Drug and alcohol abuse and smoking during pregnancy account for about 20 percent of infant deaths. Other factors jeopardizing a healthy start for America's children include unwed teen pregnancy, poor nutrition, inadequate prenatal care and the absence of family or community support.

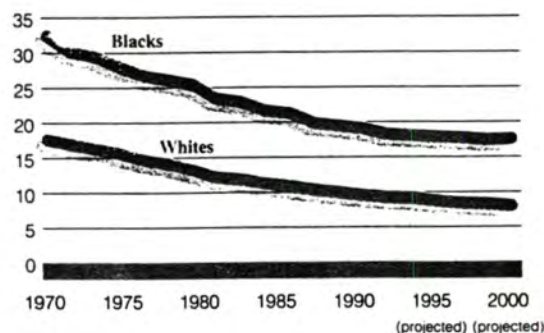
Healthy Start is a major initiative to improve the health of those American children who are born into low-income and high-risk situations. President Bush has asked Congress for a total of \$314 million for Healthy Start over the past 2 fiscal years. Regrettably, Congress has fallen short of providing the full amount requested by the President.

2. Attacking childhood diseases.

Children in the United States receive vaccinations against eight diseases: Diphtheria, tetanus, pertussis, polio, Hemophilus b influenza, measles, mumps and

Infant Mortality Rates, Blacks and Whites

Deaths Per 1,000 Live Births
Source: National Vital Statistics System and National Linked Birth and Infant Death Data Set, CDC





rubella. This series of vaccinations starts when infants are 2 months old. President Bush has called on Secretary Sullivan to ensure that all of America's children receive their vaccinations on schedule. This program has produced one of the great child health successes of the 20th century. In 1900, these infectious diseases were among the leading causes of death in children. These diseases have now either been completely conquered or are in sharp decline. We can be proud of the fact that 97 percent of American children entering school are immunized.

But the immunization rate among 2-year-olds in some inner-city areas is still an abysmal 20 percent. President Bush is leading an effort to increase the number of fully immunized infants and

children, especially in high-risk, low-income inner-city areas. The President has increased the federal immunization budget from \$141 million in 1989 to \$344 million in Fiscal Year 1993 — an increase of over 140 percent. The President has asked Congress for an additional \$40 million for the next fiscal year.

3. Food and nutrition.

The U.S. government has established programs to ensure that no child goes hungry. The U.S. Department of Agriculture will spend more than \$30 billion this year on food assistance efforts, the largest being the Food Stamp Program. The Food Stamp Program allows low-income households to obtain a more nutritious diet by increasing their purchasing

Improved Childhood Immunizations

"Today we're announcing a new action plan to get our children vaccinated when it makes the greatest difference — by the age of two. We're also announcing new standards for pediatric immunization — the work of an expert panel representing many private and public sector organizations. And they're going to help clinics improve their methods to provide vaccinations to kids who need them the most."

*— President Bush
May 11, 1992*



America 2000: An Education Strategy

"Education has always meant opportunity. Today, education determines not just which student will succeed, but also which nations will thrive in a world united in pursuit of freedom and enterprise. Our greatest national resource lies within ourselves... Think about every problem, every challenge we face. The solution to each starts with education."

— President Bush

Introduction to "AMERICA 2000"

power. The Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) serves low-income pregnant women and mothers with young children, as well as infants and children up to the age of 5 at 8,200 sites through the United States. The program served about 3.8 million infants and children each month in 1991.

Meanwhile, the fortification of staple foods, general national prosperity, and the widespread availability of public assistance ensures that the vast majority of Americans are well nourished. Diseases caused by nutritional deficiency have been virtually eliminated in the United States, although nutritional problems among children still remain.

For most American children, diseases from nutritional deficiency have been replaced by other health problems related to dietary excesses and imbalances. Overconsumption and poor selection of food ranks among the leading causes of illness in the United States and generates substantial health costs. In 1991, the Food and Drug Administration issued new regulations governing food labels to help consumers make wiser and healthier choices in the foods they consume.

4. Continued vigilance in public and child health.

Public health advances such as clean water, sanitation systems and food preservation have saved the lives of untold numbers of children who otherwise might have died young or been disabled for life.

Each year, the Federal Government spends over \$7 billion on maternal, infant and child health. But there is only so much government can do. As Secretary Louis Sullivan has said, "It is the responsibility of each American to give every child the best opportunity for a healthy start and the best possible protection from childhood diseases, problems and harm." Ultimately, says Dr. Sullivan, "we must rely on the core institutions of family, school, church and community to band together to make sure each child is immunized, healthy, well fed, emotionally secure, and is able to socialize with other children and adults. Then we have done our job and they are ready to learn."



IMPROVING EDUCATION

Americans believe strongly in the power of education. Almost 90 percent, according to a recent Gallup poll, rate a world-class education system as critical to the Nation's future. America has some fine elementary and secondary schools, and many of America's children are performing well. But too many are not. In comparison with their peers internationally, too many American thirteen-year olds have trouble

solving problems involving fractions, decimals, percentages or simple algebra, and some are unable to figure the cost of a meal from a menu. More than one-quarter of American young adults cannot read well enough to interpret the instructions from an appliance warranty, and 43 percent couldn't follow instructions using a street map to travel from one location to another. About 500,000 young people drop out of school every year.



The connection between poverty and inferior education is also clear. The 1991 poverty rate for high school graduates is 9.0 percent; while, among those who fail to get their high school diplomas, the poverty rate shoots up to 24 percent. An under-educated child is a child at risk. Inferior education breeds poverty.

National Education Goals

In September 1989, President Bush called a historic two-day Education Summit with the Nation's Governors at Charlottesville, Virginia, to formulate an action plan for education reform. The President and the Governors agreed to a decade-long Federal-State partnership to create and meet a set of National Education Goals.

In his 1990 State of the Union Address, the President, for the first time in our history, announced six National Education Goals to be met by the year 2000:

1. All children will start school ready to learn;
2. The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent;
3. Students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter;
4. U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement;
5. Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and

responsibilities of citizenship;

6. Students will be provided a safe, disciplined, and drug-free environment in which to learn.

AMERICA 2000

In April 1991, the President announced AMERICA 2000, his innovative four-part strategy to help the U. S. achieve the National Education Goals community by community.

The AMERICA 2000 movement is spreading like wildfire. Over 2,000 communities, 44 states, and 1,000 Chambers of Commerce across the U.S. have accepted the President's challenge to adopt the national goals. President Bush is promoting four revolutionary ideas to help communities transform education:

- Break-the-Mold New American Schools
- Academic standards and voluntary national exams.
- Flexibility for teachers and principals.
- Educational choice for families.

Break-the-Mold New American Schools

At the President's request the New American Schools Development Corporation (NASDC) was formed to create break-the-mold schools. Eleven design teams, out of almost 700 submissions, were chosen to move forward with their proposals for the 1993 school year. These proposals came from across the United States from some of the most creative minds in our country. For example, Bensenville, Illinois, is a small community with big ideas. Their design was one of the eleven chosen by NASDC. This village of 17,000 plans to turn the entire community into a school, with a Lifelong Learning Center at the hub. Students will learn math at the bank and journalism at the local paper. School facilities will be open all year, from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. daily. The whole village cooperated to make it all possible.

In the Los Angeles design selected by NASDC, students will have a "moving diamond" of support, linking each young student with an older student, teachers, parents and a community volunteer. One day a week will be allocated to teachers to continue their learning, to create teaching plans with colleagues, and to find ways to

better address the needs of students.

In Orrville, Ohio, home of the J.M. Smucker Company, the Heartland Incorporated design team, with the help of CEO Tim Smucker, is going ahead with its proposal even though they weren't funded by NASDC. The community response in Orrville has been inspiring — four hundred citizens working together for a year and "No one has said no" when called upon to participate.

All these proposals have tough standards. They are all generating bold new ideas: high schools in corporate headquarters, kindergartens in banks, elementary schools operated by museums. School staffing would change and new technology would be incorporated. These designs will be a catalyst for change.

World-Class Standards

President Bush has called for the development of World-Class Standards describing important knowledge and skills that all students should learn.

The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) believes that high standards can provide a vision of what is possible for all children. Forty-one states have revised, or are revising, their math curriculum frameworks based on the NCTM standards. Already, about 40 percent of the classrooms in the United States are using the new, tougher math standards NCTM established.

The Department of Education

is working with experts and teachers to develop a national consensus of world-class standards in other core subjects: history, science, civics, geography, English, and the arts. These new standards will be ready for the schools by 1994-95, so parents will know what their children need to learn to live and work in this world. A voluntary national examination system is also being developed to help states and communities assess whether our children are learning what they should.

Flexibility for Teachers and Principals

The President is seeking to deregulate all 110,000 U.S. schools, and make more flexible the Federal rules that follow the allocation of Federal money.

Many states are already deregulating their schools. In Lehigh Valley, Pennsylvania, the first thing the teachers told President Bush was, "Help us get Harrisburg off our backs." Ohio and Texas are already easing state regulations, and other states, like Minnesota and California, are helping teachers create and charter new kinds of schools from scratch.

Choice — The GI Bills for Children

President Bush's "GI Bills for Children" would provide middle- and low-income families with more choices for their children's schooling. "The GI Bills for Children" would give families consumer power, \$1,000 scholarships for each

child, to use at the school they feel best meets their children's needs.

In Milwaukee, Mayor John Norquist has joined with Governor Tommy Thompson, State Representative Polly Williams, and an array of business and community leaders in a spirit of bipartisanship to put in place a strong choice program. This choice program is improving schools in all sectors — public, private and religious. The recent Gallup Poll shows 70 percent of Americans support the President's plan. Colorado, Indianapolis, and San Antonio are also moving ahead to provide more school choices for all families.

In July 1990, the National Education Goals panel was created and charged with measuring progress toward achieving the six National Education Goals listed above. This panel includes eight governors, two members of the Federal Administration and four Members of Congress. Progress being made includes:

- **More rewards for achievement.** Differential pay will be encouraged for those who teach well, who teach core subjects, who teach in dangerous and challenging settings, and who serve as mentors for new teachers. New ways of certifying teachers and principals will be developed so that those with strong subject matter expertise will be encouraged to enter into teaching

and operating schools. The Federal Government will honor and reward outstanding teachers in all five of the core subjects with honor and reward outstanding teachers in all five of the core subjects with Presidential Awards for Excellence in Education.

- **Life-long education.** The President is asking adults to become a nation of learners— to “go back to school.” The President is challenging every city, town and neighborhood to become an AMERICA 2000 community, emphasizing parental involvement and neighborhood commitment.
- **Making sure children arrive at school “ready to learn.”** Ensuring that each and every child starts school “ready to learn” is the first national education goal. Children arrive at school ready to learn if they are immunized, healthy, well-fed and emotionally secure, and if they can socialize with other children and adults. The Department of Health and Human Services has taken a series of steps to address preventable health conditions that may impair a child's intellectual development, including: lead poisoning prevention and screening; ensuring increased access to prenatal care and immunization; and expanding Medicaid to cover more children. An unhealthy child cannot begin school ready to learn.



INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGES

The ability of developing nations to advance is to the productivity, health, education and general well-being of their children — tomorrow's leaders. The United States recognizes that its place in the world is more secure when other countries are prospering through open markets, free economies and democratic governments. The United States has made the

well-being of children a centerpiece of its international activities since it is an investment in a brighter future for all of our citizens.

The United States has marshalled the skills and commitment of its universities, its nongovernmental and voluntary organizations, its commercial sector and its research institutions to mount an aggressive international program for the survival,

development and protection of children.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is the major U.S. agency providing development services, technical assistance and relief to the developing world. USAID conducts programs in the areas of nutrition, agriculture, energy, health (including child survival and HIV/AIDS prevention), education and training, family planning, human rights, private enterprise and disaster and refugee assistance. In FY 1992, USAID committed more than \$1.2 billion for child survival, HIV/AIDS prevention, nutrition, family planning and education and other programs directly designed to help children and their families in the developing world.

The United States, principally through USAID, has played a role in the following achievements:

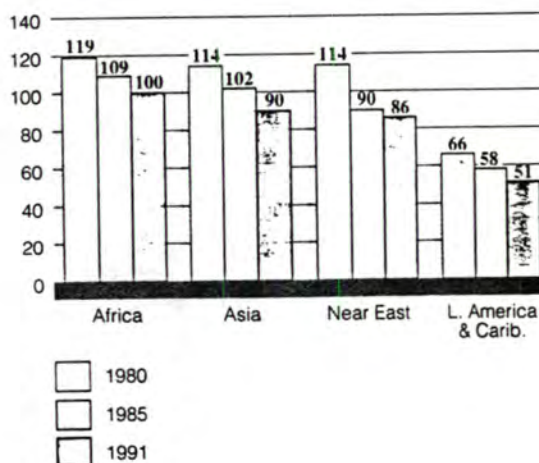
- Overall, mortality rates of infants and children under five declined by 10 percent and 12 percent respectively between 1995 and 1991. In several USAID-assisted countries, the percentage decline has been more than 50 percent.
- USAID-funded immunization programs and treatments for diarrheal diseases are saving the lives of more than three million children every year. In 1980, only 20 percent of the world's children were fully immunized, as compared to 80 percent immunized in 1992.
- USAID support led to the development of oral rehydration therapy (ORT) for the treatment of dehydration due to diarrhea. Largely due to USAID's efforts, access to ORT has

nearly doubled from 35 percent in 1984 to 63 percent in 1989. As a result, one million lives are being saved each year.

- Current measles vaccination programs are preventing some 1.9 million deaths annually. Over the next five years, USAID plans to provide substantial funds as part of a global effort to reduce the threat of measles, which now claims the lives of more than one million children a year.
- USAID has been an active supporter of and participant in the Children's Vaccine Initiative, which was launched in response to the World Summit for Children to accelerate the development of new and improved vaccines. In Fiscal Year 1992, USAID committed more than \$15 million for vaccine research, most of it focused on the diseases most threatening to children.
- Since 1987, USAID has committed about \$358 million for AIDS prevention activities through work

Reduction in Infant Mortality

USAID-Assisted Countries by Region, 1980 - 1990
Source: World Population Prospects 1990



bilateral assistance, support for the World Health Organization's Global Program on AIDS, and support for community-based and other non-governmental organizations in more than 70 countries. Over the next five years, USAID expects to invest \$400 million in HIV/AIDS prevention activities worldwide.

- USAID is continuing its support for a major research effort to develop a malaria vaccine, an effort made more urgent by the resurgence of the disease. USAID is also a leader in the treatment and prevention of other tropical diseases that cause half of the world's illnesses, such as Guinea worm, river blindness, schistosomiasis, Dengue fever, yellow fever and Chagas disease.
- USAID supports a variety of nutrition programs for women and children. Vitamin A, iron and iodine are viewed as key elements of USAID's comprehensive approach to improving nutritional status. The Agency has also been a pioneer in demonstrating the impact of vitamin A supplementation in reducing childhood mortality and morbidity, reducing nutritional blindness and improving nutritional status.
- USAID will continue its efforts to improve the nutritional status of females, especially those of childbearing age, to enhance their potential to breastfeed, improve their productivity, health and well-being, and reduce the number of low birth weight infants.
- In 1990, well over 30 million

couples used family planning as a direct result of U.S.-sponsored programs. USAID provides 45 percent of all the family planning funds in the world. As the world's leading donor in the development and delivery of contraceptives, USAID has increased the ability of parents to plan families that they can afford to keep healthy.

- USAID is the largest bilateral donor to primary education programs. Primary school enrollment in USAID-assisted countries has increased by 50 percent, and enrollment for girls has doubled.
- As the largest food aid donor in the world, the United States continues to lead in the innovative, developmental and life-saving uses of food assistance. Since 1954, the United States has provided \$44 billion worth of food aid, or about half of worldwide food contributions to developing countries made each year. U.S. food aid is equivalent to 13 billion meals a year, or enough to feed 35 million people annually.

It is through the partnership of public and private agencies as well as through the effort and commitment of hundreds of thousands of U.S. citizens that the United States has been able to remain focused on the needs of children everywhere. One of the most successful partnerships of governmental and private efforts on behalf of the world's children is the Peace Corps. Established in 1961 as part of President John F. Kennedy's objective of expanding American assistance to the developing world, the Peace Corps has sent nearly 140,000 people into

more than 100 countries over the past 30 years.

Today, the Corps has about 7,000 volunteers working in nearly 90 nations. Peace Corps volunteers teach villagers in remote corners of the world how to build efficient water and septic systems, how to grow their crops more efficiently, how to eat better, how to start profitable businesses, and how to create the laws and institutions needed to institute a free-market economic system.

Over the years, Peace Corps workers have taught English to 5 million people, and have launched water and sanitation projects that have benefitted millions more. Many volunteers now have highly specialized skills as doctors, engineers, horticulturists, and members of other technical professions.

The Peace Corps is also a major player in the battle against childhood death and illness worldwide. Nine years ago, the Peace Corps, in association with the Agency for International Development, launched a program aimed at reducing levels of infant mortality and morbidity, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. This effort was developed as part of a larger program called Combatting Childhood Communicable Diseases (CCDC) initiated by the World Health Organization and the Centers for Disease Control.

Over 1,000 Peace Corps volunteers are involved in agricultural development. Another 1,000 volunteers are working on maternal and child health, nutrition, and community health education. More than 2,200 Peace Corps volunteers

Peace Corps

"For nearly 30 years, the men and women of America's Peace Corps have built bridges of understanding and goodwill between the peoples of the United States and the peoples of scores of other nations. And today, we launch a new people-to-people effort through which the citizens of America, Poland, and Hungary can work together in the exhilarating process of building new democratic societies."

*— President Bush
June 15, 1990*



work on education projects, of which more than 1,000 teach children in pre-primary, primary and secondary school programs. In addition, special education volunteers work with blind, deaf, mentally retarded, and learning disabled children in 13 countries.

Another successful USAID – private sector partnership involves programs targeted for children orphaned by natural or man-made disasters. In Fiscal Year 1992 USAID provided \$10 million to support nongovernmental organizations in 15 countries that aid orphans, displaced children and street children.

The needs are great, but so too is the U.S. commitment to help. Over the long run, the United States government recognizes that the best way to promote

brighter futures for all the world's children is to continue to promote the free market system in developing nations and to emphasize America's belief that unshackling the entrepreneurial spirit is the key to achieving prosperity. In keeping with this philosophy, the United States will continue to urge other nations to remove regulatory barriers and to lower taxes that discourage business formation and prevent the creation of jobs. Without a growing economy, a nation cannot afford to feed and clothe its children, nor to provide a modern health care system, universal education, or environmental protection.

These are important issues for all of us. Children may be only 25 percent of the world's population, but they are 100 percent of its future.



More nations belatedly heed children's rights

Nov. 20 marks the fifth anniversary of the United Nations' Covenant on the Rights of the Child. More than 160 nations have ratified the treaty in five years — the largest and quickest world response of all the 24 U.N. covenants on human rights.

The covenant means that solemn promises have been made to children that were never made before. The committee to monitor compliance with the covenant is working diligently. Its reports and rebukes have already prompted a wide variety of countries to improve their treatment of children.

International institutions in this century have urged special tenderness for children. The League of Nations issued a declaration on the rights of children in 1924. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948 by most of humanity urged in article 25 that there be "special protection for childhood." In 1959, the United Nations agreed to a declaration on the rights of the child.

The covenant put forth five years ago is the result of a worldwide explosion of conscience and caring about the sufferings of children. Humanity somehow seems to have realized that almost 3 billion of the world's 5.6 billion people are children and that they have few rights recognized and guaranteed by world law.

It's as if everyone realized at once that 90 million children are born each year and millions of them, if they survive their first year, will confront deprivations of food, housing, education and health care.

See has ratified the convention and is working for its implementation.

The United States helped develop the covenant, but it is embarrassing that America is one of only 19 nations that has not ratified the treaty. The White House and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee have been deluged by allegations from right-wing fundamentalist groups that the covenant is anti-family, that it will give the children the right to sue their parents and that the treaty is somehow subversive.

The allegations are groundless. The covenant is neutral on abortion, states that the family is the "fundamental group of society" and strongly recommends all



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measures that strengthen family solidarity.

If the United States ratified the covenant, it would be required, like all signatories, to report at regular intervals to the U.N. Committee on the Child on the state of America's compliance with the treaty. This country's treatment of children does not contain some of the brutal things done to children in dozens of nations around the world. But the U.S. position has its shameful side. This country has



Teacher Sharon Gagich guides a young boy in the therapy program at St. Mary's Special School in the St. Louis Archdiocese. The archdiocese enrolls 1,000 children in its education programs for the developmentally disabled.

—CNS

The number of children abused each year in the United States — now 3 million — has tripled since 1980. The number of children murdered in the United States has doubled over the past 10 years. In the United States, 110 babies die every day without reaching their first birthday. (Imagine if a jet crashed every day killing 110 passengers.) Only 18 percent

Earth as a child and showed his love for children in several places in the New Testament.

Five years ago, humanity looked at the facts and statistics and pledged to help all children sent into the world by their creator. It is unthinkable that the United States will not rise to the new cry of humanity to guarantee the rights of

The result has been a legal and moral revolution these past five years. The Holy

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the highest child poverty level of any of the developed nations, four times that of Western Europe. By the year 2000, one in four children in the United States will be poor. The total will be 16 million — 3 million more than in 1987.

of those eligible for Head Start are enrolled. One million American girls get pregnant each year — the highest rate in the industrialized world.

The world has always been in love with children. The Son of God came to

children.

We must heed the Bengali poet Tagore who wrote that "every child that is born comes with the message that God is not yet discouraged with mankind." ■

Medieval papal shenanigans remind us how lucky we are

Pope John XXIII, a historian by training, was fond of saying that history is the great teacher of life. Unfortunately, it is a teacher with too few students willing to listen and learn from it.

Many younger African-Americans, for example, have no personal knowledge of the contributions to human rights made by Martin Luther King Jr., Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young and so many others who suffered verbal abuse, physical violence and imprisonment in the cause of freedom and justice.

The same could undoubtedly be said of many younger women with regard to the pioneers of the women's liberation movement, the extraordinary gains they achieved against overwhelming odds and the personal price they paid in achieving those gains.

And the same could be said of younger Catholics who have little or no idea of the difficulties and opposition faced by pre-Vatican II Catholic reformers — of the liturgy, of religious orders, of theological and biblical scholarship.

The limitations of historical knowledge also color many Catholics' understanding of the papacy. We think that

because the popes of our lifetimes — from Pius XI to John Paul II — were respected and even revered figures, that all or at least the overwhelming majority of popes enjoyed similarly positive public images.



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Anyone even remotely familiar with the history of the popes knows that not to be the case. Which is not to say that we should become cynical about the matter. On the contrary, the many bleak chapters in papal history should make us even more appreciative of modern popes like John XXIII, Paul VI and John Paul II.

If anyone, however, still needs a healthy dose of historical reality to bring their otherwise romantic views of the papacy down to earth, one can find no better, more vivid example than the unbelievably tragic figure of Formosus, pope from 891 to 896.

Historians tell us he was a gifted and well-educated man who had a brilliant

missionary career in Bulgaria and as a papal legate in France and Germany. As bishop of Porto, Italy, he was a consecrator of Pope Stephen V in 885.

Although already older than 75, he was elected as Stephen's successor six years later. But in order to become the bishop of Rome, he had to leave his Porto diocese.

The idea of transferring from one diocese to another was not yet customary, as it is today, and that fact would later be used against Formosus in a heretofore unimaginable way.

As pope he strengthened the church in England and north Germany and maintained friendly relations with Constantinople, the major see of Eastern Catholicism. Unfortunately, he became entangled in political conflicts closer to home — entanglements that would plague him even beyond the grave.

Formosus died after only four and a half years in office, but his troubles were just beginning.

Nine months after his death, his decaying corpse was exhumed, propped up on a throne in full pontifical vestments and solemnly arraigned in a mock trial (known as the "cadaver synod") presided over by none other than Pope Stephen VI. A deacon stood by Formosus' corpse, answering the charges on the dead pope's behalf.

Formosus was found guilty of perjury, of having coveted the papal throne and of having violated the canons of the church that forbade the transfer of bishops from one diocese to another.

All his acts and ordinations as pope were declared null and void. The three fingers of his right hand which he had used to swear and to bless were hacked off and his body was reburied in a common grave.

The body was then dug up a second time and flung into the Tiber River. A hermit found the corpse and reburied it.

A more sympathetic successor in the Petrine office, Pope Theodore II, ordered Formosus' body dug up a third time, had it re-clothed in pontifical vestments and buried — a fourth time — in its original grave in St. Peter's. He also nullified Pope Stephen VI's order and declared that all of Formosus' ordinations had been valid.

But another successor, Pope Sergius III, reversed Theodore's action and declared once again that all of Formosus' ordinations had been invalid. The church was thrown into total confusion because Formosus had ordained many bishops and they, in turn, had ordained many more priests, some of whom later became bishops themselves.

If history is "the great teacher of life," we should have something to learn from the story of Pope Formosus and the grotesque way he was treated by two later popes.

If it is always the case that the successor of Peter guarantees a sure path to unity and truth, what is to be said of this situation? After all, Popes Stephen VI and Sergius III were as much "successors of Peter" as Pope John Paul II is.

Footnote: There has never been a Pope Formosus II. Is anyone surprised? ■

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Qs & As FOR CHILD SOLDIERS PROTOCOL

Q: Why is this Protocol important, and what does it accomplish?

A: This Protocol sets clearer and higher standards in protecting children from involvement in armed conflict, and, if widely adopted, will strengthen the ability of the international community and individual nations to enforce these standards. This is an important advance for human rights because of the current widespread use of children in armed conflict around the world.

Q: What does the Protocol specifically provide?

A: The Protocol raises (from age 15) the international minimum age standard for recruitment into armed forces and for direct participation in hostilities. It has these key elements:

- The Protocol bars compulsory recruitment below age 18.
- For voluntary recruitment, the Protocol requires that parties set a minimum age above the current 15-year standard and declare what minimum age they intend to adopt. Countries that recruit under age 18 must describe what steps they would take, or have taken, to accord special protection to under 18 year old enlistees.
- As for participation in hostilities, the Protocol requires parties to "take all feasible measures to ensure that members of their armed forces who have not attained the age of 18 years do not take a direct part in hostilities."
- The Protocol prohibits the recruitment or use of soldiers under 18 by non-state forces.
- The Protocol also promotes international cooperation and assistance in the rehabilitation and social integration of children who have been victimized by armed conflict.

Q: Does the Protocol prohibit recruitment by non-state forces?

A: Yes. The prohibition on the recruitment or use of soldiers under 18 by non-state forces gets to the heart of the child soldier problem – the role of rebels or militia groups in abducting children, many as young as 9 or 10, to fight in civil wars.

Q: What support does this Protocol have in the international community?

A: This Protocol was adopted unanimously by all 186 members of the UN General Assembly on May 25, just months after completion of negotiations, a particularly rapid schedule for action in the UN. Since May 25, seven nations have already signed the Protocol – Argentina, Cambodia,

Canada, Monaco, Norway, San Marino, and Sweden – and many more have voiced their intention of doing so shortly.

Q: How will the Protocol's provisions affect current U.S. practices?

A: With regard to the various elements of the Protocol:

- The Protocol's bar on compulsory recruitment below age 18 is in line with current U.S. practice.
- For voluntary recruitment, the U.S. practice is to accept qualified volunteers at age 17, provided they show parental consent and reliable proof of age. That will not change. Related programs such as ROTC, JROTC and military schools will also be unaffected.
- As for participation in hostilities, Secretary Cohen, Chairman Shelton and the Service Chiefs carefully considered whether the United States could accept an obligation to "take all feasible measures to ensure that members of [our] armed forces who have not attained the age of 18 do not take a direct part in hostilities." They concluded that the United States could safely do so – that it would not impair the ability of our armed forces to execute their national security responsibilities.

Q: What impact will this Protocol have on the U.S. military?

A: The Protocol fully protects U.S. recruiting priorities and ensures that our commanders have the flexibility they need to execute their national security missions.

Q: How does the ban on participation in combat affect military deployments?

A: The treaty text gives the Services sufficient leeway to assign 17 year olds (once they are fully trained) to their units and to then deploy these personnel on a wide variety of operational assignments, provided that we take "all feasible measures" to ensure these personnel do not take a "direct part in hostilities."

Q: How many personnel are affected by this obligation?

A: The numbers of service personnel who are still 17 by the time they are eligible for deployment (i.e., after an average of six months of training) is on the order of 1,000 to 2,500 in any given year. That is a very small number, both in relation to the entire force (one-quarter of one percent of the total enlisted force), and in relation to the number of personnel who at any given time would be subject to withholding for unrelated administrative or health reasons.

Q: What does "all feasible measures" mean?

A: It means what it says. We will take all the steps we feasibly can to ensure that under 18 year old service personnel do not take a direct part in hostilities. The standard recognizes that in exceptional cases, it may not be feasible for a commander to withhold or remove such a person from taking a direct part in hostilities.

Q: [If asked] Can you give me an example of such an exceptional case?

A: Exceptional circumstances might preclude a commander from taking this action if a 17 year old were involved in a peacekeeping mission that turned bad, or if a 17 year old were assigned to an aircraft flying over enemy territory and the aircraft makes an emergency landing, placing all crew members in a hostile situation.

Q: How will DOD implement this policy?

A: As with other changes in U.S. policy governing military personnel and manpower issues, the Secretary of Defense has sought the Services' views about issues arising in the implementation of a new policy. The Services have developed their proposed plans. The Secretary will review and where necessary direct modifications to these plans.

Q: When will DoD implement this policy?

A: We are consulting closely with members of the Senate on the process of advice and consent to ratification. We are hopeful that implementation will follow a prompt process of advice and consent to ratification.

Q: Would the Administration consider implementing new guidelines for participation in armed conflict prior to Senate consent to ratification?

A: Our objective is to work with the Senate to ensure advice and consent.

Q: But what if you don't get consent? Would you be prepared to implement without consent to ratification?

A: Our objective is to work with the Senate to ensure advice and consent. I won't speculate on hypotheticals.

Q: Won't DOD continue "business as usual" given the Protocol only requires "all feasible measures" to prevent persons under 18 from participation in hostilities?

A: If the U.S. becomes a party to this Protocol, we will comply faithfully with its letter and spirit. We believe that the "all feasible measures" formula is a sensible, practical standard, and it is accepted treaty language within the law of armed conflict.

Q&A FOR SALE OF CHILDREN PROTOCOL

Q: What will be the impact of the Protocol on Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography have?

A: This Protocol represents an important step forward in international efforts to combat trafficking crimes, and will help guarantee that the perpetrators of these offenses will not go unpunished. The Protocol is the first international instrument to provide specific definitions of the terms "sale of children," "child pornography" and "child prostitution," and to require that these offenses be treated as criminal acts. Additionally, the Protocol strengthens and clarifies the bases for jurisdiction and extradition in order to better ensure that offenders can be prosecuted regardless of where they are found.

Q: Are there other international instruments that protect children from sexual exploitation?

A: The recently adopted ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labor requires states to take urgent action to ban slavery and similar practices including the sale and trafficking of children, forced labor and forced or compulsory recruitment for use in armed conflict as well as sex work, including prostitution and pornography.

Q: What role did the United States play in the development of the Sale of Children Protocol?

A: The U.S. delegation was an active participant in the negotiations that led to the adoption of this Protocol, and, in particular, was a leader in the effort to negotiate a clear and concise Protocol that would advance the interests of international human rights and combat the sexual exploitation of children. The Protocol was drafted by a Working Group of the UN Commission on Human Rights; the UN Human Rights Commission established the Working Group at the Commission's 1994 session. After a number of sessions failed to produce a final product, agreement on the text was reached at the Working Group's sixth session (January 25-February 5, 2000).

Q: How does the Sale of Children Protocol define the term "child"?

A: The Protocol includes no specific definition of the term "child," although the United States argued during Protocol negotiations that the age of protection should be 18 and that the issue of the child's consent should be irrelevant when considering crimes related to sexual exploitation. Moreover, U.S. law already affords protection from sexual exploitation, including prostitution and pornography, to those under 18. And, as a State party to ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, the U.S. has already agreed to accept an age 18 treaty obligation.

Q: Will the U.S. assume obligations under the Convention on the Rights of the Child (to which the U.S. is not a party) by becoming Party to this Protocol?

A: No. While various articles of the Protocol reference provisions of the Convention, those articles do not require that the U.S. assume obligations under the Convention, or to any other international agreement to which the U.S. is not a party.

Q: Does the Sale of Children Protocol target the international trafficking of children for sexual exploitation and other abuses?

A: Not specifically. The United States and more than 100 other countries are negotiating a separate Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons. That instrument will require parties to criminalize under their domestic legal codes the crime of trafficking and will provide for a variety of means of law enforcement cooperation, victims' protections and technical assistance.

Q: What support does this Protocol have in the international community?

A: This Protocol was adopted unanimously by all 186 members of the UN General Assembly on May 25, just months after completion of negotiations, a particularly rapid schedule for action in the UN. Since May 25, five nations have already signed the Protocol – Cambodia, Chile, Monaco, Norway and San Marino – and many more have voiced their intention of doing so shortly.

Qs AND As ON THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

Q: Why has the U.S. not ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child?

A: The U.S. signed the Convention in February 1995, and we support its objectives of promoting children's rights throughout the world.

We have not yet submitted the Convention to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification, as many senators have expressed strong concerns that the Convention would infringe on U.S. sovereignty, rights of parents, and state and local law.

Given these concerns, our first priority has been to work toward Senate advice and consent to, and ratification of, human rights instruments where there has been broader consensus within the Executive and Legislative Branches, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. [Note, the first two have been ratified; we have submitted a ratification package to the Senate on the third, but the Senate has yet to provide its advice and consent.]

In any event, we would need to treat with care the Convention's potential impact on U.S. law and practice, especially since many of the rights covered by the Convention are matters of state and local law.