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Anne Wexler

2/9/97

Dear Melanne,

The attached activity summary of what the Business Roundtable did on fast track may not have been enough, or even early enough, but it was not "deafening silence." It would probably be appreciated by our

friends (and they are our friends) over there, if the First Lady could use another phrase that reflected the fact that we really did work!

Best,

Anne

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the state of the world*

file DAVOS

Paul Smyke

Senior Adviser

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC

By fax 202 456 6244

29 February, 2000

Dear Melanne,

Belatedly, I wanted to send you a short note to thank you for your assistance in our efforts to bring President Clinton to Davos this year. I hope that the feedback you heard was positive. As you can imagine, we were delighted he could attend, and have received a very favorable reaction from many of our participants as well.

I know your behind the scenes efforts, as an 'alum', were especially useful in helping navigate the decision making process. Please don't hesitate to contact me if I can be of assistance with respect to some of the issues we discussed for Davos 2001.

Looking forward to being in contact, I remain

Sincerely,



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America Leads on Trade Action Summary

- **Over 20,000 telephone calls from constituents, including Republican and Democratic donors,** to House of Representatives since October 8th.
- **Over 300 CEO calls** to undecided Representatives and Senators
- **Over 200 CEO face-to-face meetings with Members of Congress**
- **39,000 letters from plant managers, constituent donors and registered voters mailed to House Members** in Washington DC.
- **26,000 constituent faxes** to local district and Washington DC offices
- **1,700 pro-fast track electronic mail messages** to House and Senate
- **Over 3,300 corporate and association Washington lobby contacts** and staff, including more than 2800 with House Members and trade staff.
- **Grassroots organizers in 60 Republican and 54 Democratic Districts.** This program has linked more than 100 target law makers with supportive local employers, community leaders, party activists and supporters in their districts. It has generated personalized letters, faxes, telephone calls and meetings in local Congressional districts not yet incorporated in overall totals.
- **Total of over 88,000 recorded corporate contacts with House of Representatives.**
- **55,000 letters to Senators.**
- **Print ads in 43 newspapers covering 67 Congressional Districts.** Print ads will also appear in the *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Times* and *Roll Call*.
- **Radio and TV advertising over recess covering 85 House Members and 38 Senators** in key locations during October recess. Radio ads in Ways and Means districts in early October. September TV advertising covering 103 Congressional Districts



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Mrs. Clinton Scolds Business Chiefs

By ALEXANDER G. HIGGINS
Associated Press Writer

DAVOS, Switzerland (AP) -- Speaking at an international conference Monday, Hillary Rodham Clinton scolded American corporate chiefs for letting down her husband in recent legislative battles.

In one case, the first lady chastised U.S. business leaders for their "deafening silence" last year when President Clinton was denied renewal of so-called "fast track" authority to negotiate trade deals.

"No one in Congress felt any particular pressure or demand by any business interest about giving the president the authority that other presidents had to negotiate trade agreements," she told the gathering at the World Economic Forum in the Alpine resort town.

During her three-day tour of Switzerland, Mrs. Clinton has ignored questions from reporters about recent allegations her husband had a sexual affair with a White House intern. White House officials have kept her far from the press, and she spent most of Monday in her hotel.

In her speech, Mrs. Clinton also accused U.S. corporate leaders of standing by as lawmakers blocked a bill in Congress that would have paid U.S. arrears to the United Nations. Those opposed to the measure said it contained funds that would go to family planning organizations "however remotely" connected to abortions, she said.

Mrs. Clinton said leaders need to figure out how to "create conditions for families to be strong" in the face of commercial pressures that are turning citizens into consumers.

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She deplored the violence in much of American television, which she noted is a major U.S. export.

"Exporting that cannot be good for any society," she said.

Among the 2,000 academics, politicians and business leaders attending all or part of the conference were Microsoft chief Bill Gates, financier George Soros, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and top officials from Japan and China.

(02 Feb 1998 19:14 EST)

For continuous breaking news, see **AP Newstream**

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Tuesday Feb. 3, 1998

- Sources: Lewinsky Visited White House Three Dozen Times
- White House Scandal At A Glance
- Conservatives: Where's the Outrage?
- British PM Blair Backs Clinton
- Mrs. Clinton Scolds Business Chiefs
- Treasury To Pay Part of U.S. Debt
- Donna Shalala Joins Milk Campaign

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file DAVOS

COMMITTED TO
IMPROVING THE STATE
OF THE WORLD

Professor Klaus Schwab
President

Ms Melanne Verveer
Assistant to the President and
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
Office of the President of the United States
THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
USA - Washington 20500

*HRC has seen
Paw*

Cologny, 12 February 1998
KSC/mbo

Dear Ms Verveer,

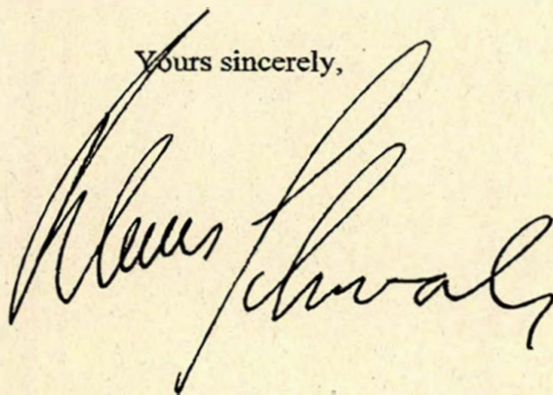
Please find enclosed the thank you letter addressed to Mrs Hillary Rodham Clinton.

I would like to use this opportunity to thank you very much for the excellent and pleasant cooperation which we had in making the visit of the First Lady in Davos so successful.

I was particularly pleased that Mrs Clinton mentioned in her speech the TRUSTEES "21" project, of which progress I will keep you informed.

With warmest regards,

Yours sincerely,



**WORLD
ECONOMIC
FORUM**

COMMITTED TO
IMPROVING THE STATE
OF THE WORLD

Professor Klaus Schwab
President

Ms Hillary Rodham Clinton
Office of the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500
USA

16 February 1998 / she

Dear Ms. Clinton,

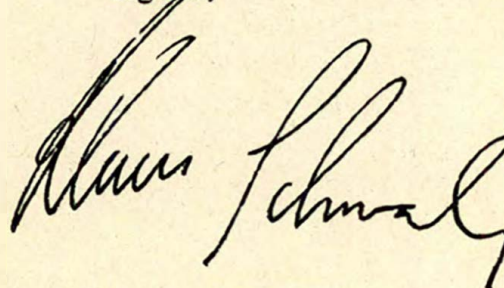
Your speech in Davos was just great and certainly the highlight not only of this year's Annual Meeting but of the history of the World Economic Forum.

Everybody was so impressed but what is most important for me is the impact which you achieved in the hearts and minds of all the participants.

Your commitment to an economic development which is also sustainable in human, social and environmental terms corresponds so well to our motto *Entrepreneurship in the global public interest*.

On behalf of all the participants I would like to express my wholeheartedly felt thanks and appreciation for your contribution.

With my warmest respects and
regards,



ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

~~455 East 51st Street~~ 455 East 51st Street
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

8 February 1998

Dear Hillary:

I have recently been much tempted to write you about a couple of matters -- first, about the Today Show and your wonderfully effective appearance, which really began the change in the public reaction; and then about your excellent Davos talk, which I caught on C-SPAN. (I take the liberty of attaching a recent Wall Street Journal piece that touches on some of the themes you took up in your Davos remarks.) But the Today Show and Davos have undoubtedly provoked a sufficiency of mail, and I did not wish to add to the burden.

This letter concerns another matter. I write now as a historian to thank you for your part in increasing the funding for the National Archives and especially for the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.

Little is more essential for historical studies than the preservation, annotation and dissemination of basic documents. Governor Carlin tells me that you have been an indispensable leader in the noble cause of rescuing and restoring the nation's heritage -- and what cause is more appropriate as we enter the new millennium? The scholarly community is greatly in your and the President's debt for this service to the future. Our thanks and congratulations.

Faithfully yours,

Mrs Hillary Rodham Clinton



By ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.

Recent events in Washington, whether produced by the White House or by the office of the independent counsel, do not enhance public respect for government. Yet this should not distract us from mounting evidence that government does serve some useful purposes. For a quarter of a century the American people have been systematically exhorted to distrust their government. "Government is not the solution to our problem," Ronald Reagan famously said as he launched the antigovernment crusade in his first inaugural address. "Government is the problem."

Reaganism rested on two propositions: that government is the root of social and economic evil, and that once government is "off the people's backs," our problems will solve themselves—or rather they will be solved by the magic of the marketplace. There followed the campaign for tax reduction, deregulation, devolution and privatization.

Regulatory excesses of the sort so ably described by Philip Howard in "The Death of Common Sense" helped fuel antigovernment sentiment, as did, in a more general way, Vietnam and Watergate. And taxes are always unpopular. The Reaganite crusade struck a chord among the electorate to such an extent that even a Democratic president felt obliged to proclaim that the "era of big government is over."

Verged on Hysteria

On the radical right, antigovernment sentiment verged on hysteria, and condemnation escalated into demonization. If government is indeed the root of evil, in this view, then no holds should be barred in extirpating the Great Satan and his minions; let's blow up the headquarters in Oklahoma City.

The Oklahoma City bombing provoked second thoughts, at least in some quarters. "Many otherwise sensible conservatives," write William J. Bennett and John J. DiIulio Jr., "have come perilously close to delegitimizing the idea of government itself." The antigovernment crusade somewhat moderated its tone. Responsible conservatives allowed that government had some useful functions. "How can Americans love their nation if they hate its government?" William Kristol and David Brooks ask in an essay on this page.

Even more influential are the troubles that have arisen in the wake of the crusade. For it is increasingly evident that laissez-faire is not a cure-all. The free market is unquestionably the supreme engine of innovation, production, distribution and profit. But the fraud and criminality in the savings-and-loan industry in the 1980s, which led to a government bailout that cost taxpayers more than \$200 billion, should have raised doubts about the Reaganite conviction that business can be relied on to regulate itself in the public interest.

One great use of government has been to protect the consumer and the investor against the rage for profits at any social cost—hence agencies like the Food and Drug Administration and the Securities and Exchange Commission. The 1990s offer new examples of the problems profit-making firms have in serving the public interest.

After the collapse of the Clinton health plan, antigovernment zealots hailed health-maintenance organizations as the wonderful means of providing safe and sane privately managed care that would render a public program unnecessary. But the scandals of the Columbia/HCA Healthcare Corp., of Oxford Health Plans and of the Mid-Atlantic Medical Services have destroyed that illusion.

Recall the New York Times headline, referring to Columbia's Southwest Florida Regional Medical Center: "Hospital Chain

Board of Contributors

The free market is the supreme engine of innovation, production, distribution and profit. But laissez-faire is not a cure-all.

Cheated U.S. Expenses, Documents Show." In California a special advisory commission calls for a public agency to protect patients against HMO mismanagement and fraud. The Wall Street Journal reports that legislators around the country are advocating laws to make it easier for patients to sue managed-care companies. The lawyer Harvey Wachsman, who represents plaintiffs in malpractice cases, sums up the HMO record: "All they're interested in is profits. They give nothing to education or research, they bypass specialists, and they have no mission for the poor, whom I describe as the young, the old and the sick."

Newspaper headlines every week report spreading disenchantment with business self-regulation. "Business Air Fares Climb, Prompting Calls for Remedy." "Tracing Bout of Illness to Small Lettuce Farm." "U.S. Shuts Down Company for Improper Aircraft Repairs." All these have appeared in the New York Times just since Christmas.

"Those who assume private industry is always more efficient than government should consider recent revelations about Electronic Data Systems, Union Pacific and Commonwealth Edison," writes Charles Peters in The Washington Monthly. Prisons privatized and run for profit cause scandal in Texas. In towns and cities across the land, citizens, resenting the high rates and poor programs of privately owned television cable companies, call on local governments to charter publicly owned telecommunications networks.

The financial crisis in East Asia shows

the superiority of America's resilient free market over the heavily controlled Asian economies. But the American model operates within a framework policed by the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Reserve system and federal banking legislation. The ravages of Asian "crony capitalism" are one more example of the consequences of nonregulation. The Washington Post writes of "the lack of government oversight in a deregulated financial system run amok." A Times article titled "Inadequate Regulation Seen in Asia's Banking Crises" quotes Charles Bowsher, former head of the General Accounting Office: "In the early 1980s the U.S. confused deregulation with supervision, and the same thing happened in Asia. You pay a very big price, as we did in 1929 and the 1980s in this country, and what we're now seeing in Asia."

Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin speaks of the "need to develop and maintain strong supervisory regimes and regulatory infrastructures" to avert new financial crises in the East Asian style. What the investors of the world really need is a global SEC. But the current right-wing campaign against both regulation and international institutions makes this a dream of the distant future.

In the immediate future, reliance on market pressures and International Monetary Fund austerity policies to stabilize East Asian economies will cause much anguish and create serious threats. It may well imperil the economies of Europe and the Americas through the domino effect and lead on to a global recession. In East Asia IMF austerity will certainly reduce growth, increase unemployment and stimulate political unrest and ethnic violence. Since the U.S. is widely considered the arrogant, know-it-all godfather of austerity, anti-Americanism will flourish. As Defense Secretary William Cohen has said, if flash points in East Asia are ignited, this would have "scorching effects on the security and economies" of countries around the world.

'I Am at Loggerheads'

"The benefits of the present global capitalist system," warns George Soros, "can be sustained only by deliberate and persistent efforts to correct and contain the system's deficiencies. That is where I am at loggerheads with laissez-faire ideology, which contends that free markets are self-sustaining and market excesses will correct themselves, provided that governments or regulators don't interfere with the self-correcting mechanism. . . . The laissez-faire idea that markets should be left to their own devices remains very influential. I consider it a dangerous idea."

Maybe government has a role after all. Maybe the laissez-faire market will not cure all our troubles. Maybe delegitimizing government is not the solution to our problem. Maybe it is a big part of the problem.

Mr. Schlesinger is a professor emeritus at the City University of New York and a winner of Pulitzer Prizes in history and biography.



Ronald Reagan

file DAVOS

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 29, 2000

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

Davos, Switzerland

6:36 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. President Schwab, I think that it is an indication of the importance of the topic and the importance of the World Economic Forum that you have so many leaders from around the world here today. I see, just scanning the audience, the President of Colombia, the President of South Africa, Chairman Arafat, the Prime Ministers of Spain and Turkey and a number of other leaders.

We have here with me today the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Energy and our Trade Ambassador. There's no one home in Washington to take care of things. (Laughter.) We have a large delegation from the United States Congress here; leaders from all over the world and business; public life; the leader of the American Union Movement, John Sweeney, whom I know has spoken to you.

So I think that maybe the presence of all these distinguished people in the crowd is evidence of the importance of our being here and shows, in my mind, one of the things we need to determine to do as a people.

The World Economic Forum has been at it, as you pointed out, for 30 years now. The thing that I have appreciated most about your deliberations is your consistent focus on the future. For example, you spotted the networking of society before the Internet was out of its infancy. Both Vice President Gore and my wife, Hillary, have spoken here; and I am glad, even though I am late, to finally get in on the act. (Laughter.)

Your theme, "New Beginnings, Making a Difference," it seems to me, is the right theme. What I want to ask all of you to think about today is, what does making a difference and new beginnings mean in an era of globalization? What are the

opportunities? What are the obligations? What are the hazards? What new beginnings will make a positive difference? And, perhaps the most difficult question of all: do we have the institutional and organized mechanisms to make them?

As we know, in many ways the global economy was almost as integrated as it is today 100 years ago. But after World War I, leaders in the United States and Europe made what all now recognize were false and shortsighted choices. Instead of partnership, they chose protectionism and isolationism. And for decades, globalization went in reverse -- with utterly disastrous consequences.

After the second war, the leaders were given a second chance. This time it was clear that what was at stake was not simply the return of prosperity, but the defense of freedom. They chose the path of economic and political partnership, and set the stage for 50 years of growth across the globe. No one can seriously argue that the world would be a better place today if they had reverted to the old isolationism.

So today, at the start of a new century, the entire world, not simply Europe and the United States, and the wealthiest nations of Asia, the entire world finds itself at a crossroads. Globalization is revolutionizing the way we work, the way we live and, perhaps most important, the way we relate to each other across national boundaries. It is tearing down doors and building up networks between nations and individuals, between economies and cultures.

The obvious consequence is that we are growing ever more interdependent, driven to be part of every vital network, understanding we cannot build our own future without helping others to build theirs. Today, we know that because of scientific and technological advance, we can change the equation between energy use and economic growth. We can shatter the limits that time and space pose to doing business and getting an education.

But, the openness and mobility, the flexible networking and sophisticated communications technologies that have made globalization what it is -- so totally consuming, all these factors have also made us more vulnerable to some of our oldest problems.

Terrorism, narco-traffickers and organized criminals, they can use all this new technology, too, and take advantage of the openness of societies and borders. They present all of us with new security challenges in the new century. The spread of disease; ethnic, racial, tribal, religious conflicts, rooted in the fear of others who are different -- they seem to find ways to spread in this globalized era. And the grinding poverty of more than a billion people who live on less than a dollar a day and live for a year on less than what it costs to stay in a nice

hotel at night -- they, too, are part of the globalized world. A few of us live on the cutting edge of the new economy; too many of us live on the bare edge of survival, without the means to move up.

Those who wish to roll back the forces of globalization because they fear its disruptive consequences I believe are plainly wrong. Fifty years of experience shows that greater economic integration and political cooperation are positive forces. Those who believe globalization is only about market economics, however, are wrong, too.

All these new networks must lead to new arrangements that work for all; that work to spur growth, lift lives, raise standards, both around the world and within nation.

Now, leaders from business, government and civil society, therefore, must come together to build a future that can unite, not divide, us. We must recognize first that globalization has made us all more free and more interdependent. Those of us who are more fortunate must be more responsible and work harder to be good neighbors and good partners. The United States has a special responsibility in that regard, because we have been so fortunate in our history and so very fortunate over the last decade.

I came here today in the hope that by working together we can actually find a way to create the conditions and provide the tools to give people on every continent the ability to solve their own problems, and in so doing, to strengthen their own lives and our global economy in the new century.

I would like to make just a few points. First, I think we have got to reaffirm unambiguously that open markets and rules-based trade are the best engine we know of to lift living standards, reduce environmental destruction and build shared prosperity. This is true whether you're in Detroit, Davos, Dacca or Dakar. Worldwide, open markets do create jobs. They do raise incomes. They do spark innovation and spread new technology -- they do, coupled with the explosion of international communications through the Internet, which is the fastest-growing network in history.

For example, when I became President seven years ago, there were only 50 pages on the Worldwide Web. Today, there are over 50 million -- in seven years. Trade broadens the frontiers of possibility for all of those who have access to its benefits and the tools to claim them.

As I said a couple of days ago in my State of the Union Address, for me there is only one direction forward on trade, and that is to go on with what we're doing, recognizing that this is a new and very different world, that the idea that we would be better off with less trade, with less rule-based trade by turning

away from our attempts to find international ways within which we can work together, I think is dead wrong.

Now, having said that, what does that mean? Well, for me, it meant that when, first, our neighbors in Mexico and then our friends in Asia were in turmoil and crisis, the United States had to keep our markets open, even though it led to record trade deficits. For me, it means it's very important to get China into the World Trade Organization, to ensure that China's markets are open to us, even as we have our markets open to China -- and to advance peace and stability in Asia, and increase the possibility of positive change in China.

The changes in our markets are only beginning. You know, people have been trading goods across borders as long as there have been borders. But communications technology and the Internet are expanding trade in unprecedented ways many of you understand better than I. Today, everything from data processing to security monitoring to stockbrokering and advanced degrees can be bought and sold all over the world. E-commerce creates enormous potential for growth anywhere, and it will continue to do so, if we can resist the temptation to put up barriers to this important part of our new economy.

Trade is especially important, of course, for developing nations. Listen to this -- this is something that I think people from the developing nations who oppose the WTO should think about: from the 1970s to the early '90s, developing countries that chose growth through trade grew at least twice as fast as those who chose not to open to the world. The most open countries had growth that was six times as fast.

Think about what Japan, or the nations of Southeastern Europe, were like 50 years ago. They were poor, largely rural societies. Today, they are prosperous global leaders, in no small measure because of trade. Look at South Korea, Mexico or Thailand, which built their growth on openness -- even after the recent traumas of financial crises, their national incomes are still more than double the 1970 levels, when they were more closed. And their gains in literacy, education and life expectancy are truly extraordinary, far outpacing countries that chose not to open to the world.

Certainly, many of the people who have questioned the wisdom of open trade are genuinely concerned about the fate of the poor and the disadvantaged, and well they should be. But they should ask themselves, what will happen to a Bangladeshi textile worker or a migrant from the Mexican countryside without the prospect of jobs and industry that can sell to foreign, as well as domestic, consumers? What happens to farmers in Uruguay or Zimbabwe, in Australia, Europe, the United States, if protectionism makes it impossible to market products beyond their borders?

How can working conditions be improved and poverty be reduced in developing countries if they are denied these and other opportunities to grow, the things that come with participation in the world economy. No, trade must not be a race to the bottom -- whether we're talking about child labor, basic working conditions or environmental protection. But turning away from trade would keep part of our global community forever on the bottom. That is not the right response.

Now, that means, it seems to me, that we must face another challenge. The second point I want to make is that developing countries will only reap the benefits of integration in the world economy if the industrialized countries are able to garner enough domestic support for policies that are often controversial at home. It is easier for us to gather here, in vigorous agreement -- and I'm glad you brought Mr. Sweeney over so we could have an occasional voice of occasional disagreement.

But most of us here agree with everything I just said. Why? Well, we have seen and personally felt the benefits of globalization. But convincing our publics to go along, to go for greater integration in a rule-based system which might require them to change further, and might require some of them, unlike most of us, to change what they do for a living, remain a challenge.

How shall we meet it? In the United States, we must overcome resistance to our ground-breaking trade agreements with Africa and the Caribbean Basin; even though, if they both pass, their impact on our economy will be very small, while their impact on the African nations that participate and those in the Caribbean will be very large, indeed. I am determined to pass both measures this year, and I think we'll succeed, but it's an indication of what kinds of problems every country faces.

Indeed, you probably have noted this, but one of the most ironic, and to me, disappointing consequences of our unprecedented prosperity, which has given us over 20 million new jobs in my country in the last seven years, is that it seems to me that protectionist sentiment or antitrade sentiment, at least, is greater now than it was seven years ago when I took office, in the United States Congress. I want to talk a little about that today and how it relates to what's going on in other countries. But we all have an obligation to work through that nation by nation.

Part of what countries have to do is to be able to point to what other countries are doing and to say, well, look what they're doing, we ought to do this. We ought to do our part. That means we are significantly affected in the United States by the policies of Europe, Japan and other wealthier countries. I think for its part, Europe should put its agricultural subsidies on the table. If even one-third of the world's subsidies and tariffs in agriculture were eliminated, the poorest developing

countries that could export would gain more than \$4 billion in economic benefits every single year.

We can also, I must say, do better in the developed countries if we are able to make a more forceful case for the value of imports. None of us do this enough, and I must say, I haven't done this enough. We all go around talking about -- every time we talk about trade agreements in our countries, we always talk about how many jobs will be created at home because we're opening markets abroad. And we make ourselves vulnerable to people who say, but it may not reduce the trade deficit, and look how big it is.

So I just want to say, I wish everyone here would look at yourselves and ask yourselves if you are wearing anything made in a country other than the country where you live.

There are benefits to imports. We don't just do a favor to developing countries, or to our trading partners in developed countries, when we import products and services from them. We benefit from those products. Imports stretch family budgets; they promote the well-being of working families, by making their dollars go further; they bring new technology and ideas; they, by opening markets, dampen inflation and spur innovation.

In a few days, we will have the longest economic expansion in the history of the United States. I am convinced one of the reasons that it will happen is that we have kept our markets open, even in tough times, so that there has always been pressure to keep inflation down as we continue to generate jobs and growth. I am convinced of it. And those of us in wealthier countries need to make the case that even when we have trade deficits, if we're growing jobs and we're gaining ground, and the jobs are growing in areas that pay better wages, we are getting the benefits of imports. I think all people in public life have been insufficiently willing to say that. And we must do more.

The third point I would like to make is that we simply cannot expect trade alone to carry the burden of lifting nations out of poverty. It will not happen. Trade is essential to growth in developing countries, but it is not sufficient for growth in developing countries. Sustained growth requires investment in human capital, education, health care, technology, infrastructure. Particularly in an economy that runs more and more on brainpower, no investment pays off faster than education. The international community has set 2015 as a target for giving every child access to basic education. I'm asking our Congress for more funding to help nations get more children out of work and into school. I hope others in the public and private sectors will join us.

Each year in the developing world, we see millions of lives lost and billions of dollars lost -- dollars that could be spent in many more productive ways to killer diseases like AIDS,

malaria and tuberculosis. Last year in Africa, AIDS killed more people, ten times more, than all the wars did. We have the technology to find vaccines for those diseases. We have medications that can lengthen and improve the quality of life.

But let's face a fact. The pharmaceutical industry has no incentive to develop products for customers who are too poor to buy them. I have proposed a tax credit to say to our private industry: if you will develop these vaccines, we'll help to pay for them. I hope the World Bank, other nations and the corporate world will help us in meeting this challenge. If we could get the vaccines out to the people who need them in time, we could save millions and millions of lives, and free up billions of dollars to be invested in building those lives, those societies, into strong, productive partners -- not just for trade, but for peace. (Applause.)

We can also help countries help themselves by lifting their crippling burden of debt, so they'll have more to invest in their people and their future. The Cologne debt initiative commits us to reducing the foreign debt of the world's poorest and most indebted nations by as much as 70 percent. Last fall, I pledged that the United States would forgive 100 percent of the debts those countries owe to us. This year, I will work to fund our share of the multilateral debt relief. I am pleased that so many others have made similar pledges, and look forward to the first countries benefiting from this initiative very soon. If we keep working on this, expanding it, and we all pay our fair share, we can turn a vicious cycle of debt and poverty into a virtuous cycle of development and trade.

The last point I'd like to make on this is, I think the developed countries who want an open trading system that has the trust and confidence of developing countries should also contribute to indigenous trade, which may not be directly related -- excuse me, indigenous economic development, which may not be directly related to trade. Just for example, the United States Agency for International Development each year funds about 2 million micro-enterprise loans in poor communities in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

I will never forget going to small villages in Senegal and Uganda, and seeing people who had gotten their first business loan -- sometimes as small as \$50 -- show me their businesses, show me the people they were doing business with in their villages, who has also gotten such loans. I'll never forget the man in Senegal who was this designated village accountant, making me wait outside his front door while he went into his house to bring me back all of the accounts he had carefully kept for the last month, to prove that the money we were investing was being spent wisely.

Does this have any direct impact on international trade? Of course not. Did it make that society stronger? Did it make the

economy stronger? Did it increase the stability and long-term prospects of the nation? Of course it did. So I believe we should all be thinking about more we can do on the indigenous economic development issues.

The President of Colombia is here. I've asked the Congress to pass a very ambitious program to try to help Colombia deal with the narco-traffickers and the guerrillas and all the problems that he faces -- perhaps the oldest democracy in Latin America. But one part of it is for economic development. It is one thing to tell people they should stop growing crops that can be turned into drugs that can kill our children, and quite another to tell people, if you do this, by the way, here's a way to support your children.

And so I think that we can never lose sight of the fact that if we want to build an integrated economy with more and more trade, we have to build an economy from the grass-roots up in places that want to have a balanced, stable society.

The fourth point I would make is that developed and developing countries alike must ensure that the benefits of trade flow widely to workers and families within our nations. Industrialized nations must see that the poor and those hard hit by changes are not left behind. And all nations need to ensure that workers have access to lifelong learning benefits, they can move between jobs without being unemployed for too long and without having their standard of living dropped.

We have to work with corporate leaders to spur investment also in the people and places that have been left behind. We have to find a new markets within our own nation. For example, I will tell you something that might surprise many of you. The national unemployment rate in the United States is 4.1 percent. On many of our Native American Indian reservations the unemployment rate is about 70 percent. In isolated rural areas in America, the unemployment rate is sometimes two, three, four times as high as the national average.

So we have not figured out how to solve this. When you have these eyesores in a country, when the development is not even, they can easily become the symbol with which those who do not want us to open our markets more and build a more integrated world, can use to defeat our larger designs, even if they're right.

And as I said to the American people in Congress a couple of nights ago, we in the United States, I think, have a terrifically heavy responsibility to reach out to our poor communities, because we've never had an expansion this long; and if we can't help our people now, we will never get around to it. I am convinced that even though this has nothing directly to do with trade, if we succeed, we will build more support for a more integrated, global economy.

Leaders of developing nations have their responsibilities as well -- to narrow the gap between rich and poor, by ensuring that government institutions are open and accountable, honest and effective, so they can get foreign investment, have widely-shared growth, uproot corruption and solve social problems. There is a limit to what wealthy nations can do for people who will not take the necessary steps to make their own societies work. Even in this heyday of global free enterprise, many people suffer not because their governments are too strong, but because their governments are too weak.

Fifth, since globalization is about more than economics, our interdependence requires us to find ways to meet the challenges of advancing our values without promoting protectionism or undermining open trade. I know that the words "labor and environment" are heard with suspicion in the developing world when they are uttered by people from the developed world. I understand that these words are code for rich-country protectionism.

So let me be as clear as possible on this. We shouldn't do anything to stunt the economic growth and development of any developing nation. I have never asked any developing nation, and never will, to give up a more prosperous future. But in today's world, developing countries can achieve growth without making some of the mistakes most developed countries made on worker protection and the environment as we were on our path to industrialization. Why is that? Why can they get richer without doing the same things we did? And since, when countries get richer, they lift labor standards and clean up the environment, why do we care? I think there are two answers to that.

First, the reason they can do it is that the new economy has produced scientific and technological advances that absolutely disprove the old ideas about growth. It is actually now possible to grow an economy faster, for example, with a sensible environmental policy, and by keeping your kids in school instead of at work, so that you build more brainpower, to have more rapid, more long-term, more balanced growth.

Secondly, we all have an interest, particularly in the environmental issue, because of global warming, because of greenhouse gas emissions, and because it takes somewhere between 50 and 100 years for those emissions to go away out of our larger atmosphere. So if there is a way for us to find a path of development that improves, rather than aggravates, the difficulties we have with climate change today by reducing rather than increasing greenhouse gases, we are all obligated to do it.

That is why, after the Kyoto Protocols, I recommended to all the advanced nations that we engage in emissions trading and vigorous investment of new technologies in developing countries,

with an absolute commitment to them that we would not ask them to slow their economic growth.

We will see, within the next few years, automobiles on the streets all over the world that routinely get somewhere between 70 and 90 miles a gallon. In South America, many countries run on ethanol instead of gasoline. The big problem is that the conversion is not very good; it takes about seven gallons of gasoline to make eight gallons of ethanol. Within a matter of a couple of years, scientists almost certainly will unlock the chemical block that will enable us to produce eight gallons of fuel from farm products or grasses, or even farm waste, like rice hulls, for one gallon of gasoline. When that happens, you will see people driving cars that effectively are getting 400 or 500 miles to the gallon of gasoline.

These things are before us. All these technologies should be disseminated as widely as possible, as quickly as possible, so that no nation gives up any growth to be a responsible environmental partner in the world.

And on the human development side I will say again, the globalized economy prizes human development above all else. It is in the long-term and the short-term interests of developing countries not to abuse their workers, and to keep their children in school.

Now, do we have all the answers to this? No, partly because the circumstances and the possibility, even for trade engagement, from nation to nation vary so much; but partly because we don't have more forums like this within which we can seek common understandings on worker rights, the environment and other contentious issues.

We have suggested that the Committee on Trade and the Environment be invited to examine the environmental applications of WTO negotiations in sessions where developing countries form the majority. We cannot improve cooperation and mutual understanding unless we talk about it. That is our motivation -- that is our only motivation -- in seeking to open a discussion about the connections between labor and trade and development, in the form of a new WTO working group.

And I will say this again: the consequence of running away from an open dialogue on a profoundly important issue will be -- it won't be more trade, it'll be more protection. The consequence of opening up a dialogue and dealing honestly with these issues will show that in the new economy, we can have more growth and more trade, with better treatment for people in the workplace and more sensible environmental policies. I believe that; you have to decide if you believe that.

My experience in life -- and I'm not as young as I used to be -- let me just say, at Thanksgiving a six-year-old daughter of

a friend of mine asked me how old I was. She looked up at me and she said, how old are you, anyway? And I said, I'm 53. She said, that's a lot. (Laughter.)

Well, it looks younger every day to me. But I have lived long enough to know this: in the words of that slogan that people my daughter's age always use, denial is not just a river in Egypt. (Laughter.) And the more we hunker down and refuse to devote time systematically to discussing these issues and letting people express their honest opinion, the more we are going to fuel the fires of protectionism, not put them out. We have to make some institutional accommodation to the fact that this is a part of the debate surrounding globalization.

Now, I feel the same way about labor standards. And there is a win-win situation here. Let me just give you one example. We had a pilot program through our Agency for International Development, working with the garment industry in Bangladesh to take children out of factories and put them back in schools. The program got kids to learn, and actually boosted garment exports, and gave jobs to adults who would otherwise not have had them.

We can do more of this if we lower the rhetoric and focus more on results. Common ground means asking workers in developed countries to think about the future of workers in Asia, Africa, or Latin America. It means governments finding the courage to rise above short-term political interest. It means corporations taking responsibility for the effects of their actions, whether they're in an African delta or a New York high-rise. It means a new, more active idea of corporate responsibility, stepping up to the plate to pay for vaccines or educate a new generation of workers in another country as a part of the globalization economic strategy.

Finally, let me say that the lessons from our history are clear: we still -- we must support the rules-based system we have, the WTO, even as we seek to reform and strengthen it.

I think those who heard a wake-up call on the streets of Seattle got the right message. But those who say that we should freeze or disband the WTO are dead wrong. Since World War II, there have been eight separate rounds of multilateral trade negotiations -- hundreds of trade agreements signed. What's happened? Global trade has increased fifteen-fold, contributing to the most rapid, sustained and, yes, widely shared growth ever recorded.

There is no substitute for the confidence and credibility the WTO lends to the process of expanding trade based on rules. There's no substitute for the temporary relief WTO offers national economy, especially against unfair trade and abrupt surges in imports. And there is no substitute for WTO's authority in resolving disputes which commands the respect of all member nations. If we expect public support for the WTO, though

-- I'll get back to my main point -- we've got to get out of denial of what's happening now.

If we expect the public to support the WTO the way I do -- and I think almost all of you do -- we have to let the public see what we're doing. We have to make more documents available, faster, we have to open dispute panel hearings to the public, we have to allow organizations and individuals to panel their views in a formal way. And we all have to play by the rules and abide by the WTO decisions, whether we win or whether we lose.

Let me be clear: I do not agree with those who say we should halt the work of the WTO, or postpone a new trade round. But I do not agree with those who view with contempt the new forces seeking to be heard in the global dialogue. Globalization is empowering people with information, everywhere.

One of the most interesting things I did on my trip to China was visit an Internet cafe. The more people know, the more opinions they're going to have; the more democracy spreads -- and keep in mind, more than half the world now lives under governments of their own choosing -- the more people are going to believe that they should be the masters of their own fate. They will not be denied access. Trade can no longer be the private province of politicians, CEOs, and trade experts. It is too much a part of the fabric of global interdependence.

I think we have to keep working to strengthen the WTO -- to make sure that the international trade rules are as modern as the market itself; to enable commerce to flourish in all sectors of the economy, from agriculture to the Internet. I will keep working for a consensus for a new round -- to promote development, to expand opportunity, and to boost living standards all around the world. We will show flexibility, and I ask our trading partners to do the same.

But I would like to just close by trying to put this dilemma that you've all been discussing, and that was writ large in the streets of Seattle, in some context. Now, keep in mind, arguably a lot of the demonstrators in Seattle have conflicting objectives themselves, because of the interests that they represented. The thing they had in common was, they felt that they had no voice in a world that is changing very rapidly. So I want to make two observations in closing.

Number one, we should stop denying that there is in many places an increase in inequality, and we should instead start explaining why it has happened and what we can do about it. Every time a national economy has seen a major change in paradigm, in the beginning of the new economy those that are well-positioned reap great gains; those that are uprooted but not well-positioned tend to suffer an increase in inequality.

In the United States, when our economy, the center of our economy moved from farm to factory 100 years ago -- and many people left the farm and came to live in our cities; and many people from your countries came to our shores and were living in unbelievably cramped conditions in tenement houses in New York City and elsewhere, working long hours, breathing dirty air. There was a big increase in inequality, even though there was an increase in wealth, in the beginning. Why? Because some people were well-positioned to take advantage of the new economy, and some people weren't.

But then political and social organizations began to develop the institutions which would intermediate these inequalities. And the economy itself began to mature and disperse the benefits more broadly, and inequality went down. When we saw, beginning about 20 years ago in most advanced economies, a shift from the industrial economy to the digital economy, in many places there was an increase in inequality. In our country, we had a 25-year increase in inequality, which seems to have halted and been reversed only in the last two to three years.

So a part of this is the change in the paradigm of the global economy which puts a huge, huge, huge premium on education, skills and access to information technology, which is even more burdensome to developing economies seeking to come to grips with these challenges.

Now, having said that, it should be obvious to all that the last thing in the world we want to do is to make the global economy less integrated, because that will only slow the transition to the digital economy in the poorest countries or in the poorest neighborhoods of the wealthy countries.

The answer is to look what happened in the transition from the agricultural economy to the industrial economy, develop a 21st century version of that, and get it done much, much faster -- not to run to the past, but not to deny the present.

The second point I'd like to make is this. We have a well-developed WTO for dealing with the trade issues. We don't have very well-developed institutions for dealing with the social issues, the environmental issues, the labor issues, and no forum within which they can all be integrated. That's why people are in the streets; they don't have anyplace to come in and say, okay, here's what I think and here's the contribution I have, here's the beef I have, how are we going to work all this out.

That's why you're all here talking about it. That's why you've got a record crowd here. And we all know this intuitively. So I think if I could offer any advice, there are -- there's thousands of times more experience and knowledge about all these things in this room than I have in my head. But I do understand a little bit about human nature, and a little bit about the emerging process of freedom and democracy. We have got

to find ways for these matters to be dealt with that the people who care about them believe are legitimate. And we cannot pretend that globalization is just about economics and it's over here, and all these other things are very nice, and we will be very happy to see somebody over here somewhere talk about them.

You don't live your life that way. You don't wake up in the morning and sort of put all these barriers in your head and -- you know, it's all integrated. It's like I say, we've got the Chairman of the Palestinian Authority here, we're working very hard to find a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. We can't find that peace if we say, well, here's what we're going to do on these difficult issues and, oh, by the way, there's economics, but it's over here and it doesn't have anything to do with it. We have to put all these things together.

So I ask you, help us to find a way, first, to explain to the skeptics and the opponents of what we believe in why there is some increase in inequality as a result of an economic change that is basically wonderful, and has the potential -- if we make the changes we should -- to open possibilities for poor people all over the world that would have been undreamed of even 10 years ago. And, second, find a way to let the dissenters have their say, and turn them into constructive partners. If you do that, we will continue to integrate the world economically, and in terms of political cooperation.

We have got a chance to build a 21st century world that walks away not only from the modern horrors of terrorists and bio and chemical terrorism and technology, but away from ancient racial, religious and tribal hatred. Growth is at the center of that chance. It gives people hope every day. But the economics must be blended with the other legitimate human concerns. We can do it -- not by going back to the past, but by going together into the future.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

Q Mr. President, I can tell you, and the applause has shown you what support you have for your plea for an open, rules-based trading system and for globalization. But at the same time, what we take home and what suddenly will influence our discussions very much over the next days, I think we have -- and we are all aware here in this hall -- that we have to change our attitudes, and that we have to create this human and social dimension to globalization. It's in our own interest, and your speech, I think, will be reminded and will be translated into the necessary action.

Now, Mr. President, just two questions. The first one: In your reference to free trade and the WTO, you didn't mention China. And my question is --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I did.

agreement, than being out there wondering on the outside wondering what you're doing and being absolutely sure whatever it is it's not good for them.

So I believe that having them in the WTO will not only pad the economic benefits for the United States and other countries I mentioned, but will increase the likelihood of positive change in China and, therefore, stability throughout Asia.

Let me say, you know, China and Russia both are still going through big transitions. The Russian economy is coming back a little better than most people think it is. No one knows what China and Russia will be like 10 years from now for sure, and you can't control it, unless you're Chinese or Russian; but you can control what you do. And I don't know about you, but 10 years from now, whatever happens, I want to know that I did everything I could to increase the chance that they would make good choices, to become good, constructive neighbors and good, constructive partners in the global community.

You know, we don't agree with the Russian policy in Chechnya, but we've gotten rid of 5,000 nuclear weapons, and we got our soldiers working together in the Balkans. So I think the argument -- we've got to try to have these big countries integrated, for the same reason we have to keep trying to work with India and with Pakistan to resolve those difficulties and get them fully integrated.

At every turn, we have to ask ourselves -- we cannot control what other people do, we can only control what we do. But when all is said and done, if it works out well or it works out poorly, we want to know that we have done everything we possibly could to give people a chance to make good decisions. And that's what drives me, and that's why we're going to do everything we possibly can -- under the leadership of Secretary Daley, who's going to coordinate our efforts to implement the agreement that our trade ambassador, Charlene Barshefsky, negotiated -- we're going to try everything we can to get China permanent trading status so we can support their entering the WTO. And my guess is that we'll do it. But it's going to be a big fight, and you can watch it with interest, and I hope with support. Thank you.
(Applause.)

Q Mr. President, you mentioned debt relief in your speech, and you also mentioned it in your State of the Union message. Do you think the G-7 are really doing enough in this respect?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't. But if we do -- I'm trying to focus on doing what we promised to do. And again, let me tell you what the debate is. We had an intense effort, in the last session of Congress, to pass what the Congress was finally, at the end of the session, good enough to do, and do on a bipartisan basis -- I want to give credit to the Republicans, as well as the

Q You mentioned it --

THE PRESIDENT: I did, but I don't have -- I speak with an accent, so -- (laughter) --

Q No, no. (Laughter and applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: I did, but I --

Q The question which I would like to raise is, will you actually rally the support in your country and internationally, to get China integrated into the WTO?

THE PRESIDENT: I think so. In the United States, in the Congress, there are basically two blocks of people who oppose China's accession to the WTO. There are those who believe we should not do it because even though -- everyone has to recognize, if you look at our trade deficit with China, everyone recognizes it's huge -- by far, the biggest part of our trade deficit. Everyone recognizes that we have kept our markets open to China, and that if we had greater access to Chinese markets, it would be a good thing for us. So no one could seriously argue that the openings from agriculture and for other opportunities are massive, and that it would mean more to the United States than any other country since we buy -- we're about 22 percent of the world's economy and every year we buy between 33 and 40 percent of all China's exports, and we have a major, major trade deficit.

On the economic argument, the people who are against it say, yes, that may be true, but if you put China in the WTO, it's basically a protectionist country and then America will never get any real action on labor and environmental standards and all that because China will thwart every reform we want. That's what people say.

Then, there is another group of people that don't want to vote for it because of the actions the Chinese have taken to try to preserve stability at the expense of freedom. They believe that even if China's economy has grown more open, political crackdowns, crackdowns against the Falun Gong and others have gotten more intense, more open, and that it puts the lie to the argument that integrating China into the international system will lead to a more open, more democratic, more cooperative China. Those are basically the two arguments that will be made.

Those both raise serious issues, but I think it would be a mistake of monumental proportion for the United States not to support China's entry into the WTO. (Applause.) I believe that because, again, my experience is that you're almost 100 percent of the time better off having an old adversary that might be a friend working with you, even when you have more disagreements and you have to stay up a little later at night to reach

Democrats, who voted for this -- to support our forgiving 100 percent of our bilateral debt for the poorest countries. And we're going to have another intense debate to support our contributions to the multilateral debt reduction effort, which is even more important.

The debate at home -- basically, the people who are against this are old-fashioned conservatives who think when people borrow money they ought to pay it back, and if you forgive their debt, well, then, no one else will ever loan them money, because they'll think they'll have to forgive their debt, too. There's something to that, by the way. There's something to that. In other words, when we get into negotiations of whether debt should be rescheduled or totally forgiven, there are many times -- when I have confidence in the leader of a country, and I know they're going in the right direction, I would almost always rather forgive it -- assuming I could get the support in Congress to do so.

But we do have to be sensitive to the way the world investor community views all these things, so that when all is said in done, countries that genuinely will have to continue to borrow money can get the money they need. But with that caveat, I favor doing more, and more than the Cologne debt initiative. But my experience is, we do these things on a step-by-step basis. We already have broadened the Cologne debt initiative, and we're going to broaden it again. And I think if we get the Cologne debt initiative done and it works, and people see that it works, then we can do more.

But it is really, it is quite pointless, it seems to me, to keep these poor countries trapped in debt. They're having to make debt service payments, which means that they can't educate their children, they can't deal with their health care problems, they can't grow their economy, and therefore they can't make any money to pay their debts off anyway. I mean, it's a totally self-defeating policy we've got now.

So I would like to see us do as much as possible, but at the same time, I want to remind you of another point I made. A lot of countries suffer not because they have governments that are too strong, they suffer because they have governments that are too weak. So we have to keep trying to build the governance capacity for countries so when they get their debt relief, then they can go forward and succeed. So I don't think you should forget about that, either.

All of us have a real obligation to try to help build capacity so our friends, when they get the relief, can make the most of it.

Q Mr. President, to conclude our session, you have in front of you the 1,000 most influential business leaders. What

would be your single, most important wish towards them, at this moment?

THE PRESIDENT: My most important wish is that the global business community could adopt a shared vision for the next 10 to 20 years about what you want the world to look like, and then go about trying to create it in ways that actually enhance your business, but do so in a way that helps other people as well.

I think the factor about globalization that tends to be under-appreciated is, it will only work if we understand it genuinely means interdependence. It means interdependence, which means we can, none of us who are fortunate can any longer help ourselves unless we are prepared to help our neighbors. And we need a more unifying, more inclusive vision. Once you know where you're going, it's a lot easier to decide what steps to take to get there. If you don't know where you're going, you can work like crazy and you would be walking in the wrong direction.

That's why I think this forum is so important. You need to decide. The business community needs to decide. You may not agree with anything I said up here today. But you have to decide whether you really agree that the WTO is not just the province for you and me and the trade experts. You have to decide whether you really agree that globalization is about more than markets alone. You have to decide whether you really agree that free markets, even in an age of free markets, you need confident, strong, efficient government. You have to decide whether you really agree that it would be a good thing to get the debt off these countries' shoulders if you knew and could require that the money saved would go into educating children and not building weapons of destruction.

Because if you decide those things, you can influence not only the decisions of your own government, but how all these international bodies, including the WTO, work. So the reason I came all the way over here on precious little sleep, which probably undermined my ability to communicate today, is that collectively, you can change the world. And what you are doing here is a mirror image of what people are doing all over the world. This is a new network.

But don't leave the little guys out. You know, I come from a little town in Arkansas. I was born in a town of 6,000 people, in a state that's had an income just about half the national average. I've got a cousin who lives in Arkansas -- he's a small businessman, he works for a small business -- who, two or three times a week, plays chess on the Internet with a guy in Australia.

Now, they've got to work out the times. How they do that, I don't know. (Laughter.) But the point I want to make to you is, he thinks he knows as much about his life and his interests and how he relates to the Internet and the world, as I do. He thinks

he knows just as much about his interests as his President does, who happens to be his cousin.

So we need these networks. And you are in an unbelievably unique position. So my one wish for you -- you might think I'd say China or this or that and the other; it's nothing specific -- develop a shared vision. When good people, with great energy, have shared vision, all the rest works out.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

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file DAVOS

WORLD
ECONOMIC
FORUM

COMMITTED TO
IMPROVING THE STATE
OF THE WORLD

Report on the 1998 Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum

The View from Davos





THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

for DAVOS

JAN 13 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR MELANNE VERVEER

As I mentioned to you on the telephone, Peter Piot, the Director of the United Nations Program on AIDS (UNAIDS), and Sally Cowal, the Deputy Director for External Relations, will participate in the Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum in Davos. They would very much like the opportunity to meet with the First Lady while she is in Davos.

UNAIDS first became involved with the Davos meeting last year when they organized several sessions on the economic impact of the epidemic. Nelson Mandela spoke on this at the closing plenary, and later agreed to chair the Global Business Council on AIDS.

This year, UNAIDS is organizing the morning plenary on Monday, February 2, at which the Chairman of Godrej & Boyce, an Indian firm, will speak on the social responsibility of the business community vis-à-vis AIDS.

If Hillary is able to meet with Peter and Sally, they would like to brief her on UNAIDS' activities related to mother-to-child transmission of the virus, including the AZT clinical trials in developing countries that are just being completed (see attached material); the impact of the epidemic in Africa, which should be relevant for the President's upcoming trip; the World AIDS Campaign, which this year will focus on young people who are affected by the epidemic; and the possible inclusion of HIV/AIDS in the agenda of the Summit of the Americas.

I have also attached Peter and Sally's bio-data. If you wish to reach them, I suggest you call Sally in Geneva at 41-22-791-4716.

Donna E. Shalala

PETER PIOT
Executive Director, UNAIDS

Biographical information

Peter Piot was appointed Executive Director of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) and Assistant-Secretary-General of the United Nations on 12 December 1994.

Dr Piot joined UNAIDS from a position as Director of the Division of Research and Intervention Development at the Global Programme on AIDS of the World Health Organization. During his period of service from 1992 to 1994, he was responsible for research and development activities on HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases and advised on political and technical issues related to HIV/AIDS and reproductive health, as well as on policy and programme development in a large number of countries.

Dr Piot had previously served from 1980 to 1992 as Professor of Microbiology and Head of the Department of Infection and Immunity at the Institute of Tropical Medicine in Antwerp, Belgium. In this capacity, he established a group of over sixty staff devoted to research, training and technical co-operation on HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases, women's reproductive health, and tuberculosis in the developing world. He was among the first to document a number of important aspects of the current HIV/AIDS epidemic: the existence of AIDS in Central Africa, the importance of heterosexual HIV transmission, the role of sexually transmitted diseases in HIV transmission, the interaction between HIV infection and tuberculosis, and the impact of HIV/AIDS on social and economic development. During this period, he also launched and expanded a series of collaborative projects in Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Tanzania and Zaire, including "Projet SIDA" in Kinshasa, Zaire, which was the first international HIV/AIDS project to be established in the developing world.

Dr Piot was Associate Professor of Public Health at the Free University of Brussels from 1989 to 1992, and Associate Professor of Microbiology at the University of Nairobi from 1986 to 1987. From 1978 to 1979, he was Senior Fellow at the University of Washington, where he carried out research on infectious diseases. During an investigation into an outbreak of haemorrhagic fever in northern Zaire in 1976, he became co-discoverer of the Ebola virus.

Dr Piot has acted as an adviser to a number of governmental and non-governmental organizations, including participating in the formulation of strategies and policies on HIV/AIDS and reproductive health. He served as the President of the International AIDS Society from 1991 to 1994. Prior to joining UNAIDS, he was editor of *AIDS*, the leading scientific journal in its field.

Dr Piot qualified as a Doctor of Medicine at the University of Ghent in 1974 and received a Doctorate in Microbiology from the University of Antwerp in 1980. He has received many awards for scientific achievement and public service, and has published over 500 articles and 14 books, mostly on issues related to HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases and women's reproductive health. He was awarded a baronetcy by H.M. King Albert II of Belgium in 1995.

Dr Piot was born in Leuven, Belgium in 1949. He is married and has two children.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Sally Grooms Cowal

Nationality: American

Date of birth: 1944

Languages: English, Spanish

Director, Department of External Relations, UNAIDS

Sally Cowal enjoyed a distinguished career in the United States Foreign Service before becoming External Relations Director at UNAIDS. Her department is responsible for press and public relations, donor and corporate relations, relations with the UNAIDS co-sponsors, and producing information material on all aspects of UNAIDS work.

Before her appointment to UNAIDS, Sally Cowal was the United States Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago for three years. From 1989 to 1991, she was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, responsible for relations with the Caribbean and Mexico. She was a key player on the NAFTA negotiations. Sally Cowal was the Director of the US Information Agency at the US Embassy in Mexico from 1985 to 1989 and political counsellor at the US mission to the United Nations in New York from 1983 to 1985.

Mother-to-child transmission of HIV



**UNAIDS
technical update**

November 1997

UNAIDS Best Practice Collection

At a Glance

- Mother-to-child transmission (MTCT) is the overwhelming source of HIV infection in young children. Of the 3 million infants infected with HIV since the beginning of the pandemic, about 90% have been born in Africa. However, the number of cases in India and South-East Asia appears to be rising rapidly.
- Most studies suggest that the probability that an HIV-positive woman's baby will have the virus ranges from 15% to 25% in an industrialized country and 25% to 45% in a developing country.
- The virus may be transmitted during pregnancy, labour, delivery, or after the child's birth during breastfeeding. Among infected infants who are not breastfed, approximately two-thirds of MTCT occur around the time of delivery and the rest during the pregnancy (mostly during the third trimester). In populations where breastfeeding is the norm, it may account for up to one-third of all transmissions.
- Research published in 1994 showed that a regimen using the antiretroviral drug zidovudine reduces the risk of MTCT by about two-thirds in the absence of breastfeeding. The ACTG 076 regimen, as it is known, is now widely used in most industrialized countries.
- For a variety of reasons including cost and complexity, the ACTG 076 regimen will not likely receive widespread use in countries with very limited health resources. Regimens that are cheaper, shorter and less complex to administer are currently being tested.
- Research results are expected between 1997 and 2000 which will identify a more suitable antiretroviral regimen for developing countries. This means that national health systems should immediately start planning (if they have not already done so) for the introduction of wide-scale MTCT prevention procedures. These will require – at the very least – planning for expanded voluntary counselling and HIV testing services for women, reorganizing pre- and post-natal care programmes, facilitating access to antiretroviral drugs and safe alternatives to breastfeeding.
- A variety of other interventions are also being explored for their potential including cleansing of the birth canal, vitamin A supplementation, Caesarean section and immunization.
- Even in the absence of therapeutic interventions, voluntary counselling and testing offers benefits for HIV-positive women, men and their sex partners to make informed decisions regarding sexual activity, contraception, termination of pregnancy (where legally available) and methods of infant feeding.

UNAIDS Best Practice materials

The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) is preparing materials on subjects of relevance to HIV infection and AIDS, the causes and consequences of the epidemic, and best practices in AIDS prevention, care and support. A *Best Practice* Collection on any one subject typically includes a short publication for journalists and community leaders (Point of View); a technical summary of the issues, challenges and solutions (Technical Update); case studies from around the world (*Best Practice* Case Studies); a set of presentation graphics; and a listing of key materials (reports, articles, books, audiovisuals, etc.) on the subject. These documents are updated as necessary.

Technical Updates and Points of View are being published in English, French, Russian and Spanish. Single copies of Best Practice materials are available free from UNAIDS Information Centres. To find the closest one, visit UNAIDS on the Internet (<http://www.unaids.org>), contact UNAIDS by email (unaids@unaids.org) or telephone (+41 22 791 4651), or write to the UNAIDS Information Centre, 20 Avenue Appia, 1211 Geneva 27, Switzerland.

Mother-to-Child Transmission of HIV: UNAIDS Technical Update (UNAIDS Best Practice Collection: Technical Update). Geneva: UNAIDS, November 1997.

1. Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome – transmission
2. Breastfeeding
3. Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome – prevention and control

WC 503.71

Background

Mother-to-child transmission (MTCT) is the overwhelming source of HIV infection in young children and – in countries where blood products are regularly screened and clean syringes and needles are widely available – virtually the only source. In 1996, an estimated 350,000 infants worldwide were infected with the virus, bringing the total number of young children living with HIV to 750,000 at the end of 1996. Of the 3 million infants infected with HIV since the beginning of the pandemic, about 90% have been born in Africa, owing to a combination of high HIV prevalence in pregnant women and high fertility rates. However, the number of cases in India and South-East Asia appears to be rising rapidly. By the year 2010, AIDS may increase mortality of children under the age of 5 by more than 100% in regions most affected by the virus.

The virus may be transmitted during pregnancy, labour, delivery, or after the child's birth during breastfeeding. Among infected infants who are not breastfed, about two-thirds of MTCT occur around the time of delivery (that is, just before or during labour/delivery). In populations where breastfeeding is the norm, breastfeeding may account for up to one-third of all cases of MTCT transmission. (See articles by Kuhn & Stein and Dunn *et al.* in the Key Materials.)

Most studies suggest that the probability that an HIV-positive woman's baby will have the virus ranges from 15% to 25% in an industrialized country (if there is no AZT treatment) and 25% to 45% in a developing country (see article by Msellati *et al.* in the Key Materials).

These differences can be explained by the frequency of breastfeeding and by maternal characteristics or factors surrounding the delivery. Factors known to increase the risk of MTCT include advanced stage of disease in the mother, invasive obstetric procedures, and prolonged rupture of

membranes before delivery. The risk of HIV-2 transmission is about 20 times less than HIV-1. (For more information see the articles by Mandelbrot *et al.* and by Newell *et al.* in the Key Materials.)

Best public health practice centres on the primary prevention of infections in women of childbearing age. Until recently there was no means of preventing MTCT during pregnancy, labour and delivery for HIV-positive women who wished to give birth. This situation is now changing as the benefits of various MTCT interventions are being studied. One – the use of antiretroviral drugs – has already been proven effective.

Antiretroviral drugs

To date, only one drug regimen has been proven to reduce the risk of HIV transmission from mother to child. A study called ACTG 076 involving almost 500 women in France and the United States of America found that zidovudine (ZDV, also known as AZT) given orally after 14 weeks of pregnancy,

intravenously during labour, and for six weeks to the infant in a non-breastfed population, reduces mother-to-child transmission of HIV by two-thirds. Follow-up trials are investigating ZDV's long-term safety in infants.

The ACTG 076 regimen is now provided routinely in most industrialized countries, and is recommended wherever it is available and can be properly administered. However, the regimen is not well suited to widespread use in many developing countries for cost and logistical reasons. It is long, expensive, complicated to administer, and probably does not protect against transmission during breastfeeding since AZT is given for only six weeks after birth. Furthermore, the drug must be taken by the mother as early as possible during the second trimester of pregnancy, and many pregnant women in developing countries do not seek or access prenatal care until beginning of labour. Regimens which are cheaper, shorter and less complex to administer are currently being tested. First results are expected by 1998.

Background

Other interventions targeting pregnancy, labour and delivery

The other interventions currently being explored for their potential to prevent MTCT include:

- **Vitamin A supplements:** A deficiency of vitamin A in HIV-infected mothers is associated with a higher risk of transmission from mother to child. Ongoing trials in Malawi, South Africa, Tanzania and Zimbabwe are currently studying whether adding vitamin supplements to pregnant women's diet affects the risk of a child becoming infected. If proven effective, such a nutritional intervention would be inexpensive, have additional health benefits for mother and child whatever their HIV status, and not require HIV testing.
- **Cleansing the birth canal during labour and delivery:** There is a relatively high risk of transmission during delivery owing to presence of the virus in blood and mucus in the birth canal. Therefore, various methods of vaginal washing before and during delivery are being investigated in several developing countries. In a trial performed in Malawi, lavage using chlorhexidine showed no overall difference in rates of MTCT, but did show a significant reduction in transmission when membranes were ruptured for more than 4 hours; it also resulted in a significant reduction of infant mortality and morbidity. Further studies using different concentrations of chlorhexidine and other microbial agents are under way.
- **Delivery by Caesarean section:** Like vaginal washing, delivery by Caesarean section reduces the child's exposure to the mother's blood during birth and therefore could lower the risk of HIV infection. However, it is not applicable as a wide-scale solution because of its cost, logistical requirements and risk of post-operative complications.
- **Immunization:** Studies in Haiti and Uganda are currently investigating passive immunization of women and children (infusion of HIV-specific neutralizing antibodies). Ongoing research on vaccine development (active immunization) may also prove successful eventually.

For more detailed information on these preventive methods, see the articles by Newell *et al.* and Reggy *et al.* in the Key Materials.

From the ACTG 076 (ANRS 032) clinical trials

"We conducted a randomized, double-blind, placebo-controlled trial of the efficacy and safety of zidovudine in reducing the risk of maternal-infant HIV transmission. HIV-infected women (14 to 34 weeks gestation)* with CD4+ T-lymphocyte counts above 200 cells per cubic millimeter who had not received antiretroviral therapy during the current pregnancy were enrolled...."

"**Results.**477 pregnant women were enrolled during the study period, 409 gave birth to 415 live-born infants. HIV-status was known for 363 births (180 in the zidovudine group and 180 in the placebo group). Thirteen infants in the zidovudine group and 40 in the placebo group were infected... "

"**Conclusions.** In pregnant women with mildly symptomatic HIV disease and no prior treatment with antiretroviral drugs during pregnancy, a regimen consisting of zidovudine given ante partum and intra partum to the mother and to the new-born infant for six weeks reduced the risk of maternal-infant HIV transmission by approximately two thirds."

Connor *et al.* *New England Journal of Medicine*, 1994 (see Key Materials).

* median gestational age at entry was 26 weeks.

The Challenges

MTCT interventions will come into much wider use by the end of the century. For this reason, many of the public health challenges currently posed by MTCT involve preparing for the future in a two-to-three-year time frame.

Rising need for voluntary counselling and testing services

As interventions become more widespread, HIV-infected women will have to know their HIV status in order to benefit from them. Therefore, voluntary counselling and testing services will be required on larger scale than is currently available in most countries. This implies an expansion of voluntary counselling and testing services in general and within prenatal programmes such as family planning clinics. These services should include confidentiality and referral to psychological support and care services for HIV-positive women who may face abandonment by their family and community ostracism.

The cost of new regimens

The drug-acquisition cost per mother-child pair treated with the full ACTG 076 regimen is almost US\$ 1000 (average wholesale prices). It will be a major challenge to most health systems to provide ZDV to all women who could benefit from it. Future regimens including multiple antiretrovirals will be even more expensive (see UNAIDS Technical Update on "Antiretrovirals and HIV/AIDS.") As well, a range of additional outlays will be necessary including the costs of testing and counselling, and items such as breastmilk substitutes which might be provided during the first year of life.

Reorganization of pre-, peri- and post-natal care

Expanding access to counselling, testing and family planning services, adapting obstetrical practices, and introducing antiretroviral regimens will have a heavy impact on clinical settings. All aspects of providing and monitoring treatment of mothers and children will have to be planned and implemented, including management of opportunistic infections. Prenatal care will be the first area affected but, since infants born to HIV-infected mothers will need extra care themselves, postnatal settings will also come under pressure. HIV testing and the monitoring of HIV infection and antiretroviral treatment will also impose extra work on laboratories. Support for infected mothers and their families will have to be organized within and outside medical settings.

Adapting health systems

At the national level, additional resources will be required to pay for the new interventions and administrative costs. Public health authorities will have to balance the various levels of service and the various types of intervention that are possible with available resources and infrastructure. For instance, since antiretrovirals will not be available immediately for each infected individual in developing countries, it will be a major challenge to establish criteria to select the individuals who will benefit from these regimens.

Decision-making about infant feeding

In recent years, breastfeeding has been heavily promoted as a natural, cheap means of

adequate nutrition and protection against many childhood diseases, with birth-spacing as a secondary benefit. In comparison, the cost of infant formula, along with the clean water and fuel needed to prepare it, is often beyond the means of poor families in developing countries. Furthermore, when unsafely used, feeding with infant formula may lead to severe malnutrition and fatal infectious diseases.

The dilemma for such families is that breastfeeding by an HIV-positive mother carries a risk of transmitting HIV to the child. (See the boxed text at the end of this paper for the joint UNICEF, WHO and UNAIDS policy on informed choice for breastfeeding.)

Care for orphans

Around the world, millions of children have lost parents to AIDS or are currently living with an HIV-positive parent who may die of AIDS before the children are adults. Some of these children will be infected, many others will not, but all will need care and support as they grow up. According to the United States Bureau of Census, by the year 2010 over 40 million children worldwide may have lost one or both parents to AIDS.

In many countries, the extended family is the traditional social security system which looks after orphans and affected families, but this system is being pushed to the breaking point in the worst affected communities – long before the full impact of AIDS has been felt.

The Responses

As noted, current research on various treatments will provide results in the very near future, including during the course of 1997. This means that most of the challenges must pass from conceptual discussion to planning immediately if national health systems, including all local and district facilities, are to be prepared for the rising demand for treatment and testing from patients and health professionals.

Voluntary counselling and testing

All women should have access to voluntary HIV testing. This means testing with the informed consent of the woman, using reliable laboratory tests and ensuring complete confidentiality (see UNAIDS Best Practice Collection on Counselling and Testing.) The benefits of knowing one's HIV status are not limited to situations where expensive treatment interventions are available. They may also include access to termination of pregnancy where desired and legal, informed choice on infant feeding options, earlier access to care for both mother and child, and the ability to make informed decisions on sexual practices and future fertility.

There is a growing realization that these benefits will be limited unless voluntary counselling and testing programmes for MTCT

prevention also target the male partners. In a recent study in West Africa, more than 80% of the women accepted the principle of an HIV test so long as their regular partner also agreed. Following testing, both men and women found to be HIV-negative can be guided in appropriate HIV prevention measures and risk reduction behaviour.

To date, expanded voluntary counselling and testing of pregnant women has been achieved only in places where knowledge of HIV-status is accompanied by the ability to choose between options. In France, for instance, where abortion is a widely available and culturally acceptable option for women, acceptance of HIV testing by pregnant women was over 90% even before the wide distribution of ZDV to HIV-positive pregnant women. The availability of new and effective interventions is likely to increase the acceptability of testing in most cases.

However, in places where a positive test increases a woman's risk of stigma, violence or even abandonment, UNAIDS strongly supports carefully designed pilot projects *before* large-scale voluntary testing and counselling programmes are implemented. The pilot projects will enable health and social service providers to better define counselling requirements and design measures such as long-

term support for families containing HIV-positive members, family planning referral, spouse counselling, and community work such as campaigns against discrimination.

Referrals to family planning programmes

All women and men, irrespective of their HIV status, have the right to determine the course of their reproductive life and health, and to have access to information and services that allow them to protect their own and their family's health. Links between HIV testing programmes and family planning services must be strengthened in order for HIV-infected women and their partners to make informed choices regarding their future reproductive life. One specific point concerns the fact that breastfeeding has a birth-spacing effect which will disappear (and should be replaced) if the woman chooses not to breastfeed her infant. The birth-spacing effect is due to sexual abstinence during the period of breastfeeding (frequent in many African societies) and to the hormonal effect of exclusive breastfeeding.

Expanding access to antiretrovirals

The cost of current ZDV treatment regimens makes it too expensive for most HIV-positive

The Responses

pregnant women in developing countries, and many in industrialized countries. UNAIDS has made improved access to all drugs needed for the treatment of HIV disease in the developing world one of its highest priorities. Accordingly, it has been carrying on negotiations with a number of pharmaceutical companies, national governments and potential funders in order to make antiretrovirals and other HIV/AIDS-related drugs more affordable.

Programmes are being implemented or evaluated in some developing countries to assess issues such as rational prescription and use of drugs, consistent and sustainable national drug policies, affordability of drugs, and improved distribution systems. Other countries are negotiating on their own behalf with companies to make the drugs affordable. (More details on these initiatives can be found in the UNAIDS Best Practice paper "Access to Drugs".)

Finding shorter antiretroviral regimens

UNAIDS and other organizations are currently conducting trials in Africa and Thailand to evaluate the efficacy and tolerance of simpler, shorter regimens of ZDV and of new combinations

of drugs for the prevention of MTCT. The first results (intermediate analyses) of these trials may be available by 1998.

Infant feeding programmes

An important response to MTCT during breastfeeding is to ensure safe, affordable alternatives to traditional breastfeeding in places where they are lacking. In industrialized countries, HIV-positive mothers are advised not to breastfeed and, if necessary, are provided with free infant formula. In Thailand, where there is relatively wide access to safe water, HIV-positive mothers are beginning to be given free infant formula by the government, provided with information on risk factors, and encouraged not to breastfeed.

Realistic and sustainable options in many settings may eventually include wet-nursing by relatives who have been tested and are HIV-negative, and use of home-prepared formula.

Whatever options eventually become available, counselling programmes (along with voluntary testing) will be required to help pregnant women make free and informed choices and to support them in whatever decision they take (see box).

Ensuring informed choice about breastfeeding

"... However, it is mothers who are in the best position to decide whether to breastfeed, particularly when they alone may know their HIV status and wish to exercise their right to keep that information confidential. It is therefore important that women be empowered to make fully informed decisions about infant feeding, and that they be suitably supported in carrying them out. This should include efforts to promote a hygienic environment, essentially clean water and sanitation, that will minimize health risks when a breastmilk substitute is used."

"When children born to women living with HIV can be ensured uninterrupted access to nutritionally adequate breastmilk substitutes that are safely prepared and fed to them, they are at less risk of illness and death if they are not breast-fed. However, when these conditions are not fulfilled, in particular in an environment where infectious diseases and malnutrition are the primary causes of death during infancy, artificial feeding substantially increases children's risk of illness and death."

- From HIV and Infant Feeding: A Policy Statement Developed Collaboratively by UNAIDS, WHO and UNICEF (May 1997)

Key Materials

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