

THE WHITE F

WASHINGTON

June 5, 2

CC: memo + letters
to Eugénie.ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER ~~PH~~

SUBJECT: Letter to Leaders of
Associations of Evang

EUGÉNIE - FYI - PLS PREPARE
RESPONSE TO C. STALEY
LETTING HER KNOW WHAT
WE'VE DONE

(L)

G.G.CC

Purpose

Respond to a request from leaders of the All-Ukrainian Union of Associations of Evangelical Christians-Baptists (AUUAECB) that you visit Baptist leaders in Kiev.

Background

AUUAECB President, Dr. Gregory Komendant, and General Secretary, Mr. Victor Kulbich, requested that you visit the First Baptist Church and meet with Baptist Union leaders during your June 5 visit to Kiev. Carolyn Staley endorsed the request and forwarded a letter from Mr. Denton Lotz who forwarded the request from AUUAECB asking you to accommodate the request.

Your response indicates that your visit to Ukraine was very brief due to your travel to Tokyo for the memorial service for Prime Minister Obuchi, so you were not able to accommodate the request. The response notes that the promotion of religious freedom and ethnic tolerance in Ukraine figured prominently during your meetings in Kiev.

Presidential Correspondence responded separately to Carolyn Staley.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letters to Dr. Komendant, Mr. Kulbich, and Mr. Lotz
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

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Tab A Letters to Dr. Komendant, Mr. Kulbich, and Mr. Lotz

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Dr. Komendant:

Thank you for your kind invitation to visit the First Baptist Church and meet with the Baptist Union Leadership during my visit to Kiev.

Unfortunately, due to my participation in the memorial service for the late Prime Minister of Japan in Tokyo, my visit to Ukraine was limited. I am sorry that my schedule did not permit me to accept your invitation.

My Administration continues to promote religious freedom and ethnic tolerance as fundamental elements for the strengthening of democracy in Ukraine. These issues figured prominently during my meetings in Kiev.

Again, thank you for your thoughtful invitation.

Sincerely,

Dr. Gregory Komendant
President, AUUAECB
252004, S-A Tolstoy Street
Kiev 4, Ukraine

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Dr. Kulbich:

Thank you for your kind invitation to visit the First Baptist Church and meet with the Baptist Union Leadership during my visit to Kiev.

Unfortunately, due to my participation in the memorial service for the late Prime Minister of Japan in Tokyo, my visit to Ukraine was limited. I am sorry that my schedule did not permit me to accept your invitation.

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Again, thank you for your thoughtful invitation.

Sincerely,

Mr. Victor Kulbich
General Secretary, AUUAECB
252004, S-A Tolstoy Street
Kiev 4, Ukraine

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Lotz:

Thank you for passing on your endorsement for me to visit the First Baptist Church and meet with the Baptist Union Leadership during my visit to Kiev. I have responded directly to Dr. Komendant and Mr. Kulbich.

Unfortunately, due to my participation in the memorial service for the late Prime Minister of Japan in Tokyo, my visit to Ukraine was limited and my schedule did not permit me to accept their kind invitation.

My Administration continues to promote religious freedom and ethnic tolerance as fundamental elements for the strengthening of democracy in Ukraine. These issues figured prominently during my meetings in Kiev.

Again, thank you for conveying this invitation to me.

Sincerely,

Mr. Denton Lotz
General Secretary
Baptist World Alliance
6733 Curran Street
McLean, Virginia 22101-6005



ВСЕУКРАЇНСЬКИЙ СОЮЗ ОБ'ЄДНАНЬ ЕВАНГЕЛЬСЬКИХ ХРИСТІАН БАПТИСТІВ

ALL-UKRAINIAN UNION OF ASSOCIATIONS OF EVANGELICAL
CHRISTIANS-BAPTISTS

252004, Київ-4
вул. Л.Толстого, 3-А
тел: (044) 224-8241
(044) 224-1676
факс: (044) 227-7480

252004, 3-А Tolstoy Str
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Президент
Комедант
Григорій
Іванович

Перший Заступник
Ткачук
Віталій
Дмитрович

Заступник
Кульбич
Віктор
Костянтинович

Заступник
Михайло
Володимир
Миколайович

Помічник з
адміністративних
питань
Андрашко
Михайло
Михайлович

FAX TO: Denton Lotz, fax: 703-893-51 60

FROM: G.Komendant, V. Kulbich, Baptist Union of Ukraine

DATE: May 1, 2000

Dear Denton,

Greetings to you in the Name of our Risen Savior Jesus Christ!

We are grateful to God for His blessings and mercy in giving us the possibility to spread the Gospel freely, so every person could hear the Word of Grace which is in our Christ.

On June 6, 2000, United States President Bill Clinton will be visiting Kiev, Ukraine. We would like to request that the Baptist World Alliance and Dr. Billy Graham assist us in issuing an invitation to President Clinton to visit the First Baptist Church in Kiev. If a visit to the church is not possible, we would like to extend an invitation to the President to meet with the Baptist Union Leadership.

The purpose of this meeting is important in affirming and building up the authority and influence of the Baptist churches in post-soviet and Orthodox environment. Thankful in advance.

With Christ's love,

G. Komendant

Gregory Komendant
President of AUUAECB



V. Kulbich

Viktor Kulbich
General Secretary of AUUAECB



BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE

6733 Curran Street, McLean, VA 22101-6005, USA
Telephone: +1-703-790-8980 • Fax: +1-703-893-5160
Email: BWA@bwanet.org

Denton Lotz, Dr. theol.
General Secretary

May 2, 2000

Ms. Carolyn Staley
Deputy Director
National Institute for Literacy
1775 I Street, NW, Suite 730
Washington, DC 20006

*Sanby
fy(-) is there
anything? sure!*
BC

Dear Carolyn:

Many greetings from the Baptist World Alliance. Thank you again for your encouragement and support. Please find enclosed a letter from Dr. Gregory Komendant, president of the Baptist Union of the Ukraine. It would be a great encouragement for religious freedom if President Clinton could visit our Baptist constituency there, either in church or just for a ten minute meeting with the leaders.

Anything you can do to encourage the President to visit our Baptist headquarters or churches in the Ukraine would be greatly appreciated. Thank you and God bless you.

Yours faithfully in Christ,

Denton Lotz
General Secretary

5-22-00

CAROLYN Y. STALEY

7817 Falstaff Road
McLean, VA 22102

LY

May 16, 2000

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I hope you are very well! Thanks for your show of support for the Million Mom's March. What a great day.

David called this morning and we are looking forward to an opportunity to visit tomorrow, and I know you will enjoy time together. We are so happy to have Will home for a week before he begins summer classes, and he and Thaddeus will enjoy trading college tales.

The attached letter is from my friend Denton Lotz, General Secretary of the Baptist World Alliance, and son-in-law of the Rev. Billy Graham. Denton's letter expresses his and the Ukrainian Baptist's hope that you will include a visit to the First Baptist Church of Kiev, or make time to visit with some Ukrainian Baptist leaders while you are there in early June. This would mean a great deal to them as they continue to work to strengthen their leadership and presence there, and for religious freedom in general. I know you will do what you can to help.

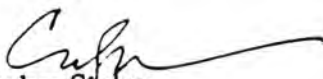
I was pleased to relate to Denton the story you shared with me after you had dinner with Yeltsin at his dacha in January 1994, and his question to you about being a Christian and the dilemma he faced with the democratization of Russia and freedom to worship. I recall you told him that your faith did indeed mean a great deal to you, and that he should not try to control religion and told him, "Either you're free or you're not." Who knows what that exchange did to help keep the doors of religious freedom open in Russia?

5 22 00

All best to you and yours.

TO NSC ~~W/~~

Sincerely,


Carolyn Staley

cc: EUGENIE FOR
REPLY (COPIED)
w/ NSC

5/30/00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

57

— Carol / Lisel

00 MAY 30 AM 10:06

John Tedstrom in NSC
believes that State should
handle this response. He
doesn't think a POTUS
reply would be appropriate
since the President doesn't
know yet. Can you forward
to the appropriate person?

5/30/00

Eugenie

Eugenie

— We need a simple ~~response~~ regret
we were unable to do this ~~note~~,
I believe. I've discussed w/
Brent Bush, NSC Deputy Exec Sec,
and we'll get context. depending on
answer, we should also do reply to
Carolyn Stoller, letting her know outcome

MAY 31 11:31

6-6-00

BReed
worth reviewing
for idea - send to town
Br

copied
Reed
Podesta

The Canadian Way in the 21st Century



PRIME MINISTER • PREMIER MINISTRE

Message from Prime Minister Jean Chrétien

As we enter the 21st century, countries around the world are facing new opportunities and challenges that will require new approaches to governance: globalization, rapidly changing technology, increasing interdependence, and growing complexity in the issues facing governments today. A number of like-minded countries have been defining new ways to promote economic prosperity and quality of life, new ways that reflect their shared values. They are creating collaborative partnerships with all sectors in society since governments cannot address these challenges alone. They are also working together to build an international community that will bring greater collaboration and coherence to international activities.

This document is intended to contribute to the international dialogue on the challenges to progressive governance in the 21st century by describing the choices we have made since 1994 when we laid out a blueprint for action — An Agenda for Growth and Jobs — and the goals we are setting for the future, what I call the “Canadian Way”. It is a distinctly Canadian model that reflects Canada’s values and builds on Canada’s strengths and history.

Some of my colleagues, including Prime Minister Blair, President Clinton, and Chancellor Schröder, talk about the “Third Way” and the “*Neue Mitte*” to describe these new approaches to governance. They along with other government leaders have launched an international dialogue to discuss how they are pursuing, in this modern context, the values that they share. Chancellor Schröder will host the next discussion of these issues in Berlin in June 2000.

I will speak to the Canadian Way, described in the pages of this document, in Berlin as leaders from around the world share their own experiences. I will be proud to speak about the uniquely Canadian way in which Canada is responding to challenge and to change. We have accomplished much and will continue to accomplish even more in the coming years — making choices for the future based on our values, with a commitment to concrete results for Canadians and in partnership with our citizens, other sectors, other orders of government, and our allies throughout the world.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jean Chrétien".

not only from strong growth but from an abiding commitment to strong values — caring and compassion, an insistence that there be an equitable sharing of the benefits of economic growth.

These values are very much at the centre of more recent approaches to governance that some call the “Third Way”. As described by world leaders such as Prime Minister Blair, President Clinton, and Chancellor Schröder, the Third Way is an approach to governance that stresses technological innovation, a mixed economy,

Canadians are, by virtue of history and necessity, open to the world.

and education and learning as the keys to economic opportunity and security. It represents a rediscovery of the human purpose of the economy and a commitment to transform government to look outward, to focus on results, to be centred on citizens.

We use the term, the Canadian Way, because Canada’s approach to these issues can be traced to our origins and history. Canada’s founders made the deliberate choice not to try to forge a single nation with one language but instead created a framework of accommodation among French, English, and Aboriginal peoples, joined by immigrants from all parts of the world. Canada has become a post-national, multicultural society. It contains the globe within its borders, and Canadians have learned that their two international languages and their diversity are a comparative advantage and a source of continuing creativity and innovation. Canadians are, by virtue of history and necessity, open to the world.

Canada’s relatively small population dispersed across a vast and diverse geography has forced us to be more self-conscious about community and connections, from our early efforts to build a national transcontinental railway to more recent innovations in satellite and Internet communications. Canada’s frontier history, in which communities often faced challenging terrain and climate, has no doubt fuelled its commitment to the environment, individual initiative, social justice, and mutual responsibility. Canadians have always preferred principled pragmatism over ideology.

Sharing a border and friendship with the world’s leading economic power means that Canada has added incentive to strive to be at the leading edge of economic innovation and to be equally innovative in preserving its distinctly Canadian path, reflective of its values and diversity. This means the

Canada’s legal framework and history — its mixed economy, strong communities, bilingualism and diversity, social safety net and system of medicare, and recognition of global interdependence — contain the seeds of what we and our friends are calling the Third Way.

The Canadian Way in the 21st Century

Context

Countries around the world are grappling with how best, in the 21st century, to secure economic prosperity in an increasingly globalized society while at the same time ensuring that no member of their society is left behind. They are responding to the demands for changes in the traditional roles of government and the need to engage civil society in modern governance. They are seeking new ways to promote sustainable economic growth within an international community that works to ensure a coherent approach to trade, the environment, labour, culture, health, and education so that all can realize the human purposes and benefits of globalization.

The leaders of a number of countries who share a commitment to progressive government have launched an international dialogue to learn from each other about what has worked and what has not to work together to build progressive governance in the 21st century. As part of this process, Chancellor Gerhard Schröder of the Federal Republic of Germany has invited 16 heads of government to an informal meeting in Berlin on June 2–3, 2000, to discuss *“Progressive Governance for the 21st Century”*. At the same time, experts from participating countries will hold a conference on governance, civil society, and social and economic policies and will provide leaders with the results of their deliberations.

The success we have achieved as a nation has come not only from strong growth but from an abiding commitment to strong values — caring and compassion, an insistence that there be an equitable sharing of the benefits of economic growth.

This paper is an opportunity, first, to articulate Canada’s strategy to achieve the highest quality of life for Canadians in the new global economy and to promote our values internationally; and, second, to raise questions about our shared challenges and our choices for the future.

The Canadian Way

We have established a distinct Canadian Way, a distinct Canadian model: Accommodation of cultures. Recognition of diversity. A partnership between citizens and state. A balance that promotes individual freedom and economic prosperity while at the same time sharing risks and benefits. An understanding that government can be an instrument of collective action — a means of serving the broader public interest. The success we have achieved as a nation has come

Four documents released by the government in 1994 — “*Creating a Healthy Fiscal Climate*”, “*Building a More Innovative Economy*”, “*A New Framework for Economic Policy*”, and “*Improving Social Security in Canada*” — set out specific elements of the strategy to enable Canadians and their governments, working together, to begin to turn this vision into reality.

A society of excellence with a commitment to success. Where prosperity is not limited to the few, but is shared by the many and where every child gets the right start in life.

Over the past six years, the government has pursued this strategy, developing and testing new ways to create and share opportunity, promote mutual responsibility and modernize governance. Canada has taken major steps; much remains to be done. The strategy draws no artificial boundaries between social and economic policy or, for that matter, between domestic and foreign policy. Rather it is based on a commitment to realizing the human purpose of the economy, domestically and internationally.

To address the challenges and seize the opportunities, we believe that private economic growth has to be complemented by public investment. Governments have to go beyond traditional welfare supports and provide active assistance to help break the cycle of poverty and dependence. Governments have to recognize the inevitability of interdependence domestically and internationally and turn it to advantage. Governments have to find new ways to engage citizens. Governments need to form coalitions to expand international trade and investment in a coherent agenda that brings together financial, social, cultural, labour and environmental issues.

The remainder of this paper describes the key elements of this evolving strategy, what Canada is doing, and the challenges and choices for the future.

Shared Opportunity

Providing the Foundation for Economic Growth

Canada’s economic strategy is based on the premise that the purpose of economic growth is to enhance the well-being of all Canadians. Without growth we cannot realize this purpose. A strong economy is the indispensable foundation to achieve the Canadian vision. The blueprint recognizes that the sequencing of government action is crucial. The first priority had to be to achieve fiscal health and begin to

pursuit of excellence in commerce, science and technology but also in the arts and humanities.

Canada's Constitution enshrines the values of "peace, order and good government", capturing the traditions of accommodation, peaceful resolution of conflict, the rule of law and democracy. Canada's legal framework and history — its mixed economy, strong communities, bilingualism and diversity, social safety net and system of medicare, and recognition of global interdependence — contain the seeds of what we and our friends are calling the Third Way.

The Canadian Strategy

In the last decade of the 20th Century, Canada faced challenges similar to many other countries. The government had to restore fiscal sovereignty in order to regain the capacity to make choices for the future; it had to revalidate government as a force for good while realigning government functions to match fiscal capacity and the new realities of globalization and social change; and it had to rebuild trust and confidence in government.

Increasingly, success in the global economy depends on human talent — our ability to learn, to act and adapt quickly to new opportunities, to develop new ideas, to make new discoveries. A comprehensive strategy seeks to ensure that all citizens are included. A comprehensive strategy requires a commitment to opportunity, diversity and inclusion; and equally to creativity, innovation and the entrepreneurial spirit.

In 1994, the federal government announced its blueprint for change, "*An Agenda for Growth and Jobs*", to bring the Canadian Way into the 21st Century. It was and is an ambitious agenda. It is based on a clear recognition of the challenges of globalization: polarization, marginalization and exclusion; social fragmentation; environmental degradation; cultural homogenization; and public disaffection with government. It is also based on a recognition of the opportunities for those countries ready to seize them: enhanced trade and investment, the potential of powerful new technologies, new partnerships, and the global flow of information and knowledge to help us realize what we most value.

The strategy reflects a clear vision of Canada, building on its strengths and embracing the future. A society of excellence with a commitment to success. Where prosperity is not limited to the few, but is shared by the many and where every child gets the right start in life. Where young people have a chance to grow and to be the best at whatever they choose to do. Where citizens have access to the skills and knowledge they need to excel. Where citizens, regardless of income, receive quality health services. Where families enjoy safe communities and a clean environment. Where Canadians work together and with other countries to promote peace, cultural diversity and the human purpose, and the benefits of the new global economy.

the challenges of the future alone. Programs have been eliminated or devolved and new, separate service agencies are being established so that the government can focus on setting a new course. The government transferred its delivery of transportation services to the private sector so that the government could focus on its regulatory and policy role. It transferred labour market programs to the provinces so that they could be more easily adapted to local conditions. An extensive regulatory reform is reducing red tape and costs to business and to citizens; regulations are being cut, self-regulatory models are being applied and, where feasible and where accelerated services are required by business, costs are being borne directly by the users rather than burdening all citizens.

Sound Public Finances

Restoring fiscal sovereignty and modernizing government were not achieved without costs to Canadians. Getting the fiscal house in order required difficult and sometimes painful decisions. It required the deferral of actions in areas of importance. But it restored the capacity of government to play

an active and positive role in helping to build the new economy and create shared opportunity. Deficit elimination and debt reduction are not by themselves a vision for a country's future but without a firm commitment to sound public finances and low inflation no such vision is possible.

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Sound public finances are necessary if we are to realize our values. But the Canadian Way requires that sound fiscal management also be achieved in a manner that respects those values. In this context, Canada's governments made a clear commitment to preserve their public system of earnings-related pensions, the Canada Pension Plan, and make it sustainable for future generations without

reducing benefits for current recipients.

A comprehensive strategy seeks not only to create opportunity but to ensure that it is widely shared.

The financial foundation is being solidified by shifting from pay-as-you-go to partial funding. Contribution rates are rising more rapidly over six years than previously scheduled to prevent them from having to rise even further in the long term. The larger Canada Pension Plan surplus fund that will result is being

prudently invested in a diversified portfolio of securities in the best interest of plan members by an independent investment board at arm's length from governments. In addition, a number of changes have been made to the way benefits are administered and calculated to moderate escalating costs.

reate the climate for sustained growth. On this foundation, through continued fiscal responsibility and strategic investment in people and technology, the government can help accelerate transition to the knowledge economy and ensure that all Canadians have the opportunity to contribute to and benefit from economic growth.

By 1993, after decades of deficit budgets, service charges on Canada's debt were strangling government while the deficit was continuing to grow. High interest and inflation rates had discouraged investment and had harmed the quality of life of Canadians. It was clear to all Canadians that the first priority was to establish a healthy fiscal climate. This had become an imperative.

It was clear to all Canadians that the first priority was to establish a healthy fiscal climate. This had become an imperative.

By 1997, the federal deficit had been eliminated. Today, almost all provinces have eliminated their deficits as well. The economy is now growing strongly and Canada's business environment is rated third in the world by the World Economic Forum. Unemployment is lower than it has been in more than two decades and the economy is creating jobs at an unprecedented rate. The net public debt has been reduced from a peak of 71.2 percent of gross domestic product in 1997 to about 61 percent in 1999. It is projected at 50 percent by 2004 and will continue to drop. Most important, on a national accounts basis, which is the measure used for international fiscal comparisons by the OECD and the International Monetary Fund, Canada's debt is now below 50 percent of GDP and is continuing to drop. Canadians are more optimistic about the economy and their own individual prospects today than they have been for a long time.

Canada's success in eliminating its deficit can be attributed to three major factors:

- Canadians wanted their governments to take action, urgently, to restore fiscal health and they were willing to make the sacrifices necessary to achieve this;
- The Minister of Finance publicly set out two-year targets for deficit reduction, which were exceeded in every case; and
- The government chose to achieve these targets, not through across-the-board cuts, but through a review of all of its programs to align its activities with the priorities of Canadians and to change how it conducts its business.

The result has been a massive transformation of the federal government. Canada calls it "*Getting Government Right*"; others call it "*Reinventing Government*". New partnerships are being established, recognizing that no government can meet

Accelerating the Transition to a Knowledge-Based Economy

In a global knowledge-based economy, market forces create both opportunities and new disparities. Canada's commitment to an inclusive society requires that all citizens be able to participate, that none be excluded from opportunity. The Canadian Way has four key elements: "Connecting Canadians" to the information highway; investing in access to education and promoting excellence in post-secondary education; investing in children and their families; and developing active measures to help Canadians find and keep work.

Investments in the Information Highway

Marshall McLuhan, a Canadian, coined the phrase "global village" before he could have possibly imagined how the Internet would indeed make the world, a "wired village". The digital revolution will profoundly affect business, government, society and citizen participation. It will revolutionize the marketplace and society in ways that we can only dimly perceive.

Canada has been investing in the information highway since 1994 and is putting in place the legislative framework to protect intellectual property rights and enable secure commerce. The goal of the Connecting Canadians initiative is to make the information highway available to all Canadians — for learning, for commerce, for creative expression and for communication.

As a key part of this initiative, the government is building a modern communications infrastructure for schools. SchoolNet brings the Internet to students and into the classroom as a vital learning tool. Computers for Schools, a key to this strategy, is a partnership through which governments and businesses make computers available to schools at no cost. Canada is the first country to have

Getting Canadians connected — to each other, to schools and libraries, to their diverse stories and voices, to government, to the marketplace and to the world — is one of the keys to establishing Canada as a world-leading economy, a country of opportunity and excitement.

connected each one of its schools and libraries. Our next objective is to ensure that each classroom is connected.

In addition to connecting schools and libraries, the government is helping the voluntary sector extend its reach through new technology. Through its Smart Community project, the government is testing how access to the

information highway can enrich community life. The Community Access Program is bringing rural Canada on-line by establishing Internet access sites in Canada's rural and remote communities. Canada has set as its goal an inclusive approach to the information highway so that all Canadians have access. Canada has also set as

Budgetary surpluses also create difficult choices, in particular, choices about the right balance among debt reduction, tax reduction and social and economic investment. Such choices are now faced by many countries. The choices made necessarily reflect the values of a government and a country. The Government of Canada has chosen a balanced approach, committing half of its fiscal dividend to debt and tax relief and half to economic and social investment for the future. A comprehensive, balanced strategy requires investment, both public and private, in people, in knowledge and in technology. A comprehensive strategy seeks not only to create opportunity but to ensure that it is widely shared.

Tax Reductions

Lower taxes are an essential part of an economic strategy to provide jobs, growth, rising incomes and a higher quality of life. In its tax reduction measures, the government affirmed its commitment to a progressive income tax system and chose to focus first on low-

and middle-income Canadians. During the years of deficit reduction, the government reduced Employment Insurance premiums for employers and working Canadians and introduced targeted tax reductions to increase real incomes for low-income Canadians and take large

numbers of these Canadians off the tax rolls. With the deficit eliminated, and debt coming down, the government this year introduced a five-year, broad-based tax reduction plan. By the end of the fifth year of the plan, personal income taxes will have been reduced by 22 percent and up to 30 percent for families with children. Canadians will enjoy the full benefit of these reductions because of the reintroduction of full indexation for inflation.

These and future tax measures will empower Canadians to invest in their future and Canadian businesses will be better able to compete in the global knowledge-based economy. But tax reduction is only one part of the equation.

The tax plan also introduced measures to provide incentives for investment, entrepreneurship and innovation and to help attract and retain the talent Canada needs: reducing the corporate income tax rate for the highest taxed sectors, reducing the tax rate on capital gains, allowing a tax-free rollover for capital gains on small-business investments, and allowing the deferral of the taxation of benefits from employee stock options.

These and future tax measures will empower Canadians to invest in their future and Canadian businesses will be better able to compete in the global knowledge-based economy. But tax reduction is only one part of the equation.

savings plans for lifelong learning and extending tax assistance for education to part-time students.

Canada has the largest proportion of people with post-secondary education in the world, but the demands of the knowledge economy are placing an increasing premium on quality, not just the number of degrees but the quality of those degrees. The future will demand access to education of the highest quality, access

The future will demand access to education of the highest quality, access to excellence.

to excellence. And just as Canadian industries are in competition with the world, so too are our researchers, universities, and colleges.

The government is therefore taking steps to promote excellence in education and research. It has been implementing a plan to build a modern infrastructure of universities and laboratories, to increase the amount and quality of research, and to attract and retain the brightest and best scholars and researchers. To these ends, it established and continues to build the Canada Foundation for Innovation, which leverages significant additional resources from the private sector to build a modern research infrastructure in colleges, universities and teaching hospitals.

The government is encouraging research in the sciences and humanities through large increases to the Granting Councils, which provide the major support for research in Canada's post-secondary institutions. It has created the Canadian Institutes of Health Research and doubled its funding for health research to help Canada to become a world leader in this area. It has increased investment in biotechnology and related scientific research. It has created and extended networks of Centres of Excellence to ensure that knowledge and skills are shared.

And, the government is now establishing 2000 Canada Research Chairs over the next five years at degree-granting institutions across Canada to help them compete for the brightest and best in an increasingly global market.

Investing in Children and Families

Inclusiveness does not begin at the post-secondary school level. One of the challenges all countries must grapple with is ensuring that all children get a good start in life and that families are given the support they need for the healthy development of their children, so that they are ready to learn and to seize opportunity later in life. Some argue that large, across-the-board tax cuts are sufficient. The Government of Canada has chosen a different path. While

While parents and families have the primary role in raising children, governments have a responsibility to ensure that the necessary supports are also in place.

a goal that Canadian businesses will have five percent of the world's e-commerce by 2003. The information highway holds real promise too for improving government services to Canadians and for engaging Canadians in government. The federal government has therefore committed to have all government services on-line by 2004.

Getting Canadians connected — to each other, to schools and libraries, to their diverse stories and voices, to government, to the marketplace and to the world — is one of the keys to establishing Canada as a world-leading economy, a country of opportunity and excitement.

Canada has made significant progress towards its goal of being the most connected country in the world.

Improving Education and Learning

The standard of living and quality of life of Canadians will depend directly on our success in fostering knowledge creation and innovation and in maximizing educational opportunity. This requires a commitment to inclusive access to learning and to excellence in knowledge, research, and institutions of higher education. How a government proceeds on this agenda will reflect its values and will, to a large extent, shape the future of the country. Canada has made considerable progress and much remains to be done.

The Canadian Way is to make education and learning a top priority, recognizing their importance for opportunity and for citizenship. For its part, the federal government is implementing measures to make it easier for families to save from birth for their children's post-secondary education. It has introduced a sheltered education savings plan and is now providing grants to families who invest in the plan. The government has also increased its support for students in need to ensure that neither income nor family circumstance is a barrier to access. It increased its education loans and grants for students in need and those with young children. It is working with the provinces to harmonize student aid programs and to ensure that aid is fully portable. And it is implementing measures to help graduates manage the debt they may have accumulated as students.

Recently the Government of Canada launched the Millennium Scholarship Fund, establishing and endowing an agency which will, beginning this year, provide 100,000 scholarships per year to recognize and reward excellence and encourage the brightest and the best to fulfil their potential. While a good start has been made, student debt continues to be a problem and more must be done to ensure fair and equitable access for all.

The government is also implementing a range of measures to encourage lifelong learning for all Canadians, helping Canadians upgrade their skills throughout their working lives by allowing tax-free withdrawals from tax-sheltered retirement

new and better ways, new approaches that put greater emphasis on creating opportunity, promoting responsibility and avoiding dependency.

The Government of Canada has reformed and continues to adapt the Employment Insurance system, shifting emphasis to active measures to help the unemployed acquire the skills and tools they need; and it is testing similar programs for people with disabilities, youth at risk and Aboriginal people.

At the same time, Canada's governments continue to provide support, through welfare, employment insurance and other programs, to ensure that basic needs are met. Through its progressive tax system, active measures and social safety net, Canada has curtailed income polarization and marginalization and has therefore avoided the worst social and economic costs of social exclusion. More must and can be done, particularly with respect to Canada's Aboriginal peoples, who do not participate equally in Canada's social and economic development. New and better ways must be found both to promote opportunity and to ensure that the basic needs of all are met.

In Canada, as in many other countries, disparities exist not only among individuals but also among regions. There have been many different approaches to regional development. None have been fully successful. Some approaches may actually deepen dependency and inhibit structural reform. Canada is therefore modifying its approach to regional development, focusing on innovation, on excellence, on private-public partnership, on infrastructure, and on youth. In the knowledge-based economy, geography need not be a barrier to opportunity.

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Quality of life

The purpose of Canada's economic strategy is to provide Canadians with a high quality of life. But quality of life is not simply defined by opportunities in the market. It also requires safe communities where people wish to live and raise their families, where they can receive the health care they need, where they can live without fear of crime or violence, where they can enjoy the benefits of clean air and water and green spaces, where they can participate in amateur sport, cultural activities and the arts, and where people of diverse backgrounds and cultures participate and contribute together.

parents and families have the primary role in raising children, governments have a responsibility to ensure that the necessary supports are also in place.

The federal and provincial governments, therefore, established and continue to strengthen the National Child Benefit, designed to combat child poverty by helping to protect benefits for low-income parents who enter and stay in the workforce. Under the previous set of uncoordinated welfare and federal child benefits, parents could face a significant drop in benefits when deciding to accept a job and leave welfare. The benefit strengthens and equalizes income support to low-income families with children, while at the same time extending improvements to the majority of families.

This important reform is allowing provinces to redirect welfare spending for children to invest in more effective and active programs to help low-income families break the welfare trap; for example, child care, supplementary health benefits, early childhood services, and enhanced income support. The National Child Benefit embodies several key characteristics of the Canadian Way: active instead of passive income support; broad based, inclusive social programs that serve low-income and non-poor Canadians together, rather than marginalizing the most vulnerable; integration of income programs and a range of supporting services; and reforms planned and implemented through federal-provincial joint action.

Canada's governments have agreed to build on this ground-breaking initiative. In 1999, they released a framework to guide the efforts of all sectors of Canadian society — Canadians, communities, employers and governments — to better meet the needs of children. The framework focuses on six priority areas: strengthening the family, early childhood development, economic security, readiness to learn, adolescent development and supportive communities.

For its part, the federal government launched a major new initiative to double parental leave from its current 26 weeks to a full year to enable working parents to choose to be with their young children. This will come into effect in 2001 and will have major and enduring benefits for children and their families.

Investment in Active Measures

A particular challenge for all countries is to find new and better ways to bring the poor and marginalized into the

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mainstream. An inclusive approach requires that all individuals and all regions have the opportunity to participate, to share opportunity. Governments have an important role but they must go beyond the traditional "welfare" approaches; they must find

Canadians. Our generation will be judged on the environmental legacy we leave to our children and grandchildren. This is a matter of very high priority for Canada's governments.

Legislation has been introduced to protect species at risk and their critical habitat. The Government of Canada is extending Canada's national parks system and taking steps to ensure the ecological integrity of its parks and the protection of its wilderness areas. And it is cleaning up contaminated sites to protect the health of Canadians.

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Canada is adapting existing technologies aggressively, developing new technologies strategically and exporting its technical products to contribute to the health of the global environment and to contribute to economic growth in Canada. Canada has set itself the goal of being a world leader in environmental technology and science.

In collaboration with the provinces and municipalities, the government is investing in green infrastructure to improve water and air quality. Canada is adopting sustainable practices and encouraging our trading partners to do the same. And the Government of Canada is leading a national effort — public, private, federal and provincial — to meet its commitment to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, and it will work to achieve concerted international action on climate change.

In the new global economy, not only are people connected more than ever before, not only do businesses compete around the world as never before, but the quality of our environment — the air we breathe, the water we drink — depends not only on what we do in this country but also on factors beyond our borders. Environmental quality is both a local and a global challenge; it requires both national action and international partnerships.

Strong and Safe Communities

Strong communities and good government require engaged citizens, citizens who take responsibility not only for themselves but for one another. Canada has always benefited from a high level of community action, and Canadians take great pride in their reputation for mutual tolerance, mutual respect, and mutual responsibility. Indeed, Canada has been called a "public enterprise" society because of its traditions of social responsibility. Its strong civic base is reflected in relatively low and decreasing rates of crime and violence, high rates of voluntarism and charitable giving, and a strong and active voluntary sector. In times of rapid and

Investments in Health

Whatever their system of health, countries throughout the world are having to deal with the rising costs of health care in the face of demographic change, new technologies, advances in medical science and changing expectations.

Canadians attach great value to and take great pride in their public health care system. Canada's system of medicare guarantees access to essential health services regardless of income or place of residence. It is part of Canada's

Canadians want assurances that their health care system will be there for them and for their children. Canada's governments have no greater obligation than to work together with an uncompromising commitment to universal access to essential medical services of high quality; to develop common goals and objectives to bring medicare into the 21st century; and to measure results, report to Canadians on progress, learn from one another what works best and invest for the future.

competitive advantage and essential to quality of life. Canada's governments are therefore increasing their investment in core health services. They are also taking steps to modernize the system and make it sustainable by investing in health information systems, research and innovation, and particularly preventive approaches. Preventive initiatives are building on efforts to improve prenatal nutrition, food safety and the control of toxic substances. Steps are being taken to foster innovation in rural and community health; to improve Aboriginal health services; and to combat diabetes, the incidence of which is particularly high in Aboriginal communities.

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common goals and objectives to bring medicare into the 21st century; and to measure results, report to Canadians on progress, learn from one another what works best and invest for the future. Increasing global mobility, the spread of disease and the emergence of new viruses will require international solutions as well.

A Healthy Environment

A healthy environment and a high quality of life go hand in hand. The environment is of importance to all Canadians, but particularly to young

vision of how this partnership can most effectively contribute to serve Canadians, encourage charitable giving and promote volunteerism and citizen engagement in public enterprise. The federal government and the voluntary sector are developing an accord which will bring this relationship into the 21st century.

Canada is also increasing support for participation in amateur sport, cultural activities and the arts, and the preservation for future generations of its rich cultural heritage. Sport, artistic and cultural activities are important for connecting Canadians to their society and to one another. These activities inspire creativity and a sense of humanity and citizenship and provide some bearings in these global and changing times. The government is introducing measures to promote creative expression across all media and to bring historical and cultural content on-line.

In particular, it is taking steps to encourage youth to express themselves, develop their creativity, participate in domestic and international exchanges, and be exposed to excellence in the arts, humanities and sport. Young people are

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typically at ease in the global, wired world, and can play a major role in driving innovation. Canada is increasingly turning to young people to help citizens and businesses learn how to access and effectively use new technologies and the Internet. Governments will have to find new ways to engage young people and place them at the centre of the action.

The Government of Canada is committed to ensuring that Canadians have Canadian choices. To help connect our people to the diverse Canadian experience and to support and promote our rich talent. Canada has an unprecedented opportunity to ensure that its creative

artists have new avenues for expression. That all Canadians have access to diverse Canadian stories, voices and images.

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persistent change, however, these bonds among citizens and between them and their governments may become strained or weakened at precisely the time that public enterprise must be resilient and inventive.

Canada's governments are working together to ensure that their communities continue to be safe and that Canadians do not live in fear of crime. The Canadian Way is a balanced approach in which offenders are held accountable for their

Strong communities and good government require engaged citizens, citizens who take responsibility not only for themselves but for one another.

crimes; serious offenders receive serious sentences; less serious offenders, particularly young offenders, are helped to reintegrate into their communities; and prisons are a punishment of last resort.

Canada's governments have intensified their efforts at prevention and diversion to reduce the social and economic costs of crime. Canada's

firearms controls are among the most stringent in the world and new measures are being implemented to control firearms, to ensure their safe handling and to prohibit those most dangerous. Canada is also intensifying its community-based crime prevention, tailoring programs to the specific needs of urban and rural communities and engaging youth to help other young people at risk.

Globalization, however, has meant new threats to security — such as computer crime; smuggling of people, arms and drugs; and exploitation of immigrants and refugees. Recent events have shown the global consequences that can arise from local mischief on the Internet. These issues will require international solutions.

The most effective domestic approaches to crime prevention and strengthening the quality of life in communities are those that focus on social development and inclusion, engaging those at risk or on the margins of community life, providing them with social and market skills and opportunities to contribute. Canada's voluntary sector plays a crucial role in reaching out to those that government programs may too often miss.

Through a series of joint roundtables, the government and the voluntary sector have set out a shared vision of how this partnership can most effectively contribute to serve Canadians, encourage charitable giving and promote volunteerism and citizen engagement in public enterprise.

The Government of Canada is therefore strengthening its partnership with the voluntary sector. Through a series of joint roundtables, the government and the voluntary sector have set out a shared

transparent and accountable. Initiatives such as the National Child Benefit demonstrate the strength of the federal system, which allows governments to bring their different strengths together in common purpose while also affording the flexibility to tailor programs and services to meet provincial or local needs.

Canada's system of federalism provides an increasing advantage in the global economy, allowing the interaction of global and local issues, accommodating diversity and providing a natural laboratory for testing new ideas and bringing those that work best to all Canadians. In 1999, Canada's governments agreed to adopt a more collaborative approach to federalism, making the commitment that, in areas of shared responsibility or interest, they would jointly develop objectives and indicators to measure and publicly report on progress, exchange best practices and learn from one another. The key to this new agreement is the commitment of all governments to report to Canadians on their performance, to allow Canadians to make informed judgments and to participate more fully in the federal-provincial dialogue.

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The future will increasingly demand excellence in government policy, administration and services. Governments too will have to attract and retain the brightest and best in an increasingly competitive market, and they will have to be representative of the increasingly diverse population they serve. Attracting and retaining the talent they need will be a significant challenge for all governments.

The government is taking concrete steps to build its policy capacity, to strengthen its ability to discern broad trends, to develop long term scenarios and options, and to identify innovative approaches and solutions. The government's Policy Research Initiative devotes resources to long term policy, to help build policy capacity in government departments and to encourage academics and think tanks to help government define its challenges and choices for the future. The Government of Canada has also put added emphasis on restoring pride in public service and on recruitment, retention and learning to ensure that the public service continues to attract, keep, and develop people who can provide excellence in government.

Governments will also have to find new approaches to strengthen private-public partnerships and to promote corporate responsibility domestically and internationally. Mutual responsibility requires that all sectors of society contribute to the betterment of quality of life.

Modern Government

The Canadian Way of governing requires that all citizens have the opportunity to help shape government priorities and directions. The Government of Canada has recognized that the legitimacy of public institutions, the quality of public policy, and the responsiveness of public services will require new and better mechanisms for engaging citizens and civil society in governance. For example, the government has used citizen juries to achieve a consensus declaration on climate change. It has used study circles to bring citizens and decision-makers together to recommend action in immigration and health policy. The government also recognizes the need to engage citizens in distant communities and, in 1998, launched the Canadian Rural Dialogue, which resulted in a long-term action plan which will address the special needs of citizens living in rural and remote communities. A challenge for all governments is to find innovative ways to put citizens at the centre of the governing process, to engage youth in public enterprise, and to give voice to those who find themselves on the margins.

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Key to reconnecting governments to their citizens is greater transparency and accountability in how government operates. All of Canada's governments are developing new ways to measure and report on performance and results. The Government of Canada is introducing new approaches to performance measurement and results reporting across all departments and agencies. Performance reports are provided to Parliament and made public to ensure that citizens can make informed judgments about the performance of their government. Performance information is also crucial to help governments to learn and to adapt and modify their policies in the light of the evidence on what works and what does not.

The federal and provincial governments are also adopting new citizen-centred approaches to service, publicly setting out service standards, providing mechanisms for complaint and redress, and using new technologies to make services available in a way that is relevant to citizens. The Government of Canada made its commitment to have its services on-line by 2004 so that citizens will be able to access its services at a time and place of their choosing.

Canada's governments are working together to strengthen their federal system, to find effective ways to manage interdependence in the interest of citizens, to work together whenever this makes sense and to identify new ways to be more

Globalization means increased wealth, expanded opportunity and improved well-being for Canadians and the citizens of other developed countries. Some are not so fortunate — indeed, there has been little improvement in the absolute number of world citizens living in dire poverty. If developed countries want to continue to secure the advantages of globalization for themselves, they must help those that are excluded to benefit as well. That is the challenge for all of those who believe in progressive governance.

If developed countries want to continue to secure the advantages of globalization for themselves, they must help those that are excluded to benefit as well. That is the challenge for all of those who believe in progressive governance.

For its part, Canada is committed to promoting sustainable growth for all nations through enhanced trade. This requires reducing debt and freeing up funding for productive expenditures,

ensuring appropriate regulatory structures, and developing the capacity to benefit fully from the trading system. Canada is a driving force to reduce the oppressive debt burdens of the poorest nations, in concert with the international financial institutions, and is a prime mover in the work of the G20 to promote international financial stability and greater transparency.

But financial order is insufficient to allow developing nations to benefit from globalization. Canada is, particularly through the G8, encouraging the development of social policies to protect the vulnerable in economic hard times. To this end, it is promoting greater coordination, among the WTO, international financial institutions and UN agencies, to provide debt relief to allow countries to concentrate on productive expenditures, develop social safety nets and better integrate trade into development. It is also tailoring development assistance programs to help build developing-country capacity for economic and social development, as well as to respond to urgent humanitarian needs.

Canada's approach is to support greater policy coherence at the international level, to address not only the economic, but also the social, environmental, health, and cultural consequences of globalization.

Canada's approach is to support greater policy coherence at the international level, to address not only the economic, but also the social, environmental, health, and cultural consequences of globalization. All governments will have to meet the challenge of building an international agenda that is coherent and governance structures that are more transparent and that engage civil society domestically and internationally.

Global Opportunity

Canada's international voice draws on its distinct advantage as a multi-cultural society where people have roots in virtually every country in the world. Canada is surrounded by three oceans and is therefore an Atlantic, Pacific and Arctic country. Canada belongs both to the Commonwealth and La Francophonie and Canada speaks in two international languages. Canada is a trading nation, a vigorous promoter of investment. And Canada speaks to the world through the values that can be traced to our origins of "peace, order and good government". Canada's foreign policy is the mirror image of its domestic policy.

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In the post Cold War world, foreign policy can more easily look beyond relations between states to the needs of people, needs that transcend borders — addressing the human side of globalization, human security, cultural diversity and human rights.

Canada continues to play a disproportionate role in conflict avoidance, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, largely because Canadians understand readily that the more people are safe and secure in their countries, the more Canadians too are safe and secure. Canada continues to work with international non-governmental organizations to promote human security, human rights and peace, building on the landmark convention banning anti-personnel mines. Similar approaches will be necessary to control the spread of small arms and migrant smuggling. Canada and its partners in the United Nations recently achieved new rules preventing the recruitment of child soldiers, and Canada continues to advocate the International Criminal Court so that perpetrators of atrocities are held to account.

Canada is also promoting a more inclusive and coherent rules-based approach to free trade, anchored in the WTO, as perhaps the major vehicle to achieve shared opportunity globally. Trade and investment are essential for a strong Canadian economy.

The trading relationship with the United States is the most important element of Canada's international economic relations. NAFTA has extended this relationship to Mexico.

Through its membership in APEC and its leadership role in the Summit of the Americas, Canada is committed to expanding free trade as an essential means of building greater prosperity in a global economy.

- Young Canadians have the tools and can seize the opportunity to drive innovation and growth;
- Canada's artists and creators have the opportunity to express themselves, and Canadians have access to Canadian choices;
- Government services are available to Canadians on-line, Canada's governments are collaborating in the interests of all Canadians openly and transparently, and citizens are at the centre of governance; and
- Canada and other liked-minded countries build a coherent international agenda of shared opportunity and inclusion.

It is a plan for people, for opportunity, for excellence, for success, for a high quality of life, for mutual responsibility and mutual respect, for creativity and innovation — an ambitious vision for an ambitious country.

Sharing Opportunity

This is a modern project for a modern society, the project of a forward-looking country. Not old solutions to the problems of today, but new plans to meet new opportunities; to ensure that the opportunities of all of Canada are available to all Canadians; to ensure that Canadians shape their future in the Canadian Way. It is a plan for people, for opportunity, for excellence, for success, for a high quality of life, for mutual responsibility and mutual respect, for creativity and innovation — an ambitious vision for an ambitious country.

Canadians' way of living together, their way of working out problems, of respecting and taking responsibility for each other — this Canadian Way — is the way ahead for this even smaller globe in the century ahead.

Challenges and Choices for the Future

Taking the Canadian Way into the 21st Century will require innovation and excellence in government, partnerships of common purpose and a focus on citizens at home and throughout the world. The federal government is proposing for Canada and Canadians clear goals and a vision of a modern Canada in which:

- Canada is the most inclusive country in the world, where opportunity is shared among all Canadians and all regions;
- All children get a good start in life so that they will be ready to learn and seize opportunity later in life;
- Canada's economy is growing strongly and all sectors of the economy are harnessing the power of new technologies and global trade and investment;
- Canada is the most connected country in the world, a leader in the knowledge economy, and has five percent of the world's e-commerce by 2003;
- All Canadian classrooms are connected to the Internet;
- All Canadians have equitable and affordable access to an education of the highest standards of excellence;
- Canada is the world leader in research and science in key strategic areas;
- Canada's poor have the tools they need to enter the mainstream and the basic needs of all Canadians are met;
- Canada's Aboriginal peoples have the tools to participate in Canada's economic growth;
- All Canadians have access to essential medical services of high quality, and Canada is a world leader in health research and information;
- Canadian citizens continue to enjoy clean air and water and green spaces, and Canada's rich wilderness and habitats are preserved;
- Canada is a world leader in environmental technology and science;
- All Canadians can participate fully in Canada's economy and in its diverse and culturally rich communities without fear of crime or violence, prejudice or hate;

- Le Canada est un leader mondial dans la technologie et la science de l'environnement.
- Tous les Canadiens peuvent participer pleinement à l'économie et s'épanouir dans des collectivités riches de leur diversité culturelle, sans craindre le crime, la violence, les préjugés ou la haine.
- Les jeunes Canadiens possèdent les outils et peuvent saisir les occasions nécessaires pour contribuer à l'innovation et à la croissance.
- Les artistes et les créateurs du Canada ont l'occasion de s'exprimer et les Canadiens ont accès aux œuvres et aux produits canadiens.
- Les services gouvernementaux sont offerts en ligne, les gouvernements du pays collaborent dans l'intérêt de tous les Canadiens, de façon ouverte et transparente, et les citoyens sont au cœur de la gouvernance.
- Le Canada et les autres pays qui ont la même philosophie que lui adoptent un plan d'action international caractérisé par la cohérence, le partage des avantages et l'inclusion.

C'est un plan pour que les gens s'épanouissent, et pour que se réalisent les opportunités, l'excellence, le succès, la qualité de vie, la responsabilité mutuelle, le respect mutuel, la créativité et l'innovation. C'est la vision ambitieuse d'un pays ambitieux.

Partager la prospérité

C'est là le projet moderne d'une société moderne, le projet d'un pays résolument tourné vers l'avenir. Finies les vieilles solutions pour les problèmes contemporains! L'heure est venue d'avoir un plan moderne pour que tous les Canadiens puissent se prévaloir des occasions qui s'offrent, où qu'elles se manifestent au Canada, et pour qu'ils continuent d'édifier leur avenir à la manière canadienne. C'est un plan pour que les gens s'épanouissent, et pour que se réalisent les opportunités, l'excellence, le succès, la qualité de vie, la responsabilité mutuelle, le respect mutuel, la créativité et l'innovation. C'est la vision ambitieuse d'un pays ambitieux.

La voie canadienne — c'est-à-dire cette façon que nous avons de vivre ensemble, de trouver des solutions aux problèmes, de respecter les autres, de nous sentir responsables des autres — est assurément celle de l'avenir en ce siècle encore tout jeune qui nous invite au rapprochement.

aider ceux qui en sont exclus à en profiter eux aussi. Voilà le défi à relever pour tous ceux qui croient à une gouvernance de progrès.

Pour sa part, le Canada est résolu à promouvoir une croissance durable pour toutes les nations par le biais d'échanges commerciaux accrus. Il faudra pour ce faire réduire la dette et prévoir des fonds pour les dépenses de production; il faudra aussi mettre en place les structures réglementaires appropriées et apprendre à profiter pleinement des retombées du commerce. Le Canada préconise de réduire la dette qui paralyse en ce moment les pays les plus pauvres, de concert avec les institutions financières internationales. Il est l'un des membres les plus actifs du G20, formé pour promouvoir la stabilité financière et la transparence à l'échelle internationale.

Cependant, les mesures financières ne sauraient à elles seules permettre aux pays en développement de profiter de la mondialisation. Le Canada croit à la nécessité d'élaborer des politiques sociales pour protéger les pays vulnérables lorsque les

La stratégie canadienne consiste à promouvoir une meilleure cohérence des politiques au niveau international et à ne pas se limiter aux conséquences économiques de la mondialisation.

temps sont durs. C'est pourquoi il encourage, en particulier par le biais du G8, une coordination accrue — entre l'Organisation mondiale du commerce, les institutions financières internationales et les organismes des Nations unies — en vue de consentir un allègement de dette aux pays qui ont besoin d'engager des dépenses de production, de se doter de filets de sécurité sociale et de mieux intégrer le commerce à leur développement.

Le Canada propose également des programmes d'aide au développement pour donner à ces pays les moyens de vraiment améliorer leur situation économique et sociale, ainsi que pour répondre aux besoins humanitaires urgents.

La stratégie canadienne consiste à promouvoir une meilleure cohérence des politiques au niveau international et à ne pas se limiter aux conséquences économiques de la mondialisation. Il faut considérer également les aspects qui touchent la société, l'environnement, la santé et la culture. Tous les gouvernements devront réussir à s'entendre sur un plan d'action international cohérent et à mettre en place des structures de gouvernance plus transparentes et plus aptes à mobiliser la société civile, chez nous et ailleurs dans le monde.

Les choix qui s'imposent pour l'avenir

Pour que la voie canadienne nous garantisse le succès au XXI^e siècle, il faudra que l'innovation et l'excellence soient à l'ordre du jour des gouvernements, que des partenariats s'établissent un peu partout et que notre action soit axée sur les citoyens, au pays comme à l'étranger. Le gouvernement fédéral a des objectifs très clairs à proposer aux Canadiens relativement à ce que doit être le Canada moderne :

- Le Canada est le pays le plus inclusif qui soit, où des possibilités sont offertes de façon égale à tous les Canadiens et à toutes les régions.
- Tous les enfants partent du bon pied dans la vie de façon à pouvoir apprendre et saisir les occasions qui se présenteront à eux plus tard.
- L'économie canadienne connaît une forte croissance et tous les secteurs économiques exploitent à bon escient les possibilités des nouvelles technologies ainsi que les avantages des échanges commerciaux et des investissements internationaux.
- Le Canada est le pays le plus branché du monde, un leader dans l'économie du savoir et il aura 5 p. 100 du commerce électronique mondial d'ici 2003.
- Toutes les salles de classe au Canada sont branchées à l'Internet.
- Tous les Canadiens ont la possibilité de faire des études de qualité et d'atteindre les plus hauts niveaux d'excellence, et ce à un coût abordable.
- Le Canada est le leader mondial dans des grands domaines stratégiques de la recherche et de la science.
- Les Canadiens défavorisés ont les outils nécessaires pour rattraper le reste de la société, et les besoins fondamentaux de tous les Canadiens sont satisfaits.
- Les peuples autochtones du Canada ont les outils nécessaires pour participer à la croissance économique du Canada.
- Tous les Canadiens ont accès à des services médicaux de grande qualité et le Canada est un leader mondial de la recherche en santé et de l'information dans ce domaine.
- La population canadienne continue de profiter d'air et d'eau propres ainsi que d'espaces verts, dans un pays qui préserve la riche diversité de sa faune et de sa flore, y compris leurs habitats.

L'excellence devra imprégner de plus en plus tout ce que font les gouvernements : politiques, administration, services. Par ailleurs, les gouvernements devront attirer et retenir les meilleurs éléments compte tenu de la concurrence qui s'exerce sur le marché, et ils devront être représentatifs des populations extrêmement diversifiées qu'ils servent. Savoir attirer et retenir les gens de talent : voilà un défi de taille pour tous les gouvernements.

Le gouvernement prend des mesures concrètes pour se donner des moyens d'action en matière d'élaboration des politiques, accroître sa capacité de dégager les grandes tendances, dresser des scénarios pour le long terme et mettre au point des démarches et des solutions novatrices. Le projet de recherche sur les politiques consacre des ressources aux politiques à long terme afin d'aider les ministères à se doter de la capacité d'élaborer des politiques, et d'encourager les chercheurs et les groupes de réflexion à aider le gouvernement à définir ses défis et ses choix pour l'avenir. De plus, le gouvernement du Canada veut une fierté à la fonction publique en mettant l'accent sur le recrutement, le maintien des effectifs et l'apprentissage pour qu'elle puisse continuer d'attirer, de garder en poste et de développer des gens qui insuffleront l'excellence au sein du gouvernement.

Les gouvernements devront aussi trouver de nouvelles façons de renforcer les partenariats entre les secteurs public et privé et de promouvoir la responsabilité collective au pays comme à l'étranger. Il faut que tous les secteurs de la société contribuent à l'amélioration de la qualité de vie.

Les opportunités au niveau mondial

Si le Canada réussit à faire entendre sa voix sur la scène internationale, c'est qu'il a l'avantage d'être une société multiculturelle où les gens ont des racines dans presque tous les pays du monde. Le Canada est entouré de trois océans, ce qui en fait un pays de l'Atlantique, du Pacifique et de l'Arctique. Il appartient au Commonwealth et à la Francophonie et s'exprime dans deux langues dont le

rayonnement est international. Le Canada est une nation commerçante qui croit à l'importance des investissements. Et il parle au monde en s'appuyant sur des valeurs qui ont présidé à la création de notre pays : « la paix, l'ordre et le bon gouvernement ». En cela, la politique étrangère du Canada est le reflet fidèle de sa politique intérieure.

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Depuis la fin de la guerre froide, la politique étrangère n'a plus à se limiter aux relations entre États : elle peut désormais transcender les frontières pour s'intéresser davantage à l'élément humain de la mondialisation, à la sécurité des populations, à la diversité culturelle et aux droits de la personne.

Le Canada continue de jouer un rôle disproportionné dans la prévention des conflits, la pacification et le maintien de la paix, car les Canadiens comprennent qu'ils sont eux-même davantage en sécurité lorsque la paix règne ailleurs dans le monde. Notre pays travaille de concert avec les organisations non gouvernementales internationales à promouvoir la sécurité des populations, les droits de la personne et la paix, prenant appui sur la convention historique qui a été signée pour éliminer les mines antipersonnel. Il faudra des approches semblables pour les armes légères et les migrants illégaux. Le Canada et ses partenaires des Nations unies ont récemment élaboré de nouvelles règles pour empêcher le recrutement d'enfants soldats, et nous continuons de préconiser que les auteurs d'atrocités soient traduits devant le Tribunal pénal international.

Si les pays développés veulent continuer de tirer profit des avantages de la mondialisation, ils doivent aider ceux qui en sont exclus à en profiter eux aussi. Voilà le défi à relever pour tous ceux qui croient à une gouvernance progressiste.

Le Canada fait également la promotion d'une approche à l'égard du libre-échange qui soit plus inclusive, cohérente et réglementée, et qui soit ancrée dans l'OMC, de sorte que le libre-échange devienne peut-être un jour la principale garantie de débouchés à l'échelle mondiale. Le commerce et l'investissement sont essentiels pour renforcer l'économie canadienne.

La relation commerciale du Canada avec les États-Unis est la plus importante qui soit pour le Canada. L'Accord de libre-échange nord-américain a eu pour effet d'intégrer le Mexique à cette relation.

Par son adhésion au forum de Coopération économique Asie-Pacifique (APEC) et le rôle de chef de file qu'il assume au Sommet des Amériques, le Canada se montre déterminé à élargir le libre-échange et à en faire la clé de voûte de la prospérité dans le nouvel ordre économique mondial.

Qui dit mondialisation dit richesse accrue, horizons élargis et qualité de vie améliorée, du moins pour les Canadiens et les citoyens des autres pays développés. Mais tous n'ont pas la même chance. En effet, le nombre absolu de ceux qui vivent dans l'indigence ne s'améliore guère. Si les pays développés veulent continuer de tirer profit des avantages de la mondialisation, ils doivent

Le gouvernement du Canada a à cœur de donner des choix aux Canadiens, de les aider à connaître l'histoire diversifiée du pays et de soutenir et promouvoir nos riches talents. Le Canada a l'occasion unique de donner à ses artistes créateurs de nouveaux moyens d'expression et de faire en sorte que les Canadiens aient accès à une vaste gamme d'œuvres de toutes sortes, qu'elles soient littéraires ou audiovisuelles.

Dans un monde où le développement humain, la qualité de vie et la prospérité dépendent de plus en plus du savoir et de la créativité, qui de mieux que nos artistes et nos auteurs pour ouvrir la voie. Et qui de mieux que nos jeunes qui, très souvent, sont déjà plus à l'aise que leurs aînés dans ce monde en évolution rapide dans lequel nous vivons.

Un gouvernement moderne

La manière canadienne de gouverner exige que tous les citoyens aient l'occasion d'aider à définir les priorités et les orientations du gouvernement. Le gouvernement du Canada reconnaît que la légitimité des institutions publiques, la qualité des politiques et la réceptivité des fonctions publiques passeront par de nouveaux mécanismes et par des mécanismes améliorés permettant de faire participer les citoyens et la société civile à la gouvernance. Par exemple, le gouvernement a eu recours à des jurys populaires pour en arriver à une déclaration consensuelle sur le changement climatique. Il a également formé des cercles d'étude pour amener citoyens et décideurs autour d'une même table en vue de recommander une ligne de conduite en matière d'immigration et de santé. Le gouvernement est en outre conscient de la nécessité de rejoindre les citoyens des collectivités éloignées, ce qui l'a amené en 1998 à lancer le Dialogue rural canadien, qui a débouché sur un plan d'action à long terme qui répondra aux besoins particuliers des gens vivant en milieu rural ou en milieu éloigné. Tous les gouvernements font face à un même défi : celui de mettre les citoyens au cœur du processus gouvernemental, de mobiliser les jeunes et de donner une voix à ceux qu'on a tendance à oublier.

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Pour reconnecter les gouvernements avec les citoyens, il est essentiel d'avoir une plus grande transparence et une meilleure responsabilisation. Au Canada, tous les gouvernements sont en train d'adopter de nouveaux mécanismes pour mesurer leur performance et divulguer les résultats obtenus. Pour sa part, le gouvernement du Canada se dote actuellement de nouveaux moyens pour amener tous ses

ministères et organismes à mesurer leur performance et à rendre des comptes. Les rapports de performance sont déposés au Parlement puis rendus publics pour que les citoyens puissent évaluer le travail de leur gouvernement en toute connaissance de cause. De tels rapports sont essentiels car ils permettent aux gouvernements de voir ce qui fonctionne et ce qui ne fonctionne pas, et de modifier leurs politiques en conséquence.

Les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux adoptent également de nouvelles approches où la prestation des services est axée sur le citoyen : ils annoncent publiquement les normes de service, prévoient des mécanismes de plainte et de redressement, et utilisent les nouvelles technologies pour mieux rejoindre les bénéficiaires. Le gouvernement du Canada s'est engagé à offrir tous ses services en ligne d'ici 2004 de sorte qu'on puisse y avoir accès à tout moment et de partout au pays.

Les gouvernements du Canada travaillent ensemble à renforcer le système fédéral, à gérer l'interdépendance dans l'intérêt de la population, à se concerter et à trouver de nouvelles façons d'accroître transparence et responsabilisation. Des initiatives comme la Prestation

nationale pour enfants montrent la force d'un système fédéral qui permet aux gouvernements d'unir leurs forces pour le bien commun tout en leur accordant suffisamment de latitude pour concevoir des programmes et des services adaptés aux besoins provinciaux et locaux.

Le fédéralisme canadien s'avère particulièrement avantageux dans la nouvelle économie mondiale, permettant une interaction des diverses problématiques, favorisant la diversité et fournissant un

laboratoire naturel pour tester les idées nouvelles et retenir les plus prometteuses. En 1999, les gouvernements du Canada se sont entendus pour que notre fédéralisme soit marqué par une plus grande collaboration : ils ont pris l'engagement de se concerter, chaque fois que des responsabilités ou des intérêts communs sont en jeu, pour déterminer les objectifs à atteindre, voir comment les résultats seront mesurés et portés à la connaissance du public, partager les pratiques exemplaires et apprendre les uns des autres. L'aspect clé de cette entente est l'engagement pris par tous les gouvernements de faire rapport aux Canadiens pour que ceux-ci puissent évaluer de façon éclairée la performance de leurs gouvernements et participer plus à fond au dialogue fédéral-provincial.

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secteur bénévole. En cette époque d'évolution rapide et constante, ces liens entre les citoyens et entre eux et leurs gouvernements risquent de s'affaiblir, au moment précis où l'entreprise publique doit faire preuve de souplesse et d'esprit inventif.

Les gouvernements du pays unissent leurs efforts pour aider leurs collectivités à demeurer sûres et pour éviter aux Canadiens de vivre dans la crainte du crime. Au Canada, les contrevenants sont tenus responsables de leurs crimes, les personnes ayant commis des crimes graves reçoivent des sentences sévères, celles qui en ont

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commis de moins graves, en particulier les jeunes contrevenants, reçoivent de l'aide pour réintégrer leurs collectivités, et l'emprisonnement est une sanction de dernier recours.

Les gouvernements du pays ont intensifié leurs efforts de prévention et de déjudiciarisation afin de réduire les coûts sociaux et économiques de la criminalité. Au Canada, le contrôle des armes à feu figure parmi les plus sévères au monde et de nouvelles

mesures sont actuellement prises dans ce domaine afin d'assurer une manipulation sécuritaire de ces armes et d'interdire l'utilisation des plus dangereuses. Le Canada intensifie également son travail de prévention de la criminalité au sein des collectivités en mettant au point des programmes qui satisferont aux besoins particuliers des collectivités urbaines et rurales et en mobilisant des jeunes pour aider d'autres jeunes à risque.

Mais la mondialisation engendre de nouvelles menaces, comme la criminalité informatique, le trafic d'humains, d'armes et de drogue, et l'exploitation des immigrants et des réfugiés. Des événements récents ont montré les conséquences que peuvent avoir à l'échelle mondiale les méfaits commis localement sur l'Internet. Ces problèmes nécessiteront des solutions internationales.

Dans le cadre d'une série de tables rondes, le gouvernement et le secteur bénévole se sont donné une vision commune sur la façon dont ce partenariat pourra contribuer le plus efficacement à servir les Canadiens, à encourager les actions caritatives et à promouvoir le bénévolat et la mobilisation des citoyens au sein de l'entreprise publique.

Au pays, les démarches les plus efficaces de prévention de la criminalité et d'amélioration de la qualité de vie dans les collectivités sont celles qui mettent

l'accent sur le développement social et l'inclusion, qui mobilisent les personnes à risque ou en marge de la société, qui leur permettent d'acquérir des aptitudes sociales et des compétences de travail, et qui leur fournissent des occasions de contribuer à la vie sociale. Le secteur bénévole canadien joue un rôle crucial pour atteindre ceux qui, trop souvent, glissent entre les mailles des programmes gouvernementaux.

C'est pourquoi le gouvernement du Canada renforce son partenariat avec le secteur bénévole. Dans le cadre d'une série de tables rondes, le gouvernement et le secteur bénévole se sont donné une vision commune sur la façon dont ce partenariat pourra contribuer le plus efficacement à servir les Canadiens, à encourager les actions caritatives et à promouvoir le bénévolat et la mobilisation des citoyens au sein de l'entreprise publique. Le gouvernement fédéral et le secteur bénévole élaborent actuellement un accord qui permettra de transposer cette relation au XXI^e siècle.

Le Canada accroît également son soutien à la participation au sport amateur, aux activités culturelles et aux arts et à la conservation de son riche patrimoine culturel pour les générations à venir. Les activités sportives, artistiques et culturelles contribuent de façon importante à relier les Canadiens à leur société et

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à les unir. Ces activités inspirent la créativité, accentuent le sens de l'humanité et de l'appartenance des citoyens, et constituent des points de repère en cette époque de mondialisation et de grands changements. Le gouvernement adopte des mesures visant à promouvoir l'expression de la créativité dans tous les médias et à « mettre en ligne » le contenu historique et culturel.

Il prend plus particulièrement des mesures destinées à encourager les jeunes à s'exprimer, à développer leur créativité, à participer à des échanges au pays et à l'étranger et à s'ouvrir à

l'excellence dans les arts, les sciences sociales et le sport. Les jeunes sont généralement à l'aise dans le monde branché, et ils pourront jouer un rôle important en matière d'innovation. Le Canada se tourne de plus en plus vers les jeunes pour aider les citoyens et les entreprises à apprendre à utiliser efficacement les nouvelles technologies et l'Internet. Les gouvernements devront également trouver de nouveaux moyens de mobiliser les jeunes et de les placer au centre de l'action.

services de santé essentiels sans égard au revenu ou au lieu de résidence des bénéficiaires. C'est là un des éléments de l'avantage concurrentiel du Canada, et il est essentiel à la qualité de vie. C'est pourquoi les gouvernements du Canada

Les Canadiens veulent avoir l'assurance qu'eux et leurs enfants bénéficieront de leur système de soins de santé. La plus grande obligation des gouvernements canadiens est de travailler ensemble et de s'engager sans compromis à fournir un accès universel à des services médicaux essentiels de grande qualité, à se fixer des buts et objectifs communs qui leur permettront d'offrir le même régime d'assurance-santé au XXI^e siècle, de mesurer les résultats, de faire état de leurs progrès aux Canadiens, d'apprendre les uns des autres ce qui fonctionne le mieux et d'investir dans l'avenir.

investissent davantage dans les services de base dans le domaine de la santé. Ils prennent également des mesures visant à moderniser le système et à le rendre durable en améliorant les systèmes d'information, la recherche et l'innovation et particulièrement la prévention. Les initiatives de prévention s'appuient sur les efforts déployés pour améliorer la nutrition prénatale, l'innocuité des aliments et le contrôle des substances toxiques. Des mesures sont prises pour favoriser l'innovation dans le domaine de la santé au sein des collectivités et dans les régions rurales, pour améliorer les services de santé offerts aux Autochtones, et pour combattre le diabète, dont l'incidence est particulièrement élevée dans les collectivités autochtones.

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Un environnement sain

Qualité de vie supérieure et environnement sain vont de pair. L'environnement est important aux yeux de tous les Canadiens, et surtout des jeunes Canadiens. Notre génération sera jugée en fonction de l'héritage environnemental qu'elle laissera à ses enfants et à ses petits-enfants. C'est là l'une des grandes priorités des gouvernements du pays.

Des lois ont été adoptées afin de protéger les espèces menacées et les éléments vitaux de leur habitat. Le gouvernement du Canada étend son réseau de parcs nationaux et prend les mesures nécessaires pour assurer l'intégrité écologique de ces derniers et la protection des régions sauvages. De plus, il nettoie les sites contaminés afin de protéger la santé des Canadiens.

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Le Canada adopte résolument les technologies existantes. De façon stratégique, il en met d'autres au point. Il exporte ses produits techniques, contribuant ainsi à la santé de l'environnement mondial et à la croissance économique canadienne. Le pays s'est fixé comme objectif de devenir le chef de file mondial en sciences et en technologie de l'environnement.

En collaboration avec les provinces et les municipalités, le gouvernement investit dans l'infrastructure verte afin d'améliorer la qualité de l'eau et de l'air. Il adopte également de saines pratiques et encourage ses partenaires commerciaux à l'imiter. De plus, il dirige des travaux d'envergure nationale — avec l'aide de la population, du secteur privé et des provinces — qui lui permettront de respecter ses engagements en matière de réduction des émissions de gaz à effet de serre, et il s'efforcera d'inciter les autres pays à l'action internationale en ce qui a trait au changement climatique.

Dans le contexte de la nouvelle économie mondiale, les gens sont plus branchés que jamais, les entreprises se font plus que jamais concurrence dans le monde entier, et la qualité de notre environnement — l'air que nous respirons, l'eau que nous buvons — dépend non seulement de ce que nous faisons dans notre pays, mais également de certains facteurs au-delà de nos frontières. La qualité de l'environnement est un défi à la fois local et mondial; elle exige une action nationale ainsi que des partenariats internationaux.

Des collectivités fortes et sûres

Pour que nos collectivités soient fortes et pour que la société soit bien gouvernée, il faut que les citoyens s'engagent et assument leurs responsabilités non seulement envers eux-mêmes, mais aussi envers les autres. Le Canada a toujours bénéficié d'une action communautaire intense, et les Canadiens sont très fiers de leur réputation de tolérance, de respect mutuel et de responsabilité envers les autres. En effet, on dit du Canada qu'il est une société « d'entreprise publique » en raison de ses traditions de responsabilité sociale. La force de ses collectivités se reflète dans des taux de criminalité et de violence relativement faibles et en décroissance, dans un taux élevé de bénévolat et d'action caritative et dans la force active de son

de services d'appui; et diverses réformes conçues et mises en œuvre conjointement par le gouvernement fédéral et les provinces.

Dans la foulée de cette initiative novatrice, les gouvernements du Canada ont convenu d'un cadre rendu public en 1999 qui doit guider les efforts de tous les secteurs de la société canadienne — citoyens, collectivités, employeurs et gouvernements — en vue de mieux répondre aux besoins des enfants. L'accent y est mis sur six aspects prioritaires : renforcement de la famille; épanouissement des jeunes enfants; sécurité économique; ouverture à l'apprentissage; développement des adolescents; et solidarité communautaire.

Le gouvernement fédéral, pour sa part, a annoncé une importante mesure : il a doublé la durée du congé parental, qui passe de 26 semaines à une année complète pour permettre aux parents qui ont un emploi de rester à la maison avec leurs jeunes enfants. Cette importante mesure entrera en vigueur en 2001 et aura des retombées durables pour les enfants et leurs familles.

Investir dans des mesures actives

Tous les pays doivent trouver de meilleures façons de mettre fin à l'exclusion des pauvres et des laissés-pour-compte. Dans une société inclusive, tous les citoyens et toutes les régions ont la possibilité de participer et de saisir les occasions qui s'offrent. Les gouvernements ont un rôle important à jouer, mais celui-ci ne doit pas se limiter aux formules traditionnelles de « bien-être social ». Ils doivent

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mettre au point de nouvelles solutions qui mettent davantage l'accent sur la création de débouchés, la promotion du sens des responsabilités et la mise en place de mesures qui découragent la dépendance.

Le gouvernement du Canada a entamé une réforme du régime d'assurance-emploi pour inclure davantage de mesures actives visant à aider les sans-emploi à acquérir les compétences et les outils dont ils ont besoin

pour réintégrer le marché du travail. Il met à l'essai des programmes analogues à l'intention des personnes handicapées, des jeunes à risque et des peuples autochtones.

Parallèlement, les gouvernements du Canada continuent de veiller à satisfaire les besoins fondamentaux au moyen de programmes comme l'assistance sociale et l'assurance-emploi. Au moyen de son régime fiscal progressif, de mesures actives et de son filet de sécurité sociale, le Canada a atténué la polarisation des revenus et la marginalisation et évité ainsi les pires conséquences socioéconomiques de l'exclusion sociale. Il faut faire encore mieux, en particulier à l'égard des peuples autochtones du Canada, qui ne participent pas sur un pied d'égalité au

développement socioéconomique du Canada. Il faut trouver des façons nouvelles et plus efficaces de créer des débouchés et de répondre aux besoins fondamentaux de tous.

Au Canada, comme dans de nombreux autres pays, les disparités ne touchent pas seulement les individus mais aussi les régions. Diverses formules ont été tentées pour favoriser le développement régional. Aucune n'a donné des résultats entièrement satisfaisants. Certaines contribuent peut-être même à accroître la dépendance et à entraver les réformes structurelles. Le Canada modifie actuellement sa stratégie à l'égard du développement régional pour mettre l'accent sur l'innovation, l'excellence, les partenariats entre les secteurs public et privé, l'infrastructure et la jeunesse. Dans l'économie du savoir, il n'y a plus de raison pour que la géographie empêche d'avoir accès aux débouchés.

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Qualité de vie

Le but de la stratégie économique du Canada est de doter les Canadiens d'une qualité de vie supérieure. Mais la qualité de vie ne se définit pas seulement en fonction des possibilités qu'offre le marché. Elle exige également la présence de collectivités sûres où les gens voudront vivre et élever leurs familles, où ils pourront recevoir les soins de santé nécessaires, vivre sans craindre d'être victimes de crimes ou de violence, profiter des avantages d'un air pur, d'une eau potable et d'espaces verts, faire du sport amateur, s'adonner à des activités culturelles et aux arts, et où des gens d'origines et cultures diverses pourront s'intégrer et apporter leur contribution.

Investissements dans la santé

Quel que soit leur système de santé, les pays du monde entier sont aux prises avec l'augmentation des coûts des soins de santé qu'entraînent les changements démographiques, les nouvelles technologies, les percées médicales et les nouvelles attentes de la population.

Les Canadiens accordent une grande valeur à leur système public de soins de santé et en sont très fiers. Le régime canadien d'assurance-maladie garantit l'accès aux

part, il a pris des mesures dans le but d'aider les diplômés à gérer leurs dettes d'études.

Récemment, le gouvernement du Canada a mis sur pied la Fondation canadienne des bourses d'études du millénaire qui, dès cette année, versera 100 000 bourses d'études annuelles aux plus brillants étudiants afin de reconnaître l'excellence et de les encourager à réaliser leur potentiel. Bien que ce soit un bon début, l'endettement des étudiants demeure préoccupant, et il faudra continuer de travailler à assurer un accès équitable pour tous.

Le gouvernement a également adopté toute une série de mesures pour encourager l'apprentissage continu dont l'objectif est d'aider tous les Canadiens à se perfectionner tout au long de leur vie active. Ainsi, ils peuvent retirer des fonds en franchise d'impôt de régimes d'épargne-retraite non imposables pour suivre des cours, et les étudiants à temps partiel bénéficient d'une aide fiscale pour étudier.

Le Canada compte la plus forte proportion au monde de citoyens ayant fait des études postsecondaires, mais les exigences de l'économie du savoir font que la qualité est de plus en plus importante, c'est-à-dire que la qualité des diplômes importe davantage que leur nombre. Dans l'univers de demain, l'accès à une éducation de la plus haute qualité et l'accès à l'excellence seront essentiels. Par

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ailleurs, de même que les industries canadiennes doivent affronter la concurrence mondiale, les chercheurs, les universités et les collèges doivent se mesurer aux meilleurs au monde.

Aussi, le gouvernement s'attache à promouvoir l'excellence dans l'enseignement et la recherche. Il a entrepris de mettre en place un réseau moderne d'universités et de laboratoires, afin d'augmenter la quantité et la

qualité des travaux de recherche ainsi que d'attirer et de retenir les plus brillants universitaires et chercheurs. À ces fins, il a établi et continue de développer la Fondation canadienne pour l'innovation, qui permet d'aller chercher d'importantes ressources additionnelles dans le secteur privé dans le but de doter les collèges, les universités et les hôpitaux universitaires d'une infrastructure de recherche moderne.

Le gouvernement encourage la recherche en sciences pures et en sciences humaines en augmentant le budget des conseils subventionnaires qui accordent la majeure partie des fonds destinés à la recherche dans les établissements d'enseignement postsecondaire du Canada. Il a mis sur pied les Instituts de recherche en santé du Canada et doublé le financement de la recherche en santé afin d'aider le Canada à se positionner à l'avant-garde dans ce secteur. Il a accru ses investissements en biotechnologie et dans les disciplines scientifiques

connexes. Il a en outre créé et développé des réseaux de centres d'excellence qui veillent à la mise en commun du savoir-faire et des compétences.

En plus, d'ici cinq ans, le gouvernement aura terminé la mise sur pied de 2000 chaires d'excellence en recherche dans les établissements de toutes les régions du pays qui confèrent des diplômes. Ils seront ainsi plus à même d'attirer les meilleurs cerveaux dans un marché de plus en plus mondialisé.

Investir dans les enfants et les familles

Les conditions d'une société inclusive ne se créent pas seulement au niveau postsecondaire. Un des défis qui se posent à tous les pays consiste à assurer un bon départ dans la vie à tous leurs enfants et à accorder aux familles le soutien dont elles ont besoin pour assurer le bon développement de leurs enfants. De cette façon, les enfants seront prêts à apprendre et à profiter des occasions qui s'offriront à eux plus tard dans la vie. Certains soutiennent que d'importantes baisses d'impôt générales sont suffisantes. Quant au gouvernement du Canada, il a choisi une autre voie. Si les parents et les familles sont les premiers responsables de l'éducation des enfants, les gouvernements doivent veiller à mettre en place les mesures de soutien nécessaires.

Par conséquent, les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux ont institué et continuent d'enrichir la Prestation nationale pour enfants. Celle-ci vise à combattre la pauvreté chez les enfants en aidant à protéger les prestations des parents à faible revenu qui entrent sur le marché du travail et y restent. Sous l'ancien régime de prestations non coordonnées d'assistance sociale et de prestations fédérales pour enfants, les parents pouvaient voir chuter leurs prestations lorsqu'ils décidaient de prendre un emploi et de sortir de l'aide sociale. La Prestation nationale renforce et uniformise le soutien du revenu pour les familles à faible revenu ayant des enfants tout en améliorant la situation de la majorité des familles.

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Cette importante réforme permet aux provinces de consacrer les dépenses au titre de l'assistance sociale à des programmes plus efficaces et actifs qui aident les familles à faible revenu à sortir du piège de l'aide sociale, par exemple : garderies, prestations de santé complémentaires, services à la petite enfance et soutien du revenu enrichi. La Prestation nationale pour enfants comporte plusieurs des caractéristiques clés de la manière canadienne de faire les choses : un soutien plus actif que passif; des programmes sociaux inclusifs et d'application générale qui aident les Canadiens quel que soit leur revenu, au lieu de marginaliser les plus vulnérables; l'intégration des programmes de soutien du revenu et d'une gamme

Accélérer le passage à une économie fondée sur le savoir

Dans l'économie mondiale du savoir, les forces du marché créent à la fois des débouchés et de nouvelles disparités. Dans la société inclusive que souhaite instaurer le Canada, tous les citoyens doivent pouvoir participer; personne ne doit être exclu. La manière canadienne comporte quatre grands axes : brancher les Canadiens à l'autoroute de l'information; investir dans l'accès à l'éducation et promouvoir l'excellence dans l'enseignement postsecondaire; investir dans les enfants et leurs familles; et prendre des mesures actives pour aider les Canadiens à trouver un emploi et à le conserver.

Investir dans l'autoroute de l'information

Le Canadien Marshall McLuhan a forgé l'expression « village planétaire » alors que rien ne pouvait lui permettre d'imaginer à quel point l'Internet ferait effectivement de la planète un « village câblé ». La révolution numérique aura un impact énorme sur les entreprises, l'administration, la société et la participation des citoyens. Nous pouvons à peine concevoir toutes les transformations qui en résulteront dans le marché et dans la société.

Le Canada investit dans l'autoroute de l'information depuis 1994 et met en place le cadre législatif nécessaire pour protéger la propriété intellectuelle et assurer la sécurité du commerce électronique. L'objectif du programme « Un Canada branché » est de rendre l'autoroute de l'information accessible à tous les

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Canadiens qui veulent s'en servir pour apprendre, pour faire du commerce, pour exprimer leur créativité et pour communiquer.

Une des pièces maîtresses de ce programme consiste dans l'établissement d'une infrastructure de communications moderne pour les écoles. Rescol, le réseau scolaire, équipe les élèves et les salles de classe d'un outil d'apprentissage vital : l'Internet. Le programme appelé « Des ordinateurs pour les écoles » est un

élément clé de cette stratégie. Il résulte d'un partenariat en vertu duquel les gouvernements et les entreprises fournissent gratuitement des ordinateurs aux écoles. Le Canada est le premier pays à avoir connecté chacune de ses écoles et bibliothèques. Notre prochain objectif est de veiller à ce que chaque classe soit connectée.

En plus, le gouvernement aide le secteur bénévole à élargir son champ d'action au moyen des nouvelles technologies et, dans le cadre de son projet de « Collectivités ingénieuses », il explore les façons dont l'autoroute de l'information peut enrichir la vie communautaire. Le Programme d'accès communautaire met le Canada rural en ligne en équipant les localités rurales et éloignées du pays de points d'accès à l'Internet. Le Canada a adopté une formule inclusive qui vise à assurer à tous les Canadiens l'accès à l'autoroute de l'information. Le Canada s'est également fixé comme objectif d'encourager les entreprises canadiennes à conquérir 5 p. 100 du commerce électronique mondial d'ici 2003. L'autoroute de l'information représente aussi un moyen très prometteur d'améliorer les services que le gouvernement offre aux citoyens et de faire participer ces derniers aux affaires publiques. Le gouvernement fédéral s'est donc engagé à offrir tous ses services « en direct » d'ici 2004.

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Le Canada a fait d'importants progrès vers son objectif de devenir le pays le plus « branché » au monde.

Améliorer l'éducation et l'apprentissage

Le niveau de vie et la qualité de vie des Canadiens dépendront directement du succès de nos efforts en vue de promouvoir la création du savoir et l'innovation et de maximiser les possibilités d'apprentissage. Cela implique un engagement envers l'accès pour tous à l'apprentissage et l'excellence dans les domaines du savoir, de la recherche et de l'enseignement supérieur. L'action du gouvernement à ces chapitres traduira ses valeurs et façonnera dans une grande mesure l'avenir du pays. Si le Canada a fait des progrès considérables, il lui reste encore beaucoup de choses à accomplir.

Au Canada, nous accordons une grande priorité à l'éducation et à l'apprentissage, que nous jugeons indispensables pour profiter des avantages et participer à la vie de la société comme citoyens à part entière. C'est pourquoi le gouvernement fédéral prend des mesures afin d'aider les familles à économiser pour les études postsecondaires de leurs enfants dès leur naissance. Il a créé un régime d'épargne-études non imposable et verse maintenant une subvention aux familles qui investissent de l'argent dans ce régime. De plus, le gouvernement a accru son soutien aux étudiants dans le besoin de sorte que ni le revenu ni la situation de la famille n'entravent leur accès à l'éducation. Il a enrichi ses prêts et subventions d'études à l'intention des étudiants dans le besoin et de ceux qui ont de jeunes enfants. Il travaille en collaboration avec les provinces à harmoniser les programmes d'aide aux étudiants et à les rendre entièrement transférables. D'autre

création de retombées dont tous peuvent profiter. L'élimination du déficit et la réduction de la dette ne représentent pas à elles seules une vision d'avenir pour un pays, mais sans un engagement très ferme envers le maintien de saines finances publiques et de taux d'inflation modérés, aucune vision d'avenir collective ne peut être envisagée.

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Il faut posséder les moyens financiers pour agir selon nos valeurs. Toutefois, la manière canadienne consiste aussi à atteindre une saine gestion

financière tout en respectant ces valeurs. Dans ce contexte, les gouvernements du Canada ont pris l'engagement ferme de préserver et de rendre viable le régime public de pensions liées aux gains, le Régime de pensions du Canada, de manière que les futures générations puissent en bénéficier, sans qu'il soit nécessaire de réduire les prestations pour les bénéficiaires actuels. Les assises financières du régime sont en voie d'être consolidées par la transition de la formule du financement par répartition à la capitalisation partielle. Les taux de cotisation augmentent plus rapidement que prévu sur six ans, ce qui évitera des augmentations plus considérables à long terme. L'excédent accru du régime est investi dans des placements sûrs et diversifiés au profit des membres par un comité d'investissement indépendant des gouvernements. De plus, un certain nombre de modifications ont été apportées aux méthodes de gestion et de calcul des prestations afin de freiner l'escalade des coûts.

Les excédents budgétaires aussi occasionnent des choix difficiles, en particulier en ce qui a trait au meilleur équilibre à réaliser entre la réduction de la dette,

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l'allégement des impôts et les investissements sociaux et économiques. De nombreux pays sont maintenant placés devant de tels choix, lesquels sont nécessairement influencés par les valeurs du gouvernement et de la collectivité nationale. Le gouvernement du Canada, pour sa part, a opté pour une approche équilibrée. Il consacre une moitié du dividende budgétaire à l'allégement de la dette et des impôts et l'autre moitié à des

investissements économiques et sociaux destinés à préparer l'avenir. Une stratégie globale équilibrée nécessite des investissements tant publics que privés dans les

gens, dans le savoir et dans la technologie. Une stratégie globale vise non seulement à créer des chances, mais aussi à veiller à ce que le plus grand nombre puisse en bénéficier.

Réduire les impôts

Les baisses d'impôt forment un élément essentiel d'une stratégie économique axée sur la création d'emplois, la croissance, la progression des revenus et la qualité de vie. Les mesures d'allégement fiscal du gouvernement réaffirment son engagement envers une

fiscalité progressive et s'adressent en premier lieu aux Canadiens à revenu faible et moyen. Pendant les années de lutte au déficit, le gouvernement a réduit les cotisations à l'assurance-emploi pour les employeurs et les travailleurs et a accordé des baisses d'impôt ciblées conçues pour hausser le revenu réel des Canadiens à faible revenu et exempter de

l'impôt un grand nombre d'entre eux. Maintenant que le déficit a été épongé et que la dette diminue, le gouvernement a annoncé cette année un plan général de réduction des impôts sur cinq ans. D'ici la fin de la cinquième année du plan, l'impôt sur le revenu des particuliers aura diminué de 22 p. 100. Dans le cas des familles avec des enfants, la réduction pourra atteindre 30 p. 100. Les Canadiens bénéficieront de la totalité de ces réductions grâce au rétablissement de la pleine indexation pour tenir compte de l'inflation.

Ces mesures et d'autres à venir en matière de fiscalité donneront aux Canadiens les moyens d'investir dans leur avenir et aideront les entreprises canadiennes à soutenir la concurrence dans l'économie mondiale du savoir. Cependant, la réduction des impôts n'est qu'un des éléments de l'équation.

Le plan fiscal comporte également des incitations à l'investissement, à la création d'entreprises et à l'innovation et des mesures qui permettront d'attirer et de retenir au Canada les talents dont nous avons besoin : réduction de l'impôt des sociétés dans les secteurs les plus lourdement taxés; réduction du taux d'imposition des gains en capital; autorisation de transférer les gains en capital des investissements dans les petites et moyennes entreprises en franchise d'impôt; et autorisation de reporter l'impôt sur les options d'achat d'actions accordées à des employés.

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Dans les sections suivantes, on abordera les éléments fondamentaux qui caractérisent cette stratégie en évolution, les actions prises par le Canada, les défis et les choix qui se posent pour l'avenir.

Une distribution équitable des chances

Jeter les bases de la croissance économique

La stratégie économique du Canada repose sur le principe que voici : le but de la croissance économique est de contribuer au mieux-être de tous les Canadiens. Or, sans croissance, nous ne pouvons pas atteindre ce but. Une économie vigoureuse est la condition indispensable qui nous permettra de concrétiser la vision canadienne. Le plan d'action tient compte de l'importance cruciale de l'ordre dans lequel le gouvernement doit mettre en œuvre les mesures prévues. Ainsi, la priorité devait être de redresser les finances publiques et de commencer à créer les conditions d'une croissance durable. Sur cette base, grâce au maintien d'une rigoureuse discipline financière et à des investissements stratégiques dans nos gens et dans la technologie, le gouvernement peut favoriser le passage à l'économie du savoir et veiller à ce que tous les Canadiens aient la possibilité de contribuer à la croissance économique et d'en profiter.

En 1993, après des décennies de budgets déficitaires, le service de la dette du Canada asphyxiait le gouvernement, et le déficit ne cessait de se creuser. Des taux d'intérêt et d'inflation élevés avaient freiné les investissements et entraîné une détérioration de la qualité de vie des Canadiens. Il était clair pour tous les Canadiens que la priorité était avant tout d'instaurer un climat financier sain. C'était devenu impératif.

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En 1997, le déficit fédéral avait été éliminé. Aujourd'hui, les provinces ont presque toutes éliminé leur propre déficit aussi. L'économie est maintenant en plein essor, et le climat d'affaires au Canada a été classé au troisième rang mondial par le Forum économique mondial. Le taux de chômage est plus faible qu'il ne l'a été en plus de deux décennies, et l'économie crée de l'emploi à un rythme sans précédent. La dette publique nette a reculé d'un sommet de 71,2 p. 100 du produit intérieur brut en 1997 à environ 61 p. 100 en 1999. Selon les projections, elle sera ramenée à 50 p. 100 d'ici 2004 et continuera de diminuer par la suite. De manière plus importante, si on se base sur la mesure des comptes nationaux qu'utilisent l'Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques et le Fonds monétaire international pour faire des comparaisons internationales sur les finances, la dette du Canada est sous la barre des 50 p. 100 du produit intérieur brut et continue de baisser. Il y a longtemps que les Canadiens

ne s'étaient pas montrés aussi optimistes au sujet de l'économie et de leurs propres perspectives.

Trois principaux facteurs expliquent le succès des efforts du Canada en vue d'éliminer son déficit :

- les Canadiens souhaitaient que leurs gouvernements prennent de toute urgence les mesures qui s'imposaient pour redresser les finances publiques, et ils étaient prêts à consentir les sacrifices nécessaires pour y arriver;
- le ministre des Finances a annoncé publiquement les objectifs de réduction du déficit pour les deux années suivantes, et chaque fois, ces objectifs ont été dépassés;
- le gouvernement a choisi d'atteindre ces objectifs non pas au moyen de réductions uniformes, mais en passant en revue l'ensemble de ses programmes afin d'aligner ses activités sur les priorités des Canadiens et de modifier ses modes de fonctionnement.

Il en est résulté une transformation profonde de l'administration fédérale. C'est ce que le Canada appelle « repenser le rôle de l'État » et que d'autres appellent « réinventer le gouvernement ». L'établissement de nouveaux partenariats tient compte du fait qu'aucun gouvernement ne pourra relever par lui-même les défis en perspective. Certains programmes ont été supprimés ou transférés, et de nouveaux organismes de service distincts sont mis sur pied. De cette façon, l'État peut se concentrer sur la définition des grandes orientations. Le gouvernement a transféré la fourniture des services de transport au secteur privé afin de se recentrer sur son rôle de réglementation et de définition des politiques. Il a cédé aux provinces les programmes relatifs à la main-d'œuvre, qui pourront ainsi être adaptés plus facilement aux conditions locales. Une ambitieuse réforme de la réglementation réduit les tracasseries administratives et les coûts pour les entreprises et les citoyens. Certains règlements sont supprimés; différentes formules d'autoréglementation sont mises en place; et, dans la mesure du possible, lorsque des services accélérés sont requis par les entreprises, les coûts sont assumés directement par les utilisateurs, au lieu d'être imposés à l'ensemble des contribuables.

Assainir les finances publiques

Le rétablissement de la souveraineté financière et la modernisation de l'État avaient un prix. Le redressement des finances publiques a nécessité des décisions difficiles et parfois douloureuses. Il a fallu retarder certaines actions dans des domaines importants. Cependant, le gouvernement s'est redonné les moyens de jouer un rôle actif et positif dans l'édification de la nouvelle économie et dans la

Le fait de partager une frontière et d'entretenir des liens d'amitié avec la plus grande puissance économique au monde est également un stimulant qui pousse le Canada à innover dans le domaine économique et à préserver sa façon de faire typiquement canadienne qui reflète nos valeurs et notre diversité. Le Canada vise l'excellence non seulement dans le commerce, les sciences et la technologie, mais également dans les arts et les sciences humaines.

La paix, l'ordre et le bon gouvernement sont des valeurs inscrites dans la Constitution canadienne. Elles résument bien la tradition d'accueil, de résolution pacifique des conflits, de primauté du droit et de démocratie qui est la nôtre. L'histoire et le cadre juridique du Canada — économie mixte, collectivités fortes, bilinguisme et diversité, filet de sécurité sociale, système de soins de santé et reconnaissance d'une interdépendance mondiale — sont les racines de ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler la troisième voie.

La stratégie canadienne

Au cours de la dernière décennie du XX^e siècle, le Canada a eu les mêmes défis à relever que de nombreux pays. Le gouvernement du Canada devait remettre de l'ordre dans ses finances pour reprendre les rênes de sa destinée; il devait se réhabiliter aux yeux des gens tout en réaménageant ses programmes en fonction de ses moyens et des nouvelles réalités qu'entraînent la mondialisation et les changements sociaux; il devait regagner la confiance de la population.

Dans la nouvelle économie, le talent humain et la capacité d'apprendre, d'agir et de s'adapter rapidement aux nouvelles conjonctures, de créer de nouvelles idées et de faire de nouvelles découvertes constituent de plus en plus la base du succès. Une stratégie globale doit inclure tous les citoyens. Elle doit laisser place aux opportunités, à la diversité et à l'inclusion, ainsi qu'à la créativité, à l'innovation et à l'esprit d'entrepreneuriat.

En 1994, le gouvernement fédéral a annoncé la création de son plan d'action pour le changement, le « Programme : emploi et croissance », afin que la « voie canadienne » entre dans le XXI^e siècle. Ce programme était et demeure ambitieux. Il repose sur la reconnaissance lucide des défis de la mondialisation : polarisation, marginalisation et exclusion, fragmentation sociale, dégradation de l'environnement, homogénéisation culturelle et désaffection de la population à l'égard du gouvernement. Il repose également sur la reconnaissance des occasions que doivent saisir les pays prêts à le faire : croissance du commerce et de l'investissement, avantages des nouvelles technologies puissantes, nouveaux partenariats et partage de l'information et des connaissances à l'échelle mondiale pour nous aider à concrétiser nos valeurs les plus précieuses.

Cette stratégie s'appuie sur une vision claire du Canada, elle mise sur ses forces et lui ouvre les portes de l'avenir. Une société d'excellence déterminée à réussir. Une société où la prospérité n'est pas l'apanage d'une minorité mais profite à tous

et où tous les enfants ont droit à un bon départ dans la vie. Une société où les jeunes ont la chance d'exceller dans le domaine de leur choix. Une société où les citoyens ont accès aux compétences et aux connaissances dont ils ont besoin pour devenir les meilleurs. Une société où tous les citoyens, peu importe leur revenu, ont droit à des soins de qualité, où les familles peuvent vivre en toute tranquillité et en toute sécurité dans leurs collectivités et dans un environnement sain. Une société où les Canadiens et les Canadiennes font, ensemble et avec les autres pays, la promotion de la paix, de la diversité culturelle et des bienfaits de la nouvelle économie pour l'humanité.

Dans quatre documents publiés en 1994 — *Instaurer un climat financier sain*, *L'innovation : la clé de l'économie moderne*, *Un nouveau cadre de la politique économique* et *La sécurité sociale dans le Canada de demain* —, le gouvernement a posé les pierres de sa stratégie afin de permettre aux Canadiens et aux Canadiennes de travailler de concert avec leurs gouvernements pour faire de cette vision une réalité.

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Au cours des six dernières années, le gouvernement a développé cette stratégie, en élaborant et en testant de nouvelles façons de créer et de faire connaître les débouchés, de promouvoir la responsabilité mutuelle et de moderniser la gouvernance. Le Canada a fait des pas de géant,

mais il reste encore beaucoup à faire. Cette stratégie ne met pas de barrières artificielles entre la politique sociale et la politique économique, ni même entre la politique nationale et la politique étrangère. Elle se fonde plutôt sur l'engagement envers la raison-d'être humaine de l'économie, sur la scène nationale aussi bien qu'internationale.

Pour relever les défis et être en mesure de saisir les occasions qui s'offrent, nous croyons que la croissance économique privée et l'investissement public doivent se compléter. L'action des gouvernements ne doit plus se limiter à l'aide sociale, mais doit viser concrètement à rompre le cycle de la pauvreté et de la dépendance. Les gouvernements doivent reconnaître que l'interdépendance entre les éléments national et international est inévitable et en tirer avantage. Ils doivent trouver de nouvelles façons de mobiliser les citoyens. Il est nécessaire de former des coalitions pour accroître l'investissement et le commerce internationaux dans le cadre d'un programme cohérent qui englobe les questions relatives aux finances, à la société, à la culture, à l'environnement et au travail.

La troisième voie : la voie canadienne

Contexte

Les pays du monde entier cherchent la meilleure façon d'assurer leur prospérité économique dans une société qui se mondialise, en évitant que certains soient laissés pour compte. Ce faisant, ils réagissent aux pressions en faveur de la modernisation du rôle du gouvernement, et à la nécessité de donner une voix à la société civile. Ils cherchent de nouvelles façons de promouvoir une croissance économique durable au sein d'une communauté internationale qui veut se donner des moyens d'action cohérents dans les domaines du commerce, de l'environnement, du travail, de la culture, de la santé et de l'éducation, afin de concrétiser les bienfaits de la mondialisation pour l'humanité.

Les chefs de plusieurs pays ont lancé un dialogue à l'échelle internationale afin d'échanger sur leurs expériences positives et négatives, et de chercher des moyens de collaborer à l'édification d'une gouvernance de progrès au XXI^e siècle. Dans le cadre de ce processus, le chancelier Gerhard Schröder de la République fédérale d'Allemagne a invité 16 chefs de gouvernement à une rencontre informelle qui aura lieu à Berlin les 2 et 3 juin 2000. Les spécialistes des pays participants tiendront en parallèle une conférence sur la gouvernance, la société civile et les politiques sociales et économiques dont les résultats seront présentés aux chefs de gouvernement.

Le succès du pays comme nation repose non seulement sur une forte croissance, mais également sur le respect continu de valeurs solides : la compassion et un partage équitable des retombées de la croissance économique.

Le présent document est pour nous l'occasion, d'une part, d'énoncer clairement la stratégie du Canada pour offrir à ses citoyens la meilleure qualité de vie possible dans la nouvelle économie et promouvoir nos valeurs sur la scène internationale et, d'autre part, de nous interroger sur nos défis communs et les choix que nous ferons pour l'avenir.

La manière canadienne

Nous avons notre propre manière de faire les choses, notre propre modèle. Un accueil à toutes les cultures. La reconnaissance de la diversité. Un partenariat entre les citoyens et l'État. Un équilibre entre libertés individuelles et prospérité économique fondé sur le partage des risques et des bénéfices. Un gouvernement

au service de l'action collective, au service de l'intérêt public. Le succès du pays comme nation repose non seulement sur une forte croissance, mais également sur le respect continu de valeurs solides : la compassion et un partage équitable des retombées de la croissance économique.

Ces valeurs sont celles que l'on trouve au cœur de la nouvelle philosophie que certains nomment la « troisième voie ». Comme le mentionnent des leaders mondiaux tels que le premier ministre Blair, le président Clinton et le chancelier Schröder, cette philosophie met l'accent sur l'innovation technologique, une économie mixte, l'éducation et l'apprentissage et en fait les clés de la croissance et de la stabilité économiques. On redécouvre ainsi la raison-d'être humaine de l'économie, et on force les gouvernements à se tourner vers l'avenir, à se concentrer sur les résultats et à privilégier l'intérêt des citoyens.

Les Canadiens sont,
historiquement et par nécessité,
ouverts sur le monde.

La « voie canadienne », c'est la façon de faire du Canada qui remonte au début de son histoire. Les fondateurs du pays ont délibérément choisi de ne pas édifier une nation unique avec

une seule langue. Ils ont plutôt jeté les bases d'une société au sein de laquelle se côtoient plusieurs peuples et plusieurs langues en établissant un cadre d'entente entre Français, Anglais et Autochtones. Sont venus s'y ajouter des immigrants des quatre coins du monde. Le Canada est depuis devenu une société postnationale, une société multiculturelle. On y retrouve des gens de partout dans le monde. Les Canadiens savent que leurs deux langues internationales et leur diversité sont des avantages concurrentiels et sont source de créativité et d'innovation. Les Canadiens sont, historiquement et par nécessité, ouverts sur le monde.

Le Canada a une population relativement petite et dispersée sur un territoire vaste et divers, ce qui nous a contraints à nous préoccuper des liens entre les communautés, comme en témoignent la construction du chemin de fer transcontinental et, plus près de nous, les innovations dans les communications par satellite et par Internet. Le Canada a vu ses pionniers faire face aux rigueurs du climat et de la géographie, et cela a certes contribué à insuffler à la population le respect de l'environnement, le sens de l'initiative, de la justice sociale et du partage des responsabilités. Les Canadiens ont toujours préféré les principes du pragmatisme plutôt que ceux de l'idéologie.

L'histoire et le cadre juridique du Canada — économie mixte, collectivités fortes, bilinguisme et diversité, filet de sécurité sociale, système de soins de santé et reconnaissance d'une interdépendance mondiale — sont les racines de ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler la troisième voie.



Message du premier ministre Jean Chrétien

À l'aube du XXI^e siècle, les pays du monde entier sont appelés à repenser leur façon de voir la gouvernance pour faire face aux nouveaux défis et aux nouvelles possibilités : la mondialisation, le rythme effréné des changements technologiques, l'interdépendance croissante et les questions toujours plus complexes qui se posent aux gouvernements. Nombre de pays animés des mêmes idées cherchent de nouvelles façons d'accroître leur prospérité économique et la qualité de vie de leurs habitants, dans le respect de leurs valeurs communes. Sachant bien qu'ils ne sont pas à même de relever seuls ces défis, les gouvernements établissent des partenariats avec tous les secteurs de la société. De plus, ils travaillent ensemble à l'édification d'une communauté internationale dont les activités seront plus concertées et plus cohérentes.

Nous voulons par le présent document contribuer au dialogue international sur les défis d'une gouvernance progressiste en dressant un bilan de notre plan d'action — le Programme : emploi et croissance — créé en 1994, et en présentant nos objectifs pour l'avenir. La « voie canadienne » est un modèle nettement différent qui reflète nos valeurs et repose sur nos forces et notre histoire.

Quelques-uns de mes collègues, dont le premier ministre Blair, le président Clinton et le chancelier Schröder, utilisent les termes « Troisième voie » ou « Neue Mitte » lorsqu'ils parlent de cette nouvelle façon de voir la gouvernance. En collaboration avec d'autres chefs de gouvernement, ils ont lancé un dialogue à l'échelle internationale afin de discuter des moyens mis en œuvre pour approfondir leurs valeurs communes. Le chancelier Schröder sera l'hôte du prochain forum de discussions qui aura lieu à Berlin en juin 2000.

À cette occasion, je présenterai aux leaders venus des quatre coins du monde partager leurs expériences, la « voie canadienne » dont il est question dans ce document. Je leur parlerai avec fierté de notre façon à nous de relever les défis et de faire face au changement. Nos réalisations sont nombreuses et nous poursuivrons sur cette lancée au cours des années à venir, en fondant nos choix sur nos valeurs, en nous engageant à donner aux Canadiens et aux Canadiennes des résultats concrets, et en travaillant en collaboration avec les citoyens, les différents secteurs, les autres gouvernements et nos alliés dans le monde entier.

La troisième voie : la voie canadienne

Little by Little, Russia Claws Its Way Back

Small Successes Help Recovery From 1998

By Michael Wines
New York Times Service

VOLOGDA, Russia — Don't look now, says Viktor Petukhov, but the Russian economy that the world wrote off as a basket case two years ago is roaring back to life.

Here in Vologda, at least, he is certainly right about the "roaring" part.

Inside a peeling stucco building near the center of this otherwise quiet town, Mr. Petukhov, director of the Vologda Textile Enterprise, stood one recent day and surveyed the ear-splitting success he has wrought.

Over Turkish coffee in his office, he said linen sales had jumped 50 percent

last year and would grow by another one-third or so this year — and this at a company that was bankrupt and rudderless just four years ago.

"There's growth everywhere," Mr. Petukhov said. "All we need now is stability and some government understanding of the problems."

This is Russia's not-quite-open secret: the crash of 1998, the meltdown that wiped out Russia's middle class and turned the Kremlin into a global deadbeat, is over.

Its devastating effects — a sharply devalued ruble, the disappearance of imported goods, a government cut off from additive foreign loans — turned out to be fuel for an economy that had simply run out of gas. A landscape littered with bankruptcies two years ago now sprouts hundreds of enterprises like Vologda Textile.

The question is whether that comeback is real and gaining strength or will run out of steam.

The Kremlin casts it as real, if shaky, and the numbers look promising. Industrial production through April was 10.3 percent greater than in the like period of 1999. Russian exports jumped 50 percent. The average worker's sal-

ary, still meager at \$73 a month, nevertheless was up 7 percent in March from a year earlier.

Companies and the government have begun to pay workers the months and even years of back wages they are owed. Inflation this year is expected to be a third of the 1999 rate. Investment in new equipment and buildings is rising for the first time in a decade.

Most promising, Russia's budget has been balanced. In Washington in May, President Vladimir Putin's chief economic adviser told President Bill Clinton that the Kremlin no longer needed to secure new foreign loans just to pay its old ones.

But Mr. Putin cautions, and Russia

'All we need now is stability and some government understanding of the problem.'

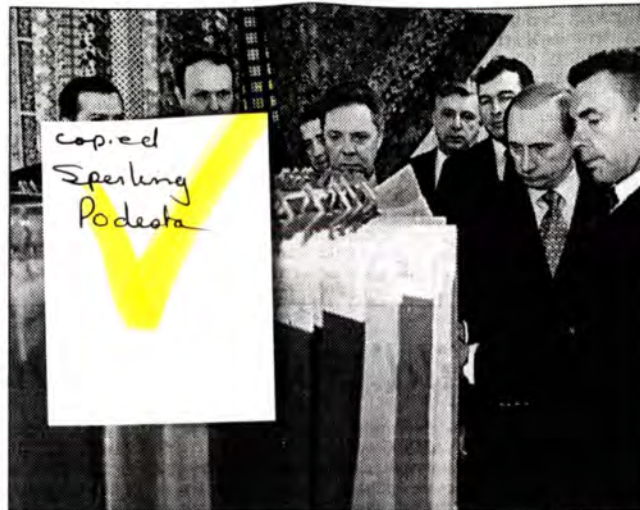
specialists agree, that the recovery cannot last without basic reform measures. He already has proposed wholesale changes in taxes, including a flat income tax and corporate tax cuts. He promises to announce equally sweeping changes this month. If they become law, his advisers say, Russia's economy should grow roughly 5 percent a year, and inflation should fall steadily.

But other top government forecasters are less sure. They agree that Russia's economy is reaping the economic windfall of the 1998 crisis. The problem, they say, is that the windfall has now been more or less exploited — and there is little to take its place.

"In the second part of this year, the positive influences will mostly be over," said Alexander Frenkel, chief macroeconomics forecaster at the Russian Academy of Sciences' Economics Institute.

Eduard Baranov, the first deputy chief of the government's Economic Research Center, says Russia's boomlet has been confined mostly to raw-materials exports and light industries such as food processing and textiles. Major industries have mostly been left behind.

Companies such as Vologda Textile



President Vladimir Putin of Russia, second from right, inspecting a textile factory. The industry is helping to revive a devastated economy.

"are like little plants that give us hope," he said. "The more we have, the better our chances." But they are not the architects of basic reform that the economy needs.

In fact, the glowing statistics look a lot different when Russia's performance is compared with the months before the August 1998 crash instead of the depressed months after it, some analysts say. Investment so far this year is surely greater than last, they allow. But it still is only 92 percent of what was registered during the earlier part of 1998.

Workers' real incomes are substantially higher than a year ago. But they remain barely 77 percent of what they were in 1998, and that translates into a lower standard of living.

A Russia that poor is hard put to generate enough domestic demand to make the economy grow. The statistics bear that out, Mr. Frenkel says: Exports are driving the recovery, accounting for more than \$8 of every \$10 of growth in the gross domestic product.

Russian exports have boomed because the fallen ruble has made them exceptionally cheap. But most are raw materials such as timber and chemicals. These, along with high-priced oil, are going to a world with a healthy appetite for the commodities.

But exporting Russian consumer goods is a nonstarter; most remain too shoddy or poorly marketed to sell abroad. Some of those same goods have

prospered at home because of another crisis-borne opportunity: the chance to fill the gaps created on store shelves after the ruble's crash made foreign products too expensive for most people.

But those gaps have been largely closed. To keep growing, companies now must attract new buyers — no easy task in a country whose products are not ready for export and whose citizens are too poor to buy much anyway.

All of that seems at odds with the brimming orders at Vologda Textile and elsewhere. But in more than a few ways, Vologda Textile epitomizes the economy's two-steps forward, one-step-back quality. Like the rest of Russia, this place has come a long way in the past few years, but it still has a long way to go.

For 38 years after its founding in 1953, Vologda Textile was a worry-free place. Its 5,000 workers had state-guaranteed jobs. The bottom line was no concern: The state bought the output, too.

But when communism ended in 1991, Vologda Textile followed the rest of Russian industry into a black hole. The government hastily privatized the company. Among the fruitless schemes its new managers chased was to switch from making textiles to making jeeps.

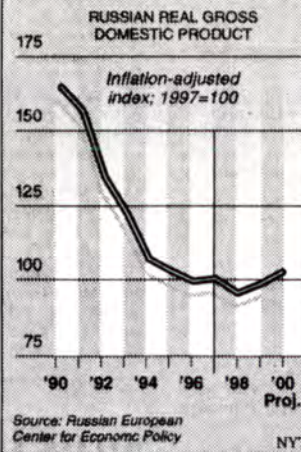
By the middle of the 1990s, the company was bankrupt.

Vologda's regional government finally intervened, and in 1998 it dispatched Mr. Petukhov, a dour furniture-



Coming Back

Russia's economy, flagging for years and basically written off after its crisis in 1998, is rising.



factory manager with an all-business attitude, to clean up the mess.

The crash of 1998 solved Vologda Textile's competitiveness woes: Almost overnight, the ruble's plunge made its linen dramatically cheaper to foreign buyers.

But none of that might have helped if the factory had not pulled itself up into profitability. The management slashed the work force to 1,300, ending the featherbedding that was a staple of Soviet factory life. The government shut the trade agency that marketed textiles abroad, so Mr. Petukhov began hawking his wares, and building relationships, at trade shows in Milan and Paris.

Rumor of Bid By American Lifts Shares Of Northwest

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

CHICAGO — Shares of Northwest Airlines Corp. surged Friday on a televised report that the carrier was in talks to be acquired by the parent company of American Airlines.

Speculation about consolidation in the industry was heightened by a recent agreement announced by UAL Corp., parent of United Airlines, to buy US Airways Group Inc. in a deal that would solidify United's position as the world's largest carrier.

Any deal between Northwest and American would face the same regulatory hurdles clouding completion of the deal between UAL and US Airways. Opposition from powerful airline unions also could make a deal difficult to complete.

The gain in Northwest's shares was touched off by a report on the TV station KSTP in St. Paul, Minnesota, that executives of Northwest and AMR Corp. had spoken about a possible merger.

Northwest shares rose \$5.6875 to \$34.75 in late trading; AMR, the parent of American Airlines, was down \$1.875 at \$27.875.

Such a deal would help American, the second-largest airline in the world, keep up with United in size and would shore up its weak Asia presence while helping Northwest in Latin America.

"We do not comment on any rumors, nor confirm or deny them," an AMR spokesman, Chris Chiamas, said. A spokesman for Northwest declined to comment.

Some analysts said merger talks could be designed to make things more difficult for UAL and US Airways.

"It's a defensive move in case United and US Airways get regulatory approval," said Doug McVitie, managing director of Arran Aerospace, a consulting company in Scotland.

The Justice Department may scrutinize the UAL and US Airways transaction more closely because of a potential AMR acquisition.

"American probably figures they would do it at the same time to gum up the works," said Ray Neidl, an analyst at ING Barings.

(Reuters, Bloomberg)

A Laid-Back Executive For the New Economy

At 28, a Swede Upstages U.S. Business Chiefs

By Brian Knowlton
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Jonas Birgersson, the young founder and chief executive officer of the Swedish Internet consultancy Framfab AB, evidently was not intimidated by the surroundings.

At a recent conference here of the World Economic Forum, which brought together U.S. cabinet members and leaders of Congress, he was not quite the only person without a tie among the hundreds of business leaders in expensively tailored dark suits. But he was the only one to show up wearing shorts.

When his turn on a panel session — titled "Is the U.S. E-Business Model a Blueprint for the Rest of the World?" — had ended, it was not so much to his fellow panelists, including the vice president of an old-line company, Caterpillar Inc. (66,000 employees), and a vice chairman of the energy provider Enron Corp. (1999 sales: \$40 billion), that fellow executives flocked with questions.

It was to the bare-kneed Mr. Birgersson, who responded, perched casually on the side of the dais, with cool equanimity that belied his 28 years. His demeanor, backed up by his own success story, seemed to say: No, of course, the United States does not have the only models for electronic business. Or perhaps it was: People, get real.

Mr. Birgersson argued, for instance, that Sweden, once perhaps better known for regulation than for innovation, had done just fine in developing its own highly successful e-business model. As someone who still rides his bicycle to work each day, he challenged the mostly American business leaders at the panel not to grow complacent and issued a

message that was anathema to many: Government can help.

He stoutly disagreed with those who say the Swedish welfare state cannot coexist with a culture of imagination and nimble decision-making. The United States, by contrast, can "be slow in taking big decisions," Mr. Birgersson said.

He noted the explosive growth of wireless technology in Sweden and throughout Europe, where mobile-phone use soared after governments agreed early on a common cellular standard, compared with the United States, where fragmented networks hold back growth.

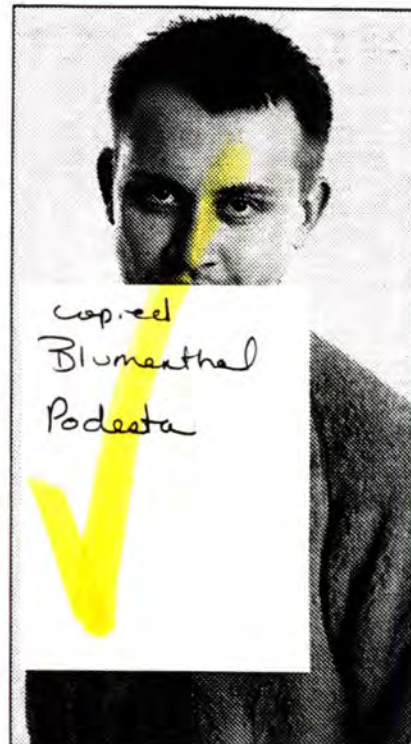
Mr. Birgersson describes Framfab, a name that comes from the Swedish for "future factory," as an incubator for new ideas. Framfab, founded five years ago with five employees and one client, now has more than 2,000 people working in eight European countries and the United States.

Mr. Birgersson, a student of military history, has strategically turned his unorthodoxies into selling points. His charisma and raw energy helped propel Framfab shares up 15-fold in its first nine months as a public company.

But analysts have been saying that Mr. Birgersson's brash showmanship and brassy confidence exceed his company's capacity to deliver. Clients surveyed by the Swedish magazine *Veckans Affärer* complained that Framfab had difficulty making deadlines and that its execution was sometimes imperfect.

"Sooner or later," Jonas Blomberg, an analyst, told Bloomberg News, "Framfab is going to have to deliver."

Its share price is down more than 50 percent from its highs reached in March, but it has rebounded in recent weeks. The stock was quoted late Friday in Stock-



Jonas Birgersson, the tieless chief executive of Framfab, challenges the gray-suit attitudes of business

holm at 154 kronor (\$29.03), up 22.5¢

Mr. Birgersson has vowed to recruit more experienced consultants and a quire businesses that will extend Framfab's range of services.

In the meantime, he continues to lay down a challenge to the likes of Caterpillar and Enron, arguing in the panel discussion that old companies would never fully adapt to new technologies, even they do add "clicks" to their "bricks."

Robert Petterson, a vice president of Caterpillar, responded that his company expected to save \$200 million a year because of the Internet, primarily by speeding orders and inventory flow.

Fine, Mr. Birgersson said; give it your best shot. "We're going to challenge you hard," he told the business group with a smile.

Seeking U.S. Market Share, SAP Plans a Revamp

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WALLDORF, Germany — SAP AG said Friday that it was planning a radical overhaul of its software-development unit as it seeks to win market share from aggressive U.S. competitors.

A SAP spokesman, Herbert Heitmann, described the plan as "a far-reaching restructuring project." He said the company's software-development operations would be divided into three

units — new development, maintenance and product enhancement.

SAP shares closed €27 (\$25.15) higher at €487.50. The shares had slumped almost 50 percent since a high on March 7, after SAP said first-quarter earnings slumped 43 percent.

The Walldorf-based company, the world's biggest maker of business-management software, is streamlining its units to get closer to its customers and to

battle falling sales in the U.S. market after customers including Hershey Foods Corp. blamed SAP software for causing delivery delays last year.

Amid competition from rivals such as PeopleSoft Inc., first-quarter U.S. sales fell 3 percent. The unit has been plagued by employee defections, and SAP in April named Wolfgang Kemna, the head of its German operations, as head of the new unit. (Reuters, Bloomberg)

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Friday, June 2

Prices in local currencies;
in euros for EMU countries.

Telekurs

High Low Close Prev.

	High	Low	Close	Prev.
Nvo Nordisk B	1383.83	1310	1350	1325
Refin B	630	610	620	621
RealDanmark	272	260	258	262
Tele Danmk B	590	555	585	565
Unldanmark A	645	639.40	640	640

Index: 677.92
vixus: 655.50

High Low Close Prev.

Indah Klat	1500	1325	1350	1400
Indocement	3250	3150	3200	3300
Indofood	4450	3775	3850	4300
Indorama Syn	775	725	775	800
Indosat	9375	8800	8850	9350
Sampoerna HM	11325	11000	11025	11000
Semen Gresik	7400	7025	7100	7400
Telekomunikasi	2875	2625	2675	2825
Timah	2425	2350	2375	2400

High Low Close Prev.

Provident Fin	7.15	7.07	7.15	7.
Prudential	10.50	9.93	10.22	10.
Railtrack Group	8.90	8.14	8.67	8.
Rank Group	1.48	1.36	1.40	1.
ReckittBenckiser	7.53	7.03	7.14	7.
Reed Int'l	4.67	4.38	4.62	4.
Rentokil Initial	1.57	1.50	1.50	1.
Reuters Group	12.00	10.36	11.90	1.
Rio Tinto R	10.07	9.70	9.80	1.
RMC Group	8.60	8.49	8.60	8.

6-6-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 30, 2000

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: U.S. Bio Engagement Program with Russia

You asked about a recent article (Tab A) on a General Accounting Office report on the risks and benefits of the United States bio engagement program with Russian scientists.

Since the beginning of the program, we have taken a number of steps to reduce the risk that U.S. support could facilitate future Russian biological weapons (BW) efforts. For example, all proposed projects are reviewed by the relevant agencies and can only be funded if oversight procedures are in place. Grant payments are deposited directly into the scientist's bank account to guard against the diversion of U.S. funds. Financial audits and technical monitoring are conducted to ensure that projects are carried out in accordance with agreed work plans. Participating institutes must also provide assurances that they will not engage in offensive BW activities or contribute to the BW efforts of Iran and other proliferators.

In the Administration's response to the report, we argued that the benefits of working with thousands of former BW scientists far outweigh the risks. As a result of this program, we have gained access to more than 30 former Soviet non-military biological institutes and have significantly increased our confidence that these institutes are not engaged in offensive BW activities. Officials from at least 15 of these institutes have told us that they have refused offers from countries of proliferation concern to engage in questionable research because of their participation in the U.S. program. We are dismantling the world's largest anthrax production facility and sponsoring new research to combat deadly diseases such as TB and HIV.

The bio engagement program has helped address our concerns about Russian BW compliance and proliferation at the source. It is a nonproliferation success story.

Attachment

Tab A New York Times Articlecc: Vice President
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Spate of Numerical Sparring Highlights the Fiscal Focus of the Presidential Race

By ALISON MITCHELL

WASHINGTON, May 1 — Asks to George W. Bush fought back today against accusations that his fiscal proposals are risky, saying that the growth in the economy over the past six months means that there would be enough money to accom-

modate comfortably the governor's spending and tax cut proposals.

Mr. Bush's advisers released a new analysis of his budget plans after days in which Vice President Al Gore has sharply criticized Mr. Bush on fiscal issues. Mr. Gore has asserted that Mr. Bush's large tax cut proposal and plan to push for a portion of Social Security payroll taxes to be put into private investment accounts would return the nation to the era of deficits.

Mr. Gore went on an advertising offensive on Monday against Mr. Bush, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, through a series of interviews and television ap-

pearances, charging that Mr. Bush would continue "multitasking" while campaigning today. Mr. Gore called Mr. Bush's Social Security proposal "bad for America's future and bad for America's economy."

The battle over numbers underscores how much the presidential campaign — the first one waged in the new era of federal surpluses — will be fought over economic policy and the related question of how to shore up Social Security. The Gore campaign considers the economic prosperity of the Clinton years one of its greatest assets.

The figures released by Bush aides today addressed a weakness in earlier calculations. With the annual spending battle stepping up on Capitol Hill, the Bush campaign stopped assuming Congress would make large reductions in domestic spending, instead assuming discretionary domestic spending would grow.

At the same time, Mr. Bush's aides said that the Clinton administration today addressed a weakness in earlier calculations. With the annual spending battle stepping up on Capitol Hill, the Bush campaign stopped assuming Congress would make large reductions in domestic spending, instead assuming discretionary domestic spending would grow.

Where Bush sees a tax cut, Gore predicts a deficit.

The bottom line is clear: "I saw Lawrence H. Lindsey, the Bush campaign's chief economic adviser, 'convinced Bush's plan takes care of Social Security first, provides America's working families with a tax break and does it all within the context of a balanced budget'."

The Bush campaign's new calculations were released less than 24 hours after Mr. Gore's aides held their own session with reporters and released an array of numbers they said showed that to accommodate his tax cut, Mr. Bush either had to make "cuts in core areas of government that are unimaginable" or risk a return to deficits.

Mr. Gore's aides were still critical of Mr. Bush today. "I last month he claimed that his tax cut and spending increases were paid for," said Elaine Kamarach, policy adviser to Mr. Gore. "Today, after finding more money, Bush still can't pay for his promises for a huge tax cut, increased spending and private-

ization of Social Security."

The Gore campaign said Mr. Bush was underestimating spending and Mr. Bush's advisers refused to discuss how much Mr. Bush's reduction of a national missile defense system and prescription drug program would cost, while saying the proposals fit in their spending plan.

The most serious dispute between the two campaigns is the true cost of Mr. Bush's tax cut proposal. Mr. Bush's aides said the tax cut would cost \$1.3 trillion over 10 years from 2001 to 2010. Over just five years they said it would cost \$600 billion, slightly less than their original estimate of \$603 billion. And they pointed to an analysis from the Congressional Joint Committee on Taxation back in 1997, which they claim is controlled by Republicans.

The Gore campaign argued that it was more appropriate to examine the tax cut through 2011, since the tax cut does not go into effect until fiscal 2002. Mr. Gore's aides said that

once that extra year is added in, as well as lost interest on the tax cut, the cost is \$1.1 trillion.

Another burning battle is over debt reduction and Social Security. Mr. Gore has made eliminating the public debt the centerpiece of his economic agenda. He says that Mr. Bush's proposal for putting some Social Security money into individual retirement accounts will carry a huge cost because it will require us huge part of the federal surplus, that would otherwise go toward eliminating the national debt.

Mr. Bush's aides counter that by giving individual workers their own retirement accounts, which can be invested in financial markets, they decrease the government's long-term obligation to pay benefits out of tax revenues. They say it is a form of debt reduction.

The retirement system is projected to start paying out more in benefits than it is taking in through payroll taxes starting in 2015.

Russian Labs Could Divert U.S. Funds, Report Says

By JUDITH MILLER

As the Clinton administration seeks a tenfold increase in money for Russian-American biological cooperation, the General Accounting Office has concluded that American support could inadvertently help Russian scientists and former weapons labs make germ weapons.

In a new report, the GAO presents no evidence that Moscow is conducting such illegal research or making germ weapons. Nor does the report state that American assistance to Russian labs and scientists is being diverted for military purposes. But Congress's auditing agency said that despite the administration's efforts to reduce the risks of such misuse or diversion, there is no way to prevent Russian scientists from "potentially using their skills or research outputs to later work on offensive weapons activities at any of the Russian military institutes that remain closed to the United States."

The report, which was obtained by The New York Times before its publication later this week, says such concerns have been intensified by Russia's unwillingness to open four vital military labs to inspection or visits by foreign scientists. It chides Moscow for retaining in senior posts the "cold war leadership" of the germ-weapons complex, like General Yuri T. Kalinina, who heads Biopreparat, an organization that directed the Soviet germ warfare program.

In a written response to the GAO's concerns, the administration argued that the risks of not helping 15,000 impoverished Russian germ-weapons scientists and technicians at about 50 institutes throughout the former Soviet Union far outweigh the risks of doing so. Scientists desperate for employment would likely find work with rogue states like Iran, the administration argued.

"We can stay home and wish the problem away, or we can confront it head on at the source," an administration official said.

Privately, officials cite what they call quiet breakthroughs in scientific cooperation with the Russians that have enhanced their confidence that Moscow is getting out of the germ-weapons business. For instance, a team of Russian scientists that once made a deadly strain of anthrax last week gave their American counterparts at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta two rare anthrax strains as part of a long-awaited exchange program.

Administration officials also cite some progress in efforts to open up Russia's closed military germ labs. A group of Russian military scientists has agreed to visit American chemical-biological defense facilities this summer as part of another exchange program, officials disclosed.

The GAO report is likely to fuel a long-simmering debate over whether Russia is still making germ weapons or conducting illegal research and development as the Soviet Union did after signing a treaty that banned germ weapons. Former President Boris Yeltsin declared in 1992 that Russia had ended its germ warfare program and told Washington he would dismiss General Kalinina, a former intelligence officer. But Biopreparat, which has been reborn as a state-owned drug company, still controls many Russian institutes though it no longer finances them, and it is still headed by General Kalinina. Russian officials and the general have denied that Russia is making germ weapons or conducting illegal research.

To help prevent the spread of deadly scientific knowledge and germ-weapons expertise from Russia to Iran, Iraq and other potentially dangerous states, the administration has provided about \$20 million between the fiscal years 1994 and 1999 to support collaborative research projects in Russia that redirect former germ-weapons scientists to peaceful research activities.

Between the fiscal years 2000 and 2004, the administration plans to spend at least \$220 million to expand efforts to engage former Soviet germ-weapons institutes.

Representative Floyd D. Spence, the Republican chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, said today that the GAO report "reinforces my concern that the administration's plans to increase assistance to Russia could exacerbate the risk of a renewed Russian offensive biological weapons effort."

Several experts disagreed. Amy E. Smithson, a defense expert at the Henry L. Stimson Center in Washington who toured some of the six labs that the GAO team visited, said the report itself contained considerable evidence that the administration's program was effective.

She noted that the report discloses that American support has prompted former Soviet scientists at about 15 labs to reject an offer to cooperate with states like Iran. "The American auditing of its grants is usually very tight," Dr. Smithson said. "If the State Department finds evidence that a scientist has gone astray, the institute loses its grant. Whenever the U.S. has placed that choice before a Russian scientist or lab, the answer is always 'We're on your team.'"

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, MAY 1, 2000

6-6-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 1, 2000

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Spurling
Podesta.

00 JUN 1 12:50

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GENE B. SPERLING

SUBJECT: Russia Summit Economic Strategy

Attached is a memorandum from Secretary Summers about our economic strategy toward Russia. As you know, in his April 22 letter to you President Putin pledged that he will undertake a host of economic reforms, including tax reform, legal system reform, and banking sector reform. In return he wants your endorsement of his reform package and your support for a "bare bones" IMF package later this year. Such endorsement should be relatively uncontroversial. In addition, however, he asked for a comprehensive debt solution for Russia's Soviet-era debts that are owed to the Paris Club. By saying that he saw the London Club debt write-down as a model for what the Paris Club should do, he was effectively asking for about a one third debt write-down. This is much more problematic.

Larry's view that outright debt reduction is unwise now is uncontroversial. In the short run there is neither the financial need nor the track record of reforms to support any outright debt write-down. I agree with some form of rollover of Russia's current Paris Club debt rescheduling package that expires at the end of the year, assuming they restart with the IMF. Indeed, in my meeting with Putin's economic adviser, Andrei Illarionov, he suggested that while debt reduction was the official position, he felt Russia could live with comprehensive rescheduling that would help them deal with a bulge in debt repayments in 2003 (though it is not clear that he speaks for Putin).

Where I may have some disagreement with Larry is simply that I believe that the goal of Russia's successful structural transition to a functioning market economy is so important that we should avoid any categorical or blanket decision to rule out debt reduction if Russia was making successful progress and if we came to believe that some form of debt reduction could be a key catalyst to such vital structural reform. That decision should be guided by a hardheaded view of what can be most effective in spurring reform in Russia, and not simply by rigid formula.

I also think it is important that you are familiar with the statistics that Putin may put to you, since they do show a heavy level of foreign indebtedness by some measures:

- Over the next five years, foreign debt repayments will take about 50 percent of all government expenditures, and when the foreign debt repayment burden peaks in 2003 (almost \$20 billion), such payments will account for about two thirds of all government spending.

6-6-00

- With foreign indebtedness measured by the stock of debt compared with annual government revenues, Russia is significantly more indebted now than Poland was in 1990, before it received an effective 50 percent debt write-down.

✗ Indeed, Russia nearly qualifies as a severely indebted country, based on indicators used by the World Bank for its Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) Initiative. (Admittedly it is not that close on the poverty criterion.)

- With a total foreign debt of about \$150 billion, Russia's debt to GDP ratio is about 75 percent, just below the Bank's threshold of 80 percent for a severely indebted country.
- By another measure, debt as a percentage of annual exports, Russia is at 187 percent and the World Bank usually considers a debt ratio of 200 percent or higher to be unsustainable.



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

00 MAY 21 2000

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

May 31, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lawrence H. Summers 

REGARDING: Economic Issues with Respect to the Russia Summit Strategy

I wanted to follow up on our discussion last week by sharing with you in greater detail Treasury's thinking about granting further debt reduction to Russia at this time.

Overview

As you noted at the end of our meeting, our policy toward Russia since 1992 has been successful in the crucial sense that if our hopes have not all been realized, neither have the fears that were so commonly predicted at that time: a return to Communism; a lapse into anarchy and civil war; or mass starvation.

The United States obviously continues to have a great stake in how Russia evolves and the welfare of its people. At the same time, a number of recent economic and political developments in Russia call for a change in the basic mode of our engagement.

- First, in sharp contrast with the past, as a result of the devaluation of the currency, higher oil prices and default and rescheduling on official debt, the Russian government is now in a much stronger position to maintain financial stability, service its debt and more consistently meet the needs of the Russian people. In that sense, Russia's credibility gaps in the implementation of economic and financial policy now far exceed any actual financing gaps.
- Second, while we are certainly hopeful about Russia's political future, the political environment remains more than usually uncertain, given the nationalistic posture President Putin has adopted as well as recent actions he has taken toward the press.
- Third, and related, Russia is making it clear that it wants to chart its own course, so that explicit U.S. or IMF intervention in Russian economic policy decisions would be a net negative, especially with respect to the Russian parliament.

Taken together, these factors argue strongly for a U.S. approach based on respect for Russian sovereignty, and the recognition that Russia's own economic choices are what will be decisive in the years ahead. We can and should continue to support Russia's own efforts to

create a framework for financial stability and growth. But we must also work to avoid the old cycle of trading large financing commitments for large policy promises that are not consistently kept.

The New Mode of Economic Engagement with Russia and the Issue of Debt Reduction

Both the 1999 IMF program and Paris Club agreement with the Russians are consistent with such an evolution in the US approach and that of the G-7 as a whole. Instead of providing substantial new funds to Russia to encourage reforms that it is in Russia's own interest to pursue – we have pursued the more limited goal of supporting basic stability through partial refinancing and restructuring Russia's foreign debt.

This more constrained approach has served our interests well. It has helped encourage greater financial stability in Russia. But it has also lessened the perception that the standard rules do not apply to Russia. And it has compelled the Russians to shoulder more of the responsibility for achieving better economic policy and performance, a change to which they have generally responded positively.

Through successive rescheduling agreements, we could continue such an evolution in the international community's approach. We could also provide Russia with approximately the equivalent cash-flow relief as under debt reduction, and in the process reduce Russia's effective debt burden by about 25-35% in net present value terms, using private market discount rates.

By contrast, we believe that granting Russia formal debt reduction now would risk the return of the old cycle of more financing for more promises, while offering few additional benefits.

- First, under a wide range of reasonable assumptions about Russia's medium-term economic policy and performance, Russia does not need a reduction in its outstanding debt to the Paris Club – nor can such a reduction be justified as essential to maintaining financial and political stability in Russia. Russia has accumulated \$6B in reserves so far in 2000, almost equal to its projected financing gap for the entire year.
- Second, at a time of substantial uncertainty about the direction that Putin will take, it is imperative that we avoid making substantial long-term commitments now that would severely constrain our room for maneuver down the road.
- Third, most would assess the probability of the rest of the G-7 agreeing to substantial debt reduction as extremely low. The probability that Congress would provide the necessary legislative approval for such a reduction must be even lower.
- Fourth, there would be no precedent for multilateral debt relief to be granted to a country on the basis of such little financial need. Poland and Egypt, with much higher ratios of debt to exports, and enormous economic and political challenges to confront were not also receiving large-scale multilateral support when they were granted debt relief. Giving debt

relief on the basis of so little need would undermine the basis for future lending, not just in Russia, but around the world.

- Fifth, when the Russians agreed to take on Soviet debt, they did so in return for taking on a large number of Soviet assets, including embassies and claims on other countries. Allowing Russia to renege on this agreement would therefore potentially raise serious questions as to the status of these assets, as well as fostering the perception in other countries that governments can safely repudiate the debts of previous regimes.

No one can predict Russia's economic and financial future with great confidence at this stage. And it would be a mistake categorically to rule out debt reduction. But, for the U.S. to be perceived as opening the door to debt reduction, at a time when there is little financial need, could well be highly counterproductive.

The sensible, achievable goal for the Okinawa Summit is agreement to pursue another temporary Paris Club debt rescheduling linked to another 12 to 18-month IMF program that partially refinances Russia's debt to the IMF. If Putin and his government are serious about a limited number of structural reforms tied closely to macroeconomic stability, agreement on such an IMF program is feasible this summer. Paris Club negotiations could follow later in the year.

We can, consistent with the Cologne Summit outcome, reasonably aspire to persuading G-7 to agree to revisit at a later date the broader question of how to treat Russia's debt burden and whether exceptional treatment is justified based on an evaluation of Russian policy performance and financial need. But holding out the prospect now of debt reduction would only engage us in a protracted debate in the G-7 which might risk undermining the momentum for homemade reform in Russia.

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

May 26, 2000

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

We write with regard to your forthcoming trip to Moscow to meet with recently elected Russian President-elect Vladimir Putin. We strongly encourage you to use this opportunity to send a strong message about the consequences of Russia's brutal actions in its war against Chechnya.

Your decision to meet with President Putin on June 4-5 indicates that the United States intends to play a leading role in developing a strong relationship with Russia in the post-Yeltsin era and to use government pressure on Russia to punish those responsible for the war crime and human rights abuses of civilians indiscriminately.

As recently as the war crime remain the crimes of President

It is while we wanton action dealing with Moscow as long as the disturbing situation in Chechnya, consistent pressure on the Russian government can ensure that its military forces will desist from the atrocities for which they have become notorious, and that their perpetrators will be held accountable. We urge you to contribute to this effort, and to make absolutely clear that human rights remains a firm pillar of U.S. foreign policy. We thank you, in advance, for your consideration of our important request.

Sincerely,

Tim Roemer
Tim Roemer
Member of Congress

Chris Smith
Christopher H. Smith
Member of Congress

Sam Gejdenson
Sam Gejdenson
Member of Congress

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

May 26, 2000

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

6-6-00

Dear Mr. President,

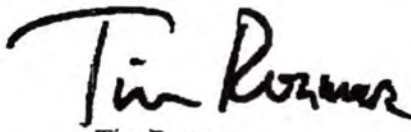
We write with regard to your forthcoming trip to Moscow to meet with recently elected Russian President-elect Vladimir Putin. We strongly encourage you to use this opportunity to send a strong message about the consequences of Russia's brutal actions in its war against Chechnya.

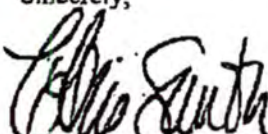
Your decision to meet with President Putin on June 4-5 indicates that the United States intends to play a leading role in developing a strong relationship with Russia in the post-Yeltsin era and to use this relationship to encourage better human rights compliance by the Russian government. At this time, we firmly believe that the U.S. must play a critical role in maintaining pressure on the Russian government to curtail abuses by its military forces in Chechnya, and to punish those who have perpetrated war crimes and other violations of international human rights and humanitarian law. These numerous and wide-ranging abuses include the summary execution of civilians, arbitrary detention and subsequent beating and torture of detainees, the indiscriminate bombardment of densely populated areas, systematic looting, and rape.

As you may be aware, the 53-member United Nations Human Rights Commission recently passed a resolution condemning "gross, widespread and flagrant violations of human rights," including attacks on civilians. We believe that there is also an urgent need to ensure that war crimes, such as the summary execution of Chechen civilians, be vigorously prosecuted. We remain skeptical about the willingness of the Russian authorities to investigate and punish these crimes. We believe that pressure from the international community is key to ensuring that President Putin and the Russian government act in good faith to peacefully resolve the conflict.

It is important to reemphasize to President Putin, as you warned last December, that while we do not seek to isolate Russia, the country runs the risk of isolating itself through its wanton actions in Chechnya. The U.S. should not convey a "business-as-usual" approach in dealing with Moscow as long as the disturbing situation in Chechnya continues. Only strong, consistent pressure on the Russian government can ensure that its military forces will desist from the atrocities for which they have become notorious, and that their perpetrators will be held accountable. We urge you to contribute to this effort, and to make absolutely clear that human rights remains a firm pillar of U.S. foreign policy. We thank you, in advance, for your consideration of our important request.

Sincerely,


Tim Roemer
Member of Congress


Christopher H. Smith
Member of Congress


Sam Gejdenson
Member of Congress

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
May 26, 2000
Page 2

Peter A. DeFazio

Peter A. DeFazio

Tom Lantos

Tom Lantos

Martin Frost

Martin Frost

Eric L. Engel

Eric L. Engel

Bruce Vento

Bruce Vento

Dennis J. Kucinich

Dennis J. Kucinich

Lloyd Doggett

Lloyd Doggett

Bill Pascrell, Jr.

Bill Pascrell, Jr.

Jim Moran

Jim Moran

Bernie Sanders

Bernie Sanders

Henry Waxman

Henry Waxman

George Miller

George Miller

John Edward Porter

John Edward Porter

Lane Evans

Lane Evans

Michael E. Capuano

Michael E. Capuano

Frank R. Wolf

Frank R. Wolf

Barbara Lee

Barbara Lee

Connie Myrell

Connie Myrell

Steny Hoyer

Steny Hoyer

Sanford D. Bishop, Jr.

Sanford D. Bishop, Jr.

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton

May 26, 2000

Page 3

Marcy Kaptur

Marcy Kaptur



The University of
Montana

cc: Lisa
Loy

School of Fine Arts
The University of Montana
Missoula, Montana 59812-1220
(406) 243-4970
FAX: (406) 243-5726

CC by fax to: Thurgood Marshall Jr. Special Assistant to the
President.

00 JUN 6 12:05

My Dear Mr. Justice Marshall,

Enclosed is a letter I sent to the president.

Carroll O'Connor

6-6-00

cc:

~~Send to~~ Burkhardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

cul



School of Fine Arts
The University of Montana
Missoula, Montana 59812-1220
(406) 243-4970
FAX: (406) 243-5726

Dear President Clinton,

You couldn't make a better choice for the Medal of Freedom than Jim Burke, presently head of the Partnership for a Drug Free America. His fine work is of the highest importance to the safety and well being of our country. It has been for me an honor and pleasure to work with him.

I talked with Hillary a few weeks ago in Beverly Hills and, as a native New Yorker, plan to work with her in the fall. For now, I'm teaching movie writing at this University. I see our friend Baucus now and then.

With every good wish and continued admiration, I remain your friend,

Carroll O'Connor

BERKSHIRE HATHAWAY INC.

1440 KIEWIT PLAZA
OMAHA, NEBRASKA 68131
TELEPHONE (402) 346-1400
FAX (402) 346-0476

cc: Lise Lay

WARREN E. BUFFETT, CHAIRMAN

June 1, 2000

Honorable William J. Clinton
President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I wholeheartedly recommend Jim Burke for the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Jim's accomplishments — in both the public and private arena — are so well known that it is unnecessary for me to detail them. Simply put, Jim has established the gold standard for American CEOs. If our major corporations were all run by managers with Jim's abilities and integrity, this would be a better country indeed. Awarding Jim the medal would reaffirm that his qualities should be cherished and emulated by all American business leaders.

Sincerely,



Warren E. Buffett

WEB/db

✓ cc: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

cc: Lisel Loy

JOAN GANZ COONEY
CHAIRMAN
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

TO: Mr. Thurgood Marshall, Jr.
Assistant to the President and Cabinet Secretary
Office of Cabinet Affairs
Fax: 202-456-6704

FROM: Joan Ganz Cooney

DATE: June 5, 2000

RE: Presidential Medal of Freedom Nomination

Total Pages: 2

Please contact me at 212-875-6635 if you have any difficulty reading this transmission. Thank you.



JOAN GANZ COONEY
CHAIRMAN
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

June 5, 2000

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It is my pleasure to write in support of James E. Burke who has been nominated for the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

His work for the past 12 years with the Partnership for a Drug Free America is widely known and acclaimed and there is little for me to add. Less well known are his efforts to advance women in business. For example, when Johnson & Johnson decided to create a Board of outside members in 1978, Jim came to see me and asked if I would be not only the first woman member of his Board, but the first outside member. He did this over the objections of some of his own executives (I was later to hear). Not content to have just a token woman, he added two more women within a short period of time. He also kept the pressure up within the company to promote women to management positions and confronted with unusual honesty and determination any resistance within the corporation to the advancement of women.

As a Board member, I was privileged to watch Jim at first hand as he single handedly saved the Tylenol brand when the poisonings occurred. He was—there is no other word for it—heroic as he set about to reassure the public and then lead the movement for tamper resistant packaging.

Jim is a great human being and an outstanding American whose contributions to the betterment of business, and the betterment of society will be writ large for many, many years to come. He is a legendary figure and I sincerely hope you will honor him with the Medal of Freedom.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Ganz Cooney

FAX

From the Office of Geraldine B. Laybourne

CC: Lise
Loy

Date: June 5, 2000

To: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

Company: Office of Cabinet Affairs, The White House

Fax: 202-456-6708

No. of Pages (including cover sheet): 2

Message:

Dear Mr. Marshall:

Attached, please find a letter in support of Mr. James Burke receiving the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Thank you for considering him for this highest civilian honor.

Sincerely,

Gerry Laybourne

If there are problems with this fax transmission, please call (212) 651-5001. Our return fax is 212-651-2030.

oxygen

75 Ninth Avenue, New York, NY 10011

(T) (212) 651.2000 (F) (212) 651.2099

www.oxygen.com

June 2, 2000

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

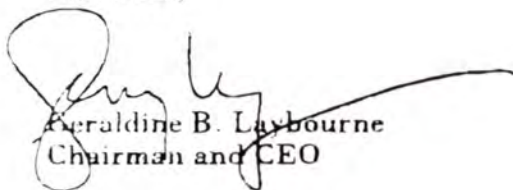
Creating television programming for children that is both effective and educational is no easy feat. Few people understand the complexities involved in communicating with children via mass media. But Jim Burke is one of those extraordinary people who do, and we should be thankful for all Jim has done as chairman of the Partnerships for a Drug-Free America.

Jim Burke could get me to do anything. His passion for doing the right thing is infectious. Jim has dedicated his "retirement" to using his relationships with broadcasters and advertisers to stay vigilant on the issues of drug use in this country. He keeps the subject alive and in front of all of us. Any reduction in drug usage over the years will have a direct correlation with one person, Jim Burke. His efforts will prevail.

I write to support the nomination of Jim for the Presidential Medal of Freedom. As you know, he has chaired the Partnership since 1989, and has done an exceptional job in recruiting some of the most talented advertising and marketing professionals to support this cause. Hundreds of professional have dedicated thousands and thousands of hours of their time to help the Partnership create the single largest public service advertising effort in history.

Jim Burke is one remarkable American who is well deserving of this, our nation's highest civilian award. I thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,



Geraldine B. Laybourne
Chairman and CEO

GBL:ejf

Cc: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

UNCLASSIFIED
WITH SECRET ATTACHMENT

6-6-00

00 JUN 2 15:52

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 2, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KAREN TRAMONTANO

SUBJECT: Daily Report

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Podesta
Pg 2:
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White House offices are tracking the following issues today:

LEGAFFS

Legislative Calendar. The House will convene on Tuesday, June 6th, to consider several measures under suspension of the rules. On Wednesday and for the balance of the week, the House is scheduled to consider: Defense, Labor/HHS, Agriculture, and Legislative Branch appropriations and the Estate Tax Elimination Act. The Senate will convene at 10:00 a.m. on Tuesday, June 6th, with Senator Daschle likely to continue to object to the Senate passing appropriations bills that have not previously passed the House. A number of issues relating to the House Agriculture Appropriations bill remain unresolved; if those issues are resolved, the Senate may take up the bill, which also includes domestic, non-defense, supplemental spending items.

CABAFFS

Funeral for Bob Casey. Harris Wofford will represent you at Bob Casey's funeral, which will be held Saturday, June 3rd in Scranton, PA. Senator Wofford will hand carry your condolence letter to Ellen Casey.

CEQ

Dursban. As part of the systematic review of pesticides required by the 1996 Food Quality Protection Act, EPA is currently reviewing the chemical Dursban -- used on various consumer products and crops -- and will hold a public meeting on June 8th to discuss its finding that Dursban poses greater health risks than previously thought. EPA anticipates current talks with Dow Chemical, the sole U.S. manufacturer of Dursban, will end next week in a voluntary agreement to restrict the chemical's manufacture, sale, and use. A front page story in yesterday's *Washington Post* reported on Dow's internal study linking Dursban to brain damage in fetal rats.

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6-6-00

DPC

Reports on Brady Background Checks and Federal Firearms Offenders. On Sunday, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) will release a report showing that between February 29, 1994 (implementation date of the Brady Act) and December 31, 1999, roughly 22 million applications for firearms purchases were made and 536,000 felons, fugitives, stalkers and other prohibited persons were prevented from buying guns. In 1999, the first year of the National Instant Criminal Background Check System, out of approximately 8,621,000 applications, 204,000 restricted persons were prevented from buying a firearm. Overall, approximately 73% of the denials were for a felony conviction or indictment, 15% were for a disqualifying domestic violence conviction or restraining order, and about 4% were for State or local law prohibitions. 2/27

Also on Sunday, BJS will release a report containing 1992-1998 data on prosecutions of federal firearms offenders, with preliminary data from 1999. Consistent with data released by the Justice Department this January, the report shows that the number of defendants charged with a gun offense decreased from 1992-1997 but increased in 1998 and 1999. There are two aspects of the study that the gun lobby will likely seize on -- its 1999 data is incomplete and therefore show a smaller number of defendants charged in 1999 than in 1992, and it counts defendants rather than cases (the measure the Justice Department has been using to show that prosecutions are up 16% since 1992). A statement by Deputy Attorney General Holder will make clear that the Department expects the final 1999 data to show that the number of people charged with federal gun crimes in 1999 has not declined since 1992. * (

BJS largely attributes the documented decline in firearms prosecutions to the Supreme Court's 1995 decision in Bailey v. U.S., which limited the ability of federal prosecutors to charge criminals for possessing a gun in the commission of a drug trafficking or violent crime -- one of the most serious charges that can be brought under the Gun Control Act (GCA). BJS estimated that the Bailey decision resulted in 2,500 fewer firearms defendants between 1995 and 1998. * (During that period, federal prosecutors compensated for the Bailey decision by significantly increasing the use of other sentencing enhancements. In 1998, you signed into law a "fix" to the Bailey decision, which restores the ability of U.S. Attorneys to prosecute these charges. The report also shows a shift toward focusing federal law enforcement resources on the most serious violent offenders and stiffer penalties. Between 1992 and 1998, the average sentence for a federal gun offender increased by nearly two years.

COMMUNICATIONS

Refocus on Domestic Agenda. We are working with other offices on a communications strategy to demonstrate that you are returning from Europe ready to move forward on your domestic agenda. We are preparing a statement for Tuesday urging Congress to fund your FY00 supplemental budget request and to take action on your other domestic priorities.

NSC

See attached memo.

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WITH SECRET ATTACHMENT

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this info

6-6-00

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION
ON WHITE HOUSE FELLOWSHIPS
THE WHITE HOUSE

June 5, 2000

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Jacqueline Jordan Blumenthal 
Director, White House Fellows Program

SUBJECT: Approving the Recommendations of the
President's Commission on White House Fellowships

copied
Blumenthal
Podesta

Yesterday, after three-and-a-half days of interviewing 30 finalists, the President's Commission on White House Fellowships selected the 15 most qualified to serve in the 2000-2001 class of White House Fellows. On behalf of the Commission, I am submitting those names to you for your approval:

Kathryn Allen, 35, Smyrna, GA; Lieutenant Commander, USN; Civil Engineering Officer serving as Operations Officer for 600 person Naval Mobile Construction Battalion (Seabees).

David Aronberg, 29, Miami, FL; Senior Attorney, Office of Florida Attorney General.

Scott Berns, 35, Foxboro, MA; Pediatric Emergency Physician, Rhode Island Hospital/Hasbro Children's Hospital; Co-Director, Injury Prevention Center, Providence, RI.

Richard Clark, 35, Arlington, VA; Major, USAF, B-1 Bomber pilot currently serving at the Pentagon as Legislative Liaison Action Officer for the Air Force.

John Fenzel III, 37, Dundee, IL; Major, USA; Special Forces Officer serving as Director for planning and execution of all Special Forces Operations in Bosnia, Kosovo and Europe.

Michael Fenzel, 32, Dundee, IL; Major, USA; Strategist and Policy Analyst, Army Headquarters, The Pentagon.

John Gallagher, 34, New York City and Philadelphia; Special Advisor to the Police Commissioner, City of Philadelphia, PA.

Marissa Ghez, 32, San Francisco, CA; Communications Director, Family Violence Prevention Fund.

Katie Hong, 28, Seattle, WA; Executive Policy Advisor, Governor's Executive Policy Office, Olympia, WA.

Raymond Jefferson, 33, Honolulu, HI; former US Army Infantry Officer now an activist on behalf of the physically challenged.

(more)

David Lussier, 30, Litchfield, NH; High School Teacher and current Massachusetts Teacher of the Year, Andover, MA.

Lillemor McGoldrick, 29, Albany, NY; Attorney and Adjunct Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center; Supervisor for Georgetown's Community Legal Education Clinic.

Stuart Munsch, 37, Oakes, ND; Commander, USN, Submariner currently serving as Deputy Executive Assistant to the Commander in Chief, US Pacific Command, Camp Smith, HI.

Patrick Piercey, 38, Tulsa, OK,; Lieutenant Commander, USN, Surface Warfare Officer serving at The Pentagon as Policy Planner, The Joint Staff, Directorate for Strategic Plans and Policy J-5.

Kathy Ward, 34, New Canaan, CT; Humanitarian Lawyer; Senior Fellow and Counsel, Coalition for International Justice, Washington, DC.

A highlighted biography of each recommended Fellow is attached. We would appreciate your prompt attention so that we can move quickly to place these talented individuals into appropriate work assignments within your administration. Thank you.

APPROVED PENDING REJECTED

BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE
KATHRYN ANNE ALLEN
LIEUTENANT COMMANDER, CIVIL ENGINEER CORPS, UNITED STATES NAVY

Lieutenant Commander Kathryn A. Allen grew up in Smyrna, Georgia with three younger brothers. After receiving a Bachelor of Science degree in Mechanical Engineering from the United States Naval Academy, she was commissioned as a civil engineering officer in the U.S. Navy in May 1987.

Her first tour of duty was as a construction contracting officer in Pensacola, Florida. She then became the Officer in Charge of a Naval Construction Battalion Unit, only the second woman ever selected to hold this leadership position.

Lieutenant Commander Allen's next assignment took her to the Philippines as a Staff Civil Engineer, where she led disaster recovery efforts following the eruption of Mount Pinatubo. After overseas duty, she reported to Washington D.C. as the Civil Engineer Corps Junior Officer Assignment Officer in the Bureau of Naval Personnel.

In 1994, she moved to Norfolk, Virginia and served as the Joint Task Force Engineer for the humanitarian assistance operation supporting 45,000 migrants in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. She then transferred to Naval Air Station Meridian, Mississippi, as the Public Works Officer and Officer in Charge of Construction, executing a \$14.3 million dollar budget to maintain \$360 million dollars of real estate and facilities.

Lieutenant Commander Allen is currently the Operations Officer for a 600 person Naval Mobile Construction Battalion (Seabees) deployed to Okinawa, Japan. As only the second woman to hold this assignment, she directed disaster relief missions in Puerto Rico after Hurricane Georges and led the first U.S. military engineering response into Honduras following the devastation of Hurricane Mitch. During her current deployment to the Pacific, she directed the joint U.S. and Indonesian construction of three humanitarian projects during heightened security conditions and civil unrest. She oversaw a team of Navy engineers supporting the International Forces in East Timor and dispatched water purification experts to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam after severe flooding to support the International Federation of the Red Cross.

Lieutenant Commander Allen has earned the Seabee Combat Warfare qualification, the licensed professional engineer designation, and is a warranted contracting officer. Her military awards include two Joint Service Commendation Medals, five Navy and Marine Corps Commendation Medals, three Navy and Marine Corps Achievement Medals, three Humanitarian Service Medals, and the Outstanding Volunteer Medal. She completed both a Masters of Business Administration and the Naval War College Nonresident Program by taking night classes.

People oriented, she has been recognized for her community service record by local newspapers. From tutoring adults to read in Pensacola to teaching English in the Philippines and volunteering at the Kennedy Center, her involvement has been constant and dynamic. Lieutenant Commander Allen was selected by *The Meridian Star* as an "Unsung Hero of the Community," the first military recipient. Additionally, she was the only military member selected for the prestigious Lauderdale County Leadership Program, a forum of 30 local leaders working to cooperatively address and solve community issues.

She is also an avid art fan, with Matisse being her favorite. She collects original pieces of art and served on the Board of Directors for the Meridian Museum of Art and the Executive Committee of the Meridian Arts Council.

BIO-NARRATIVE • David Aronberg

Born in Miami, Florida on May 4, 1971, I am a senior attorney in the Economic Crimes Division of the Florida Attorney General's Office in Fort Lauderdale. My focus is on consumer fraud, with particular emphasis on protecting Florida's large elderly population. I am presently leading investigations of, and litigation against, telemarketing companies, moving and storage companies, and potential pyramid schemes within Florida. I am also a special assistant to the Commissioner of Insurance to investigate allegations of fraud against companies refusing to honor World War II-era policies sold to victims of the Holocaust.

From 1997 to 1999, while I was an associate in the law firm of Steel Hector and Davis LLP, most of my legal practice was dedicated to the Holocaust Insurance Project. I was one of the organizers of the project, which took me throughout the state to speak with hundreds of Holocaust survivors. I drafted unprecedented regulations implementing Florida's landmark Holocaust Insurance Act, represented the state on administrative panels and at speaking engagements, and was the state's liaison to the targeted insurers. In 1998, I moved to Tallahassee to begin compiling a comprehensive database of potential claimants with their family and insurance policy information. Today, the claimant database numbers 1,000 and counting.

I received my B.A. with honors from Harvard in 1993, where, as student body president, I delivered speeches before thousands, organized charity fundraisers, and managed a budget of approximately \$180,000.00. I also taught a science class and received public service awards from the city of Cambridge and the Massachusetts Senate.

Before graduating from Harvard Law School with honors in 1996, I taught first-year legal writing and oral advocacy courses, and organized and wrote the curriculum for the "Kids in the Court" program, which paired Harvard Law students with hundreds of local middle school students for a mock trial competition. I also represented indigent AIDS victims and disabled workers seeking social security benefits at a legal services clinic in Boston's inner-city.

Returning to Florida after graduation, I co-wrote the state law on disabled parking – codified in § 316.1955 of the Florida Statutes – and published a 72-page article in the *University of Florida Law Review* on Title IX and gender discrimination in intercollegiate sports, which has been quoted in newspapers and *U.S. News & World Report*. I also serve on the Board of Directors for the Anti-Defamation League of Florida, and have been recognized for my free legal representation of indigent domestic violence victims and volunteer work in the poorest area of the Mississippi Delta.

In my free time, I read, play acoustic guitar and practice the martial art of aikido.

Biographical Narrative: Scott D. Berns

I am 35 years old and Medical Director of Pediatric Trauma at Hasbro Children's Hospital/Rhode Island Hospital in Providence, Rhode Island. I am Assistant Professor of Pediatrics at Brown University School of Medicine. I serve on the executive board of the Rhode Island Chapter of the American Academy of Pediatrics and chair its Injury Prevention Committee. As founder and co-director of the Injury Prevention Center at Rhode Island Hospital, I combine community outreach with research, education, and advocacy. In addition, I am a founding member of the Committee for Pediatric Advocacy at Hasbro Children's Hospital where residents are encouraged and guided to be child advocates.

As high school Valedictorian, I was recognized for outstanding community and civic leadership by receiving the Herman P. Mantell Scholarship from the Council of Jewish Organizations and Civil Service. I received a B.A. *magna cum laude* and an M.D. degree while in Boston University's Six-Year Liberal Arts/Medical Education Program. I completed my residency in Pediatrics at Rhode Island Hospital and was the youngest Board Certified Pediatrician in Rhode Island. After completing a fellowship in Pediatric Emergency Medicine at Children's National Medical Center in Washington D.C., I earned an M.P.H. with a concentration in Health Policy and Management at Harvard School of Public Health. Since then I have provided testimony on many occasions and have also served on the Providence Mayor's Lead Poisoning Task Force.

I was recognized nationally by the Section of Pediatric Emergency Medicine of the American Academy of Pediatrics when I received the Willis A. Wingert Award for Excellence in Research in Pediatric Emergency Medicine. I also received a National Public Service Award from the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. I serve as the sole pediatric representative on a national expert panel that created and implemented the Emergency Team Coordination Course[®] in ten military and civilian hospitals across the country. After course implementation, observed errors in emergency departments dropped by 80% and patient care improved significantly.

I am founding director of the Rhode Island Buckle-Up Hotline, a statewide, community-based child passenger safety restraint program designed to increase safety restraint utilization. I am also founder and chairman of the Providence Safe Communities Partnership (PSCP) which is a private-public coalition dedicated to empowering citizens to take control of their own safety and health by developing local solutions through partnerships, resource sharing, and parent and peer intervention. In 1997, the PSCP was recognized by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration as one of four national demonstration and evaluation projects and is considered to be a model program of the safe communities concept.

I serve on the board of directors of the Rhode Island Chapter of the March of Dimes and on the executive board of the RI Safe Kids Coalition. Most recently, I am a founding board member of The Progeria Research Foundation, which promotes research for children with a premature aging syndrome. *[His son has this disease.]*

I have been a Special Olympics volunteer since 1989 and Pediatric Chief Trauma Officer of NBC's Gravity Games since last year. One of my lifelong passions is listening to and playing music; while an undergraduate, I played clarinet in the concert, marching, and pep bands and I continue to play the piano.

Via pediatric emergency patient care, lectures, media, publications, and the mobilization of community coalitions such as the Providence Safe Communities Partnership, I am driven to make my community healthier and safer.

Lt. Col. Richard M. Clark is a career officer in the U. S. Air Force. He is currently stationed at the Pentagon where he serves as an Air Force Legislative Liaison Action Officer.

Service to God and country, family relationships, and community involvement are Lt. Col. Clark's top priorities. These commitments were ingrained throughout his childhood. Both of his parents are professional educators, and they instilled in him the value of receiving and providing quality education at every opportunity. Outstanding academic achievement, membership in an award winning band and all-state performances in football and track highlighted his high school career.

Entering the U. S. Air Force Academy in 1982, he distinguished himself militarily, academically and athletically. He earned Dean's List honors seven out of eight semesters, and lettered four years in football. His senior year, he started at nose guard on the nation's fifth ranked team. The Colorado Fellowship of Christian Athletes named him its "Athlete of the Year" in 1984, and the Western Athletic Conference selected him to its All-Conference Academic Football Team. Upon graduation in 1986, the Academy Athletic Department hand-picked him to remain at the Academy for a year to serve as a junior varsity football coach and physical education instructor. He led the J. V. team to its first undefeated season and taught unarmed combat to senior class cadets.

In 1987, Lt. Col. Clark entered Undergraduate Pilot Training at Laughlin Air Force Base (AFB), TX. After earning his wings in 1988, he was assigned to the EC-135 Airborne Command Post at Offutt AFB, NE. While there, he accumulated over 2000 operational flying hours, including missions in Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. During his three years at Offutt AFB, he established a solid commitment to community involvement in Omaha, NE. He made regular presentations to school children and became deeply involved in Big Brothers and Sisters as a volunteer Big Brother and recruiter. Following this assignment, he was competitively selected for the B-1 Bomber program.

His first assignment in the B-1 started in 1991 at McConnell AFB, KS. One of the highlights of this assignment was Lt. Col. Clark's emergence as a leader in the community of Wichita, KS. He served as tutor and motivational speaker for several organizations, but his most significant contributions were to Big Brothers and Sisters. In addition to being a Big Brother volunteer, he organized and chaired the McConnell AFB Big Brothers and Sisters Recruitment Committee. He also earned his masters degree in Human Resources Development while in Kansas. In 1994 he graduated with distinction from Webster University and was selected as "Outstanding Graduate Student 1994" by the Webster Alumni Association. Professionally, Lt. Col. Clark excelled as an instructor pilot, evaluator pilot and flight commander and was transferred to the B-1 Formal Training Unit (FTU) at Dyess AFB in Abilene, TX.

While in Abilene, he continued his work as a Big Brother volunteer, and he served on the agency's Board of Directors. At the B-1 FTU, Lt. Col. Clark accumulated hundreds of flight hours as an instructor and evaluator pilot. He was selected to attend the Air Force's premier combat flight training course, the USAF Weapons School, where he earned "Outstanding Graduate" honors in 1996. Also in 1996, he was promoted one year ahead of his peers to the rank of Major, a rare honor.

Along with his promotion, Clark was selected to attend to intermediate service school, and he chose the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. While at Newport, he earned a masters degree in national Security and Strategic Studies and graduated with distinction. After graduation from the Naval War College, he was competitively chosen to attend the School of Advanced Airpower Studies (SAAS) at Maxwell AFB, AL. Before reporting to Alabama, however, he made a detour to Texas and married the former Amy Purcell, his girlfriend of three years. Together, they moved to Alabama where Lt. Col. Clark earned a masters degree in Airpower Studies. After graduation from SAAS, the Clarks were transferred to the Washington D.C. area. Shortly after his transfer, he was honored once again with a promotion to Lieutenant Colonel two years early, placing him a total of three years ahead of his peer group. At the Pentagon, Lt. Col. Clark is assigned to the Air Force Office of Legislative Liaison. He serves as a liaison between Congress and the Air Force for annual authorization of Air Force programs. He has held this position since the summer of 1999.

I never expected a journey like this. Growing up as the eldest of four children, my most vivid memories are of the automobile dealership my grandfather created in 1942 in rural Northern Illinois. I watched both him and my father struggle to keep their small business alive when Chrysler was on the verge of collapsing, and when other surrounding dealerships were folding in rapid succession. All the while, I saw their concern, but never panic or resignation. "We don't quit," my father told me directly. "Too many people depend on us...."

Twenty years later, I remembered his words during Operation Desert Storm as a Special Forces "A" Team Commander advising a Kuwaiti Motorized Infantry Battalion of 500 men. In four months, we had formed a viable battalion from a disorganized mass of former soldiers, civilians and policemen. We equipped them and trained them for combat. When the ground war finally began, we led the battalion across the desert, at night, under heavy enemy resistance. I later learned that we were the first Arab unit to enter Kuwait. My team remained in Kuwait City, advising the battalion throughout the city's liberation from Iraqi occupation. I cherish the memory of seeing our Kuwaiti comrades reunited with their families—their sense of hope restored. Prior to returning home, I was taken to confer with the Crown Prince of Kuwait who extended his personal appreciation to my team. *Ten years later, this remains the last Unconventional Warfare Mission that the U.S. has officially sanctioned.* For our actions in combat, my men and I were awarded the Valorous Unit Award by the Secretary of the Army for "extraordinary heroism" during the Liberation of Kuwait. I was awarded the Bronze Star Medal for "exceptionally meritorious service" in combat, and I was personally awarded the Douglas MacArthur Leadership Award by Mrs. Jean MacArthur, as one of 12 active duty officers selected Army-wide from over 14,500 other eligible officers.

Over the last ten years, I have commanded a 12-man Special Forces Operational Detachment "A" and three Special Forces Companies. In 1993, I was selected to command a Special Forces "combat line" Company as a Captain—a position normally reserved for a Major. Within two months of assuming command, I led my company on what was then the first US Army deployment to Pakistan since 1954. I was selected over many other officers to be the Aide-de-Camp to the Commanding General, U.S. Army Special Forces Command. Following the Soviet withdrawal from the Baltics, I planned and led the first US Army deployment to the newly independent Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

In Bosnia, I was assigned as the acting Second-in-Command of our battalion. Following three nearly fatal attacks against our soldiers, I was reassigned as the Commander of all U.S. Special Forces in the British Sector with the mission to forestall further imminent attacks. One year later, I commanded all Special Operations Forces in the U.S. Sector of Bosnia, working closely with the UN to facilitate the indictments and convictions of those directly responsible for the 1995 mass executions of 7,000 Muslim men in Srebrenica. After security issues indefinitely postponed the tribunal's investigation, I introduced a solution that allowed the mass grave exhumations to continue unimpeded.

I am very fortunate to have such a wonderful family and a rewarding career. Along with my wife, Suzanne, we have a daughter, Anna, and another baby due in May. They share a pivotal role in any success I have achieved, through the great sacrifices they have endured. Their presence sustains me. As an Army officer, I was selected to attend the US Naval War College, graduating *With Distinction* in 1997. One year ago, I was selected above 36 other Majors to serve as the Operations Officer for 10th Special Forces Group—a 1200-man Brigade that is regionally oriented toward Europe—the job I currently hold.

I have volunteered extensively for numerous local, state and national organizations whose goal is to provide a better future for our youth. I was the Newport City Coordinator for the Big Brothers of Rhode Island, and I am the Fort Carson Volunteer Coordinator for the Colorado School for the Deaf and Blind. I am also a regular consultant and guest lecturer at the US Air Force Academy. Drawing from my own peacetime and war experiences, I have spoken to schools and youth on the value of moral courage and integrity. I am currently writing a novel that offers an enhanced appreciation for Balkan complexities and the risk that we continue to face in these postmodern crisis zones.

Today, when I am faced with any crisis or impasse—whether as a father, as a volunteer to my community, or as a soldier—my Dad's words continue to guide me: "...Too many people depend on us."

BIO-NARRATIVE -- Michael R. Fenzel

I am 32 years old and currently serving as a Strategist for the United States Army. I grew up as the third boy in a family of six just outside Chicago, Illinois. After our grandfather fought in World War I he returned to Chicago only to lose everything during the Great Depression. Just after the Depression's end he moved his family from the city to a small farming town and started a car dealership with a combination of dreams and bank loans. Fifty-eight years later the car dealership is still thriving. The success of our family business is based on a few basic principles expressed to us clearly by our parents. My mother continually stressed to us the importance of treating people with respect and dignity. My father made it clear to each of his four children that there was nothing we couldn't accomplish with hard work and dedication. These lessons have guided me throughout my life.

The summer before I entered college I was awarded a National 4-year ROTC Scholarship. As an undergraduate at the Johns Hopkins University much of my experience as a student revolved around activities outside the classroom. As a member of the varsity football team for four years I took pride in being elected by my teammates as captain in my last year. Though I was always actively involved in student politics, it was not until my junior year that I ran for elected office. I was then elected the Junior Class Vice-President and, just before graduation, the Permanent Class President by our graduating class. I received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Economics upon graduating in 1989.

Entering the United States Army as a young officer, I had very little time to adjust to my new surroundings before finding myself in the Saudi Arabian desert (1990). The lessons I learned leading a 35-soldier platoon through the war in Iraq (1991) have had a profound impact on my approach to leadership. The extent to which soldiers look to their leaders for guidance is awe-inspiring. During Operation Desert Storm in Iraq I was recognized for my leadership under fire by being awarded the Bronze Star with "V-Device" for Valor. I received this award for my actions as a platoon leader while conducting a raid against the Iraqi Talil Airbase under intense assault rifle and rocket propelled grenade fire. During our surprise attack we destroyed 14 Iraqi fighter jets before their pilots could reach them, defeated the Iraqi Special Forces battalion defending that airfield and, in the end, rendered the Airbase unable to continue operations against US forces.

I spent three years in Italy, during which time I was given command of a 135-soldier Paratrooper Company (March 1996). After two weeks in the job, the American Commander in Europe sent us to Liberia. Our tasks were to safeguard the US embassy and evacuate American citizens amidst their Civil War. This operation took less than a month to conduct but our accomplishments remain indelibly etched in my mind. In 1996, I was named U.S. Army Europe's Outstanding Company Grade Officer from among over 2,500 candidates. In 1997, I was given a second and more challenging command of another Paratrooper Company, this time responsible for the health and welfare of 300 soldiers and their families. Early in my command the Army Chief of Staff personally awarded me the U.S. Army's Douglas MacArthur leadership award – I was one of 12 active duty officers selected Army-wide from over 14,500 other eligible officers.

Following my service in Italy, I was chosen as one of three Army officers to study at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, graduating with a Masters degree in the summer of 1999. During my tenure at the Kennedy School I was promoted one year ahead of my peers to the rank of Major, an honor reserved for the top 5% of each officer year group. Since starting my work as a Strategist on the Army Staff, I have become integrally involved in planning the Army Chief of Staff's complete transformation of the US Army. Additionally, I recently directed a national level conference on defense strategy attended by the Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

My interests and hobbies are diverse. I am an avid runner and tri-athlete having run one ultra-marathon, ten marathons internationally and competed in the 1997 World Championships for the Long Distance Triathlon in Nice, France. My love of reading and writing is ingrained. I've written a trade book intended for young officers entitled Platoon Command – A Stylistic Approach to Leading Soldiers. Stimulating new ways of thinking and encouraging innovation are passions of mine. In this spirit, I founded and am currently the director of the Council for Emerging National Security Affairs (CENSA). This organization is focused on forward planning and promoting innovative thinking in national security affairs.

My volunteer experiences in Northern Virginia have given me the pleasure of teaching two mentally handicapped boys to swim at a local recreational center and the benefit of working on physical rehabilitation with the elderly at an assisted living home. Currently, I am a transportation-volunteer for a local AIDS Ministry where my work ranges from transporting clients to delivering Christmas gifts. Each of these experiences has further amplified for me the importance of public service and clarified the meaning of parental sacrifice. I now feel that, no matter how busy I am, when people need my help--I can make the time.

As a young officer my father gave up his military career to return home and assist my grandfather in running the family business. In many ways my opportunity to serve the country is not only the fulfillment of my own dreams but also the perpetuation of a family tradition. My short career in the US Army has taught me that anyone can rise and succeed in our country by following a few basic principles. I only wish I could share my success with my Grandfather. It is his determination that has not only made all this possible, but all future opportunities to serve as well.

BIO-NARRATIVE

John M. Gallagher

I am 34 years old and I serve as the Special Advisor to Philadelphia Police Commissioner John Timoney. I was born and raised in New York and I moved to my wife's native Pennsylvania approximately three years ago. I am proud to have served in all areas of the criminal justice system from street cop to police management and from corruption detection to criminal prosecution. I am extremely fortunate to have a supportive and understanding wife who has enabled me to experience the full rewards of public service.

I started my career in 1989 as a rookie New York City Police Officer. I was assigned to the 28th Precinct in Central Harlem. My years in Harlem coincided with the height of the crack epidemic. My street experience was intense and more complete than that of officers with longer tenures in more stable locales. I progressed from answering radio calls to community beat patrol to plainclothes anti-crime investigations, all during the worst period of crime in American history. I was consistently among my precinct's leaders in arrest activity. I received numerous Department and community citations for bravery, initiative and professionalism. I also attended New York Law School at the same time I worked as a patrolman.

After my graduation from law school, I was granted an official leave of absence from the Police Department in order to serve as an Assistant District Attorney in Bronx County. The Bronx District Attorneys Office is very active and thus provides an excellent opportunity for a young attorney to obtain intense legal experience. Within weeks of being hired, I was prosecuting criminal jury trials. In addition to extensive courtroom experience, my employment in the Bronx also provided me with written motion practice, case evaluation skills and the ability to prepare criminal court cases through all stages from arrest to trial and sentencing.

Two years later, I returned to the New York City Police Department from my leave of absence to serve as an Assistant Special Prosecutor in a new anti-corruption office created by then First Deputy Commissioner Timoney. My job involved the investigation and administrative prosecution of corrupt police officers in order to swiftly terminate their employment without waiting years for the completion of the criminal prosecution. In this elite office, we handled only the most serious corruption cases and I gained invaluable experience on the detection, investigation and prosecution of serious police misconduct.

A little over a year later, my wife and I moved to Pennsylvania where I served for another year as a felony Assistant District Attorney before being appointed to my current position. My career in public service has allowed me to make positive contributions in my chosen field of criminal justice. Being a "city-boy", I also feel very fortunate that this calling has allowed me to participate in the improvement of two major cities. I take the same pride and satisfaction from my work as I do from my volunteer duties coaching the inner-city children who participate in our Ice Hockey in Harlem program. This combination of activities continues to leave me professionally and personally satisfied.

BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE

Marissa Elizabeth Ghez, MA

I am 32 years old, and currently serve as Associate Director and Communications Director of the Family Violence Prevention Fund, a national organization focusing on education and public policy reform related to the issue of domestic violence. For the last seven years, I have directed a national public education and citizen activation campaign called *There's No Excuse for Domestic Violence*, designed to use media and grassroots organizing strategies to change social norms on abuse. Since its inception in 1994, the campaign has generated more than \$100 million in donated time from media outlets nationwide for domestic violence prevention messages. Run in collaboration with The Advertising Council, the campaign seeks to engage the American public in order to persuade people to *do* something about the problem of domestic violence.

One of my greatest professional pleasures is the opportunity to think critically about how we can engage Americans in civic life, and what mechanisms might foster such engagement. In the last several years, I have developed a series of initiatives designed to encourage people to get involved in stopping domestic violence. These have included: a highly praised interactive website (www.fvpf.org), recently named "Hot Site of the Day" by *USA Today* and featured in *Wired Magazine*; an innovative radio drama following a soap opera-like format called *It's Your Business*, targeting the African American community; and an educational film called *Speaking Up: Ending Domestic Violence in Our Communities*, which was distributed by American Public Television and aired on public television stations nationwide in Fall 1999. I have also written extensively on how media can be used to further public interest goals, including co-authoring a book called *Ending Domestic Violence: Changing Public Perceptions*, and contributing chapters to several other edited volumes.

Over the years, I have also served as a consultant on issues related to media and public education strategies for several branches of government, including the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the National Institute of Justice, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the State Department. I also worked with the Annenberg School for Communication to establish the San Francisco Compact Project, an effort to engage the city's youth in the political process and to improve the quality of local campaign coverage.

Civic and political engagement are issues I care passionately about, dating back to a post-college backpacking trek I took through Central and Eastern Europe soon after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Since that time, I have been drawn both personally and professionally to regions of the world where massive social and political upheaval have taken place as a result of widespread public protest for system reform. I have traveled and worked extensively in underdeveloped and remote parts of the world, including places as far as the Arctic Circle in northern Siberia.

I have a broad range of interests and a strong intellectual curiosity. In addition to my interest in the humanities, I have long been intrigued by behavioral science and the biological reasons we do what we do. This has informed my work in the social sciences by allowing me to apply theories of behavior change to communications strategies related to domestic violence, an approach to the issue which to my knowledge had never been taken before. I am also a language enthusiast, and take great pleasure in writing. I have received many writing awards over the years, including the distinction of being named Illinois Poet Laureate by poet Gwendolyn Brooks. I delight in learning foreign languages, and speak both Russian and French with advanced conversational proficiency. I am also a voracious reader, and an avid runner.

I received a Master's degree in communications in 1992 from the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, where I wrote my Master's thesis on the way universities often regulate free speech on campus in order to achieve social goals, while publicly committing to First Amendment values. I graduated with high honors from Harvard University in 1989, with a focus on English and American literature and a *magna cum laude* senior thesis examining William Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom!*, and received a high school diploma from the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools, where I was valedictorian in 1985.

BIO-NARRATIVE

Katie Hong

I am a 28 year old Korean American woman. I am passionate about public service and especially about engaging a larger segment of our population to participate in the political system because of what I learned and witnessed growing up in an immigrant community.

My family immigrated to the United States when I was 8 years old. Because I grew up in a community whose members felt alienated and disengaged from the American system, I never considered choosing a profession in which I would influence public policy until I entered college. At U.C. Berkeley, I was inspired by leaders in the Asian American community and began to picture myself as a potential leader and decision-maker at a local and national level. As a first-year student, I won a seat on the student senate. I founded an Asian American women's group and organized educational forums and retreats to discuss social and political issues unique to Asian American women. As a junior, I developed and taught a course on Asian American identity. I created workshops for student organizations on issues such as "how to lead more effective meetings" and "how to resolve conflicts." For my leadership at the university and service to the community, I received both the Mather Award in my senior year and the Prytanean Award for the Outstanding Junior Woman.

Upon graduation, I entered the Coro program, a public affairs fellowship in which twelve fellows receive training on facilitation, leadership and public policy, all the while completing projects with tangible results. As a Coro Fellow, I worked with a local government agency, a business corporation, a labor union, a non-profit community development organization, and served as a field coordinator on a local campaign. Among other things, I conducted a market study for interpretation services for Asian Health Services and co-wrote a community development feasibility study for Coro Northern California. This hands-on work within the public and private sectors inspired my decision to continue in public policy. Upon completing the fellowship, I accepted a full scholarship as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow and attended the University of Chicago's graduate program in public policy.

I have entered a career in public service so that I can work to make equal opportunity and justice a reality for every segment of our population. As a program examiner at the Office of Management and Budget, I worked to restore welfare benefits to legal immigrants as part of the President's 1997 balanced budget deal. More recently, in my current position as executive policy advisor to Governor Gary Locke, I helped to develop a comprehensive strategy for Washington state's distressed rural communities. I also chair the Governor's sub-cabinet on Farm Worker Housing – a cabinet level task force that is developing a long term strategy on how to provide safe and adequate housing for migrant and seasonal farm workers.

My passion is to increase others' capacity to learn and develop their leadership skills. That's why I am currently volunteering with the Young Women's Leadership Institute. As a "personal coach", I'm able to help nurture nascent leadership skills in teen girls from economically impoverished immigrant communities. I hope to help empower these girls in the same way that my mentors have helped to empower me.

I am 33 years old and presently completing a dual-degree MBA and MPA program at Harvard University emphasizing leadership, global management, innovation and social entrepreneurship. Both of my parents are civil servants who work with mentally and physically challenged people. Raised in Guilford, New York, I presently make my home in Honolulu, Hawaii. The son of an Egyptian mother and an African-American father, I began developing an international perspective at an early age by living in Egypt and Saudi Arabia during numerous summer and winter vacations. Before graduating high school, I studied French for six years, often visiting Montreal and Quebec. Simultaneously, I began a lifelong study of Chinese martial arts and Asian history, culture and philosophy. An avid athlete, I co-captained the wrestling team during my senior year and earned honors in several state tournaments. As a youth, studying piano and playing in concert recitals imbued me with an appreciation for music and culture. Leadership, service and scholarship have always been priorities of mine. I was a member of the National Honor Society and the school's community service organization.

Attending the United States Military Academy (BS - 1988) further developed my leadership, character and scholarship while readying me for a career of increased responsibility in the international arena. During my senior year, I was selected as the Regimental Command Sergeant Major for 1,100 cadets, coached an Academy intramural boxing team to a high ranking and maintained an undefeated record while personally boxing in intramurals and in New York City. Upon graduation, I chose infantry as my specialty and served as an Army officer with three elite units—the Presidential Honor Guard, 3rd Ranger Battalion and 1st Special Forces Group (Green Berets). The initial 36-person Presidential Honor Guard unit that I led was ranked first in the organization throughout my tenure with them. Consequently, I was chosen to improve and lead a second, faltering unit plagued with performance, morale and disciplinary problems. Our efforts were spectacularly successful and, in an organization of twenty units, we earned a first place ranking in every evaluated area. Furthermore, the Association of the United States Army featured us in their international journal as a model unit for all United States Army forces. This experience showed me how leadership and teamwork can produce transformational changes in people's lives.

Living in Japan for a year while commanding a Green Beret unit with a classified mission improved my aptitude for operating comfortably and effectively in a multicultural environment. The opportunity to develop and manage a Department of Defense bilateral exercise involving the United States, Singapore, Japan and the Pacific Islands greatly enhanced my international perspective, understanding of Pacific Rim cultures and global management skills. On October 18, 1995, I sustained a severe injury in the line of duty. While attempting to protect my co-workers from the blast of an explosive device detonating prematurely, I sustained the traumatic amputation of all five fingers on my left hand. Recuperation has been the greatest, most challenging and positive experience of my life. Despite my doctors' skepticism, I ran 2 miles in under 12 minutes and performed 108 pushups and 104 sit-ups during the Army Physical Fitness Test. Completing the Honolulu Marathon marked a milestone in my recuperative history. My philosophy is to continue striving for excellence, maximize my capabilities, undertake many new endeavors and intensify my devotion to humanitarian service. I have dedicated the remainder of my life to a three-fold path: 1) serving our nation and the global community as a leader in the international arena 2) being a change-agent for achieving organizational peak performance and 3) expressing my spirit of humanitarian service and civic responsibility through venues having a global impact.

I strive to achieve inspirational successes to transform society's perceptions about the capabilities of physically challenged people. To exemplify this through a global venue, in June 1997 I entered the largest international full-contact fighting tournament held in North America. Winning 3rd Place was an unprecedented feat and became a feature story in an international magazine. Not being satisfied with 3rd Place, I entered another full-contact fighting tournament in May 1998 and finally—after 18 years of participating in similar competitions—won 1st Place and a Light-Heavyweight Championship Belt.

Helping others is the most rewarding aspect of my life. I developed the Harvard-Hawaii Initiative so Harvard's tremendous resources can help the state tackle its deep-seated social and economic problems while also increasing the matriculation to Harvard of Hawaii residents. To assist physically challenged people, I'm establishing an initiative in conjunction with Easter Seals to provide aesthetic, upper-limb prosthetics to amputees that cannot afford them. At the University of Hawaii, I founded a chapter of Students for Responsible Business and was recognized for this with a national leadership award. Another gratifying endeavor was organizing leadership development programs for at-risk Hawaii high school students from low-income families that involved Navy Seals and our Army's Leadership Reaction Course. Last year, I led the mobilization of the entire Harvard Business School (HBS) community to provide disaster relief for the victims of Hurricane Mitch in Honduras. Additionally, I mentor as part of the Kennedy School of Government's Alumni Mentoring Program and participate in local community service initiatives such as City Year and Project Outreach. These community service activities imbued in me the importance of helping others. I have been fortunate enough to be recognized for these endeavors. At the Kennedy School, I was among the 4% to graduate from my program in 1998 as a Littauer Fellow for demonstrated leadership, service and scholarship. Last year at HBS, I had the honor of being chosen from all African-American students in my class to receive the Bert King Fellow Award in recognition of these same qualities. My aspiration is to continue striving for excellence in a career of increasing responsibility, growth and contributions in the public sector.

Biographical Narrative

David F. Lussier

I am thirty years old and a high school history teacher at Andover High School in Massachusetts. I graduated cum laude from the University of Massachusetts Lowell with a Bachelor's degree in History in 1991 and went on to earn a Master of Arts in Teaching degree from Boston University with a specialization in social studies education. I have taught in an urban setting (Quincy, MA) as well as in a suburban setting (Andover, MA.) My teaching responsibilities in these locations included courses in World History and United States History.

Like many other teachers, my commitment to students extends beyond my regular teaching schedule. In both Quincy and Andover I helped establish the Washington Close-Up program, which immerses students in government and constitutional studies. I have also served as the advisor to Students Against Driving Drunk (S.A.D.D.) which educates the Andover community about the dangers of drinking and driving. Both programs have community service components that foster civic competence and collective responsibility.

In addition to working directly with students at Andover High School, I also believe that teachers have a responsibility to be educational leaders within their communities. To this end, I have taught courses for my colleagues, served as a faculty representative on our School Council, and helped design a system-wide mentoring model for new teachers entering the profession. Most recently I earned the title of Master Teacher by attaining National Board Certification in the area of Adolescent/Young Adulthood Social Studies. I am currently supporting other teachers seeking this same certification.

My work within the teaching profession was recognized when I was named Massachusetts Teacher of the Year 2000. As the youngest recipient of this award, I represent all public school teachers in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. During my full year sabbatical, I have had the opportunity to serve as a spokesperson for education, offer workshops for my colleagues around the state, and work closely with teacher induction programs at colleges and universities. All of these activities helped convince me of the need for more teacher leaders to become active in education policy making.

As a lifelong learner who has committed himself to public service, the teaching profession has allowed me to impact the lives of hundreds of students while also challenging me to grow as a person. I see a White House Fellowship as both an individual challenge and an opportunity to gain policy insight that will enable me to create more opportunities for children and teachers in the future.

BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE
Lillemor McGoldrick, Esq.

I am 29 years old and an attorney, adjunct professor of law and clinic supervisor at Georgetown University Law Center. I received a B.A. in English Literature from McGill University, where I graduated with First Class Honors, and a J.D., *magna cum laude*, from Georgetown University Law Center. As a Public Interest Law Scholar at Georgetown, I won an Equal Justice Foundation Fellowship, the International Academy of Trial Lawyers' Award, and was elected to Order of the Coif, a legal honor society.

As a full-time faculty member, I train Georgetown law students to teach law in all District of Columbia public high schools, and also teach a seminar which focuses on the charter school movement. Related to this seminar, I am developing the Thurgood Marshall public charter high school in the District of Columbia. Prior to law school, I taught high school English in the Los Angeles public schools as part of the Teach for America program, and also instructed teacher education classes to help incoming teachers earn professional certification. While a high school teacher, I co-chaired the school's largest education reform committee, led faculty and community conferences on school improvement, and worked to develop a Parent Center at the school. For three years, I also served as a weekly support group facilitator for teenagers with substance abuse problems and chaired an HIV/AIDS Awareness Outreach Program. While in law school, I worked with the local education and civil rights community to provide counsel to the largest parent organization in Washington, D.C. on legal and policy issues related to school reform.

I am a tutor and mentor for Project Northstar, an organization which helps homeless and low-income children, and have published law review articles on topics related to welfare reform and urban education. Finally, I am a certified fitness instructor and spent years teaching fitness classes at schools, universities and athletic clubs.

BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE
Stuart B. Munsch

Born and raised on the prairies and matured as an adult on the seas, I am a fifth generation North Dakotan and a career Naval Officer. The formative experiences of frigid winters, warm communities and being the first in my father's family to grow up speaking English made, in hindsight, extraordinary impressions upon me.

My parents were both teachers and active community volunteers, so the choice of the Naval Academy and subsequent career in public service was not as unusual as the change in geography might indicate. And my prior experiences -- despite being a "flat lander" -- prepared me well for the challenging environment of Annapolis. I had the great fortune of commanding the 4600-member Brigade of Midshipmen, winning several national collegiate pistol championships, and becoming the first midshipman in the Academy's history to receive the honors for being both the top leader and top athlete in a graduating class.

Although the Naval Academy provided an excellent technical education and other extra-curricular activities, I pursued opportunities to broaden my intellectual horizons and was fortunate to receive a Rhodes Scholarship. Oxford was another remolding experience, with its tremendous diversity of cultural and political perspectives and sweeping academic activity. The opportunity to travel widely further added to my exposure. Perhaps the true value of my time at Oxford, despite the tremendous academics, was the appreciation for other walks of life that can be gained only from first-hand experience.

Thereafter, it was time for me to pay back the investments made in me. I embarked on nine years of assignments at sea, frequently experiencing the successes and tribulations I eagerly read about as a child in the You Were There series of history books: listening to radio reports about Desert Storm while 150 feet beneath the sea, transiting across the Pacific in a submarine at best speed to monitor the events on the Korean Peninsula after the death of Kim Il Sung, serving on an aircraft carrier off the Iranian coast after the Khobar Towers bombing, and patrolling the Arabian Gulf at periscope depth ready to fire Tomahawk missiles.

The recent years have been especially kind to me professionally. In 1997, I was selected from over 300,000 eligible Navy personnel to receive the U.S. Navy League's Decatur Award for Operational Excellence. In 1998, I was among the six officers in the Navy selected for early promotion to the rank of Commander. In 1999, I was ranked the top submarine Executive Officer by the admiral commanding the Pacific Submarine Force. And, most recently, I was selected over several hundred more senior personnel to serve as the Deputy Executive Assistant to the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Pacific Command, Admiral Blair.

Remaining sensitive to "being different" since my early years as the kid from the German town, I find my volunteer work is most effective with young people. Interspersed with the frequent moves for my family and my sea duty, I've coached soccer teams, tutored elementary school students and organized fund-raisers for school events. During port calls overseas, I've led young sailors in lending a hand at homes for the elderly, mentally handicapped and orphaned. Perhaps most memorable for us was the refurbishment of a firebombed Pakistani school in Bahrain.

Over the years, I have become an enthusiastic runner and hiker, avid numismatist and collector of Dakota maps, endless (my wife's characterization) researcher for a biography of a 19th Century British admiral and a Michener-like history of the river flowing through my hometown, a competent trombonist and terrible (so far) bass guitarist. I have been blessed with a wonderful family of whom support for my career and interests is not their least virtue. My wife is our foundation and our two children -- exploring in their own way classrooms and sports fields, garage bands and charity fundraisers -- are our future.

And so now I am 37 years old, fortunate to be at the top of my profession, having been well prepared for command of a nuclear-powered submarine by the years spent at sea. But like my experience at Annapolis, I sense my present background may prove too narrow to make the contributions I would hope to make as a senior military leader. In future years I aspire to continue service in command and as a participant in the Washington inter-agency process for U.S. political-military affairs. I am applying for the White House Fellowship to gain the first-hand understanding of the functions of the federal government that the work assignment and education program provide. My hope is that my participation in the Fellowship and the subsequent sharing of what I have learned will help facilitate the increasingly important exchange of ideas among the civilian and military people of our government.

Biographical Narrative of Patrick A. Piercey

I am a 38 year old naval officer serving on the Joint Staff in Washington D.C., responsible for crafting America's strategy and policy for national and theater missile defense. My efforts have become increasingly important and challenging as we approach a national missile defense deployment readiness review and decision this summer. My fifteen years of naval service include key assignments on four ships, and I will command a ship after completing my duty in Washington.

My life story is in many respects a paradox. Born in Oklahoma, and raised in both Oklahoma and San Francisco, my childhood was heavily influenced by the Sixties and university life. My parents were, for lack of a better term, hippies. I remember marching in Vietnam protests and attending the famous Rolling Stones concert at Altamonte. My father, the first in his family of pioneer stock to attend college, earned a Ph.D. in Economics, and my mother, an immigrant from the Philippines, a B.A. in Fine Arts from the University of Oklahoma. From this tolerant and loving environment emerged a career military officer.

I attended public high school and was selected as a National Merit Semi-Finalist. I applied for and was nominated to the Naval Academy where I graduated 6th out of 1049 midshipmen, rowed on national championship crews, and earned an Arleigh Burke Scholarship and distinction as a Secretary of the Navy Distinguished Graduate. Upon graduation, I entered the competitive and demanding nuclear power program. Since then, I have excelled as a division officer, department head and executive officer. I have consistently been ranked at the top of my peer group and have won numerous individual awards and medals. To broaden my horizons, I chose to attend the Army Command and General Staff College where I obtained my master's degree.

Peering back and reflecting on these years only deepens the depth of my commitment to selfless service and mentoring. A sacred trust exists between the military and the American people. They place the lives of their children in our hands. These young men and women, frequently not from a privileged background, become our "extended family"—our community—and we have a responsibility to lead and inspire them to achieve their dreams. They arrive with a sparkle in their eye, and they look to officers as both examples and mentors. My reward is their growth—growth in the intangibles of character and maturity. My privileged charge is to be worthy of their trust. As a co-founder of the Pentagon chapter of Everybody Wins!, I hope and work to ignite that spark in 8 and 9 year olds. By inspiring a love of reading, we start them on a journey of imagination and dreams. My journey of imagination and dreams continues to guide me along the rewarding path of selfless service to an ever growing "extended family."

My interests and curiosity extend well beyond the bridge of a U.S. warship. I have a great admiration and respect for our natural treasures. I enjoy mountain climbing and backpacking reveling in the solitude surrounded by the majesty of the land. When I was 32, I participated in a month-long National Outdoor Leadership School course in Alaska. I appreciate art in the wide variety of mediums in which it is expressed. Most importantly, I am engaged to be wed late this summer to the love of my life.

BIO-NARRATIVE

Kathy Ward

Evening news coverage of civilian casualties in the Vietnam War is one of my earliest memories of the world. Although I certainly didn't realize it at the time, in retrospect, these memories played an important role in my decision to pursue a career focusing on the protection of civilians during wartime.

My educational background (Yale, the University of Chicago Law School and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy) tends to lead directly to policy work or academia. However, I expressly chose not to follow that route, believing instead that field experience and a sense of humility and respect for those I am serving are the most important foundations for my career.

At 34, I have spent my career developing skills and working on projects to deal with the horrors of war and particularly the fate of civilians caught up in them. I studied law, humanitarian affairs and conflict resolution, as well as Chinese and Russian -- the languages of the US's main protagonists at the time. I have worked in Bosnian and Cambodian refugee camps -- documenting human rights abuses and war crimes. My goal was to really listen to the victims -- their needs and their concerns -- and to build my responses to their needs and develop my understanding from there. In Croatia, first as a caseworker and then country director of the program, I worked with thousands of Bosnian refugees on a case-by-case basis, documenting their stories, helping them apply for a chance to live in safety and meeting their other immediate needs whenever possible. Now here in Washington, I try to keep those voices in my mind as I work on accountability for war crimes and genocide from a more comfortable distance.

In the last two years with the Coalition for International Justice, I have worked on practical initiatives and advocacy efforts intended to ensure that war criminals are held accountable before the law and that the people of Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia are included and respected in the international justice efforts. I have worked in The Hague with the office of the President of the ICTY to initiate that Tribunals' outreach campaign to the former Yugoslavia. I have helped secure the political and financial support for that Tribunal's regularized work on a legally mandated program critical to domestic war crimes trials. I have worked in a team to support the government of Rwanda's first-ever direct participation in a case before the international Tribunal for Rwanda. I have used every opportunity to improve knowledge in the US and abroad about war crimes. I have taught classes, written speeches and articles and given interviews to sources as varied as CNN, South Africa Broadcasting, independent news sources from the Balkans and a basement-run radio station in suburban Virginia.

My friends and my family are precious to me. I value their love and their ability to laugh at me and to make me laugh at all the stupid things I do. I also feel very lucky to have found St. Augustine's, a wonderfully diverse parish known as the mother church of the African American Catholics in Washington, DC. The opportunity to meet so many great people through its community service projects, such as food distribution work and community clean-ups, is a gift I treasure. My goal is to someday sing well enough to be in the gospel choir.

I like mixing the mundane with the off-beat -- being a basketball fanatic with learning about Qawwali (a form of Sufi mystic signing). I love world music and jazz. Cooking Indian vegetarian meals and Kraft Macaroni and Cheese. I love gardening (although a fourth floor apartment with limited sun is a challenge) and reading random articles in magazines. I loved combining being a national collegiate champion in crew with doing tech work in the theater. I believe that great things come out of combining the unexpected.



John F. Welch
Chairman of the Board

General Electric Company
3135 Easton Turnpike, Fairfield, CT 06431

June 2, 2000

00 JUN 5 PM 1:06

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I write to express my enthusiastic support for the nomination of James Edward Burke for the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

I have known Jim Burke for many years, personally and professionally. During his tenure at Johnson & Johnson, Jim built a corporate culture dedicated to serving the needs of society as well as the needs of his shareholders. His

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cc: Burkhardt

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I know of no better way to thank you for your consideration. I urge you to bestow this honor on Jim Burke.

Sincerely,

cc: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.



John F. Welch
Chairman of the Board

General Electric Company
3135 Easton Turnpike, Fairfield, CT 06431

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The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

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I have known Jim Burke for many years, personally and professionally. During his tenure at Johnson & Johnson, Jim built a corporate culture dedicated to serving the needs of society, as well as the needs of his shareholders. His remarkable management of J&J, through good times and times of crisis, makes him one of the most effective CEOs of modern times. By being open and honest with the American people during the *Tylenol* crisis, Jim did what many thought unthinkable: he regained public trust in J&J and their products. What's easily missed about Jim is this: Everything Jim preached as chairman – corporate responsibility, doing well by doing good, putting public safety over profit – reflects who Jim Burke is and how he has lived his life.

Jim retired from J&J in 1989, and assumed the chairmanship of the Partnership for a Drug-Free America. With passion that runs deep for the drug issue, and for the health and wellbeing of children and families, Jim's accomplishments with the Partnership are simply extraordinary. What a gift he has given to the country.

I know of no better way to thank Jim than to award him the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Thank you, Mr. President, for your consideration. I urge you to bestow this honor on Jim Burke.

Sincerely,

cc: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.



WHITE HOUSE INITIATIVE ON
EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE FOR HISPANIC AMERICANS

May 31, 2000

William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1300 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC

Dear President Clinton:

I am writing on behalf of you Americans to bring to your attention regarding the high dropout rate strategic session on Latinos and Hispanic students. We know we can have a positive influence

As you know, in 1998, 30 percent (million) [Dropout Rates in the Department of Education have consistent factor in the success or attrition the low expectations school personnel have of Latino students contribute to this high dropout rate.

In some of your public statements—as recently as at the White House Conference on Teens—you attribute the unacceptably high dropout rate of Hispanics to immigration and financial responsibilities to work. While both factors influence the dropout rate of Hispanics, neither is the prevalent factor and allows others to misconstrue the true nature of the dropout crisis and avoid responsibility for improving the rates.

“...reports and studies document that gaps in school completion rates between Hispanic and non-Hispanic students remain even after controlling for social class background of student, for their language proficiency, and for their immigrant status.” (*No More Excuses: The Final Report of the Hispanic Dropout Project*, 1995, p.6)

Why do Hispanics dropout? Substantial research tells us the factors that make Hispanic students vulnerable to dropout of high school include: low expectations by school personnel, old decision-making structures, ill-prepared teachers and administrators, low coordination between schools, parents, and communities for students, negative self-image, peer group pressure, poverty, tracking, and limiting school policies that adversely affect the students. Three vital research sources that highlight these factors are the report commissioned by the Department of Education, *No More Excuses: The Final Report of the Hispanic Dropout Project*, (1995, Commissioners Santiago and Muñoz contributed to the report), *Latino High School Graduation: Defying the Odds* (1996, H. D. Romo), and *Lessons from High-Performing Hispanic Schools* (1999, P. Reyes, J.D. Scribner, A.P. Scribner).

While the relatively greater dropout rates among Hispanic immigrants do contribute to the higher dropout rates for all Hispanics, the numbers also show us that **regardless** of place of birth, Hispanic young adults are still more likely to drop out of high school than their non-Hispanic

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes

No

c. B. Reed

Cal

6/6/00



WHITE HOUSE INITIATIVE ON EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE FOR HISPANIC AMERICANS

May 31, 2000

William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1300 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC

00 JUN 5 PM 1:06

Dear President Clinton:

I am writing on behalf of your Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans to bring to your attention a concern we have on some of your public statements regarding the high dropout rate of Hispanic students. We are hoping your message at the June 15 strategic session on Latinos in education will more effectively focus on the strengths and needs of Hispanic students. We know that your ability to use the bully pulpit to address important issues can have a positive influence and inform people to take action.

As you know, in 1998, 30 percent of all Latino 16- through 24-year-olds were dropouts (1.5 million) [*Dropout Rates in the United States: 1998*]. The Commission and the U.S. Department of Education have consistently highlighted school personnel expectations as the most important factor in the success or attrition of Hispanic students in the school system. Research shows that the low expectations school personnel have of Latino students contribute to this high dropout rate.

In some of your public statements—as recently as at the White House Conference on Teens—you attribute the unacceptably high dropout rate of Hispanics to immigration and financial responsibilities to work. While both factors influence the dropout rate of Hispanics, neither is the prevalent factor and allows others to misconstrue the true nature of the dropout crisis and avoid responsibility for improving the rates.

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While the relatively greater dropout rates among Hispanic immigrants do contribute to the higher dropout rates for all Hispanics, the numbers also show us that **regardless** of place of birth, Hispanic young adults are still more likely to drop out of high school than their non-Hispanic

peers. Dropout rates for Hispanics born outside the United States is double (44.4 percent) that of Hispanic youth born in the United States (close to 20 percent). Even this 20 percent dropout rate is higher than the dropout rate for blacks (14 percent) and whites (8 percent), so immigration cannot be the sole factor. In fact, studies show that while Hispanics represent just over 55 percent of all U.S. immigrants, Hispanics account for nearly 90 percent of all immigrant dropouts. (No More Excuses, 1995, p.5) This fact suggests that schools are disproportionately ineffective in educating Hispanic children as compared to children from other ethnic backgrounds.

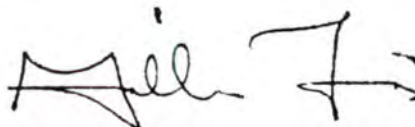
The other factor mentioned as a main cause of Latino dropouts is leaving school to go to work. While poverty is a factor in the number of Latinos that dropout of high school, and dropping out to work to support the family does happen, it is not the **main** reason for Hispanic students dropping out. Highlighting financial responsibility shows that Latinos want to be responsible and financially assist their families—but it still perpetuates the myth that Latinos do not value education. Further, this does not hold schools accountable for the education of Latino students. Ultimately, our school systems are failing these students, not the other way around.

This Administration has made great strides in education reform and has emphasized educating all of our children, we must ensure that “all children” includes Latino children. The impetus for change which has been a hallmark of this Administration and the work of this Commission can work in tandem to educate the public, reassert what we know works for Latinos in education, and continue to assert that Hispanics receive the opportunity to achieve excellence in education. Commissioners recommend the Administration’s message emphasize talent development and focus on the dramatic results achieved by schools that have high expectations of Latino students and provide the support they need to achieve to these high standards.

We are confident that the June conference will bring both attention and direction to the solution of this important national issue and that the event will serve as a catalyst for a sustained effort to improve educational excellence for Latinos.

We are available to discuss this with you at your convenience. Should you have any questions or would like to pursue any of the information we have included, our Executive Director, Sarita Brown, would available to assist your staff at 202-401-3670.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Guillermo Linares', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Guillermo Linares
Chair, President’s Advisory Commission
on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans

cc: President’s Advisory Commission members
Maria Echaveste, Deputy Chief of Staff
Sarita Brown, Executive Director, White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for
Hispanic Americans

*cc [unclear]
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[unclear] is [unclear]*

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[unclear]
[unclear]*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*copied
HRC
Marshall
Moore
Pers file*

June 6, 2000

Mildred Pratt
Post Office Box 1203
Bloomington, Illinois 61702

Dear Mildred:

Thank you for your kind letter. It has been an honor having Awadagin perform at the White House. He is a gifted musician, and I know you're very proud of him.

Your friendship and support mean a lot to me. Thanks again for taking the time to write.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Mildred Pratt
P.O. Box 1203
Bloomington, IL 61702

5/16/1008
✓

Dear Mr. President and Mrs. Clinton:

When I was growing up in a tenant farmer household in several different houses in the eastern section of Texas in the late 20's and early 40's where we could barely eke out a living, I had no idea that I would live beyond my teens, let alone have a classical pianist son who would perform at the White House for you and your honored guests--not once but twice. My family is deeply grateful to you.

Your graciousness spilled over in good measure to your staff assistants, who in spite of the special problems which our presence created for them, were kind, gracious and professional in their treatment of us. I think the two of you enrich the lives of all whom you touch, even those who try to make your lives miserable.

Your tenure in the White House has changed the White House, nation and the world for the better. Your mark for human good is forever etched on this planet.

My wish is that both of you can first get some well needed rest, and continue to pursue a life which brings you satisfaction and good for the world.

Sincerely yours,



Mildred Pratt

Awadagin

Send w/
attached photo
for PORUS
Sig —

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

copied
Ricchetti
Echaveste
Street

June 6, 2000

Jack M. Mills
Mills Communications, Inc.
Post Office Box 23259
Columbia, South Carolina 29203

Dear Jack:

Thank you for your letter and for sending the wonderful article by John Kennedy. I will keep in mind your idea and also your offer to be of assistance with a White House Forum on Physical Education.

I appreciate your great leadership on this issue. Hope to see you again soon.

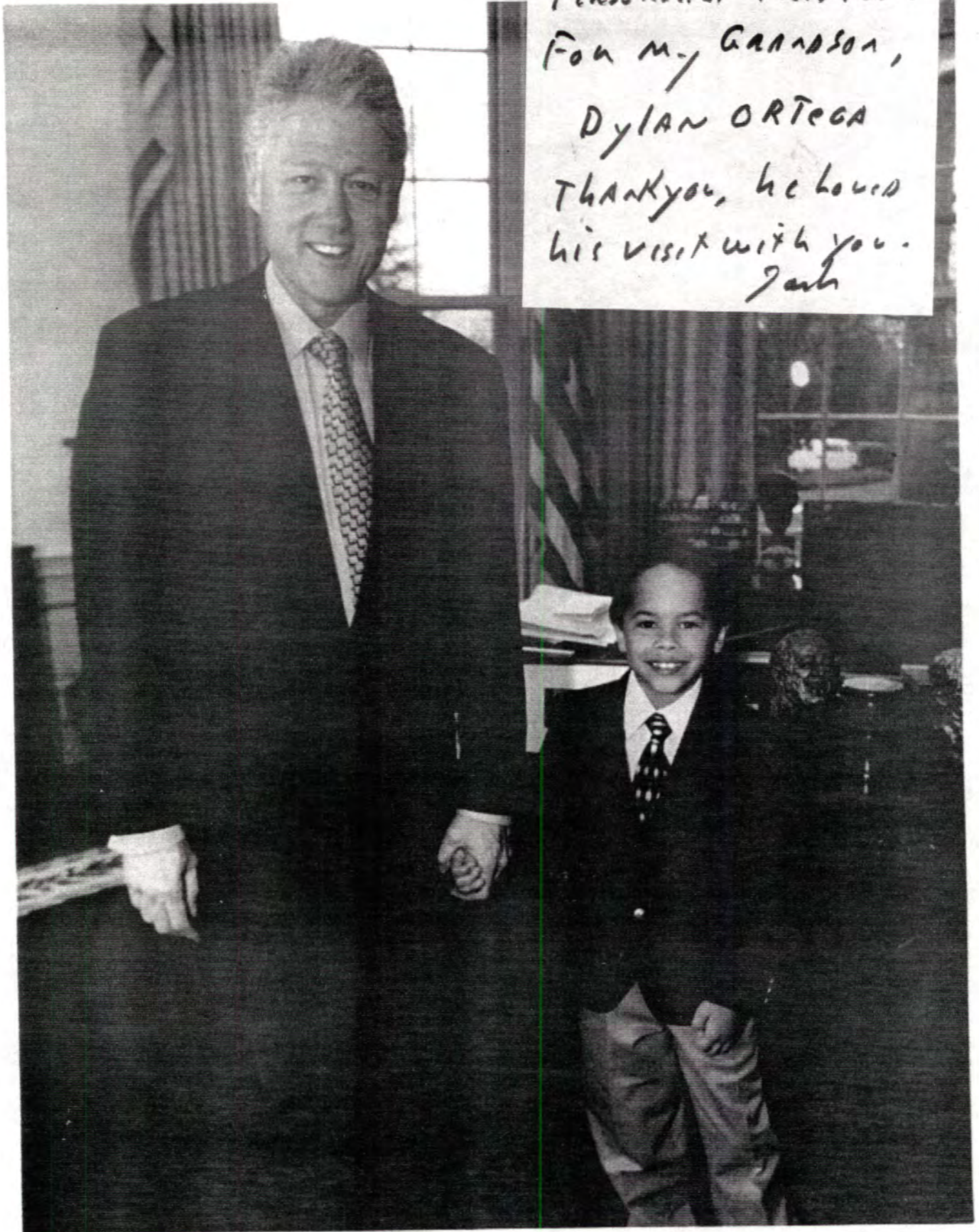
Sincerely,

Tru

I think we should
do this

Steve R / Maria

Would you Please
Personalize This Photo
For my grandson,
Dylan Ortega
Thankyou, he loved
his visit with you.
Jan



To Dylan Ortega
With best wishes, *Bill Clinton*

MILLS communications, inc.

*EPs
Calligraphy
photo to
go on also*

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear President Clinton,

It was great to see you at the ceremony honoring the WNBA. I enjoyed being there.

I was delighted when you told me you were working on having the Sporting Goods Manufacturers to the White House for a forum on Physical Education. As I stated in my recent proposal to you the coming together of this group, the Presidents Council on Physical Fitness & Sports and with your participation will send the strongest message we could put together. The publicity generated will be super. I will assist you if I may on any items I can to schedule this.

I have attached something else for your review. This article written in 1960 by President Elect Kennedy still holds true today. What if you wrote something for Sports Illustrated on the same subject, maybe referring to the 40 years ago publication and state today's needs from your prospective?

I believe an article by you plus the Physical Fitness Forum will be powerful, give some energy to the Presidents Council and add some nice publicity to your remaining term and beyond. (I can't believe 7 1/2 have passed.)

MILLS

communications, inc.

I know how you admire President Kennedy, (as do I) I hope some of these ideas will interest you. I will help with anything I can to promote Physical Fitness.

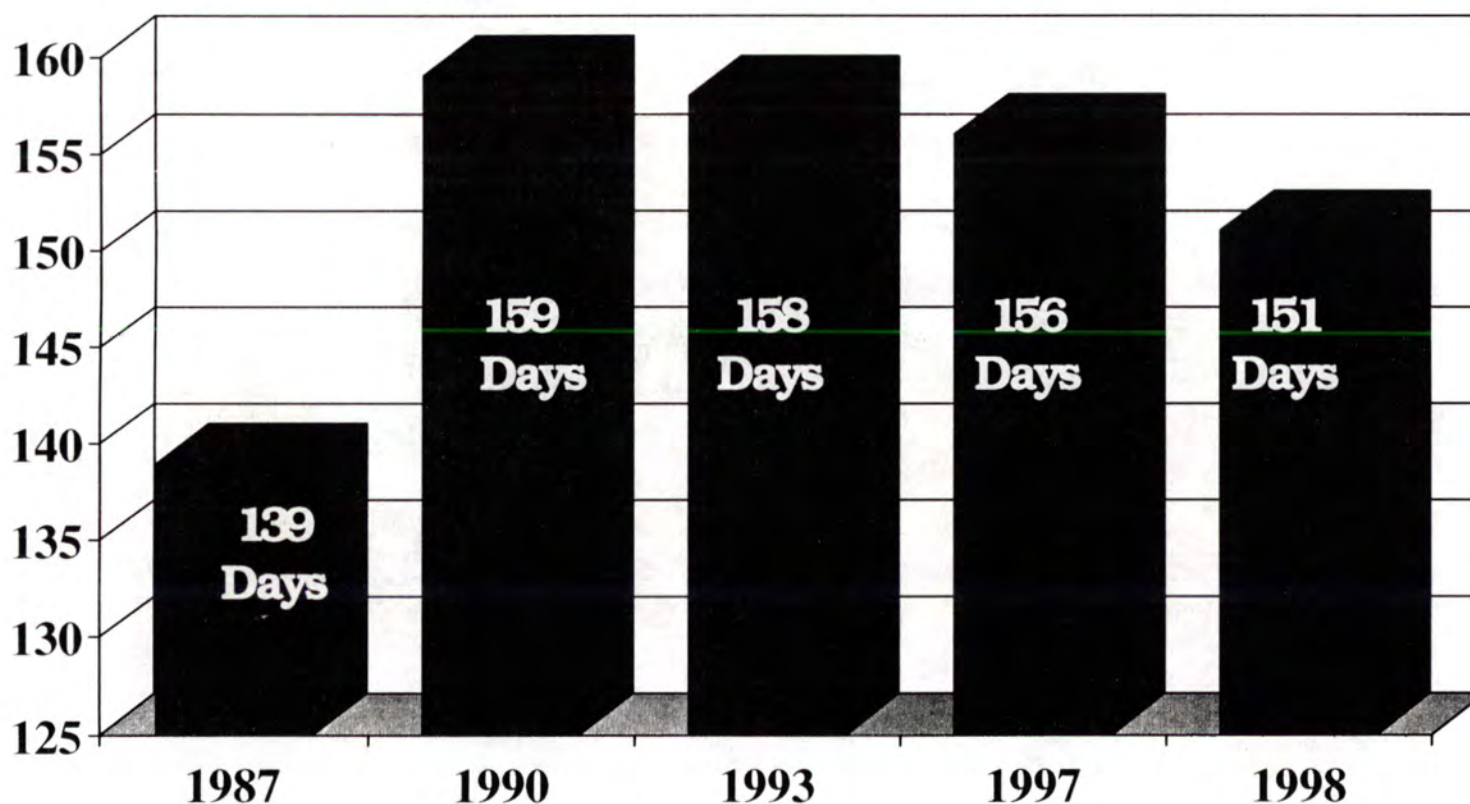
I like your stand on gun control, hang with them.

Regards,

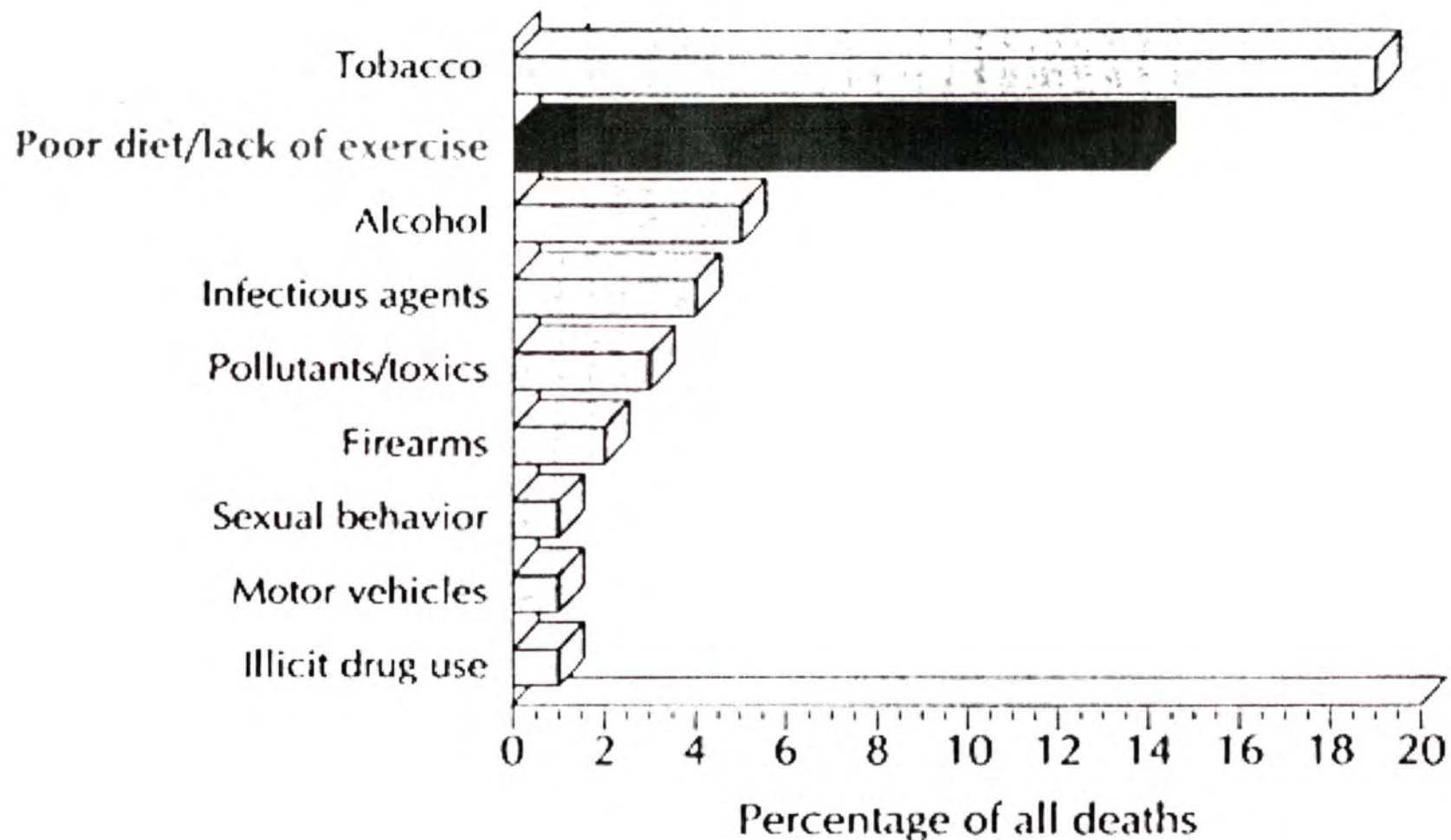
Jack M. Mills

Fitness Participation... Starting to Decline

Average Participation Days Per Capita



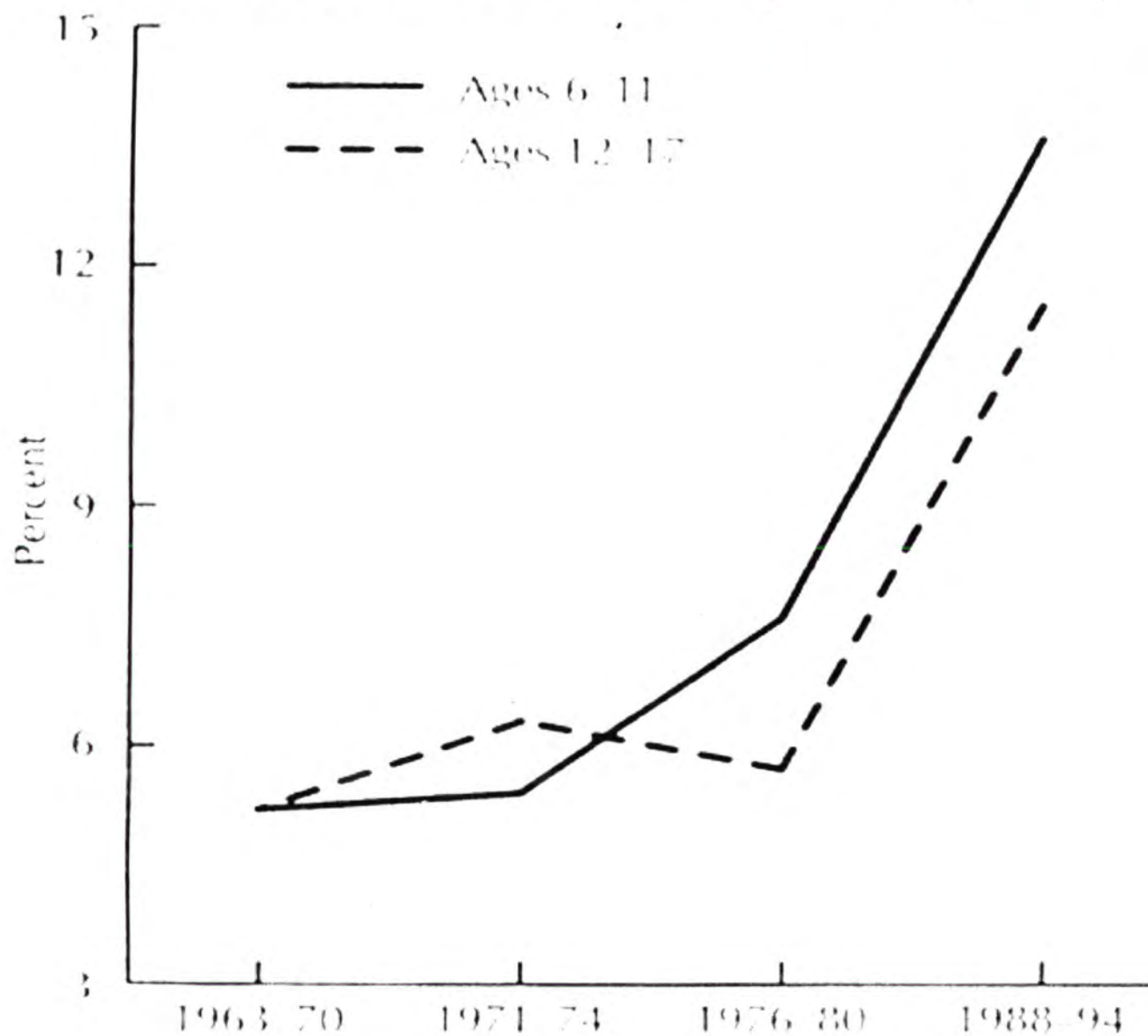
Lack of Exercise is a Matter of Death!



Source: McGinnis JM, Foege WH. Actual causes of death in the United States. *JAMA* 1993; 270:2207-12. (1990 data).

Note: The percentages used in the figure are composite approximations derived from published scientific studies that attributed death to these causes.

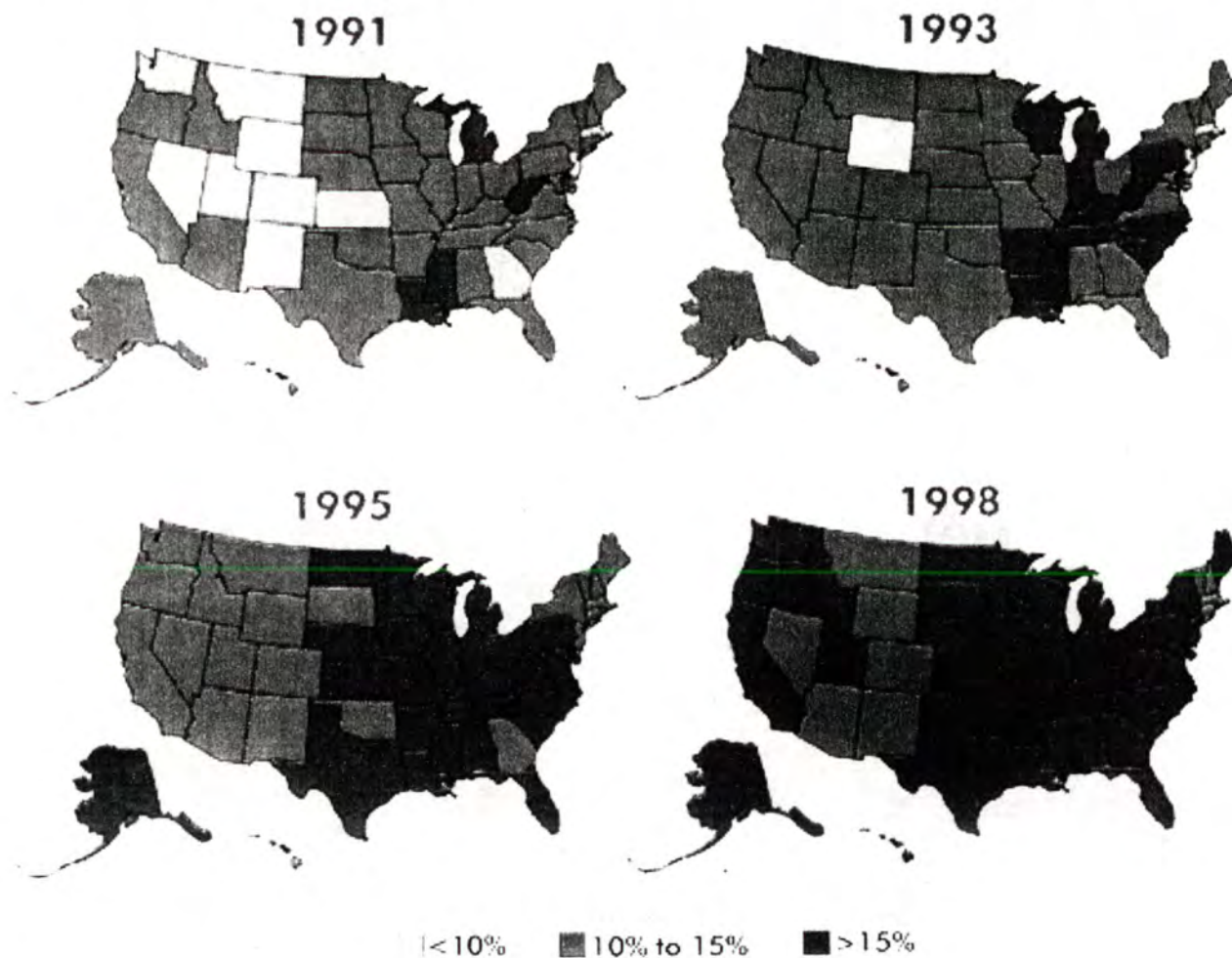
More and More Young People Are Overweight!



Note: Overweight defined by the age- and sex-specific 95th percentile of body mass index from 1963-1970 data.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, Center for Disease Control and Prevention, unpublished data (age adjusted).

More and More Americans Are Obese!



(*Approximately 30 pounds overweight)

Source: Mokdad, AH, et al. J Am Med Assoc 1999;282:16.





'00 JUN 6 PM5:14

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

June 5, 2000

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

It is with a sad heart that I announce my plans to leave your administration. I will be joining Vice President Gore's campaign in the communications office. I begin work in Nashville in earnest on June 12, 2000 and will work tirelessly until Al Gore is elected President. The national media have expressed the opinion that your administration will not have been validated if a Republican is elected. While I do not believe that to be the case, I will not sit by and have the pundits and cynics of progress snipe at all of the work you and Mrs. Clinton have done for this nation. So, I have decided to leave and head south.

When I joined your 1996 Campaign Advance office, I had no idea of the places that opportunity would take me. From riding the 21st Century Express to the Convention, to promoting "Save America's Treasures" to building a crowd of half-a-million Africans in Ghana, you have allowed me to see the world. My appointment to the Defense Department also gave me the opportunity to support the lives and operations of our military during Operations Desert Fox and Allied Force.

Robert F. Kennedy was fond of saying, "Some men see things as they are and say why? I dream of things that never were and say why not." I have tried to apply that attitude everyday on your behalf. That being said, I hereby tender my resignation as a Schedule C Presidential Appointee effective June 9, 2000. The time I have spent working with you and the First Lady has been some of the most cherished moments of my life. I will not forget them.

Sincerely,

Bridger E. McGaw
Assistant Press Secretary and
Defense Fellow
Office of the Vice President

6-6-00

To Burkhardt for
reply? ☒ Yes ☐ No

B.

THE WASHINGTON POST COMPANY
1150 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20071

Stacy
Lynch
p. 5/5/00
JUN 6 AM 9:47

KATHARINE GRAHAM
Chairman of the Executive Committee

June 1, 2000

Dear Mr. President:

It is with great enthusiasm that I support the nomination of James Edward Burke for the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Jim Burke has earned an outstanding reputation as the embodiment of high ethical standards in business Johnson & Johnson, on quality company the comm need for confidence heroic ex: 6-6-00

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awareness of the dangers of illegal drugs and steps parents and children can take to combat them. I believe Jim's efforts have contributed importantly to the decline in drug use in recent years.

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THE WASHINGTON POST COMPANY
1150 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20071

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p. 5/28
100 JUN 6 AM 9:47

KATHARINE GRAHAM
Chairman of the Executive Committee

June 1, 2000

Dear Mr. President:

It is with great enthusiasm that I support the nomination of James Edward Burke for the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Jim Burke has earned an outstanding reputation as the embodiment of high ethical standards in business life. As Chief Executive Officer of Johnson & Johnson, he achieved a unique record of success built on quality products, strong bonds of trust between the company and its customers, and dedicated service to the community. During the Tylenol crisis, he met the need for public safety while preserving public confidence in over-the-counter medications. It was an heroic example of corporate leadership.

Today Jim Burke serves as chairman of the Partnership for a Drug-Free America. His tireless devotion to this undertaking – which is a full-time, unpaid job – has significantly raised the country's awareness of the dangers of illegal drugs and steps parents and children can take to combat them. I believe Jim's efforts have contributed importantly to the decline in drug use in recent years.

Rarely do business leaders receive recognition for the real contributions they make to our society. Awarding the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Jim Burke would be fitting acknowledgment of a career of service that has truly benefited the country.

Sincerely,

Katharine Graham

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500



Leadership Council on Children in Armed Conflict

A Joint initiative of the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children & the International Rescue Committee
122 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10168 Tel: 212-551-3000 or 3111 Fax: 212-551-3180

May 25, 2000

Maya Angelou
Oscar Arias Sanchez
Alberta Arthurs
Andrew Brimmer
Trish Malloch Brown
James Comer
Carole Corcoran
Jodie Eastman
Katherine Farley
Denise Froelich
Gail Furman
Jonathan Kozol
Evelyn Lipper
Bette Bao Lord
Wendy Luers
Sarah O'Hagan
Catherine O'Neill
Susan Patricof
Ruth Perry
Alvin Poussaint
Dith Pran
Roger Rosenblatt
Jane Schaller
Mary Anne Schwalbe
Ellen Johnson Sirleaf
Liv Ullmann
Maureen White
Naomi Wolf

William J. Clinton
President of the United States
Executive Office Of The President
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

The Leadership Council on Children in Armed Conflict recently had the honor of bringing Mrs. Angelina Atyam, Co-Founder of the Concerned Parents Association of Uganda, to the United States to speak about the mass abduction of children in northern Uganda and to advocate for their release. Ms. Atyam was honored to meet you at the Den
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Your administration's support for the December 1999 peace agreement, and a commitment to pressuring the parties to *implement* the agreement, is vital to bringing about the end of this abduction of innocent children, and their return to their families. While Mrs. Atyam was in the United States, she met with various

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Send to NSC?
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No ☐
Cul

Marie de la Soudiere
Director, Children Affected by
Armed Conflict IRC
212-551-3057

Allison Pillsbury
Project Manager,
Children & Adolescents Project,
Women's Commission
212-551-3107



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William J. Clinton
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Unfortunately, the peace agreement has not yet been properly implemented, and the result is the continuing abduction of children by the rebel group the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda, and the subsequent destabilization of communities and the destruction of families. As you know, more than 10,000 children from northern Uganda have been abducted over the past thirteen years by the LRA, and it is estimated that well over half of the LRA combatants are abducted children. The abductions are brutal, and many children are forced to witness the killing of family members and friends and the destruction of their homes. The abducted children are completely denied all basic human needs like shelter, safe water, food, health care and education. Instead, they are forced to become child soldiers, sexual slaves, porters and cooks, and often they are made to kill, or are themselves murdered. The ongoing abduction, forced conscription, and killing of children by the Lord's Resistance Army is one of the worst violation of children's rights anywhere in the world.

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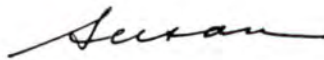
representatives of your administration in the State Department, all of whom were welcoming and sympathetic to the plight of northern Uganda's children.

However, the Leadership Council urges you, Mr. President, to do everything within your power to prioritize this issue and play a leadership role in securing the release of the thousands of abducted Ugandan children, including Ms. Atyam's own daughter, Charlotte.

We know that you share our hope that Mrs. Atyam's third visit to the United States to advocate for the release of the children in captivity will be her last, and that she and the other parents in northern Uganda will soon be reunited with their children.

Sincerely,

Jodie Eastman
Chair



Susan Patricof
Vice-Chair

*P.S. This is really
an important issue
and I hope you
can help.*

*Fondly,
J.*

Carolyn - As discussed
Note Mlyon's
Comments -
B



066 P01

JUN 6 AM 11:48

6-6-00 Mlyon

Send to Scheduling?

Yes ☒

No ☐

B

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Bill Clinton:

On behalf of Lee Davis, Publisher of the Long Beach Wrigley Bulletin and News and Lester Jackson, President of the LBJ Promotions, we would like this opportunity to request a formal meeting with you on May 26th or June 7th after your trip from Japan to propose several extraordinary concerts for Gore Campaign 2000. Campaign 2000 concerts purpose is to energize, raise awareness, inform, inspire, create opportunities for residents in the immediate surrounding community and recruit voters. Mr. President I would like you to embrace this project and spear head it as one of your final DNC Fund raisers.

In our meeting with you we will discuss details and the funding that is needed to initiate Gore Campaign 2000 Concerts. Our tentative date for our first concert is in September. I am enclosing several of the letters we have written and received from other parties involved regarding these extraordinary concerts.

Gore Campaign 2000 Concerts will feature A-list celebrities and dignitaries singing and speaking at our gala dinners and concerts. We have received preliminary approval in principle from Gore 2000 which was established at a meeting held in Nashville, Tennessee this past February with Johnny H. Hayes, National Finance Chairman, Gore 2000; Stuart Brunson-Tennessee General Assembly; Honorable Lois Deberry. Even after meeting with these individuals our propped concerts have not received any official stamp to receive a financial commitment.

Gore Campaign 2000 ensures Vice President Gore in becoming our next president, we plan television broadcasting, internet exposure as well as ticket sales.

Thank you,

"Lee" Davis



JUN 6 AM 11:48

Meyon

B

May 24, 2000

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Bill Clinton:

On behalf of Lee Davis, Publisher of the Long Beach Wrigley Bulletin and News and Lester Jackson, President of the LBJ Promotions, we would like this opportunity to request a formal meeting with you on May 26th or June 7th after your trip from Japan to propose several extraordinary concerts for Gore Campaign 2000. Campaign 2000 concerts purpose is to energize, raise awareness, inform, inspire, create opportunities for residents in the immediate surrounding community and recruit voters. Mr. President I would like you to embrace this project and spear head it as one of your final DNC Fund raisers.

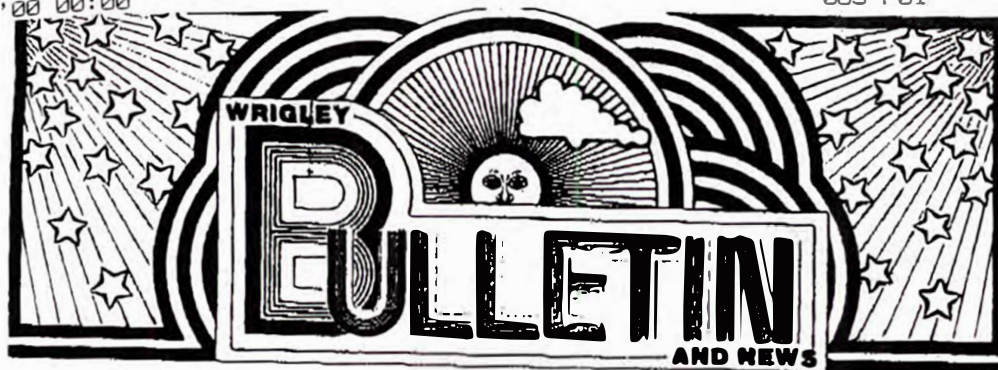
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Gore Campaign 2000 ensures Vice President Gore in becoming our next president, we plan television broadcasting, internet exposure as well as ticket sales.

Thank you.

"Lee" Davis



May 26, 2000

President Bill Clinton
c/o Justin Cooper
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Bill Clinton:

On May 24, 2000 Lee Davis, Publisher of the Long Beach Wrigley Bulletin and News and Lester Jackson, President of the LBJ Promotions, forwarded a proposal to your attention via FAX to Betty Curry, Executive Secretary to the President.

After talking with Justin Cooper, Betty Curry's Assistant, this morning of May 26th, we are asking for a formal meeting with you, Mr. President on June 10th after your trip from Japan to propose several extraordinary concerts for Gore Campaign 2000. I have heard Mr President, you might be in California the latter part of June. If we cannot meet with you on June 10th in Washington D.C., could we meet with you, Mr. President-- here in California during your June trip?

Thank you,

"Lee" Davis



February 28, 2000

Lester B. Jackson
LBJ Promotions
P.O. Box 1045
Los Angeles, CA 90035

Dear Mr. Jackson:

Thank you for your recent presentation and proposal for campaign 2000 concerts in Nashville and Memphis later this summer. Your ideas were refreshing and innovative, and it was a pleasure having the opportunity to discuss them with you.

While your proposal has the potential to be of great assistance to us, after considering its timing, I believe that it more suitably fits with the Democratic National Committee's summer activities than with Gore 2000's. As you may know, Gore 2000, which is the Vice President's campaign committee for the primary elections, will be winding down its activities at that time as we prepare for the Democratic National Convention. In addition, the Gore 2000 general election campaign is publicly funded and raises no private money.

On the other hand, the Democratic party may have an interest in your ideas, and we suggest that you pursue it further with them. If I can be of assistance to you in this endeavor, please let me know.

Again, it was a pleasure meeting you, and I hope that you will remain in touch.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Johnny Hayes".

Johnny Hayes

cc: Tony Coelho
Donna Brazile
Peter Knight

National Headquarters
2410 Charlotte Avenue
Nashville, TN 37203

www.algore2000.com

Phone 615 340-2000
TTY 615 340-3260
Fax 615 340-3295

Paid for by Gore 2000, Inc. Contributions to Gore 2000, Inc. are not tax deductible for federal income tax purposes.

"Staying Focused On Success"

Box 1045, Los Angeles, CA 90035
Phone/Fax (323) 931-3114 • (213) 719-2662

May 14, 2000

Mr. Joseph J. Andrews, Chairman
Democratic National Committee
430 S.E. Capitol St.
Washington, D.C. 20003

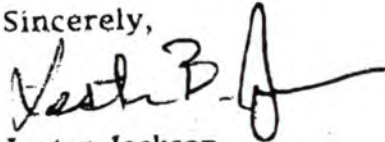
Dear Mr. Andrews:

On behalf of LBJ Promotions, we would like to take this opportunity to request a formal meeting with you to propose several extraordinary concerts for Gore 2000. The campaign 2000 concerts purpose will be to energize, raise awareness, inform, inspire, create opportunities for residents in the immediate surrounding community and recruit voters.

The campaign 2000 concerts will feature A-list celebrities and dignitaries singing and speaking at our gala dinners and concerts. We have received preliminary approval in principle, from Gore 2000 which was established at a meeting held in Nashville, Tennessee this past February with; Johnny H. Hayes - National Finance Chariman, Gore 2000; Stuart Brunson - Tennessee State Director, Gore 2000; Honorable Kathryn Bowers - State Representative, Tennessee General Assembly; Honorable Lois Deberry - Speaker Pro Tempore of the Representative, Tennessee General Assembly. This would be an important project for the Democratic National Committee because of the great amount of interest and revenue it will generate. It is our intention to make these events the biggest of its kind.

We are requesting a meeting at your earliest convient time. We look forward to meeting, discussing and planning with you to make these events successful for campaign 2000. I will be more than happy to speak with you. My number is (323) 931-3114, fax (323) 939-6035, E-mail (lbjpromo@pacbell.net).

Sincerely,



Lester Jackson
President

cc: Mr. Johnny Hayes
Honorable Kathryn Bowers
Honorable Lois Deberry
Mr. Dyrall Withers

Enclosure: Letter Gore 2000

00-0001-00 22137

00 JUN 6 PM 1:34

LISBOA/TF MSG LX00839309 2/1 30 2238

SUITE PRESIDENCIAL
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COMO CIDADADA PORTUGUESA SINTO-ME HONRADA COM VISITA DE SUA EXA AO MEU
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EDITE MIGUEL

~~011 616-00~~
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Yes _____
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[These 3 letters dropped off
at POTUS hotel in Portugal]

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2000

Ex^{mo} Senhor Presidente
Clinton

00 JUN 5 PM 4:34

Com os meus respeitosos cumprimentos
a Vossa Ex^a: Venho pedir uma
ajuda financeira, porque sou uma
senhora de 72 anos reformada
que já não posso trabalhar.

e também parti um pé em
1998 e tenho muita dificuldade
de andar.

E por isso que escrevo estas linhas
a Vossa Ex^a de me dar uma ajuda
financeira; mais uma com os meus
respeitosos cumprimentos a Vossa Ex^a
muito boa viagem

Este é o meu endereço

Av. Rio São João, 2, 4º ^{etna Rodrigues} Bairro Padre

5/30/00

Dear President Eaton,
Greetings from Mr & Mrs.
Thomas Leasley of Forest
City, Arkansas.

I have a safe and
enjoyable trip. We have had
a wonderful time and
must return to Arkansas today
May 30th.

Best regards
Tom & Ethel Leasley

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-6-00

Recent Information Items

June 5, 2000



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 5, 2000

6-6-00

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY *ll*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

I am forwarding the following recent information items:

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(A) **Lane memo re: human genome update** – Neal describes sequencing progress by the Human Genome Project (HGP) and Celera, including HGP's recent announcements of draft sequences for 5 chromosomes. HGP and possibly Celera are expected to announce as early as this week the completion of working drafts of the entire human genome sequence. Neal reports that the HGP/Celera relationship is less than optimal and that a partnership would be desirable. Regardless of who announces first, he believes the press will continue to portray this as a race; he advises that we applaud both efforts and emphasize that the real work *begins* when the human genome sequence is in hand.

U.S.
VP
do
work

(B) **Lane memo re: national climate change assessment** – The National Assessment of climate change impacts on the U.S., mandated by a 1990 law and requested by Jack Gibbons, is nearing completion; it has undergone rigorous peer review and will be posted on the Internet for public comment. Though it contains no earth-shaking discoveries, it's expected to generate significant interest as the first region-by-region compendium of climate change impacts on Americans' lives. While general impacts are likely to be manageable, the sum of individual impacts appears more serious than previously thought. Key findings include: the U.S. will warm by 5-10 degrees on average over the next 100 years, twice the projected global increase and much more than the roughly 1 degree warming in the U.S. in the 20th century; natural ecosystems are most vulnerable and some (e.g., corals, Alpine meadows) may be lost; total freshwater availability will likely increase, but unequal distribution will increase shortages and conflicts. See p.7 for detail.

I agree

(C) **Berger memo re: U.S. Commission on National Security report** – Sandy summarizes the Hart-Rudman Commission's second report, which includes strategies to meet the security challenges outlined in its first report last year. Many of its recommendations are already components of your national security strategy (e.g., acting in concert with allies, promoting arms control, developing theater and national missile defenses). The most significant difference between your strategy and the report's recommendations involves military force capability; the Commission postulates that your "two major theater war yardstick" for sizing U.S. forces does not produce the intervention and constabulary capabilities needed for the varied contingencies they expect. The Commission's third report, due in early 2001, will propose a replacement force structure, expected to be lighter, faster, more deployable, and more expensive than today's. While he supports the "two major theater war" construct, Sandy believes the report raises useful questions about

relative priorities; ultimately, he believes we should leave any significant changes to the force structure to next year's Quadrennial Defense Review.

- (D) **Berger memo re: Iranian woman in INS detention** – On a recent *Post* article, you asked for information about Mahnaz Samadi, an Iranian activist and opposition organizer imprisoned and reportedly tortured in Iran for 4 years. In a detailed memo, Sandy describes the events leading up to her current detention by the INS in Alabama: Ms. Samadi arrived in the U.S. in 1994, was granted asylum in 1995, and went to Canada (entering illegally) in 1999 where she was placed in immigration proceedings. Based on evidence from the hearing, the Canadian immigrant court found that she had been a member of the Mujahedin-e-Khalq Organization (MEK), served in Iraq as a member of MEK's armed wing, and lied during the Canadian proceedings and in her U.S. asylum application. She was deported to the U.S. on April 3, 2000, where she has been placed in removal proceedings. The INS charged Ms. Samadi with: 1) committing fraud or willful misrepresentation at her 1995 asylum proceeding; 2) engaging in terrorist activity; and 3) being a member of a foreign terrorist organization. INS' position is that she poses a risk to national security and is therefore not eligible for asylum; an immigration court will consider the charges and determine removability. The INS and DOJ are considering whether there's credible evidence to support charges #2 & #3; if not, those charges may be dropped and they would assess whether to pursue the matter on the misrepresentation charge alone. The AG has broad discretion to parole a person in detention on humanitarian grounds; once the FBI makes a threat assessment, the AG will decide whether to release Ms. Samadi during removal proceedings. The AG plans to review the case personally; even if found deportable, Ms. Samadi would probably not be sent to Iran. She may make a claim under the Torture Convention, which, if successful, would allow her removal to be withheld or deferred; she may also be deported to another country.

- (E) **Berger memo re: Bill Joy** – Sandy updates you on his meeting (at your suggestion) with Bill Joy, co-founder of Sun Microsystems, who recently wrote "Why the Future Doesn't Need Us" in *Wired*. They discussed a spectrum of 21st century threats; in the short term, Joy thinks genetic engineering advances present the greatest challenge, and Sandy reports we've already begun working on a PDD to increase funding for DoD/HHS vaccine initiatives and to improve our ability to detect and respond to chemical/biological agents. In the longer term, Joy sees increasingly sophisticated, miniaturized robots posing challenges; his worst-case thinking is that these robots may be able to self-replicate. Joy's concerned that leading edge work on new technologies is occurring in private sector labs without oversight, whereas historically this work occurred in military/government labs subject to tighter controls, and that the scientific community is largely silent on the growing ethical issues. Joy suggests relinquishment as a possible strategy for preventing future malicious development of mass destruction technologies (e.g., our Biological/Chemical Weapons Conventions), but our experience with self-relinquishment has not always been successful. Sandy will pull together a working group on technology/science/ethics/policy and keep you posted.

- (F) **Berger memo re: Burma** – Sandy updates you on the stalemate in Burma, its abysmal human rights situation, and the lack of any signal that the regime will engage Aung San

6-6-00

Suu Kyi in political dialogue. Our sanctions and advocacy have generated international pressure on Burma, leading to some protection for Aung San Suu Kyi and a recent tightening of sanctions by the EU; foreign investment has dried up, sending a strong signal to the regime. At a recent meeting of concerned governments in South Korea, participants agreed on the need for a new U.N.-appointed envoy; Kofi Annan appointed our first choice, Razali Ismail, Malaysia's former U.N permanent representative, in April. Madeleine called him to offer support, and we will work with him and will reinforce our message with Asian leaders: that we must encourage the regime to deal with Razali and come to terms with its opposition if Burma is to return to the international fold.

(G) **Berger memo re: temporary protected status (TPS) for Hondurans/Nicaraguans** –

On May 5th, Janet Reno extended TPS for approximately 100,000 Honduran and 6,000 Nicaraguan nationals in the U.S. (initially eligible following Hurricane Mitch). After consultation with State, Janet determined that due to disrupted living conditions, neither country could handle return of their nationals.

(H) **Berger memo re: HIV/AIDS** – On a Nadine Gordimer *NYT* op-ed, you wrote “I hope we can do more to get the global effort off the ground.” Sandy replies that NSC has made this a major priority: they are working to ensure an additional \$100M for bilateral AIDS efforts; coordinating a policy agenda with NEC and ONAP; and asking EU colleagues to substantially increase resources for AIDS prevention, treatment and care, especially in Africa. Following your recent conversation with Prime Minister Mori on health issues, the Japanese agreed to focus the G-8 on health issues on four areas: 1) leader-to-leader dialogue and increased funding for AIDS; 2) a call for multilateral development banks to increase concessionary lending for health; 3) a commitment to support new partnerships (e.g., GAVI); and 4) a call for the G-8 to foster increased access to drugs and vaccines for developing countries. Sandy reports that we intend to make our strongest arguments ever in the G-8 forum to increase needed HIV/AIDS resources, especially in Africa; we expect help from France when they assume the EU presidency; and we are developing a diplomatic strategy to address the issue at every opportunity.

(I) **Berger memo re: your question on HIV/AIDS** – On the recent background memo regarding Mbeki's controversial views, which said HIV can be found in “virtually all those with AIDS,” you asked how the others would get AIDS. Sandy describes two ways patients can be diagnosed with clinical AIDS in the absence of finding HIV: 1) they do have HIV but the lab could not find it/did not have necessary testing facilities to make the diagnosis (true in much of Africa); or 2) they do not have AIDS but have a disease, such as a genetic immune deficiency, that looks like AIDS, leading to misdiagnosis.

(J) **McCaffrey note re: Hersh article** – Barry thanks you for your support on the “terrible Seymour Hersh attack” on the 26,000 soldiers of the 24th Infantry Division.

(K) **Lynn Forester note** -- Mrs. Clinton asked that we forward the note she received from Lynn Forester, thanking her for a copy of *The President's House* and enclosing a piece about visiting the White House, written following the State Dinner for the King and Queen of Spain.

Due to your extended trip overseas, we executed the following condolence letters on your behalf:

- To Chief Bernard Parks of the Los Angeles Police Department and his wife, whose granddaughter was shot and killed the weekend before you left. We also sent letters to the child's parents, Ms. Felicia Parks Mena and Mr. Joe Gonzalez.
- To Mrs. Barry Grunow, the widow of the teacher who was shot and killed by a student on May 26th at Lake Worth Community Middle School in Lake Worth, FL.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 5, 2000

6-6-00

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY *ll*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

I am forwarding the following recent information items:

Rhodes
Sumner
Farley
BC

(A) **Lane memo re: human genome update** – Neal describes sequencing progress by the Human Genome Project (HGP) and Celera, including HGP's recent announcements of draft sequences for 5 chromosomes. HGP and possibly Celera are expected to announce as early as this week the completion of working drafts of the entire human genome sequence. Neal reports that the HGP/Celera relationship is less than optimal and that a partnership would be desirable. Regardless of who announces first, he believes the press will continue to portray this as a race; he advises that we applaud both efforts and emphasize that the real work *begins* when the human genome sequence is in hand.

Wen
VP
Shaw
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Arora

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Agree

(C) **Berger memo re: U.S. Commission on National Security report** – Sandy summarizes the Hart-Rudman Commission's second report, which includes strategies to meet the security challenges outlined in its first report last year. Many of its recommendations are already components of your national security strategy (e.g., acting in concert with allies, promoting arms control, developing theater and national missile defenses). The most significant difference between your strategy and the report's recommendations involves military force capability; the Commission postulates that your "two major theater war yardstick" for sizing U.S. forces does not produce the intervention and constabulary capabilities needed for the varied contingencies they expect. The Commission's third report, due in early 2001, will propose a replacement force structure, expected to be lighter, faster, more deployable, and more expensive than today's. While he supports the "two major theater war" construct, Sandy believes the report raises useful questions about

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 2, 2000

copied
Podesta
Ricchetti
Lane

10 JUN 2 PM 2:38

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NEAL LANE

SUBJECT: HUMAN GENOME UPDATE

The purpose of this memorandum is to give you an update on recent progress to sequence the human genome by the publicly-funded Human Genome Project (HGP) and PE Corporation's Celera Genomics (Celera) and events expected to occur over the next few months.

- On December 1, 1999, the HGP announced the completion of the rough draft sequence for chromosome 22.
- On April 13, 2000, the Department of Energy (DOE is a participant in the HGP) announced the completion of working drafts of chromosomes 5, 16, and 19.
- On May 8, 2000, HGP scientists in Japan and Germany announced that they had completed the working draft of chromosome 21.

Based on these data (5 of the 24 chromosomes that comprise the human genome), we are finding that some chromosomes are "gene rich" while others contain fewer genes than had been previously thought. Even with the complete sequence in hand, it will take years to identify all the genes.

HGP and perhaps Celera are expected to announce as early as next week the completion of working drafts of the entire human genome sequence. During the General Motors (GM) Cancer Awards program on June 6, 2000, both Francis Collins, Director of the National Human Genome Research Institute, and Craig Venter, CEO of Celera, will have an opportunity to provide a public progress report. It is expected that Collins will announce that the HGP working draft is complete. However, celebratory events associated with this milestone will be postponed until the fall (probably September) at which time the HGP anticipates publishing the sequence data and analysis in the leading scientific journals *Science* and *Nature*. The HGP would welcome your participation in events that will accompany these publications. For example, one possible role you might play would be to appear in an educational film on the human genome that will be widely distributed to schools. A scheduling request for such a piece has been submitted.

At this time, we are unsure of Celera's plans to announce the completion of its rough draft. At an April 6, 2000 House Science Committee hearing, Venter stated that Celera would be finished in 4 to 6 weeks. If their efforts proceeded as planned, the June 6 GM awards ceremony would

present a good opportunity for Venter to announce the status of Celera's work. At this point, it is unclear how close Celera is to completing its rough draft of the human sequence.

The relationship between the HGP and Celera is, in my view, less than optimal. I continue to believe a partnership between HGP and Celera would be desirable. I am working with both the National Institutes of Health and DOE leadership to determine if progress can be made in this regard.

Regardless of which group first announces completion of the human genome sequence, the press will continue to portray this as a race. I disagree with this view and support Eric Lander's opinion that, "Because we [the HGP] give away our data freely, we can't win any race, and for the same reason, we can't lose any race." Venter has also said that his effort is a *de facto* collaboration because Celera uses the information from the public database.

We should emphasize that the real work *begins* when the human genome sequence is in hand. The sequence is the raw ore from which the genes will be extracted and analyzed. Making sense of the genes and their protein products will fundamentally change the way medicine is practiced. We should applaud both the public and the private sector sequencing efforts and challenge the global scientific community to make the best use of the sequence data as rapidly as possible.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 5, 2000

6-6-00

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY *ll*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

I am forwarding the following recent information items:

(A) Review Summary - B

Lane memo re: human genome update – Neal describes sequencing progress by the Human Genome Project (HGP) and Celera, including HGP's recent announcements of draft sequences for 5 chromosomes. HGP and possibly Celera are expected to announce as early as this week the completion of working drafts of the entire human genome sequence. Neal reports that the HGP/Celera relationship is less than optimal and that a partnership would be desirable. Regardless of who announces first, he believes the press will continue to portray this as a race; he advises that we applaud both efforts and emphasize that the real work *begins* when the human genome sequence is in hand.

(B) Use on VP stage to describe work

Lane memo re: national climate change assessment – The National Assessment of climate change impacts on the U.S., mandated by a 1990 law and requested by Jack Gibbons, is nearing completion; it has undergone rigorous peer review and will be posted on the Internet for public comment. Though it contains no earth-shaking discoveries, it's expected to generate significant interest as the first region-by-region compendium of climate change impacts on Americans' lives. While general impacts are likely to be manageable, the sum of individual impacts appears more serious than previously thought. Key findings include: the U.S. will warm by 5-10 degrees on average over the next 100 years, twice the projected global increase and much more than the roughly 1 degree warming in the U.S. in the 20th century; natural ecosystems are most vulnerable and some (e.g., corals, Alpine meadows) may be lost; total freshwater availability will likely increase, but unequal distribution will increase shortages and conflicts. See p.7 for detail.

(C) Agree

Berger memo re: U.S. Commission on National Security report – Sandy summarizes the Hart-Rudman Commission's second report, which includes strategies to meet the security challenges outlined in its first report last year. Many of its recommendations are already components of your national security strategy (e.g., acting in concert with allies, promoting arms control, developing theater and national missile defenses). The most significant difference between your strategy and the report's recommendations involves military force capability; the Commission postulates that your "two major theater war yardstick" for sizing U.S. forces does not produce the intervention and constabulary capabilities needed for the varied contingencies they expect. The Commission's third report, due in early 2001, will propose a replacement force structure, expected to be lighter, faster, more deployable, and more expensive than today's. While he supports the "two major theater war" construct, Sandy believes the report raises useful questions about

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 2, 2000

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Copied
Lane
Podesta
VP

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NEAL LANE *ml*
THROUGH: JOHN PODESTA
SUBJECT: NATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF US CLIMATE IMPACTS

The National Assessment of impacts of climate change for the US, "Climate Change and Our Nation," is nearing completion. Such an assessment was mandated by the 1990 Global Change Research Act, and was begun in response to a request from my predecessor, Jack Gibbons. The assessment, the result of a three-year effort by the US Global Change Research Program (USGCRP), has undergone a rigorous multi-stage scientific peer review, during which the authors responded to more than 300 reviews, as well as a review by Federal agencies. The Assessment's report is now undergoing final revisions in preparation for posting on the Internet for a 60-day public comment period, as requested by Congress.

The report has been written by a FACA committee of university, government, and private-sector experts. The process of writing and reviewing the report has been overseen by an independent review board under the President's Committee of Advisors on Science and Technology.

The report is well written and visually striking, making it easy to understand, and has been widely awaited for some months, so we expect considerable regional and national media interest. Although the assessment contains no earth-shaking new discoveries, it is the first systematic compendium, region-by-region, of how climate could change many aspects of Americans' lives. While the broad picture is that US impacts are likely to be manageable, the sum of many individual impacts appears more serious than previously thought. For example, maple trees may disappear from New England; droughts and floods will both become more common; the Great Lakes will likely drop a few more feet.

A few summary pages from the report's Overview are attached. This version will undergo minor revisions before posting, but no major changes. Key findings are on Page 7. The overview is backed up by a referenced document of several hundred pages.

Although substantial and continuing progress has been made, the scientific basis for projecting regional impacts of global climate change, and consequently the findings of this Assessment, remain uncertain. In my view, the most important findings of the Assessment are the following:

1. The US will warm by 5-10° F on average over the next 100 years, based on the climate models used – twice the projected global increase, and much more than the roughly 1°F warming the US experienced in the 20th century. The largest warming is projected for the Northern Great Plains (up 8–12°F) and Alaska (up 10-15°F). Small precipitation increases (10-20%) are projected overall, with larger increases (up to 100%) in the Southwest and decreases in the Central Plains and Southeast.
2. Natural ecosystems are most vulnerable. Changes in temperature and precipitation will shift the suitable range of many plants, which may be unable to migrate fast enough. Under climate and other stresses, preserving rare ecosystems will be more difficult, possibly jeopardizing some of our investments in parks. Some ecosystems – e.g., corals, Alpine meadows, low-lying islands -- will likely be lost from the US.
3. Total freshwater availability will likely increase, but unequal distribution across regions and seasons, and a greater concentration of precipitation in heavy downpours, will likely increase shortages and allocation conflicts. For example, in the Northwest there is already not enough water for people, salmon, hydroelectricity, and irrigation. Although Northwest precipitation is projected to increase, the increase comes in winter – when it is not needed, and increases the risk of floods – while lighter snowpack and earlier spring melt will exacerbate summer shortages.
4. Productivity of crops and forests will likely increase under climate change and higher CO₂, but specific places, crops, and tree species may see large gains or losses as their ideal ranges shift. Climate-induced changes in insects, diseases, and forest fires remain key uncertainties. The Southeast may dry enough that moisture stress and fire break the forest up into a savanna-grassland landscape.
5. With increasing coastal development, climate change will increase loss of coastal ecosystems and property risk from sea level rise, storm surge, and erosion.
6. Alaska, warming up to 10-15°F, will see extreme changes, mainly from widespread permafrost thawing and sea ice retreat. The Arctic Ocean may be ice-free in summers by 2100, with huge implications for offshore development, shipping, and security.
7. Health impacts are most uncertain. July heat index will increase by 15-25°F in Southeastern and Central states, and hotter temperatures will likely exacerbate air pollution. Still, the report concludes the US public health system can cope with the health effects of increased heat, humidity, and shifts in disease ranges.
8. Other nations are likely to be much more vulnerable to climate change than the US, and the effects of climate change elsewhere on US trade, immigration, or security may be substantial.

cc: Vice President Gore

CLIMATE CHANGE AND OUR NATION

The Potential Impacts of Climate Change
and Variability on the United States

Overview

National Assessment
Synthesis Team

US Global Change
Research Program

May 2000

Public Review Draft

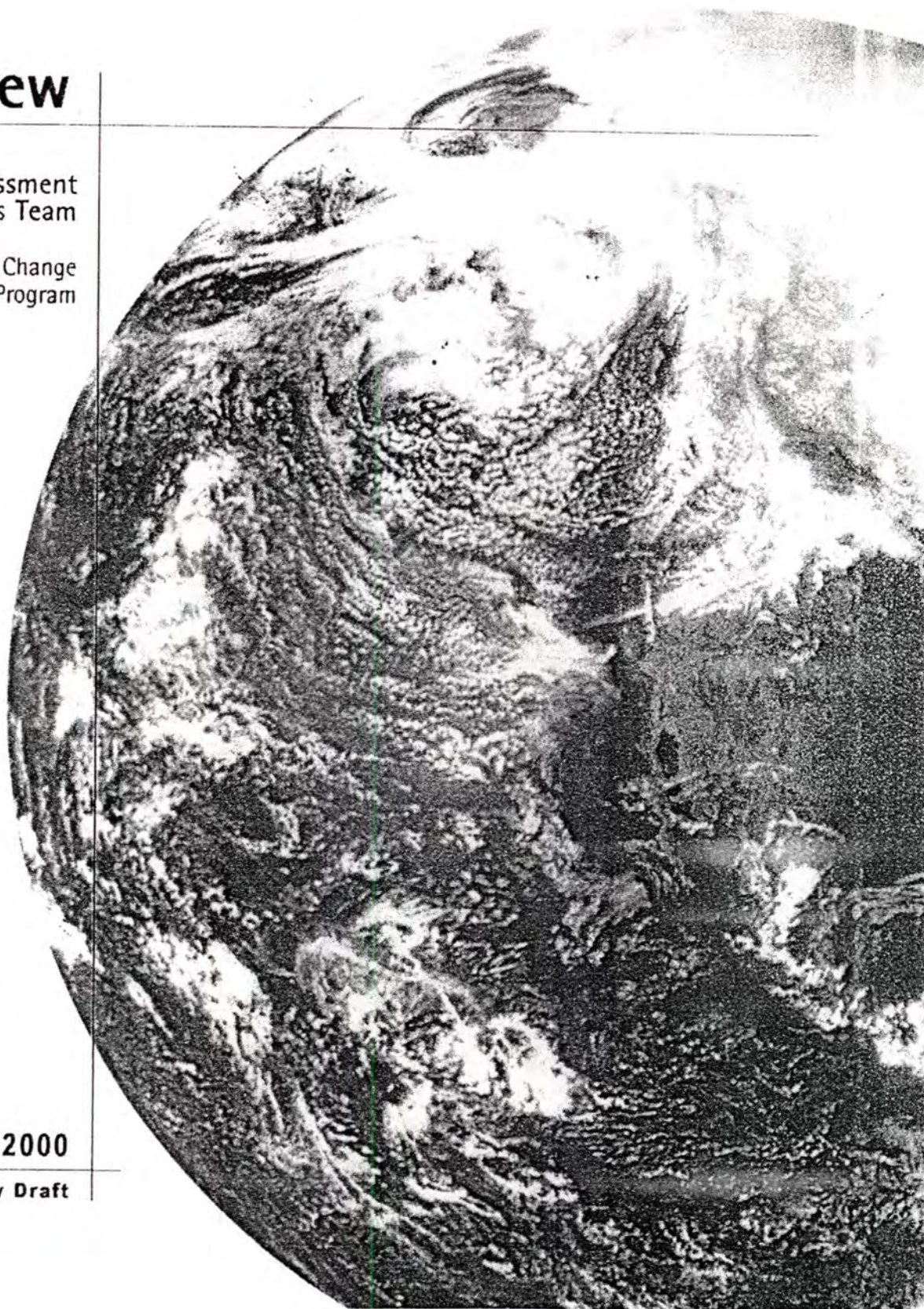


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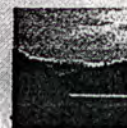
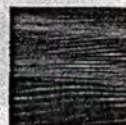
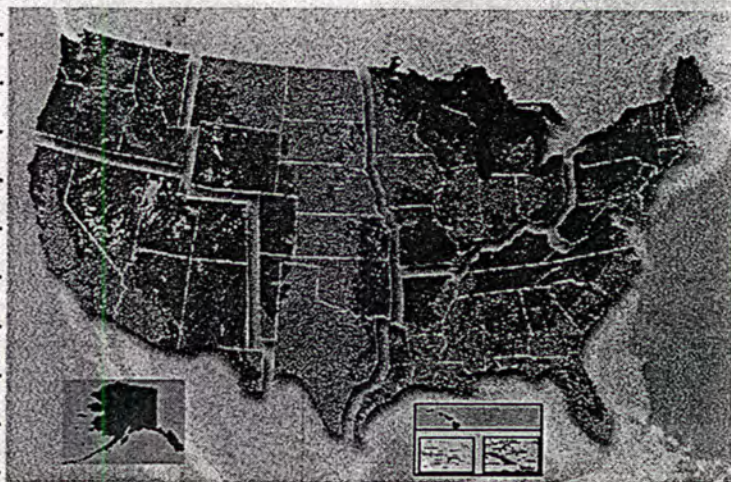
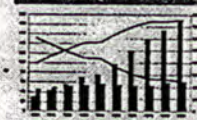
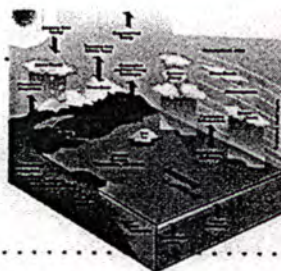
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ABOUT THE ASSESSMENT PROCESS

What is the purpose of this Assessment?

The Assessment's purpose is to synthesize, evaluate, and report on what we presently know about the potential consequences of climate variability and change for America in the 21st century. It has sought to identify key climatic vulnerabilities of particular regions and sectors, in the context of other changes in the Nation's environment, resources, and economy. It has also sought to identify potential measures to adapt to climate variability and change. Finally, because present knowledge is limited, the Assessment has sought to identify the highest priority uncertainties about which we must know more to understand climate impacts, vulnerabilities, and our ability to adapt.

How did the process involve both stakeholders and scientists in this Assessment?

This first National Assessment involved both stakeholders and scientific experts. The stakeholders from different regions and sectors began the Assessment by articulating their concerns in a series of workshops about climate change impacts in the context of the other major issues they face. In the workshops and subsequent consultations, stakeholders identified priority regional and sector concerns, mobilized specialized expertise, identified potential adaptation options, and provided useful information for decision-makers. The Assessment also involved many scientific experts using advanced methods, models, and results. Further, it has stimulated new scientific research in many areas and identified priority knowledge needs for further research.

What is the breadth of this Assessment?

Although global change embraces many interrelated issues, this first National Assessment has examined only climate change and variability, with a primary focus on specific regions and sectors. In some cases, regional and sector analyses intersect and complement each other. For example, the Forest sector and the Pacific Northwest have both provided insights into climate impacts on Northwest forests.

The nine regions cover the nation. Impacts outside the US are considered only briefly, with particular emphasis on potential linkages to the US. Sector teams examined Water, Agriculture, Human Health, Forests, and Coastal Areas and Marine Resources. This first Assessment could not attempt to be comprehensive: the choice of these five sectors reflected an expectation that they were likely to be both important and tractable, and that relevant data and analytic tools were available – not a conclusion that they are the only important domains of climate impact. Future assessments should consider other potentially important sectors, such as Energy, Transportation, and Urban Areas.

Each regional and sector team is publishing a separate report of its own analyses, some of which are still continuing. The Overview and Foundation reports consequently represent a snapshot of our understanding at the present time.

After identifying potential impacts of climate change, what kinds of societal responses does this report explore?

Responses to climate change can be of two broad types. One type involves adaptation measures to reduce the harms and risks, and maximize the benefits and opportunities, of climate change, whatever its cause. The other type involves mitigation measures to reduce human contributions to climate change. After identifying potential impacts, this Assessment sought to identify potential adaptation measures for each region and sector studied. While this was an important first step, it was not possible at this stage to evaluate the practicality, effectiveness, or costs of the potential adaptation measures. Both mitigation and adaptation measures are necessary elements of a coherent and integrated response to climate change. Mitigation measures were not included in this Assessment, but are being assessed in other bodies such as the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

Does the fact that this report excludes mitigation mean that nothing can be done to reduce climate change?

No. An integrated climate policy will combine mitigation and adaptation measures as appropriate. If future world emissions of greenhouse gases are lower than currently projected, for whatever reason, including intentional mitigation, then the rate of climate change, the associated impacts, and the cost and difficulty of adapting will all be reduced. But no matter how aggressively emis-

sions are reduced, the world will still experience at least a century of climate change. This will happen because the elevated concentrations of greenhouse gases already in the atmosphere will remain for many decades, and because the climate system responds to changes in human inputs only very slowly. Consequently, even if the world takes mitigation measures, we must still adapt to a changing climate. Similarly, even if we take adaptation measures, future emissions will have to be curbed to stabilize climate. Neither type of response can completely supplant the other.

How are computer models used in this Assessment?

State-of-the-art climate models have been used to generate climate change scenarios. These scenarios are not predictions of the future. Rather, they are plausible, quantitative representations of climate change over the next century. The model-based scenarios used in this Assessment are grounded in our best current understanding of the complex processes at play in the atmosphere, oceans, land, and human society. Climate models have uncertainties, but they are the best tools available for thinking systematically about climate change. Computer models of ecological systems, hydrological systems, and various socioeconomic systems have also been used in the Assessment, to study response of these systems to the scenarios generated by climate models.

What additional tools, besides models, were used to evaluate potential climate change impacts?

In addition to models, the Assessment has used two other ways to think about potential future climate. First, the Assessment has used historical climate records to evaluate sensitivities of regions and sectors to climate variability and extremes that have occurred in the 20th century. Looking at real historical climate events, their impacts, and how people have adapted, gives valuable insights into potential future impacts that complement those provided by model projections. In addition, the Assessment has used "what if" analyses, which ask how – and how much – the climate would have to change to bring major impacts on particular regions or sectors. For example, how much would temperature have to increase in the South before agricultural crops such as soybeans would be negatively affected? What would be the result for forest productivity of continued increases in temperature and leveling off of the CO₂ fertilization effect?

Has this report been peer reviewed?

This Overview and the underlying Foundation document have had three levels of review. More than 300 scientific and technical experts have provided peer review on part or all of the report. A

panel of distinguished experts convened by the President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology has provided broad oversight, and monitored the authors' response to reviews. Finally, the report was reviewed by federal agencies, under the guidance of the Office of Science and Technology Policy (OSTP).

How does the report deal with uncertainty in projections of the future?

This report identifies scientific uncertainties throughout and where present knowledge permits, describes how sensitive its results are to these uncertainties. To describe uncertainties, the report uses a consistent set of terms that denote various levels of confidence, similar to those used in weather forecasting. The level of confidence ascribed to each result is based on the expert opinion of the NAST. If there is less than a 10% chance of an event, it is either not mentioned or described as "little chance" or "very unlikely." A 10-33% chance is referred to as "unlikely" or "some chance." A 34-66% chance is "possible," while a 67-90% chance is "likely" or "probable." Finally, if there is a more than a 90% chance, the event is called "very likely" or "very probable."

Language of Probability used in this Report

Common Language	Probability Range
"little chance" or "very unlikely"	< 10%
"unlikely" or "some chance"	10-33%
"possible"	34-66%
"likely" or "probable"	67-90%
"very likely" or "very probable"	>90%

SUMMARY

CLIMATE CHANGE AND AMERICA

Natural ecosystems, which are our life support system in many important ways, appear to be the most vulnerable to the harmful effects of climate change...

Long-term observations confirm that our climate is now changing at a rapid rate. Over the 20th century, the average annual US temperature has risen by almost 1°F (0.5°C) and precipitation has increased nationally by 5 to 10%, mostly due to increases in heavy downpours. These trends are most apparent over the past few decades. Scenarios examined in this Assessment, which assume no major interventions to reduce continued growth of world greenhouse gas emissions, indicate that temperatures in the US will rise by about 5-10°F (3-6°C) on average in the next 100 years, which is more than the projected *global* increase. This rise will be associated with more extreme precipitation and faster evaporation of water, leading to greater frequency of both very wet and very dry conditions.

This Assessment reveals a number of national-level impacts of climate variability and change including impacts to natural ecosystems and water resources. Natural ecosystems appear to be the most vulnerable to the harmful effects of climate change as there is often little that can be done to help them adapt to the projected speed and amount of change. Some ecosystems that are already constrained by climate, such as alpine meadows in the Rocky Mountains, are likely to face extreme stress, and may disappear entirely. It is likely that other more widespread ecosystems will also be vulnerable to climate change. One of the climate scenarios used in this Assessment suggests the potential for the forests of the Southeast to break up into a mosaic of forests, savannas and grasslands. Several of the climate scenarios suggest possible changes in the species composition of the Northeast forests, including the loss of sugar maples. Major alterations to natural ecosystems due to climate change could possibly have negative consequences for our economy, which depends in part on the sustained bounty of our Nation's lands, waters, and native plant and animal communities.

A unique contribution of this first US Assessment is that it combines national-scale analysis with an examination of the potential impacts of climate change on different regions of the US. For example, sea-level rise will very likely cause the loss of coastal wetlands (ecosystems that provide vital nurseries and habitats for many fish species) and put coastal communities at greater risk of storm surges, especially in the Southeast. Reduction in snowpack will alter the timing and amount of water supplies, potentially exacerbating water shortages and conflicts, particularly throughout the western US. The melting of glaciers in the high-elevation West and in Alaska represents the loss or diminishment of unique national treasures of the American landscape. Large increases in the heat index (which combines temperature and humidity) and increases in the frequency of heat waves are very likely. These changes will, at minimum, increase discomfort, particularly in cities. It is very probable that continued thawing of permafrost and melting of sea ice in Alaska will further damage forests, buildings, roads, and coastlines, and harm subsistence livelihoods. In various parts of the nation, cold-weather recreation such as skiing will very likely be reduced, and air conditioning usage will very likely increase.

Highly managed ecosystems appear more robust and some potential benefits have been identified. Crop and forest productivity is likely to increase in some areas for the next few decades due to increased carbon dioxide in the atmosphere and an extended growing season. It is possible that some US food exports could increase, depending on impacts in other food-growing regions around the world. It is also possible that a rise in crop production in fertile areas could cause prices to fall, benefiting consumers. Other benefits that are possible include extended seasons for construction and warm weather recreation, reduced heating requirements, and reduced cold-weather mortality.

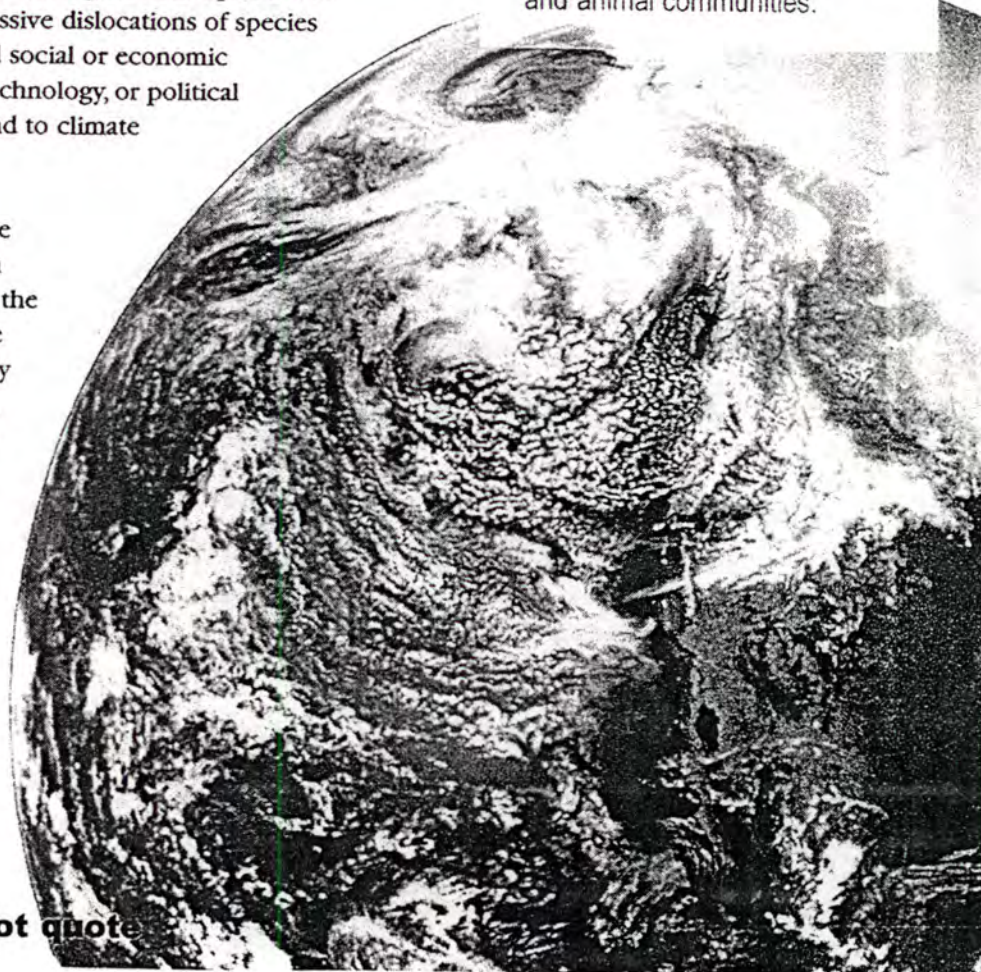
Climate variability and change will interact with other environmental stresses and socioeconomic changes. Air and water pollution, habitat fragmentation, wetland loss, coastal erosion, and reductions in fisheries are likely to be compounded by climate-related stresses. An aging populace nationally, and rapidly growing populations in cities, coastal areas, and across the South and West are social factors that interact with and alter sensitivity to climate variability and change.

There are also very likely to be unanticipated impacts of climate change during the next century. Such "surprises" may stem from unforeseen changes in the physical climate system, such as major alterations in ocean circulation, cloud formation, or storms; and unpredicted biological consequences of these physical climate changes, such as massive dislocations of species or pest outbreaks. In addition, unexpected social or economic change, including major shifts in wealth, technology, or political priorities, could affect our ability to respond to climate change.

Greenhouse gas emissions lower than those assumed in this Assessment would result in reduced impacts. The signatory nations of the Framework Convention on Climate Change are negotiating the path they will ultimately take. Even with such reductions, however, the planet and the nation are already committed to more than a century of climate change, due to the long lifetimes of greenhouse gases already in the atmosphere and the momentum of the climate system. Adapting to a changed climate is consequently a necessary component of our response strategy.

Climate-induced changes in the frequency and magnitude of ecologically important processes such as wildfires, floods, droughts, and disease and pest outbreaks are likely to have greater impacts on our Nation's ecosystems than changes in average temperature and precipitation.

Major alteration of natural ecosystems due to a changing climate is particularly significant because our lives and economy depend on the sustained bounty of our Nation's lands, waters, and native plant and animal communities.



SUMMARY

CLIMATE CHANGE AND AMERICA

Some adaptations, notably those that seek to reduce other environmental stresses such as pollution and habitat fragmentation, will have beneficial effects beyond those related to climate change.

Future research needs include better regional-scale climate projections, improved understanding of ecological processes that are sensitive to climate, and of the economic costs and benefits of a changing climate to Americans.

Adaptation measures can, in many cases, reduce the magnitude of harmful impacts, or take advantage of beneficial impacts. For example, in agriculture, many farmers will probably be able to alter cropping and management practices. Roads, bridges, buildings, and other long-lived infrastructure can be designed taking projected climate change into account. Adaptations, however, can involve trade-offs, and do involve costs. For example, the benefits of building sea walls to prevent sea-level rise from disrupting human coastal communities will need to be weighed against the economic and ecological costs of seawall construction. The ecological costs could be high as seawalls prevent the inland shifting of coastal wetlands in response to sea-level rise, resulting in the loss of vital fish and bird habitat and other wetland functions, such as protecting shorelines from damage due to storm surges. Protecting against any increased risk of water-borne and insect-borne diseases will require diligent maintenance of our public health system. Many adaptations, notably those that seek to reduce other environmental stresses such as pollution and habitat fragmentation, will have beneficial effects beyond those related to climate change.

Another outcome of this Assessment is the renewed realization that the US cannot, in the end, consider its own vulnerabilities to climate variability and change without also considering the consequences of changes in other parts of the world. The US is inextricably linked to the fates of other nations, and both our vulnerabilities and our potential responses will likely depend in part on impacts and responses in other nations. For example, effects of climate variability and change on US agriculture will depend critically on changes in agricultural productivity elsewhere, which can shift international patterns of food supply and demand. Climate-induced changes in water resources available for power generation, transportation, cities, and agriculture are likely to raise potentially delicate diplomatic issues with both Canada and Mexico.

This Assessment has identified many remaining uncertainties that limit our ability to fully understand the spectrum of potential consequences of climate change for our nation. To address these uncertainties, future research needs include better regional-scale climate projections. Additional research is also needed to improve understanding of ecological processes that are sensitive to climate, and of the economic costs and benefits of a changing climate to Americans. Results from these research efforts will inform future assessments that will continue the process of building our understanding of humanity's impacts on climate, and climate's impacts on us.

KEY FINDINGS

1. Increased warming

Assuming continued growth in world greenhouse gas emissions, the climate models used in this Assessment project that temperatures in the US will rise 5-10°F on average in the next 100 years.

2. Differing regional impacts

Climate change will vary widely across the US. Temperature increases will vary somewhat from one region to the next. Heavy and extreme precipitation events are likely to become more frequent, yet some regions will get drier. The potential impacts of climate change will also vary widely across the nation.

3. Vulnerable ecosystems

Ecosystems are highly vulnerable to the projected rate and magnitude of climate change. A few, such as alpine meadows in the Rocky Mountains, and some barrier islands are likely to disappear entirely, while others, such as forests of the Southeast, are likely to experience major species shifts or break up. The goods and services lost through the disappearance or fragmentation of certain ecosystems are likely to be costly or impossible to replace.

4. Widespread water concerns

Water is an issue in every region, but the nature of the vulnerabilities varies, with different nuances in each. Drought is an important concern in every region. Floods and water quality are concerns in many regions. Snowpack changes are especially important in the West, Pacific Northwest, and Alaska.

5. Secure food supply

At the national level, the agriculture sector is likely to be able to adapt to climate change. Overall, US crop productivity is very likely to increase over the next few decades, but the gains will not be uniform across the nation. Falling prices and competitive pressures are very likely to stress some farmers.

6. Near-term increase in forest growth

Forest productivity is likely to increase over the next several decades in some areas as trees respond to higher carbon dioxide levels. Over the longer term, changes in larger-scale processes such as fire, insects, droughts, and disease will possibly decrease forest productivity. In addition, climate change will cause long-term shifts in forest species, such as sugar maples moving north out of the US.

7. Increased damage in coastal and permafrost areas

Climate change and the resulting rise in sea level are likely to exacerbate threats to buildings, roads, powerlines, and other infrastructure in climatically sensitive places, such as coastlines and the permafrost regions of Alaska.

8. Other stresses magnified by climate change

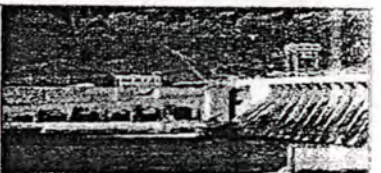
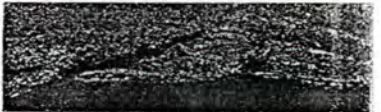
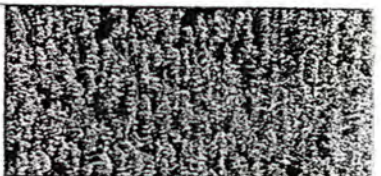
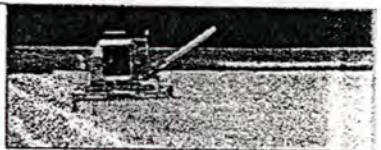
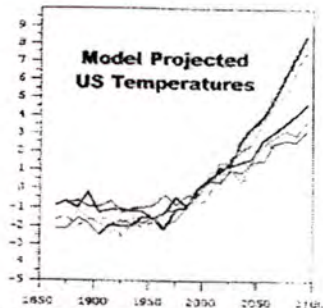
Climate change will very likely magnify the cumulative impacts of other stresses, such as air and water pollution and habitat destruction due to human development patterns. For some systems, such as coral reefs, the combined effects of climate change and other stresses are very likely to exceed a critical threshold, bringing large, possibly irreversible impacts.

9. Surprises expected

It is very likely that some aspects and impacts of climate change will be totally unanticipated as complex systems respond to ongoing climate change in unforeseeable ways.

10. Uncertainties remain

Significant uncertainties remain in the science underlying climate-change impacts. Further research would improve understanding and predictive ability about societal and ecosystem impacts, and provide the public with useful information about adaptation strategies.



IMPACTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

It is very likely that the US will get substantially warmer. Temperatures are projected to rise more rapidly in the next one hundred years than in the last 10,000 years. It is also very likely that there will be more precipitation overall, with more of it coming in heavy downpours. In spite of this, some areas are likely to get drier as increased evaporation due to higher temperatures outpaces increased precipitation. Droughts and flash floods are likely to become more frequent and intense.

PERMAFROST AREAS

It is very probable that rising temperatures will cause further permafrost thawing, damaging roads, buildings, and forests in Alaska.



FORESTRY

Timber inventories are likely to increase over the 21st century. Hardwoods will possibly become the dominant timber source in some regions, including the Southeast.



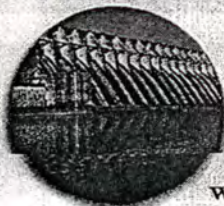
SPECIES DIVERSITY

While it is possible that some species will adapt to changes in climate by moving their ranges, human and geographic barriers, and the presence of invasive non-native species will limit the degree of adaptation that can occur. Losses in local biodiversity are likely to accelerate towards the end of the 21st century.



WATER SUPPLY

Reduced summer runoff, increased winter runoff, and increased demands are likely to compound current stresses on water supplies and flood management, especially in the western US.



ISLANDS

Sea-level rise and storm surges will very likely threaten public health and safety and possibly reduce the availability of fresh water.



CORAL REEFS

Increased CO₂ and ocean temperatures, especially combined with other stresses, are very likely to exacerbate coral reef bleaching and die-off.



FRESHWATER ECOSYSTEMS

Increases in water temperature and changes in seasonal patterns of runoff will very likely disturb fish habitat and affect recreational uses of lakes, streams, and wetlands.



FOREST ECOSYSTEMS

Forest growth is likely to increase in many regions, at least over the next several decades. Over the next century, tree and animal species' ranges will probably shift in response to the changing climate. Some forests are likely to become more susceptible to fire and pests.



AGRICULTURE

The Nation's food supply is likely to remain secure. The profit margin for food producers is likely to continue to drop.



URBAN POPULATIONS

Heat waves are very likely to increase in frequency, resulting in more heat-related stresses. Milder winters are likely to reduce cold-related stresses in some areas.



COASTAL ECOSYSTEMS

Sea-level rise is very likely to cause the loss of some barrier beaches, islands, marshes, and coastal forests, throughout the 21st century.



EXTREME EVENTS

It is very likely that more rain will come in heavy downpours, increasing the risk of flash floods.



COASTAL COMMUNITIES AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Coastal inundation from storm surges combined with rising sea level will very likely increase threats to water and sewer systems, transportation and communication systems, homes, and other buildings.



RARE ECOSYSTEMS

Alpine meadows, mangroves, and tropical mountain forests in some locations are likely to disappear because the new local climate will not support them or there are barriers to their movement.



There are substantial opportunities to minimize the negative impacts and maximize the benefits of climate change through adaptation. Examples include cultivating varieties of crops, trees, and livestock that are better suited to hotter conditions. This report includes an initial identification of potential adaptation strategies, but an analysis of their effectiveness, practicality, and costs was not considered in this Assessment.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 5, 2000

6-6-00

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY *ll*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

I am forwarding the following recent information items:

(A) *Rumelt*
See memo
for - B

Lane memo re: human genome update – Neal describes sequencing progress by the Human Genome Project (HGP) and Celera, including HGP's recent announcements of draft sequences for 5 chromosomes. HGP and possibly Celera are expected to announce as early as this week the completion of working drafts of the entire human genome sequence. Neal reports that the HGP/Celera relationship is less than optimal and that a partnership would be desirable. Regardless of who announces first, he believes the press will continue to portray this as a race; he advises that we applaud both efforts and emphasize that the real work *begins* when the human genome sequence is in hand.

(B) *Use on*
VP's show
to Sunday
with

Lane memo re: national climate change assessment – The National Assessment of climate change impacts on the U.S., mandated by a 1990 law and requested by Jack Gibbons, is nearing completion; it has undergone rigorous peer review and will be posted on the Internet for public comment. Though it contains no earth-shaking discoveries, it's expected to generate significant interest as the first region-by-region compendium of climate change impacts on Americans' lives. While general impacts are likely to be manageable, the sum of individual impacts appears more serious than previously thought. Key findings include: the U.S. will warm by 5-10 degrees on average over the next 100 years, twice the projected global increase and much more than the roughly 1 degree warming in the U.S. in the 20th century; natural ecosystems are most vulnerable and some (e.g., corals, Alpine meadows) may be lost; total freshwater availability will likely increase, but unequal distribution will increase shortages and conflicts. See p.7 for detail.

(C) *I agree*
L

Berger memo re: U.S. Commission on National Security report – Sandy summarizes the Hart-Rudman Commission's second report, which includes strategies to meet the security challenges outlined in its first report last year. Many of its recommendations are already components of your national security strategy (e.g., acting in concert with allies, promoting arms control, developing theater and national missile defenses). The most significant difference between your strategy and the report's recommendations involves military force capability; the Commission postulates that your "two major theater war yardstick" for sizing U.S. forces does not produce the intervention and constabulary capabilities needed for the varied contingencies they expect. The Commission's third report, due in early 2001, will propose a replacement force structure, expected to be lighter, faster, more deployable, and more expensive than today's. While he supports the "two major theater war" construct, Sandy believes the report raises useful questions about

original not returned
by POTUS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 30, 2000

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INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *for*

SUBJECT: Second Report of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century

Attached is the second report of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century, also known as the Hart-Rudman Commission. The Commission's first report was completed late last year and described the emerging security environment for the first quarter of this new century. I commented to you then that there are currently two schools of thought dominating the national security debate. One school projects that major conflicts will erupt requiring high-tech capabilities, space-based assets and stand-off weapons. The other school focuses on the increasingly complex and ambiguous nature of international conflicts in which high-technology may not help a great deal. The Commission's first report leans toward the latter school of thought.

This second report describes a strategy to meet the challenges projected in the Commission's first report. Fundamentally, they propose to reap the benefits of a more integrated global community while dampening the forces of fragmentation and instability. Many of their strategy and policy recommendations are already fundamental components of your National Security Strategy. For example: current components include acting in concert with allies and partners, promoting arms control, developing theater and national missile defenses, integrating key powers into the mainstream of the international system, and promoting a new global economy.

The most significant difference between your strategy and the Commission's report is in military force capability. For seven years, your strategy has called for a force which is capable of defeating "large scale, cross-border aggression in two distant theaters in overlapping time frames." The Commission postulates that this "two major theater war yardstick" for sizing U.S. forces does not produce the intervention and constabulary capabilities needed for the varied and complex contingencies

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

they believe will occur in the years ahead. They do hedge their strategy, however, by also calling for nuclear, homeland security, and conventional capabilities.

The Commission's third and final report, due in early 2001, will propose a force structure to replace your "two major theater war" structure. Retired General Chuck Boyd, Executive Director of the Commission, indicates the recommended force is expected to be lighter, faster, more deployable, easier to support, and more expensive than today's force.

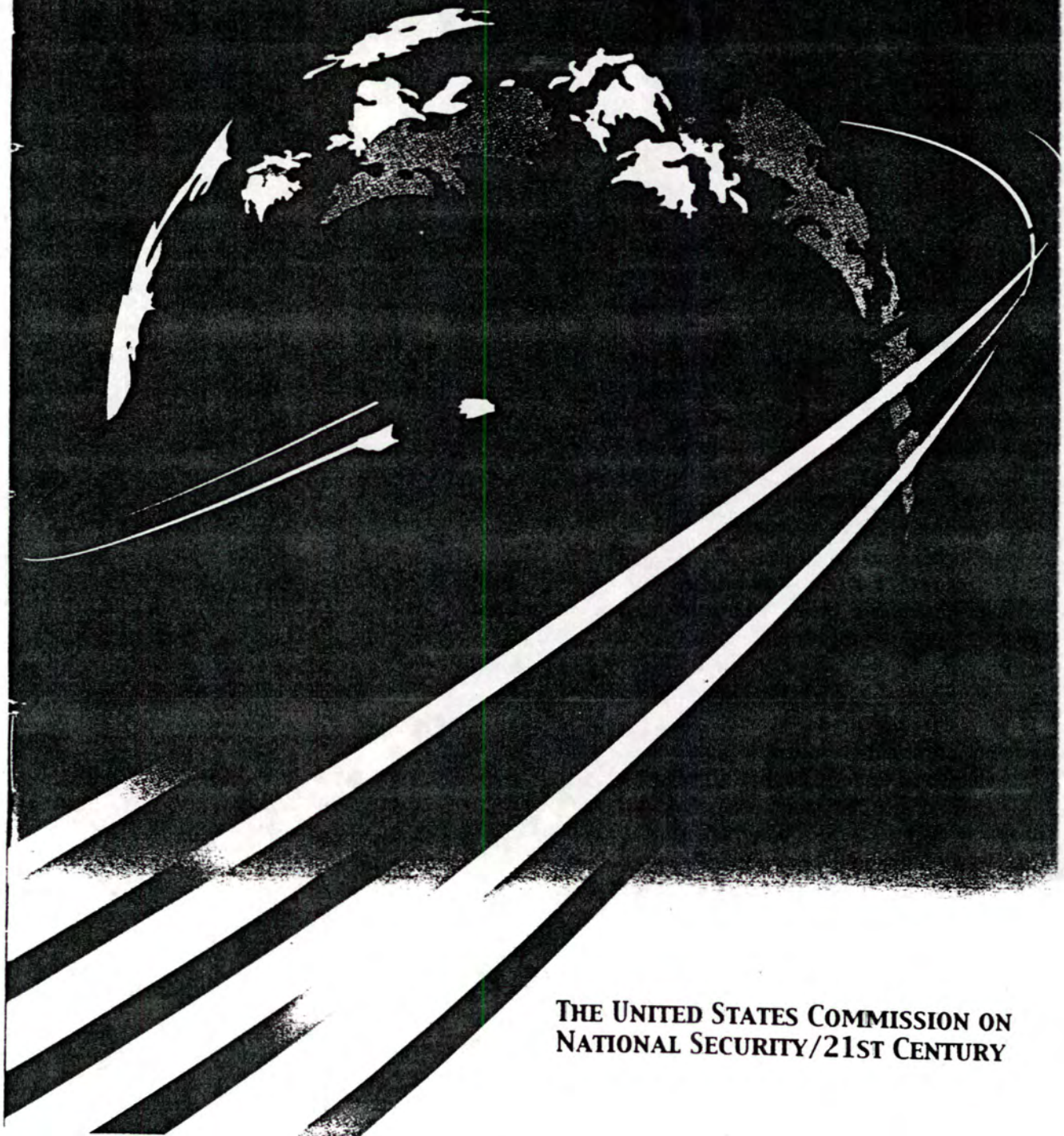
The "two major theater war" planning construct has enabled us to develop intervention and constabulary capabilities while also ensuring that we are prepared for major conflict. The report, however, raises some useful questions about relative priorities. Nonetheless, I believe we should leave to next year's Quadrennial Defense Review any significant changes to the force structure.

Attachment

Tab A Second Report of the Hart-Rudman Commission

SEEKING A NATIONAL STRATEGY

A CONCERT FOR
PRESERVING SECURITY AND
PROMOTING FREEDOM



THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON
NATIONAL SECURITY/21ST CENTURY

Introduction

“We must disenthral ourselves,” said Abraham Lincoln, at a time of much greater peril to the Republic than we face today. As the times are new, said Lincoln, “so we must think anew.” At the dawn of this new century, the nation faces a similar necessity. No concern of American society is more in need of creative thinking than the future security of this country, but in no domain is such thinking more resistant to change. The very term “security” suggests caution and guardedness, not innovation. We know that major countries rarely engage in serious rethinking and reform absent a major defeat, but this is a path the United States cannot take. Americans are less secure than they believe themselves to be. The time for reexamination is now, before the American people find themselves shocked by events they never anticipated.

During the last half century, the national security strategy of the United States was derived largely from, focused on, and committed to the containment of Soviet Communism. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and the dramatic transformation of world politics resulting from the dissolution of the Soviet Union two years later, our leaders have been searching for a unifying theme to provide a strategic framework appropriate to current and future circumstances. That search has not been easy.

The U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century has been tasked with thinking anew about America’s national security for the next 25 years.¹ In this report, we suggest the strategic precepts that should guide the formulation of U.S. strategy, and then take a fresh look at U.S. national interests and priority objectives. On that basis, we propose the framework of a new national security strategy.² This report is intended to contribute to a new consensus on national security strategy to carry the United States forward into a challenging future.³

Thinking about Strategy

This Commission’s Phase I report pointed to two contradictory trends ahead: a tide of economic, technological, and intellectual forces that is integrating a global community, amid powerful forces of social and political fragmentation.⁴ While no one knows what the mix of these trends will produce, the new world coming will be dramatically different in significant respects. Governments are under pressure from below, by forces of ethnic separatism and violence, and from above, by economic, technological, and cultural forces beyond any government’s full control. We are witnessing a transformation of human society on the magnitude of that between the agricultural and industrial epochs—and in a far more compressed period of time.

Such circumstances put a special premium on strategic wisdom, particularly for a country of the size and character of the United States. In this Commission’s view, the essence of American strategy must compose a

¹ This Commission, established to examine comprehensively how this nation will ensure its security in the next 25 years, has a threefold task. Phase I, completed on September 15, 1999, described the transformations emerging over the next quarter-century in the global and domestic U.S. security environment. Phase II, concerning U.S. interests, objectives, and strategy, is contained in this document. Phase III, which will examine the structures and processes of the U.S. national security apparatus for 21st century relevancy, will be delivered on or before February 15, 2001.

² In the interest of brevity, this Commission has compressed considerable discussion and detail into this document. Further discussion of the implications of several main themes in this report will be presented in the Commission’s Phase III findings.

³ This report is built upon a consensus involving all members of the Commission, but not every Commissioner subscribes with equal enthusiasm to every statement contained herein.

⁴ See *New World Coming: American Security in the 21st Century* (Washington, DC: U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century, September 15, 1999).

balance between two key aims. The first is to reap the benefits of a more integrated world in order to expand freedom, security, and prosperity for Americans and for others. But, second, American strategy must also strive to dampen the forces of global instability so that those benefits can endure. Freedom is the quintessential American value, but without security, and the relative stability that results therefrom, it can be evanescent. American strategy should seek both security and freedom, and it must seek them increasingly in concert with others. Hence our title: *A Concert for Preserving Security and Promoting Freedom*.

Our assessment of the new world emerging, and the core interests and values of the American people, lead us to offer the following precepts as a guide to the formulation of national strategy:

Strategy and policy must be grounded in the national interest. The national interest has many strands—political, economic, security, and humanitarian. National interests are nevertheless the most durable basis for assuring policy consistency. Gaining and sustaining public support for U.S. policy is best achieved, too, when American principles are coupled with clearly visible national interests. Moreover, a strategy based on national interest, properly conceived, engenders respect for the interests of others.

The maintenance of America's strength is a long-term commitment and cannot be assured without conscious, dedicated effort. If America does not make wise investments in preserving its own strength, well within 25 years it will find its power reduced, its interests challenged even more than they are today, and its influence eroded. Many nations already seek to balance America's relative power, and the sinews of

American strength—social, military, economic, and technological—will not sustain themselves without conscious national commitment. Assuring American prosperity is particularly critical; without it, the United States will be hobbled in all its efforts to play a leading role internationally.

The United States faces unprecedented opportunities as well as dangers in the new era. American strategy must rise to positive challenges as well as to negative ones. Working toward constructive relations among the major powers, preserving the dynamism of the new global economy and spreading its benefits, sharing responsibility with others in grappling with new transnational problems—this is a diplomatic agenda that tests American statesmanship and creativity. As in the late 1940s, the United States should help build a new international system in which other nations, freely pursuing their own interests, find it advantageous to do so in ways that coincide with American interests.

Since it cannot bear every burden, the **United States must find new ways to join with other capable and like-minded nations.** Where America would not act itself, it retains a responsibility as the leading power to help build effective systems of international collaboration. America must therefore overcome its ambivalence about international institutions and about the strength of its partners, questioning them less and encouraging them more.

This nation must set priorities and apply them consistently. To sustain public support and to discipline policy, America must not exhaust itself by limitless commitments. Especially with respect to military intervention abroad, a finer calculus of

benefits and burdens must govern. Resisting the "CNN effect" may be one of the most important requirements of U.S. policymaking in the coming period.

Finally, America must never forget that it stands for certain principles, most importantly freedom under the rule of law. Freedom is today a powerful tide in the affairs of mankind, and, while the means chosen to serve it must be tempered by a realistic appreciation of limits, it is not "realism" to ignore its power. At the same time, if America is to retain its leadership role, it must live up to its principles consistently, in its own conduct and in its relations with other nations.

The National Interest in a New Century

The first of these precepts is the most crucial of all: American national security strategy must find its anchor in U.S. national interests, interests that must be both protected and advanced for the fundamental well being of American society. We define these interests at three levels: **survival** interests, without which America would cease to exist as we know it; **critical** interests, which are causally one step removed from survival interests; and **significant** interests, which importantly affect the global environment in which the United States must act. There are, of course, other national interests, though of lesser importance than those in the above three categories.

U.S. **survival** interests include America's safety from direct attack, especially involving weapons of mass destruction, by either states or terrorists. Of the same order of importance is the preservation of America's Constitutional order and of those core strengths—educational,

industrial, scientific-technological—that underlie America's political, economic, and military position in the world.

Critical U.S. national interests include the continuity and security of those key international systems—energy, economic, communications, transportation, and public health (including food and water supplies)—on which the lives and well being of Americans have come to depend. It is a critical national interest of the United States that no hostile power establish itself on U.S. borders, or in control of critical land, air, and sea lines of communication, or—in today's new world—in control of access to outer space or cyberspace. It is a critical national interest of the United States that no hostile hegemon arise in any of the globe's major regions, nor a hostile global peer rival or a hostile coalition comparable to a peer rival. The security of allies and friends is a critical national interest of the United States, as is the ability to avert, or check, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction into the hands of actors hostile or potentially hostile to the United States.

Significant U.S. national interests include the deepening and institutionalization abroad of constitutional democracy under the rule of law, market-based economics, and universal recognition of basic human rights. The United States also has a significant interest in the responsible expansion of an international order based on agreed rules among major powers to manage common global problems, not least those involving the physical environment. It is a significant national interest of the United States that there be economic growth abroad, to raise the living standards of the poorest and to mitigate economic and political conflict. It is a significant national interest of the United States that international terrorism and criminality (including illicit drug trade) be minimized, but without jeopardizing the openness of international eco-

conomic and cultural exchanges. It is a significant national interest of the United States that neither mass murder nor gross violations of human rights be acceptable in the world's political life. It is a significant national interest of the United States that immigration across American boundaries not be uncontrolled. Finally, the free and safe movement of American citizens abroad is a significant national interest of the United States.

Key Objectives

The United States seeks to assure its own freedom under law, its safety, and its prosperity. But Americans recognize that these goals are best assured in a world where others achieve them, too. American strategy, therefore, must engage in new ways—and in concert with others—to consolidate and advance the peace, prosperity, democracy, and cooperative order of a world now happily free from global totalitarian threats. At the same time, however—also in concert with others—American strategy must strive to stabilize those parts of the world still beset by acute political conflict. To fulfill these strategic goals in a new age, America's priority objectives—and key policy aims—must be these:

FIRST, TO DEFEND THE UNITED STATES AND ENSURE THAT IT IS SAFE FROM THE DANGERS OF A NEW ERA.

In light of the new dangers arising from the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism, the United States must focus anew on how to maintain a robust and powerful deterrent to all forms of attack on its territory and its critical assets. Non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is of the highest priority in U.S. national security policy in the next quarter century. A higher priority, too, should be given to preventing, through diplomatic and other means, unconventional

attacks on all states. But should prevention and deterrence fail, the United States must have means of active defense against both mortal danger and blackmail. U.S. military, law enforcement, intelligence, economic, financial, and diplomatic means must be effectively integrated for this purpose.

The United States should seek enhanced international cooperation to combat the growing proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This should include an effective and enforceable international ban on the creation, transfer, trade, and weaponization of biological pathogens, whether by states or non-state actors. Also, when available and implemented with rigor, cooperative programs to deal with existing stockpiles of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons are cost-effective and politically attractive ways to reduce the dangers of weapons and weapons matériel proliferation.

The United States should also strive to deepen the international normative consensus against terrorism and state support of terrorism. It should work with others to strengthen cooperation among law enforcement agencies, intelligence services, and military forces to foil terrorist plots and deny sanctuary to terrorists by attacking their financial and logistical centers.

The United States should build comprehensive theater missile defense capabilities. It should also build national defenses against a limited ballistic missile attack to the extent technically feasible, fiscally prudent, and politically sustainable. As cruise missile and other sophisticated atmospheric technologies spread, the United States must address the problem of devising defenses against such capabilities. The United States must also develop methods to defend against other, covert means of attacking the United States with weapons of mass destruction and disruption.

The United States must also have specialized forces capable of combating threats and blackmail from those possessing weapons of mass destruction and from terrorism. The magnitude of the danger posed by weapons of mass destruction compels this nation, as well, to consider carefully the means and circumstances of preemption.

The protection of U.S. and international access to outer space and cyberspace must become a high priority of U.S. security planning. Outer space and cyberspace are the main arteries of the world's evolving information and economic systems, and the ability to move ideas and information through them freely is a prerequisite for expanding global freedom and prosperity. Secure access to outer space and cyberspace is also now the *sine qua non* of the U.S. military's ability to function effectively. Through both technological and diplomatic means, the United States needs to guard against the possibility of "breakout" capabilities in space or cyberspace that would endanger U.S. survival or critical interests.

Despite the political obstacles, the United States should redouble its efforts to deal multilaterally with the diffusion of dangerous dual-use technologies. It must improve its capability to track the destinations and final uses of its own high-technology exports, and it must be prepared to aid allies in similar efforts.

To deal medically and psychologically with potentially large losses of American lives in attacks against the American homeland, U.S. public health capabilities need to be augmented. In addition, programs to ensure the continuity of Constitutional government should be bolstered.

SECOND, TO MAINTAIN AMERICA'S SOCIAL COHESION, ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS, TECHNOLOGICAL INGENUITY, AND MILITARY STRENGTH.

To ensure the vitality of all its core institutions, the United States must make it a priority of national policy to improve the quality of primary and secondary education, particularly in mathematics and the sciences. Moreover, in an era when private research and development efforts far outstrip those of government, the United States must create more advanced and effective forms of public/private partnerships to promote public benefit from scientific-technological innovation.

The United States must strive to reduce its dependence on foreign sources of fossil fuel energy that leaves this country and its allies vulnerable to economic pressures and political blackmail. Steady development of alternative sources of energy production, and greater efficiencies in energy transmission and conservation, are thus national security as well as economic and environmental necessities.

The United States must strengthen the bonds between the American people and those of its members who serve in the armed forces. It must also strengthen government (civil and military) personnel systems in order to improve recruitment, retention and effectiveness at all levels. Executive-Legislative relations regarding national security policy need to foster effective collaboration.

THIRD, TO ASSIST THE INTEGRATION OF KEY MAJOR POWERS, ESPECIALLY CHINA, RUSSIA, AND INDIA, INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF THE EMERGING INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM.

The United States should engage China constructively and with a positive attitude, politically and economically. But it must recognize that the potential for competition between the United States and China may increase as China grows stronger. China's increasing adherence to global economic, legal,

and cultural institutions and norms will be a positive factor, and the United States should encourage and assist this process of integration. At the same time, the United States should maintain its deterrent strength and its alliance system in the Asia/Pacific region. It should remain committed to the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question, consistent with the terms of the three Sino-American Communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act.

The United States should support Russian economic reform and democratic political development on a realistic basis, recognizing that these goals are first and foremost for Russians themselves to accomplish. It is also in the U.S. interest to assist Russian integration into global economic institutions, no less than is the case with China.

Clearly, too, relations with Russia should be appropriate to its importance as a major power. It does not benefit the United States to pursue policies that weaken or humiliate Moscow. Still, the United States must assert its own interests when they are affected adversely by Russian policies—as they are, for example, by policies that encourage or allow the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The United States and its allies should also support the continued political independence and territorial integrity of the newly independent former Soviet states.

In addition, arms control remains an important facet of U.S. national security policy. But the United States needs a new calculus for developing future strategic nuclear arms control strategy beyond START II. Such a calculus must include analysis of the implications of the increase in the number and prospective capabilities of nuclear weapons powers in the world. It must take account of new Chinese and Russian nuclear weapons capabilities. It must also take into account both the potential U.S. need to

respond to chemical and biological threats with nuclear weapons and the U.S. commitment to protect non-nuclear states from blackmail and attack by nuclear weapons states.

India is the world's largest democracy and soon will be the world's most populous country. Therefore, India is and must be dealt with as a major power. Pakistan, too, remains a pivotal country in its own right, and good U.S. relations with Pakistan are in the U.S. national interest. The United States should also encourage India and Pakistan to settle their differences short of violence, and should make its good offices available to that end.

It is unlikely that American policy can persuade any Indian or Pakistani government to abandon its nuclear capacity. But the United States, together with other major powers, can play a more active role in discouraging future testing and the further production of fissile materials not under safeguards. The United States should also encourage mutual adoption of measures to ensure the safety and security of both countries' nuclear capabilities.

Beyond its efforts to bring these three major states into the mainstream of a new cooperative international order, the United States has a strong interest in limiting the further proliferation of sophisticated conventional weapons around the world. It should therefore seek support for a multilateral approach to devising limitations on such proliferation first with its closest allies and friends, and thereafter with Russia, China, India, and other significant arms producing countries.

FOURTH, TO PROMOTE, WITH OTHERS, THE DYNAMISM OF THE NEW GLOBAL ECONOMY AND IMPROVE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND INTERNATIONAL LAW.

The United States, in concert with the G-7, must strive to manage the elements of turbulence that accompany economic globalization in order to spread its benefits, while minimizing social and political dislocations and the system's vulnerability to financial crisis. This must include building political legitimacy as well as an economic architecture.

Continuing trade liberalization remains a key to global economic advance, particularly for those regions, countries, and selected economic sectors in advanced countries—including the United States—whose trade remains shackled by protectionist policies. Bilateral and regional approaches (in addition to the global system represented by the WTO) should be encouraged. Environmental concerns and labor rights must be addressed, although not in a manner that blocks or reverses trade liberalization.

Similarly, economic sanctions should not unduly inhibit trade. But, while this Commission is skeptical of the efficacy of broad and especially unilateral U.S. economic sanctions, specifically targeted financial sanctions, particularly when employed multilaterally, have a better chance of working. As the United States and its closest allies erect a new financial architecture, the capability to impose financial sanctions should be built into the system.

The United States, in cooperation with others, must continue to ensure that the price and supply of Persian Gulf and other major energy supplies are not wielded as political weapons directed against the United States or its allies and friends.

Because this Commission believes that public diplomacy is an important part of American diplomacy, the United States should help spread information technology worldwide, to bring the benefits of globalization and democracy to those

parts of the world now cut off from them. The United States should also employ new technologies creatively to improve its public diplomacy in the new Information Age.

The United States should continue to promote strong international efforts against state corruption and transnational criminality, and should help the international community respond more effectively to humanitarian relief crises. To do this will require not only working in new ways with other governments but also with the burgeoning community of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), particularly in areas where U.S. official representation is sparse.

The United States should, as it has traditionally, support the growth of international law and remain willing to subscribe to international agreements where they promote overall U.S. interests. But the United States must always reserve the right to define its own interests, even if it requires withdrawing from—but not violating—selected treaty obligations. U.S. policy coherence and democratic accountability under the Constitution must be preserved.

The United States has a strong stake in a reformed and more effective United Nations system, and should engage constructively to that end. The UN, when properly supported, can be an effective instrument for the enhancement of international stability and humanitarian ends. In addition, the United States must be willing to lead in assembling ad hoc coalitions outside UN auspices if necessary.

FIFTH, TO ADAPT U.S. ALLIANCES AND OTHER REGIONAL MECHANISMS TO A NEW ERA IN WHICH AMERICA'S PARTNERS SEEK GREATER AUTONOMY AND RESPONSIBILITY.

The cornerstone of America's regional policies must be the maintenance and

enhancement of existing U.S. alliances and friendships. By strengthening relations with allies and friends, the United States extends both its influence and the zone of peace and stability.

In Europe, the United States should be prepared to support the evolution of an independent European Union defense policy in a manner consistent with the unity of the Atlantic Alliance. Forward-stationed forces, as the embodiment of overall U.S. capabilities and commitments in Europe, should remain an essential ingredient in that regional security alliance. The United States should also promote the concept of a Transatlantic Free Trade Area (TAFTA), as well as encourage the integration of East and Central European democracies into Atlantic and European economic institutions based on free trade.

The United States should expand the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to all the democracies of the Western Hemisphere. It should deepen its ties within this hemisphere and seek to strengthen the Organization of American States (OAS). Whatever the merits of "exporting" democracy, there can be little doubt that helping to bolster democracies where they have come to exist of their own exertions should be high on the list of U.S. priorities. Nowhere is such an effort more important than in the Western Hemisphere.

In the Asia/Pacific area, the U.S.-Japan alliance should remain the keystone of U.S. policy. The United States should seek a more equal strategic partnership and a free trade agreement with Japan. In a region where old rivalries persist and reconciliation and integration have not advanced as far as they have in Europe, U.S. alliance and security ties with Korea, Australia and New Zealand, Thailand, Singapore, the Philippines, and others remain critical. Such ties

compose a regional security community resting solidly on the assurance provided by U.S. engagement and power. The United States should also support the growth of multilateral institutions for regional security and prosperity, including the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC).

The United States should plan now for the possibility of Korean reunification. Some American troops should remain in a unified Korea as a factor of reassurance and stability in the region, including for the purpose of ensuring that a unified Korea remains without nuclear weapons.

The United States has a continuing critical interest in keeping the Persian Gulf secure, and must accept its share of the burden for so doing. In that light, it must be a high priority to prevent either Iraq or Iran from deploying deliverable weapons of mass destruction. The United States should also support the emerging collaboration of friendly states notably Israel, Turkey, and Jordan--and seek to broaden such a collaboration to include Egypt and Saudi Arabia, among others. Assisting the diplomatic settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute will advance that prospect.

In collaboration with other OECD countries, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and international development institutions, the United States should assist sub-Saharan Africa to build stronger economies and strengthen institutional cohesion and democratic ideals. In the economic field, emphasis should be put on promoting private investment, helping to develop West Africa's offshore energy resources, and providing debt relief and humanitarian aid (including resources to combat the AIDS epidemic). The United States should promote the professionalization of African militaries within

a framework of democratic values, and encourage African governments to engage their militaries in constructive tasks of infrastructure building. Major emerging democracies such as South Africa and Nigeria will be key players as partners with the United States and its allies.

SIXTH, TO HELP THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TAME THE DISINTEGRATIVE FORCES SPAWNED BY AN ERA OF CHANGE.

The disruptive new forces of globalization are subjecting many governments to extraordinary pressures. In many states, what used to be governmental monopolies on the use of force, on law making, and over the supply of money are now "privatized" in various ways. Even the spread of the idea of freedom, while positive in the long run, is often accompanied by destabilization. The disruption of the political and territorial status quo in much of the world will be one of the distinctive features of international affairs over the next quarter century.

To address these spreading phenomena of weak and failed states, ethnic separatism and violence, and the crises they breed, the United States needs first to establish priorities. Not every such problem must be primarily a U.S. responsibility, particularly in a world where other powers are amassing significant wealth and human resources. There are countries whose domestic stability is, for differing reasons, of major importance to U.S. interests (such as Mexico, Colombia, Russia, and Saudi Arabia). Without prejudging the likelihood of domestic upheaval, these countries should be a priority focus of U.S. planning in a manner appropriate to the respective cases.

For cases of lesser priority, the United States should help the international community develop innovative mechanisms to manage the

problem of failed states. One such mechanism should include standing procedures to facilitate organizing peacekeeping operations and UN "conservatorships."

In all cases, the United States should resort first to preventive diplomacy: acting with political and economic tools, and in concert with others, to head off conflict *before* it reaches the threshold of mass violence.

Preventive diplomacy will not always work, however, and the United States should be prepared to act militarily in conjunction with other nations in situations characterized by the following criteria:

- when U.S. allies or friends are imperiled;
- when the prospect of weapons of mass destruction portends significant harm to civilian populations;
- when access to resources critical to the global economic system is imperiled;
- when a regime has demonstrated intent to do serious harm to U.S. interests;
- when genocide is occurring.

If all or most of these conditions are present, the case for multilateral military action is strong. If *any one* of these criteria is serious enough, however, the case for military action may also be strong.

Implications for National Security

The strategy outlined here bears important implications for the political, economic, and military components of U.S. national security policy. From the political perspective, American diplomacy must recognize that the increasingly integrated nature of global exchanges will render traditional analytical divisions of the world obsolete. While important relations will continue to take place on a

bilateral basis, many more international phenomena will be increasingly regional in nature and more will be fully global. The proliferation of non-state actors will also strain the traditional categories within which American diplomacy is organized.

As this Commission emphasized in its Phase I report, the economic dimensions of statecraft are also becoming more important. Among the democracies in what is known as the "zone of democratic peace," economic issues can rival the importance of military ones. But economic issues are also of critical importance to the prospect that other emerging or developing states will succeed or fail with fundamental political and social reform. American strategy must also recognize the importance of technology as the basic underpinning of economic health and military prowess the world over.

All this means that the integrating function of U.S. policymaking processes will be challenged as never before. Traditional national security agencies (State, Defense, CIA, NSC staff) will need to work together in new ways, and economic agencies (Treasury, Commerce, U.S. Trade Representative) will need to work more closely with the traditional national security community. In addition, other players—especially Justice and Transportation—will need to be integrated more fully into national security processes. Merely improving the inter-agency process around present structures may not suffice.

Moreover, the U.S. government must learn to build more effective partnerships with state and local governments, and government as a whole must develop new partnerships with non-governmental organizations—though without sacrificing its ultimate responsibility and accountability for determining national policy.

As to military implications, the world we see emerging, and the strategy appropriate to that environment suggest that the United States needs five kinds of military capabilities:

- nuclear capabilities to deter and protect the United States and its allies from attack;
- homeland security capabilities;
- conventional capabilities necessary to win major wars;
- rapidly employable expeditionary/intervention capabilities; and
- humanitarian relief and constabulary capabilities.

Fundamental to U.S. national security strategy is the need to project U.S. power globally with forces stationed in the United States, and those stationed abroad and afloat in the forward presence role. Owing to the proliferation of new defense technologies in the hands of other states, effective power projection will become more difficult for the U.S. armed forces in the 21st century. U.S. forces must therefore possess greater flexibility to operate in a range of environments, including those in which the enemy has the capability to employ weapons of mass destruction. U.S. forces must be characterized by stealth, speed, range, accuracy, lethality, agility, sustainability, reliability—and be supported by superior intelligence—in order to deal effectively with the spectrum of symmetrical and asymmetrical threats we anticipate over the next quarter century.

This Commission believes that the "two major theater wars" yardstick for sizing U.S. forces is not producing the capabilities needed for the varied and complex contingencies now occurring and likely to increase in the years ahead. These contingencies, often calling for expeditionary interventions or stability opera-

tions, require forces different from those designed for major theater war. We believe these contingencies will occur in the future with sufficient regularity and simultaneity as to oblige the United States to adapt portions of its force structure to meet these needs. The overall force would then have the ability to engage effectively in contingencies ranging from humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, to peace and expeditionary combat operations, to large-scale, high-intensity conventional warfare. Finally, we recommend that the force structure designed to address these needs be developed on the basis of real-world intelligence assessments rather than illustrative scenarios.

In short, the capabilities mandated by these requirements will result in forces able to deploy rapidly, be employed immediately, and prevail decisively in expeditionary roles, prolonged stability operations, and major theater wars; a force to deter wars, to preclude crises from evolving into major conflicts, and to win wars rapidly and decisively should it become necessary.

America must also enhance the civil (that is, non-military) aspects of homeland security. These functions must be adequately funded and organized along appropriate lines of authority, responsibility, and accountability. The National Guard—successor to the militia, and acknowledged in the Second Amendment as the historic defender of the Republic—must be trained and equipped to assume, among its other responsibilities, a significant role in defending the homeland in the 21st century.

It is imperative, too, that the United States develop and fund these five kinds of capabilities consistent with the level of need created by changing political and security realities. Given the demands now placed upon this nation's military, or those anticipated in the next quarter century, it is evident that modern forces equal

to these demands cannot be sustained by current levels of spending.

To Phase III—Building for Peace

The strategy articulated here requires that the United States lead in the construction of a world balanced between the expansion of freedom, and the maintenance of underlying stability. To do so it must concert its efforts with others and, to the extent possible, in a way consistent with the interests of others.

Having become a global power, the United States now holds a responsibility it will not abandon, both for the safeguarding of American interests and the broader interests of global peace and security. The United States is the first nation with fully global leadership responsibilities, but there are more and less effective ways to lead. Tone matters. Leadership is not the same as dominance; everyone else's business need not also be America's. Just as riches without integrity are unavailing, so power without wisdom is unworthy. As Shakespeare put it:

O, it is excellent
To have a giant's strength; but it is
tyrannous
To use it like a giant.⁵

The strategy outlined here for U.S. national security differs from the strategic habits of the past half-century. It puts new emphasis on the economic and other non-military components of national security; it focuses on opportunities as much as on threats; and it reminds us of the domestic foundations of U.S. international strength. It attempts to clarify U.S. strategy and purposes, and to match them to a prudent sense of limits. It is

⁵ Measure for Measure, Act II, Scene 2.

not clear to us that the U.S. government is now organized in such a way that it can execute this strategy, or any other strategic concept that departs significantly from past practices. The world is changing fast, and if the U.S. government does not change with it, it may find itself forced into one bewildered reaction after another. If the United States loses the capacity to respond to dynamic change, the day will come when we will regret it dearly.

In Phase III of its work, therefore, this Commission will examine current structures and processes to determine their relevance to the 21st century. We will apply the following criteria:

First, the U.S. government needs to be adept at anticipating national security challenges. This requires the best possible system of intelligence, from collection to analysis to dissemination to policy review.

Second, the U.S. government needs the ability to calculate the longer-term implications of intervention abroad. It is not enough to be selective; we must be wisely selective, which requires a better matching of the instruments of national power to the problems at hand.

Third, the U.S. government needs to integrate effectively all non-traditional elements of national security policy with traditional ones.

Fourth, the U.S. government needs the agility to adapt rapidly to changes in the global environment.

Fifth, the U.S. government needs new organizational mechanisms to manage the increased blurring of lines among military, police, and legal jurisdictions, and among new forms of warfare.

Sixth, the U.S. government needs effective means to assess critically its own performance, draw lessons from its experience, and adjust resources, as appropriate.

Seventh, the U.S. government needs coherence between domestic policies with core national security implications and national security policies directed outside U.S. borders.

Phase III of this Commission's work will offer recommendations for enhancing the U.S. government's ability to function effectively in a rapidly changing political and technological environment. As with any kind of travel, clarity with respect to destination and route will prove unavailing if one's vehicle is not up to the journey. It is to that vehicle—the structures and processes of the U.S.' national security apparatus—that this Commission now turns its attention.

6-6-00

relative priorities; ultimately, he believes we should leave any significant changes to the force structure to next year's Quadrennial Defense Review.

- (D) **Berger memo re: Iranian woman in INS detention** – On a recent *Post* article, you asked for information about Mahnaz Samadi, an Iranian activist and opposition organizer imprisoned and reportedly tortured in Iran for 4 years. In a detailed memo, Sandy describes the events leading up to her current detention by the INS in Alabama: Ms. Samadi arrived in the U.S. in 1994, was granted asylum in 1995, and went to Canada (entering illegally) in 1999 where she was placed in immigration proceedings. Based on evidence from the hearing, the Canadian immigrant court found that she had been a member of the Mujahedin-e-Khalq Organization (MEK), served in Iraq as a member of MEK's armed wing, and lied during the Canadian proceedings and in her U.S. asylum application. She was deported to the U.S. on April 3, 2000, where she has been placed in removal proceedings. The INS charged Ms. Samadi with: 1) committing fraud or willful misrepresentation at her 1995 asylum proceeding; 2) engaging in terrorist activity; and 3) being a member of a foreign terrorist organization. INS' position is that she poses a risk to national security and is therefore not eligible for asylum; an immigration court will consider the charges and determine removability. The INS and DOJ are considering whether there's credible evidence to support charges #2 & #3; if not, those charges may be dropped and they would assess whether to pursue the matter on the misrepresentation charge alone. The AG has broad discretion to parole a person in detention on humanitarian grounds; once the FBI makes a threat assessment, the AG will decide whether to release Ms. Samadi during removal proceedings. The AG plans to review the case personally; even if found deportable, Ms. Samadi would probably not be sent to Iran. She may make a claim under the Torture Convention, which, if successful, would allow her removal to be withheld or deferred; she may also be deported to another country.
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WASHINGTON

'00 MAY 30 AM 7:56

May 30, 2000

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Mahnaz Samadi -- Iranian Woman in INS Detention

You asked for information about the case of the Iranian activist Mahnaz Samadi, who is currently in INS detention and whose case was discussed in a recent Washington Post article on May 6. ("Iranian Rights Activist's Backers Assail Bid to Deport Her") (Tab A).

Background. Ms. Samadi is a native and citizen of Iran. She was an activist and opposition organizer in Iran -- and was imprisoned for four years -- in the 1980s. She was reportedly tortured in prison there and witnessed her brother's execution by Iranian authorities. Ms. Samadi came to the United States in 1994 and the INS granted her application for asylum in May 1995. Since arriving in the United States, Ms. Samadi has made a reputation as an advocate for human rights and women's rights in Iran and as an opponent of the Iranian government.

In December 1999, during a trip to Canada (where she entered illegally), Ms. Samadi was placed in immigration proceedings Canada's immigration service. The Canadian immigration court found, based on evidence presented at the hearings, that Ms. Samadi had been a member of the Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (MEK) and served in Iraq as a member of the MEK armed wing, the National Liberation Army (NLA). The Canadian immigration court also found that Ms. Samadi had lied under oath in front of the Canadian tribunal and did not tell the whole truth to United States immigration authorities when she applied for asylum. Canada then deported Ms. Samadi to the United States on April 3, 2000.

Upon Ms. Samadi's arrival in the United States, the INS took her into custody. (Her technical legal status is as an arriving alien.) Ms. Samadi initially appeared before the Immigration

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Court in Atlanta on April 28, 2000. She is currently in INS custody in Alabama.

Evidence Against Ms. Samadi. Ms. Samadi has been placed in removal proceedings. The evidence against her includes evidence from the Canadian immigration proceedings that from mid-1993 to January 1994, she served in Iraq as a commander in the NLA and was a member of the MEK. The evidence includes an article in *Mojahed* (the MEK's newspaper) dated February 28, 1994, which contained an interview with "Sister Mojahed Mahnaz Samadi" discussing a training maneuver for NLA troops in Iraq and explaining how she was preparing units for armed attacks against Iran. According to the Canadian immigration court, Ms. Samadi did not deny the validity of the interview. The INS has also received information from the FBI that, according to a source, Ms. Samadi commanded a tank unit and later an intelligence unit for the NLA. The FBI source claimed that, in approximately 1987, Ms. Samadi's tank unit conducted multiple attacks against Iranian and Kurdish targets and was responsible for deaths of Iranian soldiers and civilians. The INS and FBI are currently determining the validity of the source's information.

According to some newspaper reports, Ms. Samadi claims she fled Iran and lived in NLA camps, but does not concede a role in armed attacks. Her Canadian lawyer, however, appears to have conceded such a role during the Canadian immigration proceeding, although he argued that she bombed only "legitimate targets" such as officials of the Iranian government, including an Iranian prison guard who was responsible for mass executions.

In her 1995 petition for asylum, Ms. Samadi did not disclose any involvement in the MEK or the NLA or in any terrorist activities. Nor did she disclose that she had spent any time in Iraq. When asked on her asylum application whether she or any member of her family had "ever belonged to or been associated with any organizations or groups in [her] home country," she described a number of "anti-Khomeini political activities" and membership in some student opposition groups. She also claimed that her brother was a member of "Mujahedin," but did not admit to membership in that organization herself.

What an Immigration Court Would Consider. The INS has charged that Ms. Samadi is removable because (1) she committed fraud or willful misrepresentation on her 1995 asylum proceeding; (2) she has engaged in terrorist activity; and (3) she is a member of a foreign terrorist organization as designated by the Secretary of State. The INS position is that she poses a risk to national

security and therefore is not eligible for asylum. An immigration court will consider these charges and determine removability.

On the charge of misrepresentation, Ms. Samadi argues that she did not reveal her association with MEK or the NLA because the INS asked her only about membership in groups "in [her] home country." The MEK is centered in Iraq. She argues, therefore, that information about her association with the MEK and NLA was not requested. INS argues that the failure to mention this association on the application or during an extensive asylum interview, which focuses largely on political affiliations -- although she did mention that her brother was associated with the organization -- constitutes a deliberate misrepresentation about a material fact. INS also argues that failure to mention time spent in Iraq was a material misrepresentation.

The charge of participation in terrorist activity is not based on the MEK's designation as a terrorist organization, but on Ms. Samadi's alleged activities on behalf of that group. Under the INA, the term "terrorist activity" includes the "use of any explosive or firearm . . . with the intent to endanger, directly or indirectly, the safety of one or more individuals or to cause substantial damage to property" or providing any type of "training, to any individual the actor knows or has reason to believe has committed or plans to commit a terrorist activity." The INS will argue that Ms. Samadi engaged in these activities. Ms. Samadi will presumably argue either that she did not engage in these activities, or that they were not "terrorist" activities, but instead legitimate activities conducted as part of a liberation movement. As a legal matter, this would not remove the activities alleged from the definition of "terrorist activity." INS and DOJ, however, are pursuing the FBI source to determine whether there is credible evidence that she was involved in attacks on non-military or non-Iranian targets. If there is no such evidence, the Attorney General is considering exercising her discretion to drop this charge.

The MEK was not designated as a foreign terrorist organization until 1997, after Ms. Samadi was granted asylum in the United States. The charge requires a showing that Ms. Samadi is currently a member of a designated foreign terrorist organization. Ms. Samadi denies that she is. The INS requested an urgent assessment from FBI of Ms. Samadi's activities since entering the United States, and whether she has maintained an affiliation with the MEK. If there is no credible evidence that she is currently a member, the INS will not pursue this charge.

If the second and third charges are dropped, the Justice Department and INS will assess whether to pursue the matter on the misrepresentation charge alone.

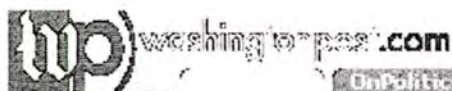
Next Steps. Ms. Samadi is currently in detention. Detention is presumed for a person in her legal status under the INA. The Attorney General has very broad discretion to parole a person from detention on humanitarian grounds. Ms. Samadi's U.S. lawyers argue that she poses no threat and should be released because she suffers from post traumatic stress syndrome as a result of her incarceration and torture in Iran, her current incarceration exacerbates that condition, and there are no Farsi-speaking psychiatric professionals in Alabama. Once the FBI threat assessment is complete, the Attorney General will make a decision about whether to release Ms. Samadi during removal proceedings.

The Attorney General has asked for a briefing and background on this case. She plans personally to conduct a thorough review of the status of this matter when the additional information that INS has requested is received.

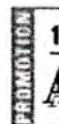
A number of people have expressed the concern that if Ms. Samadi were returned to Iran, she would be tortured or executed. Even if found deportable, however, Ms. Samadi probably would not be sent to Iran. During removal proceedings, Ms. Samadi may make a claim under the Torture Convention that she will be subject to mistreatment if returned to Iran. If the claim is upheld, she can be granted a remedy including withholding or deferral of removal, or arrangements can be made to deport her to another country.

Attachment

Tab A Washington Post Article


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Iranian Rights Activist's Backers Assail Bid to Deport Her

By Lorraine Adams

Washington Post Staff Writer

Saturday, May 6, 2000; Page A07

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The federal government is seeking to send back to Iran a women's rights activist who was tortured for four years by the Khomeini government and received political asylum in the United States in 1995, a deportation that her supporters contend is part of the Clinton administration's recent overtures to Tehran.

Mahnaz Samadi, 35, is being held in a rural Alabama jail under the authority of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. If INS efforts to deport her are successful, there is a high likelihood the Iranian government will execute her, her attorneys and some members of Congress say.

"Sending messages to foreign governments should not involve the taking of people's lives," said Sen. Robert G. Torricelli (D-N.J.). "She faces certain death. This is outrageous. It cannot be permitted to happen."

A State Department official said Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright's conciliatory March 17 speech on Iran was in no way related to the case. "We are not taking any steps, public or not public, to push this thing forward," a department official said yesterday. "The suggestion that State is behind this attempt at deportation in order to curry favor with the Iranians is wrong."

The INS declined to comment and said it stood by an April 27 letter sent to Samadi's attorney by INS Assistant District Director Juan A. Campos. In it Campos said the INS is seeking Samadi's deportation because she was--for a seven-month period in 1993 and 1994--a member of a terrorist organization. That group, the National Liberation Army (NLA), is the armed wing of the Mujahedin e-Khalq (MEK) Organization. The State Department designated the NLA a terrorist organization in 1997.

The terrorist designation has been a source of controversy, with more than 100 members of Congress signing a statement last fall criticizing the Clinton administration for labeling as terrorist a group that they see as made up of freedom fighters. They say the State Department has also designated Iran as a state sponsor of terrorism and that the policy on Iran is confused.

The administration has argued that Iranian government abuses do not excuse alleged NLA attacks on civilians.

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The INS, however, has not offered evidence of Samadi's role in incidents involving civilian attacks. Nor has the INS charged that she was involved in the NLA since she came to the United States in 1994--three years before the State Department designated the NLA a terrorist organization. Instead, the INS argues that when she applied for asylum in 1995, she "failed to disclose her terrorist activities on behalf of the NLA," according to Campos's letter.

In her 1995 asylum application, Samadi was not asked about the NLA. A copy of the application shows that she was asked about membership in "any organizations or groups in your home country." She freely admitted her opposition to the regime--it was the basis for her seeking asylum. The NLA was an Iraq-based armed group and did not qualify as a home country organization.

Samadi was born in Iran in 1965. She became active as a high school student in protesting the treatment of women under the Khomeini regime in 1981. The government imprisoned her over a four-year period that ended in 1986. During that time, she was sexually assaulted and tortured, and she witnessed the torture of her younger brother, who was ultimately executed.

She fled to Iraq in 1993, where she lived for seven months in NLA camps active along the Iran-Iraq border. She arrived in the United States in 1994 and was granted political asylum in 1995 based on her torture and resistance to the Iranian regime. Samadi has lived in the Washington area working as a speaker on Iranian human rights and women's issues.

"Why after five years is she suddenly a security risk?" asked Jay Fredman, one of Samadi's attorneys, who noted that her arrest--in Ottawa on Dec. 23--came in the midst of charges that Canadian intelligence had been lax on terrorism. That criticism followed the Dec. 14 arrest of an Algerian man crossing the border from Canada into the United States with a carload of explosives. He had been living in Montreal for four years.

"You had a situation where everyone in the U.S. said to Canada--Congress held hearings--you are [a] sieve for terrorists. We have more terrorists entering the U.S. from Canada than any other border," Fredman said. "So, Canadian intelligence service said, 'Aha, someone who is identified with a terrorist organization is here. We arrested a terrorist!'"

Canadian Security Intelligence Service spokesman Dan Lambert called Fredman's statements "irresponsible" and said that Samadi was arrested because "she is an MEK leader." The last time Canada arrested and deported an MEK leader was in 1993, he said. He would not comment on why other Iranian MEK members are living in Canada and have been granted political asylum.

Canada deported Samadi and escorted her under armed guard to the U.S. border at the One Thousand Island Bridge in New York state on April 3. She was immediately arrested by U.S. authorities at the border and has since been in custody in jails in Buffalo, Syracuse, N.Y., South Fulton, Ga., and in Alabama. In addition to having been restrained with leg irons

and chains, she has been subjected to strip searches.

The strip search "happened at a local county facility that does not contract with INS; and that is a local facility policy. It is not an INS policy. That's not something we have a say in," said an INS spokesman.

An Ottawa friend of Samadi, Zahra Mirzakhani, 39, said she saw Samadi last month at a hearing in Atlanta, where the INS has filed the deportation case.

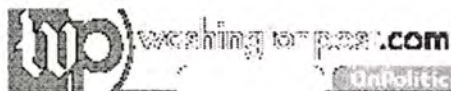
Because of Samadi's torture in Iran, Mirzakhani said she is concerned about the conditions under which her friend is being held. "Her arms were injured because they had handcuffed her for the 3 1/2-hour drive. There were cuffs on her feet, and she was chained. There were bruises on her arms and wrist, and she had lost a lot of weight."

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relative priorities; ultimately, he believes we should leave any significant changes to the force structure to next year's Quadrennial Defense Review.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 3, 2000

6-6-00

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INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *AK for*
SUBJECT: Meeting with Mr. Bill Joy

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Purpose

To summarize my meeting with Mr. Bill Joy.

Background

At your suggestion I met with Mr. Bill Joy, co-founder of Sun Microsystems and author of "Why The Future Doesn't Need Us" in Wired Magazine this April. Mr. Joy created the first Unix, Java, and Jini computer software operating systems. He is widely considered a leading thinker on the effect of future technologies on society. A summary of the points made in Mr. Joy's article is included at Tab A.

Meeting

I had a fascinating discussion with Joy on the spectrum of threats facing us as we advance into the 21st century. The rapid developments in robotics, genetics, and nanotechnology, presents us with great opportunities but also leaves us with a growing number of vulnerabilities. Some of these vulnerabilities are issues we have worked on and are developing solutions for -- others are groundbreaking thinking.

In the short term, Mr. Joy thinks genetic engineering advances present the greatest challenges. This is an issue we have begun to work on with PDD-62 -- increased funding for both DOD and HHS efforts to develop new (and more responsive) vaccines, and funding and force developments to improve our ability to detect and respond to chemical and biological agents. The development of genetic pathogens, either maliciously or accidentally, can present public health and national security threats which would pose daunting challenges. For example, a combination of anthrax

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

and smallpox bring together a lethal pathogen with a viciously efficient contagion.

In the more distant future, we face the challenges of increasingly sophisticated and miniaturized robots that can process data up to one million times faster than today's computers. Mr. Joy's worst-case thinking is that sophisticated robots may be able to self-replicate.

Mr. Joy is concerned that the leading edge work on these new technologies is now occurring in private sector labs driven by market forces and not subject to any oversight or control. Historically, this leading edge work was done in military or government labs which provided tighter controls on developments. He is also distressed by the largely silent response of the scientific community to this growing ethical issue and the lack of any apparent effort to develop a code of conduct (he said a "Hippocratic oath") among leading edge scientists and researchers.

Conclusion

Mr. Joy has pointed to relinquishment -- voluntarily limiting the pursuit of certain technologies -- as a possible strategy for preventing the malicious or accidental development of mass destruction technologies in the future. He pointed to the Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions as examples; however, our experience of self-relinquishment in the chemical and biological areas have not always been successful.

We discussed how can we raise the scientific community and public-at-large's awareness of these future challenges. He has aggressive plans, including a TV series, movie, book, and conferences in the scientific community. We also discussed the possibility of a Presidential Commission, although we agreed the subject was not yet mature enough.

I have discussed this broad issue -- how to bring together the worlds of technology and science with the world of ethics and policy -- with Richard Klausner (head of NCI). When we return, I plan to pull together Richard, Neal Lane, Dan Golden, and others for a preliminary discussion of how to approach these issues. I'll keep you posted.

Attachment

Tab A Summary of Wired Article by Mr. Bill Joy

SUMMARY OF "WHY THE FUTURE DOESN'T NEED US" BY MR. BILL JOY

Summary

- Bill Joy's Wired Magazine article was a passionate critique of the unbridled progress of developments in robotics, genetics, and nanotechnology -- without the requisite ethical review of where these technologies may take us.
- Mr. Joy is very concerned that while we were able to survive the threats posed by many new technologies in the 20th century (chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons for example); several new areas of research may give devastating technological power to individuals or small groups.
- He is most worried about the eventual confluence of genetic engineering breakthroughs and self-replication"-- leading to uncontrolled engineered pathogens.

Joy's Argument

- The 21st century technologies of robotics, genetics, and nanotechnology are so powerful they can spawn whole new types of accidents and abuses. Even more dangerously, for the first time in history, these opportunities for accidents or abuse lie in the hands of individual researchers or groups of scientists. These individuals will not require large laboratories or expensive materials, just knowledge.
- Even more concerning is that this work is largely being done in the private sector and its pace and decisionmaking are driven by market forces. Historically, this work was done in military or government labs and as a consequence was more tightly controlled within these environments.
- The advances he sees on the distant horizon but which have dire consequences are:
- **Genetics:** the increasing availability of powerful genetic engineering that could lead to the creation of human-engineered diseases that could kill selectively. He refers to these as engineered pathogens or "white plague."
- **Robotics:** the creation of future generations of super-intelligent machines that could eventually compete with humans for resources.

- **Nanotechnology:** the possibility of an accidental or malicious creation/release of submicroscopic self-replicating mechanisms that could have destructive purposes.
- Probably most concerning for Mr. Joy is the confluence of two or three of the above technologies -- self-replication and genetic engineering or super-intelligent robotics. This "uncontrolled self-replication of newer technologies represents a risk of substantial damage to the physical world."

Recommendations

- Mr. Joy does not claim to have the answers to this challenging issue. He does argue for relinquishment -- that is limiting our pursuit of certain technologies and knowledge -- particularly with regard to the dangerous technologies previously mentioned. He suggests that the relinquishment of these technologies will require strict codes of ethics for scientists in these fields to adhere to.

6-6-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

00 MAY 30 AM 7:55

WASHINGTON

May 30, 2000

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *SB*

SUBJECT: Update on Burma

copied
Berger
NSC WW Desk
Podesta

I am providing you an update regarding a comment you made on a New York Times op-ed on Burma.

Overall Situation in Burma: It is at a stalemate: the human rights situation remains abysmal, and the regime has given no indication it will engage Aung San Suu Kyi in political dialogue.

Assessment of our efforts: The international pressure we have generated through our sanctions and public advocacy have provided a measure of protection for Aung San Suu Kyi and her National League for Democracy (though hundreds remain imprisoned for political opposition). Moreover, the EU recently tightened sanctions, freezing assets of Burmese officials. As a result of sanctions and economic mismanagement, foreign investment in Burma has largely dried up, and the message to the regime is clear: economic progress will not be possible in the absence of movement on political reform.

Our approach: At our urging, the UN accepted a Kim Dae Jung offer to have South Korea serve as the venue for an informal meeting among concerned governments on the way ahead in Burma. Despite Burmese efforts to scuttle Southeast Asian participation, Japan and several ASEAN governments attended the meeting, held in early March. Participants reached consensus on the need for the UN to appoint a new envoy for Burma to replace the outgoing (and rather sluggish) incumbent, Alvaro de Soto.

The UN Envoy: We pressed hard for an Asian diplomat to be the envoy and, in April, Kofi Annan appointed Razali Ismail, Malaysia's former UN Permanent Representative. Razali was our first choice. As a senior Malaysian diplomat, he will be hard for the regime to ignore, and will have the stature and

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

credibility to generate regional support. Madeleine has called Razali to offer our encouragement and support, and we will try to work with him in developing a game plan. In meetings with Asian leaders this year, you will also have an opportunity to reinforce our message: that the regime must be encouraged to deal with Razali now and come to terms with its opposition if Burma is to return to the international fold.

Conclusion: Promoting change in Burma is difficult, but it is worth persevering. Our interests -- while not vital -- are important: Burma is one of the world's largest sources of heroin, and an epicenter of East Asia's AIDS epidemic. It is an obstacle to unity and integration in the region and threatens to produce even greater humanitarian suffering given the state of its economic policies. It is among the most clear cut of human rights dramas left in the world. What's more, your Administration has left a distinct imprint on this issue, giving the United States a unique relationship with the democratic opposition that will be invaluable when the process of change finally begins. We should take advantage of every opportunity in the months remaining to speed the realization of that goal.

3-16-00

3/16/00
J
3

The Tragedy of Myanmar

Few governments warrant isolation more than Myanmar's military junta, one of the most brutal and repressive regimes in the world. But the cruelty of Myanmar, formerly Burma, is increasingly a regional problem that threatens to destabilize its Southeast Asian neighbors with refugees, narcotics and now AIDS. Unfortunately, Myanmar has faded from attention at a time when the need for concerted action has never been greater.

The latest disturbing news is that Myanmar's booming heroin trade is contributing to the spread of AIDS in nearby countries, notably India, China and Vietnam. Myanmar is the world's second-largest source of opium and heroin, after Afghanistan. It also has its own exploding epidemics of drug use and AIDS.

The courageous opposition leader and 1991 Nobel peace laureate, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, an advocate of nonviolent resistance, remains under strict government control in the capital, Yangon, formerly called Rangoon. The government continues with a campaign of harassment and imprisonment of her party, the National League for Democracy, which won 80 percent of the parliamentary

seats in a 1990 election that the junta then annulled.

In recent years South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand have replaced authoritarian regimes with fledgling democracies. Now Indonesia has done the same. The changes present a fresh opening for action on Myanmar, but the world has been slow to seize it. The United Nations secretary general, Kofi Annan, has yet to appoint a new special envoy for Myanmar to coordinate international efforts to bring pressure on the junta.

The White House took the lead in isolating Myanmar, imposing sanctions on new investment there in 1997. But the problem has not been high on Washington's agenda for many months. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations, which includes Myanmar, will meet in July, and the Group of Eight leading industrial nations will gather in Japan the same month. Tokyo continues to do business with Myanmar's leaders. Washington should use the occasion of this summer's meetings to persuade its democratic friends in the region to shun Myanmar and make clear that normal trade and diplomatic relations cannot be sustained as long as the government abuses its people.

Death by Lynching

The walls of a room at the New-York Historical Society are now lined with small photographs of American lynchings. The victims are mainly black, mainly Southern. Some of the photographs are postcards and some are souvenirs that were printed by the dozens and hundreds by commercial photographers who had been at the scene. This exhibition, which chronicles an epidemic of lynchings in this country between 1890 and 1930, is called "Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America." It runs until July 9.

Ordinarily museums are eager to spread the images they show on their walls. They publish posters and postcards. They print T-shirts and scarves. But there will be no postcards from this exhibition, even though it is, in part, an exhibition of postcards. One kind of viewing — very different from the kind that these photos originally elicited — is being sanctioned here, as it is in the accompanying book, and it is worth thinking about the meaning of that difference.

After all, at this exhibition we are a crowd looking at a crowd looking at a lynching. And we are looking at the lynching too. Again and again, a white mob looks back at us. Its members smile or point or prod the corpse, or they merely settle for looking grim and purposeful. In one extraordinary case, a black man about to be lynched — a man named Frank Embree, naked, bound and whipped until

bleeding — looks back at us, beyond us too, challenging our moral imagination across the years.

This exhibition supplies knowledge of a fact that, though public, was still historically hidden. These lynchings took place in public and were often fomented by public men. These photographs were publicly taken, openly owned. They usually show a body hanging in a public place — in a courthouse square, from the largest tree in town, off a newly built bridge. They evince no shame and only the self-consciousness the camera causes. But as a genre, a category of images, they had largely retreated from sight until now. They can be made public again only because now we ask them to carry an utterly different meaning than they once did — an outcry against racism rather than a reinforcement of it.

It is too simple to say that in our time and on these walls these photographs embody shame, because they do not. Again and again, a viewer looks to see what is in those white faces gathered beneath the naked feet of a hanging dead man who was hideously innocent. It is mostly satisfaction. The victims of these lynchings were killed out of race hatred, out of loathing, out of blood lust. But ultimately they were killed out of false knowledge, out of what a mob thought it knew about guilt and innocence, law and justice, white and black. That is the horror of these photographs. False knowledge always seems so true at the time.

6-6-00

Suu Kyi in political dialogue. Our sanctions and advocacy have generated international pressure on Burma, leading to some protection for Aung San Suu Kyi and a recent tightening of sanctions by the EU; foreign investment has dried up, sending a strong signal to the regime. At a recent meeting of concerned governments in South Korea, participants agreed on the need for a new U.N.-appointed envoy; Kofi Annan appointed our first choice, Razali Ismail, Malaysia's former U.N. permanent representative, in April. Madeleine called him to offer support, and we will work with him and will reinforce our message with Asian leaders: that we must encourage the regime to deal with Razali and come to terms with its opposition if Burma is to return to the international fold.

Berger memo re: temporary protected status (TPS) for Hondurans/Nicaraguans –

On May 5th, Janet Reno extended TPS for approximately 100,000 Honduran and 6,000 Nicaraguan nationals in the U.S. (initially eligible following Hurricane Mitch). After consultation with State, Janet determined that due to disrupted living conditions, neither country could handle return of their nationals.

Berger memo re: HIV/AIDS – On a Nadine Gordimer *NYT* op-ed, you wrote “I hope we can do more to get the global effort off the ground.” Sandy replies that NSC has made this a major priority: they are working to ensure an additional \$100M for bilateral AIDS efforts; coordinating a policy agenda with NEC and ONAP; and asking EU colleagues to substantially increase resources for AIDS prevention, treatment and care, especially in Africa. Following your recent conversation with Prime Minister Mori on health issues, the Japanese agreed to focus the G-8 on health issues on four areas: 1) leader-to-leader dialogue and increased funding for AIDS; 2) a call for multilateral development banks to increase concessionary lending for health; 3) a commitment to support new partnerships (e.g., GAVI); and 4) a call for the G-8 to foster increased access to drugs and vaccines for developing countries. Sandy reports that we intend to make our strongest arguments ever in the G-8 forum to increase needed HIV/AIDS resources, especially in Africa; we expect help from France when they assume the EU presidency; and we are developing a diplomatic strategy to address the issue at every opportunity.

Berger memo re: your question on HIV/AIDS – On the recent background memo regarding Mbeki's controversial views, which said HIV can be found in “virtually all those with AIDS,” you asked how the others would get AIDS. Sandy describes two ways patients can be diagnosed with clinical AIDS in the absence of finding HIV: 1) they do have HIV but the lab could not find it/did not have necessary testing facilities to make the diagnosis (true in much of Africa); or 2) they do not have AIDS but have a disease, such as a genetic immune deficiency, that looks like AIDS, leading to misdiagnosis.

McCaffrey note re: Hersh article – Barry thanks you for your support on the “terrible Seymour Hersh attack” on the 26,000 soldiers of the 24th Infantry Division.

Lynn Forester note -- Mrs. Clinton asked that we forward the note she received from Lynn Forester, thanking her for a copy of *The President's House* and enclosing a piece about visiting the White House, written following the State Dinner for the King and Queen of Spain.

6-6-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 30, 2000

'00 MAY 30 AM 7:53

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER 

SUBJECT: Extension of Temporary Protected Status for Hondurans and Nicaraguans

On May 5, the Attorney General approved the extension of temporary protected status ("TPS") for Honduran and Nicaraguan nationals in the United States. The extension covers an estimated 100,000 Hondurans and 6,000 Nicaraguans who were initially eligible when the Attorney General designated the two countries for TPS in the wake of Hurricane Mitch. After consultation with the State Department, the Attorney General determined that neither country could adequately handle the return of their nationals because living conditions remain substantially disrupted. The extension should assist both countries in making significant progress in their reconstruction efforts.

The State Department informed the Governments of Honduras and Nicaragua on May 7, both of which were relieved at the news. On the same day, INS announced the extension and released a fact sheet, explaining the process for renewing work authorization permits for another year.

Copied
Berger
NSC WW Desk
Podesta

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

6-6-00

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6-6-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 31, 2000

copied

Berger

Podesta

NSC WW Desk

00 MAY 31 AM 9:19

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *for*

SUBJECT: Response to Your Comment on New York Times
Article on HIV/AIDS

On Nadine Gordimer's April 11 op-ed in the New York Times, you wrote "I hope we can do more to get the global effort off the ground."

We have made this a major priority. We are working to ensure funding of your request for another \$100 million for our bilateral AIDS efforts (for a total of \$325 million in FY2001). In cooperation with the Office of National AIDS Policy and NEC, we are completing a comprehensive policy agenda to expand our international HIV/AIDS engagement, accompanied by a diplomatic and legislative strategy to accomplish our goals.

Among other steps, we have called on our EU colleagues to substantially increase resources for AIDS prevention, treatment and care, especially in Africa. Although the UK, Denmark and Sweden, are major contributors to the global effort, other EU members can do much more. The U.S.-EU Summit will give us a joint platform to call for increased EU commitment.

Your recent conversation with Prime Minister Mori concerning health issues at the G-8 was very encouraging. Based on our engagement, the Japanese agreed to focus the G-8 health issues on four areas: (1) leader-to-leader dialogue and increased funding for AIDS; (2) a call for multilateral development banks to increase concessionary lending for health; (3) a commitment to support new partnerships (like the GAVI); and (4) a call for G-8 to foster increased access to drugs and vaccines for developing countries. We intend to make our strongest arguments ever in the G-8 forum to increase needed HIV/AIDS resources, especially in Africa. When France assumes the EU presidency in

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

July, they have told us that HIV/AIDS will be prominent factors in their agenda with emphasis on providing drugs to Africans who need but cannot afford them.

We are developing a diplomatic strategy to address the issue at every opportunity, including the International AIDS Conference in Durban, the IDA Deputies meeting in Lisbon, the World Bank annual meeting in Prague, and hope to make the link between disease and poverty at the UN Millennium Assembly in September. We aim to build international cooperation and generate political and practical support for your initiatives on the global AIDS crisis, malaria, TB, and vaccines by highlighting HIV/AIDS, and pressing for specific proposals such as increased funding from our partners.

Attachment

Tab A New York Times Article

Africa's Plague, and Everyone's

By Nadine Gordimer

Sixty-nine percent of the world's victims of H.I.V. and AIDS are in sub-Saharan Africa. This figure is not easy to take in. AIDS seems to have come upon everyone while we were looking the other way: it happened to some sex or color other than our own; it was endemic to some other country.

In South Africa it was quite some time before the realization that the disease was not the unfortunate problem of our poorer neighboring countries, but was our own. Now, out of South Africa's 43 million people, about 4 million have been infected by H.I.V. and a further 1,700 are infected daily. Recently, in a Johannesburg home caring for orphaned or abandoned babies born with AIDS, there was a service in memory of 40 who had died there not long before. While South Africa is the most highly developed country on the African continent, we are faced with this kind of future for the generations to come.

But every community, every affected country, has to decide how to approach what is no longer a problem but a catastrophe. There is prevention, and there is cure. The ideal is to seek both at once, but this is beyond the capacity of most countries where the disease is rampant.

Cure, and prevention by inoculation, are not within the capacity of lay people; these are in the hands of medical science, which implies money to be provided to advance research. Immediate prevention is in the hands and initiative of each population itself.

I believe we cannot emphasize bluntly enough that the cure and vaccine development depend on money. And until recently, the country that has the money, the United States, perhaps inevitably has concentrated on a vaccine for a subtype of AIDS prevalent in the Northern Hemisphere. It was only at the World Economic Forum's meeting this year that President Clinton announced that large-scale aid for vaccine development would be forthcoming from the United States. Only now has the International AIDS Vaccine Initiative announced a third international development project, based on those subtypes of the virus most prevalent in the direly affected regions of Southern and East Africa, the subtypes C and A.

It is encouraging that the project is being pursued in wide collaboration among researchers of the United States, South Africa, Kenya and Oxford University, and that the philosophy of the initiative is that of "social venture capital," meaning that in return for financing, it has secured rights to ensure that a successful vaccine, when it is achieved, will be distributed in developing countries "at a reasonable price." The formation of an International Partnership Against HIV/AIDS in Africa is to be welcomed as extremely important in the same context.

The question of money — price — is vital in terms of the palliatives available to arrest the disease and alleviate symptoms. It is another piercing ex-

ample of the gulf between the world's rich and the world's poor that the suffering from AIDS may be alleviated, and even the lives prolonged, of those victims who can afford expensive treatment. The same principle applies to prevention. Everywhere in Africa moral and humanitarian decisions are a common dilemma, with money the deciding factor.

At the level of international — global — responsibility, the total sum needed annually for AIDS prevention in Africa is on the order of \$2.3 billion. Africa currently receives only \$165 million a year in official assistance from the world community.

Other questions that rest with the world community become relevant:

H.I.V. thrives on a paucity of hope among the poor and of love among the rich.

debt relief for developing countries, for example. The director-general of the World Health Organization said last year that debt relief should be reviewed in light of the resources that governments with large debts need to confront H.I.V.

The role of governments in financing is another example. Where does the defense budget not far exceed the public health budget to combat AIDS? Nevertheless, what H.I.V. and AIDS mean to the capability to govern, ultimately, was revealed in South Africa by the minister of public service and administration in February. The public service is the largest employer in the country and the fundamental government structure. In 1999, one in eight South Africans was H.I.V.-positive. It is estimated that 270,000 out of 1.1 million public servants could be infected by 2004. This looming crisis in governance exists almost everywhere on the African continent. If, in developing countries, defense budgets continue to leave H.I.V. budgets relegated to a footnote, all we shall have left to defend in the end is a graveyard.

AIDS is not only a health catastrophe, a challenge to medical science. It is socially enmeshed in the conditions of life that obtain while it spreads, just as the medieval plague was in its time. Although AIDS is no respecter of class or caste, slum conditions, ignorance and superstition (it is a white man's disease; it is a black man's disease) make the

poor its greatest source of victims.

In working to prevent the spread of the virus, we must accept the idea that promiscuity is difficult to condemn when sex is the cheapest or only available satisfaction for people society leaves to live on the street. On another socioeconomic level, casual sex thrives among young people who are materially privileged yet whom society has failed to endow with the real values of human sexuality, the knowledge that fulfillment involves contact with the other's personality, that the sexual act is not some mere bodily function like evacuation — which is what some campaigners seem to reduce it to.

There are subtleties, important ones, connected with any campaign against H.I.V. and AIDS, if it is to succeed in changing attitudes toward sexual mores. For there will be a cure discovered, there will be a vaccine — and after that? How shall we restore the quality of human relations that have been debased, shamed, reduced to the source of a fatal disease? The free condom dispenser is not the panacea. Neither, alone, is sex education restricted to anatomical diagrams and dire warnings in schools. The entire meaningfulness of personal sexual relations will need to be restored. That is what social health means, along with inoculation and survival.

Self-interest cannot be discounted. So, to the developed world, a pragmatic word from the stricken African continent: Call not to ask for whom the stock exchange bell tolls and the figures on the computer sound the alarm — the toll is for Europe, for the United States, even for those countries where H.I.V. and AIDS victims are few. For if the markets and vast potential markets for the developed world's goods fail — if decimated populations mean there is no one left economically active with money to spend — that bell tolls for thee, globally.

H.I.V./AIDS is everyone's disaster. It has, finally, something to do with our whole manner of existence. It confronts us with questions that must be answered historically: What have we done with the world, politically? What are we doing with the world? What do we mean by development? Some Ugandans who had been in the audience of an AIDS information play were asked what message it had brought them. One said, "Don't go out with bar girls." Another said, "Stick to one partner." Then an older woman said: "AIDS has come to haunt a world that thought it was incomplete. Some wanted children, some wanted money, some wanted property, and all we ended up with is AIDS."

Maybe she spoke for Africa. □

Nadine Gordimer, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1991, is a goodwill ambassador for the Race Against Poverty project of the United Nations Development Program.

The New York Times

TUESDAY, APRIL 11, 2000

6-6-00

MSTISLAV ROSTROPOVITCH

President William Jefferson Clinton

The White House

Washington, D.C. 20500

U.S.A.

copied
Reed
Jennings
Podesta
Burkhardt
(for reply)

cc Reed (Jennings)
do min reply

Paris, May 23, 2000.

Dear Mr. President,

Dear Friend!

I cannot find words to express to you my deep gratitude for making my Foundation instrumental in bringing America's help to the children of Russia. After the vaccinations in Nizhny Novgorod district the disease rate has lowered at some places more than twenty times. I am sure that Russian people, my compatriots are full of gratitude towards the United States for the help with the pediatric healthcare which is the key issue for my nation's future.

Our efforts have received magnanimous help from the Ambassador of the U.S.A. in Moscow Jim Collins and the Consul General in St. Petersburg Paul Smith. I regret that you could not see together with us the dancing children in a village near Nizhny Novgorod and the tears of gratitude in the eyes of their parents. Would you have seen that you would have known even better what a great help you have given.

With great affection for you and all your family

(without any pause!)

Sincerely yours
6-7-00
Slava

After you have
seen, we will
send original to Burkhardt

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
OFFICE OF LEGAL COUNSEL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION SHEET

DATE: JUNE 6, 2000

FROM: *RH* ROSEMARY HART
SENIOR COUNSEL

OFFICE PHONE: 202/514-2027

TO: TIMOTHY SAUNDERS
EXECUTIVE CLERK
THE WHITE HOUSE
FAX: 456-2569

PHONE: 456-2227

NUMBER OF PAGES: 2 (PLUS COVER SHEET)

Tim: Attached is the memo I mentioned concerning legal effectiveness of a presidential directive, as compared to an executive order. I hope you find it useful.

Lise

cc: Jennings

ANY QUESTIONS, PLEASE CONTACT OUR ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE ON 514-2067
OFFICE OF LEGAL COUNSEL FACSIMILE MACHINE NUMBER - 514-0563



U.S. Department of Justice

Office of Legal Counsel

Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

January 29, 2000

**MEMORANDUM FOR BETH NOLAN
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT**

From: Randolph D. Moss *RD*
Acting Assistant Attorney General

Re: Legal Effectiveness of a Presidential Directive, as Compared to an Executive Order

You have asked our opinion whether there is any substantive legal difference between an executive order and a presidential directive. As this Office has consistently advised, it is our opinion that there is no substantive difference in the legal effectiveness of an executive order and a presidential directive that is not styled as an executive order. We are further of the opinion that a presidential directive would not automatically lapse upon a change of administration; as with an executive order, unless otherwise specified, a presidential directive would remain effective until subsequent presidential action is taken.

We are aware of no basis for drawing a distinction as to the legal effectiveness of a presidential action based on the form or caption of the written document through which that action is conveyed. Cf. Memorandum for Harold Judson, Assistant Solicitor General, from William H. Rose, *Re: Statement of Policy Regarding Certain Strategic Materials* (Aug. 28, 1945) (concluding that a letter from President Roosevelt stating the government's policy "constitute[d] a Presidential directive having the force and effect of law," notwithstanding its informality of form). It has been our consistent view that it is the substance of a presidential determination or directive that is controlling and not whether the document is styled in a particular manner. This principle plainly extends to the legal effectiveness of a document styled as a "presidential directive."

Moreover, as with an executive order, a presidential directive would not lose its legal effectiveness upon a change of administration. Rather, in our view, because a presidential directive issues from the Office of the Chief Executive, it would remain in force, unless otherwise specified, pending any future presidential action. Cf. Memorandum for Michael J. Egan, Associate Attorney General, from John M. Harmon, Acting Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel, *Re: Proposed Amendments to 28 CFR 16, Subpart B* (Apr. 21, 1977) (raising possible concerns about a proposal to delegate to the Deputy Attorney General certain authorities to invoke executive privilege because such a delegation could potentially be inconsistent with a 1969 Memorandum from President Nixon on executive privilege). Indeed, Presidents have

frequently used written forms other than executive orders to take actions that were intended to have effect during a subsequent administration. For example, delegations of presidential authority under 3 U.S.C. § 301 have been made pursuant to presidential memoranda.¹ *See also, e.g.,* Presidential Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies, Re: Establishing a Federal Energy Management Program, 3 Pub. Papers 1015 (Nov. 4, 1976) (including a directive to be carried out for FY 1977).

You have also inquired whether a presidential directive could be published in the Federal Register. It is our understanding that any presidential determination or directive can be published in the Federal Register, regardless of how it is styled. At present, a range of presidential determinations and directives styled other than as executive orders are routinely published in the Federal Register. *See, e.g.,* Determination Pursuant to Section 2(c)(1) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as amended, 64 Fed. Reg. 65653 (Nov. 10, 1999); Report to Congress Regarding Conditions in Burma and U.S. Policy Toward Burma, 64 Fed. Reg. 60647 (Oct. 27, 1999) (memorandum directing the Secretary of State to transmit report to Congress). We see no reason to believe that the Federal Register would decline to publish the contemplated directive.²

Please let us know if we may be of further assistance.

¹ At various points over time, Presidents have delegated presidential functions both by executive order and by presidential memorandum. Compare Memorandum for the Secretary of State Re: *Delegation of Authority Under Section 1401(b) of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2000 (Public Law 106-65)* (Jan. 5, 2000), reprinted in 65 Fed. Reg. 3119, with Exec. Order No. 10,250 (1951) (delegation of functions to the Secretary of the Interior), reprinted as amended in 3 U.S.C. § 301 app.

² Because the decision whether an item can be published is made by the Office of the Federal Register, we would suggest confirming this with that office. If you would like, we would be happy to do so on your behalf.

May 24, 2000

00 JUN 6 11 07

MEMO TO BETTIE CURRIE

FROM: Huma Abedin HA

RE: Victorian Art Gallery

Mrs. Clinton asked if a thank you letter could be sent from the President on both their behalf to Alan Barnes. Mr. Barnes is with the Victorian Gallery in Dallas, Texas. Hayden McIlroy sent a Roy Petley painting purchased from the Gallery to the First Family. Mr. Barnes has been of great assistance in the selection, purchase and mailing of the painting.

Please call me with questions. Thank you.

6-6-00

Send to Beukhardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
BC Silly

per Huma

al



Established 1970

Victorian Gallery, Inc.

FINE ART DEALERS

Appraisers - Consultants - Picture Restorers

Thursday, May 18, 2000

The President of the United States of America & First Lady
C/O Mrs. Huma Abedin
Room 100, The Old Executive Office
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Abedin:

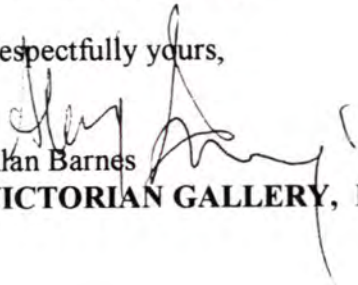
Thank you so much for telephone inquiry regarding the returned painting from my exhibition. As a result of our conversation I have the pleasure enclosing a limited edition catalogue raisonne on the work of Roy Petley. Also as requested, I have enclosed the Dallas 2000 Exhibition Catalogue of which Mr. McIlroy had selected picture number five for the President and The First Lady.

Consequently, I have noted in the publication the remaining paintings of which are of similar quality and priced accordingly. Please take the time to pass on this catalog to the President and First Lady with our sincere best wishes, and we look forward to assisting them in any way possible.

If I can answer any questions referencing the enclosed information please do not hesitate to call.

With kindest regards,

Respectfully yours,


Alan Barnes

VICTORIAN GALLERY, INC.



Established 1970

Victorian Gallery, Inc.

FINE ART DEALERS

Appraisers - Consultants - Picture Restorers

Wednesday the 3rd of May 2000.

**The President of the Untied States of America
The First Lady.**

C/O Mr. Jim Blair
1011 Tanglebrair Lane
Fayetteville, AR 72701

Dear Mr. President and First Lady,

A mutual friend, Mr. Hayden Mcilroy requested I write this letter to you announcing that if you would wish to exchange the picture Hayden picked out for you, I would be happy to do so.

I wish you great love and fortune in your new home and if I may be of assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call.

Sincerely,

Alan R. Barnes

Dear friends -

This artist is a favorite of the Royal family - To date I have been told Tony Blair does not have one of his paintings - Thanks to my friend Allan Barnes and his gallery, Mary Joe and I were able to acquire this before the Roy Pottery showing -

We hope you can find a use for it in your new home -

Maylen
5-4-00

R o y P e t l e y

Summer Exhibition

2000

PRICE LIST

*Paintings are Immediately Available
Upon Receipt of the Catalogue*

*Private Viewing
Arranged by Appointment*



ESTABLISHED 1970

Victorian Gallery, Inc.

FINE PAINTINGS

2722 Fairmont Street
Dallas, Texas 75201



and



Accepted

6-6-00

6-6-00

WEEKLY ECONOMIC BRIEFING OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

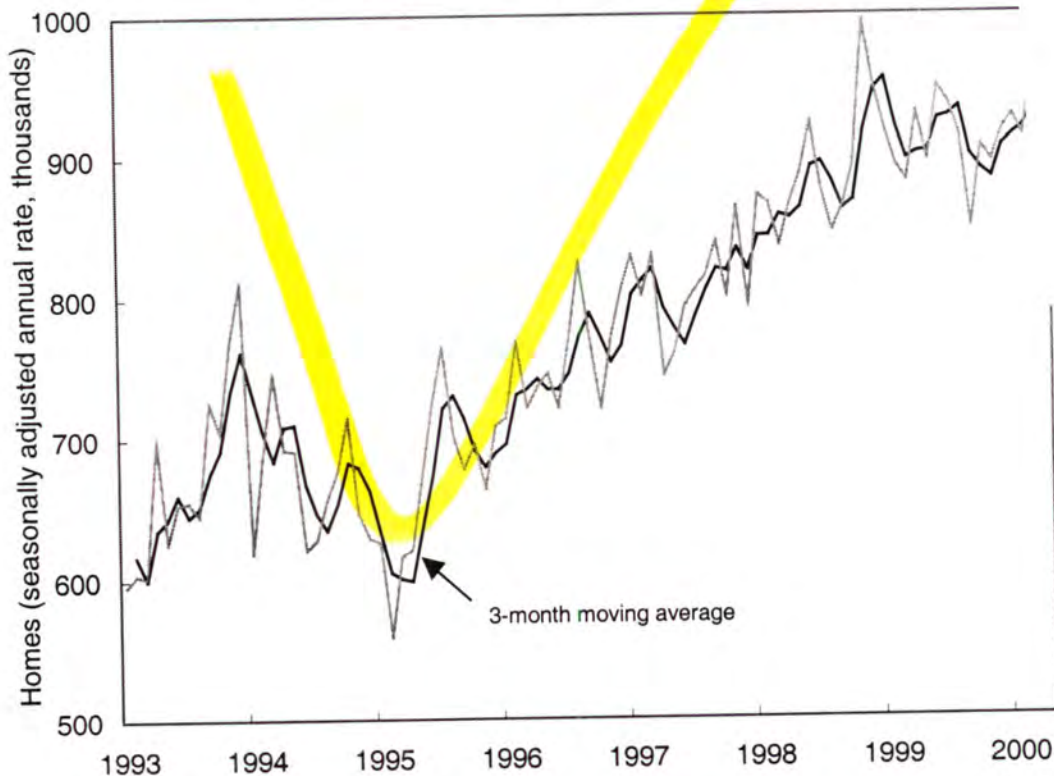
Prepared by the Council of Economic Advisers
with the assistance of the Office of the Vice President

June 2, 2000

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VP
Pg. 4
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CHART OF THE WEEK

New Single-Family Home Sales



This week's data on new home sales in April showed a sharper-than-expected monthly drop of 5.8 percent. Although the level of new home sales remains high, the drop in April is consistent with other data on housing starts and existing home sales which suggest that the Federal Reserve's tightening of monetary policy may be beginning to affect the housing market.

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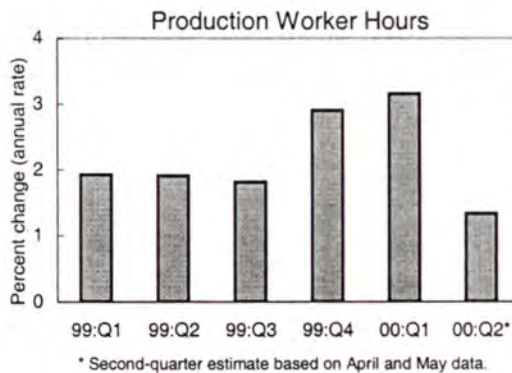
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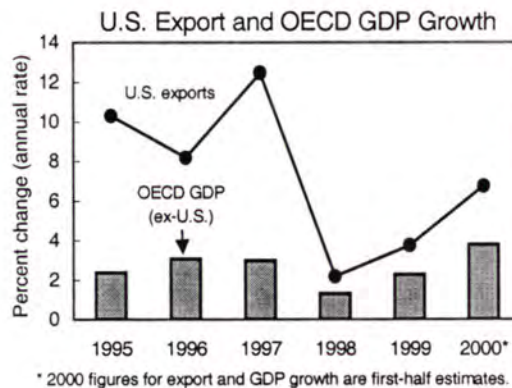


Economy Likely to Slow in the Second Quarter

The decline of 116,000 in private payroll employment in May indicates a slowing of labor demand in the second quarter. Hours worked by production workers appear to be up about 1¼ percent at an annual rate from the second quarter, a slowing from their earlier pace (see upper chart). This growth in hours could support real GDP growth in the 3 to 4 percent range.



The shape of demand. Domestic demand has grown faster than domestic production for most of the past 4 years, with imports growing faster than exports. But domestic demand may have moderated in the second quarter according to fragmentary data on consumption, housing, and equipment investment.



Exports. Prospects for U.S. export growth in 2000 are improving. GDP growth in the rest of the OECD, which had averaged only 1.8 percent in 1998 and 1999, is now expected to increase at a 3¾ percent annual rate in the first half of 2000. The acceleration in foreign GDP may account for a pickup in U.S. exports to about a 7 percent annual rate (see lower chart).

Inflation. After years of low and stable inflation, it appears that price inflation has edged up—but only slightly. The four-quarter change in the GDP price index—at 1.8 percent—was 0.5 percentage point above its year-earlier rate, although the core CPI has shown only a 0.2 percentage point acceleration. One measure of hourly compensation, the Employment Cost Index, has accelerated much more (1.5 percentage points). Thus far, these wage increases have been largely offset by higher productivity growth.

6-6-00

For J. J. Burson
cc: Charles Burson
potential liability
George

SPECIAL ANALYSIS

The Economics of Standards

One goal of the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996 (HIPAA) was to reduce health care costs and administrative burdens by setting standards for the electronic transmission of many administrative and financial transactions between insurers, providers, and other health care institutions. This month the Department of Health and Human Services is expected to issue its first final rule to begin establishing such standards. In this particular case, standards may result in substantial cost reductions. But across industries, the question of when or whether the government should intervene to set standards can pose serious policy challenges.

copied
Burson
VA

Are market forces enough? Developing a standard requires solving a coordination problem among a potentially diverse set of consumers and producers. At times, a standard can emerge as a result of technological or market dominance. In some areas of today's economy, firms may seek an advantage by encouraging the adoption of their own technology rather than that of others. As firms compete to improve their products, new technologies may lead to better designs that then supplant the prevailing market standard. To the extent, for example, that a large majority of video cassette recorder consumers decided that they preferred the properties of VHS technology to those of Betamax, no explicit coordination was required for a de facto standard to emerge. Another way that firms may be able to overcome coordination issues is to use industry-based standard setting bodies. In other cases, however, the distribution of costs and benefits may be sufficiently uneven that voluntary coordination is not achievable. Even where the total industry-wide benefits exceed costs, some participants may incur net costs and be unwilling to switch to a new standard voluntarily. Government intervention may be necessary for a standard to be adopted.

The case of HIPAA. Insurance companies, health care plans, and providers currently use many different types of forms to transmit similar information. To receive payment, hospitals must support each insurance company's forms. Although hospitals may benefit on balance from reducing this administrative burden by having one standard way of transmitting information, each insurance company would also have to incur the costs of switching to a new system. Studies suggest that the long-run savings from adopting a standard might greatly exceed the additional costs imposed by requiring a common form. The uneven distribution of costs and benefits may have hindered the development of a voluntary industry-wide standard. The HIPAA legislation breaks this deadlock by requiring all firms to adopt a standard format for transferring information. An early industry analysis estimated annual savings for the transactions covered by HIPAA to range between \$8.9 and \$20.5 billion.

Conclusion. As the HIPAA example illustrates, firms may not always have the incentive to develop standards that would generate cost savings to the entire

industry due to the costs of coordinating such a move. While government intervention can resolve this type of deadlock and increase economic efficiency, the imposition of standards by the government does carry some risks. For example, whenever the government chooses a standard, even one that is the best available at any point in time, the incentives to develop a better standard may be diminished. In addition, since government standards are typically slow to develop, government standards may sometimes take longer to develop than market-based solutions.

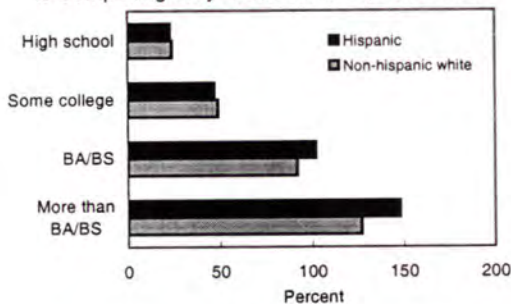
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ARTICLE**Education and the Economic Success of Hispanics**

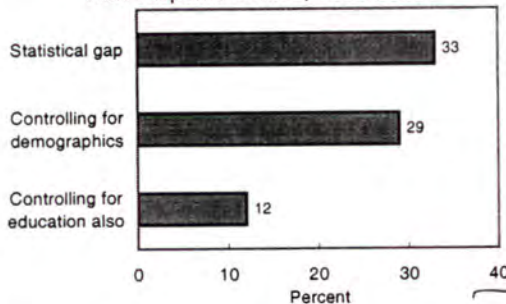
Hispanics are a growing segment of the U.S. population. In 20 years about one in six U.S. residents will be of Hispanic origin, and by the middle of this century—when today's young children are middle aged—this ratio will increase to about one in four. Given the current educational attainment gap between Hispanics and other groups, a key to the future productivity of the U.S. labor force will be our ability to raise education levels among this expanding pool of workers. A forthcoming CEA analysis of Hispanics in the rapidly growing information technology (IT) sector illustrates the potential payoff to such an effort.

Educational lags among Hispanics. Compared with non-Hispanic groups, there are now substantial education gaps at all levels. The high school graduation rate for Hispanics aged 25 to 29 is about 63 percent—compared with about 90 percent for non-Hispanics (both black and white). The fraction of Hispanics who graduate from 4-year colleges is less than half that of non-Hispanic whites. Part of this education gap is attributable to low educational attainment of immigrants, but native-born Hispanics also drop out of high school at much higher rates than non-Hispanic whites.

Earnings Premium by Education Level Relative to Completing Only Grade 10 or 11, 1995-2000



Difference in Earnings between Hispanics and Non-Hispanic Whites, 1995-2000

**Consequences for economic success.**

For Hispanics and non-Hispanics alike high school and college educated individuals have far higher earnings than those who complete 10 or more years of education, but fail to graduate from high school (see upper chart). However, analysis of data from 1995 to 2000 indicates that Hispanics earn 33 percent less than non-Hispanic whites.

A very small part of this gap is due to differences in gender and age composition; after adjusting for these demographic factors the gap is 29 percent (see lower chart). Rather, most of the earnings disparity is due to differences in educational attainment. After controlling for educational attainment, the gap declines to 12 percent.

Information technology: A case study. Analysis of employment and earnings in IT provides a vivid illustration of the importance of education in the new economy. (IT is defined here to comprise the following five occupations:

CEA
to be included in this
to be included in this

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electrical and electronic engineering, computer system analysts and scientists, operations and systems researchers and analysts, computer programmers, and computer operators.) IT is an important sector of the U.S. economy, characterized by both high employment growth and relatively high pay.

- Earnings. CEA analysis indicates that in IT Hispanics earn only slightly less than non-Hispanic whites (about 7 percent less after controlling for age, education, and gender), and that earnings of individuals in both groups are far higher than in other occupations. While the differential in median hourly earnings between the IT and non-IT occupations is 62 percent for non-Hispanic whites, it is 100 percent for Hispanics—reflecting the low earnings of Hispanics in non-IT jobs.
- Employment. While earnings are similar, there is a ~~striking digital divide~~ in the IT workforce, with Hispanics significantly underrepresented (4 percent of workers in IT occupations, compared with 11 percent of the full-time labor force). This Hispanic digital divide in IT does not reflect a marked lack of success of well-educated Hispanics who take IT jobs. Rather, it is indicative of a lack of the education needed to prepare Hispanics for these occupations. In particular, the digital divide in IT employment seems to stem from the low levels of college attendance among Hispanics.

Improving outcomes for Hispanics. Research has established that the gap in educational achievement between Hispanics and non-Hispanics begins at young ages. Research also indicates that ultimate educational outcomes are determined to a considerable extent by educational success at young ages. Programs aimed at older disadvantaged youth—for example, policies that lower economic barriers to higher education—may well be helpful for improving prospects of Hispanics. However, it is particularly crucial that educational policies address the ethnic, racial, immigrant-status, and economic-based education gaps that exist for young children.

BUSINESS, CONSUMER, AND REGIONAL ROUNDUP

Don't Rain on My Parade. Most states are currently enjoying the best fiscal health they have had in years. Annual budget surpluses have been substantial in many states, and some states have accumulated growing fund balances. Budget reserves and "rainy day funds" can serve an important function in protecting state budgets against the need to raise taxes or cut spending sharply in a downturn, limiting the kind of pro-cyclical fiscal policy that has often characterized state budgets in the past. However, the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities found that in fiscal 1999 only eight states had enough savings to maintain services through a 3-year recession without raising taxes. Since then, five of those states have enacted tax cuts. The shortfalls in these five states are now projected to range from 2.7 percent of general fund expenditures in Massachusetts to 10.4 percent in Michigan. Other states start out in an even less favorable position.

Changes in New Home Inventories. For much of the last four decades, the stock of unsold new homes has tracked new home sales very closely, including rising in boom years. But a recent study finds that since 1995 inventories have fallen behind rapidly rising sales. In part, the study argues, this decline reflects longer-term trends toward building larger and higher quality homes that require longer construction times (thereby slowing the response of inventories to cyclical fluctuations in sales and reducing desired inventories). For example, average square footage for new single-family homes rose from 1,700 in 1980 to 2,170 in 1998, and new homes are more likely to have extras such as central air conditioning, fireplaces, and multi-car garages. A second longer-term trend is the growing practice of selling homes before construction has begun. The study also notes that very strong demand in the current expansion may be straining industry capacity. The study concludes that the current low level of inventories offers some assurance that the homebuilding sector could weather a slowdown in sales without the dramatic decline in construction activity that has been seen in the past.

Unmarried Parents Are Not Necessarily Single, at Least at First. Most new unmarried parents agree substantially with the view that marriage and father involvement are important, according to a recent study. And despite not being married, about half of all such parents live together, and another 30 percent are romantically involved at the time of their child's birth. More than two-thirds believe that their chances of marrying are 50 percent or better and that it is better for children if their parents are married. The study argues that public policies and programs should build upon and maintain this commitment that exists at the "magic moment" of a child's birth. However, other findings suggest that this may be difficult. When asked about the qualities of a successful marriage, 90 percent of parents in Austin and more than three-quarters of parents in Oakland rated "husband having a steady job" as very important. Yet the study found that unmarried fathers had an average income of only \$12,500 and about half lacked a high school degree, suggesting that increases in human capital and employment could play critical roles in the development and maintenance of stable families.

INTERNATIONAL ROUNDUP

OECD Economic Prospects Bright. OECD-wide output growth for this year is projected to be 4 percent, the fastest pace in a decade, according to the June 2000 *OECD Economic Outlook*. Aggregate unemployment is expected to decline by more than 2 million between 1999 and 2001, falling to 6.1 percent of the labor force. The euro area should see a particularly strong decrease in unemployment, from 10.1 percent in 1999 to 8.5 percent in 2001. This reflects projected real GDP growth of 3.5 percent this year and 3.3 percent in 2001. Japan is expected to grow 1.7 percent this year and 2.2 percent next year. The report warns that the recent strength of domestic demand in the United States is not sustainable and points to signs of inflationary pressure and the deterioration of the current account and net international investment position. OECD projections for U.S. growth are 4.9 percent this year slowing to 3.0 percent in 2001.

The Poor Suffer More from Inflation. The poor are more concerned about inflation than the rich, and inflation tends to reduce the relative income of the poor and increase poverty, according to a recent study co-authored by IMF First Deputy Managing Director Stanley Fischer. These findings complement those of World Bank researchers described in a recent *Weekly Economic Briefing*. Survey data for over 30,000 households in 38 countries—19 industrialized and 19 developing—show that within a country, the poor and less educated are more likely than the more advantaged to mention inflation as a top national concern. This is probably because the poor tend to hold relatively more cash, be less aware of or have less access to financial instruments that hedge against inflation risk, and depend more heavily on income that is not fully indexed to inflation. In addition, the study shows that several more direct indicators of the well-being for the poor—their share of national income, poverty rates, and real minimum wage—tend to deteriorate with high inflation.

Healthy Foreign Banks Can Be Stabilizing. A new study of the experiences of Mexico and Argentina in the 1990s finds that diversity of bank ownership contributed to greater stability of credit in recent crises and times of financial system weakness. In both countries, foreign banks had stronger loan growth rates than their domestically owned counterparts, with lower associated volatility contributing to greater stability in overall financial system credit. Importantly, the study found that bank health—not national ownership *per se*, has been the critical determinant of the growth, volatility, and cyclicalities of bank credit. In Mexico, banks with higher impaired loan ratios (ILRs) had lower and more volatile rates of portfolio expansion than banks with less problematic portfolios. While the banking system overall showed a small contraction in credit during the 1995-99 period following the Tequila crisis, both domestic and foreign banks with low ILRs continued to extend credit steadily during this period, though their share of total lending was small. The study concludes that healthy foreign banks have emerged as an important source of funding for local investment and growth opportunities without raising the volatility of the financial system.

RELEASES THIS WEEK

Employment and Unemployment

****Embargoed until 8:30 a.m., Friday, June 2, 2000****

In May, the unemployment rate was 4.1 percent; it was 3.9 percent in April. Nonfarm payroll employment increased by 231,000.

NAPM Report on Business

The Purchasing Managers' Index decreased 1.7 percentage points in May to 53.2 percent. (A reading above 50 percent indicates that the manufacturing economy is generally expanding.)

Leading Indicators

The composite index of leading indicators declined 0.1 percent in April.

Consumer Confidence

Consumer confidence, as measured by The Conference Board, rose 6.7 index points in May, to 144.4 (1985=100).

MAJOR RELEASES NEXT WEEK

Productivity (Tuesday)
Producer Prices (Friday)

U.S. ECONOMIC STATISTICS

	1970- 1993	1999	1999:3	1999:4	2000:1
Percent growth (annual rate)					
Real GDP (chain-type)	2.9	4.6	5.7	7.3	5.4
GDP chain-type price index	5.2	1.6	1.1	2.0	2.7
<u>Nonfarm business (NFB) sector:</u>					
Productivity (chain-type)	1.7	3.7	5.0	6.9	2.4
Real compensation per hour:					
Using CPI	1.0	1.7	2.0	0.9	0.3
Using NFB deflator	1.5	2.9	4.0	1.8	1.8
 Shares of Nominal GDP (percent)					
Business fixed investment	11.4	12.6	12.7	12.5	13.0
Residential investment	4.5	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.4
Exports	8.2	10.8	10.8	10.9	10.9
Imports	9.2	13.5	13.8	14.0	14.3
Personal saving	6.6	1.7	1.5	1.3	0.4
Federal surplus	-2.8	1.2	1.4	1.2	1.9
	1970- 1993	1999	March 2000	April 2000	May 2000
Unemployment Rate (percent)	6.7**	4.2**	4.1	3.9	4.1
Payroll employment (thousands)					
increase per month			527	414	231
increase since Jan. 1993					22152
Inflation (percent per period)					
CPI	5.8	2.7	0.7	0.0	N.A.
PPI-Finished goods	5.0	2.9	1.0	-0.3	N.A.

**Figures beginning 1994 are not comparable with earlier data.

New or revised data in **boldface**.

Employment and unemployment data **embargoed until 8:30 a.m., Friday, June 2, 2000.**

FINANCIAL STATISTICS

	1998	1999	April 2000	May 2000	June 1, 2000
Dow-Jones Industrial Average	8626	10465	10944	10580	10652
Interest Rates (percent per annum)					
3-month T-bill	4.78	4.64	5.66	5.79	5.57
10-year T-bond	5.26	5.65	5.99	6.44	6.20
Mortgage rate, 30-year fixed	6.94	7.43	8.15	8.52	8.54
Prime rate	8.35	8.00	9.00	9.24	9.50

INTERNATIONAL STATISTICS

Exchange Rates	Current level June 1, 2000	Percent Change from Week ago	Year ago
Euro (in U.S. dollars)	0.931	2.6	-10.9
Yen (per U.S. dollar)	108.7	1.2	-9.9
Major currencies index (Mar. 1973=100) (trade-weighted value of the U.S. \$)	98.52	-1.0	2.5

International Comparisons ^{1/}	Real GDP growth (percent change last 4 quarters)	Unemployment rate (percent)	CPI inflation (percent change in index last 12 months)
United States	5.0 (Q1)	4.1 (May)	3.0 (Apr)
Canada	4.9 (Q1)	6.8 (Mar)	2.1 (Apr)
Japan	0.0 (Q4)	5.0 (Mar)	-0.8 (Apr)
France	3.3 (Q1)	9.8 (Mar)	1.3 (Apr)
Germany	2.3 (Q1)	8.4 (Mar)	1.6 (Apr)
Italy	2.1 (Q4)	11.3 (Jan)	2.3 (Apr)
United Kingdom	3.1 (Q1)	5.9 (Jan) ^{2/}	3.0 (Apr)

U.S. unemployment data **embargoed until 8:30 a.m., Friday, June 2, 2000.**

1/ For unemployment data, rates approximating U.S. concepts as calculated by the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, except as noted in footnote 2.

2/ Data from OECD standardized unemployment rates.

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Personal file

cc per fun

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 6, 2000

L. F. Goza
President
Strago Petroleum Corporation
811 Dallas Street
Suite 1407
Houston, Texas 77002-5982

Dear Bud:

Many thanks to you, Charlotte, and Ruth for being so thoughtful in putting flowers at Mother's gravesite. I appreciate the kind gesture as well as your supportive words.

Please give my best wishes and thanks to all your family.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

I loved the pictures and I can't tell you how much I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending them and in putting the flowers at Mother's grave. I miss her still, every day.

I hope to meet you and your wife someday. Please stop by if you're in the DC area.

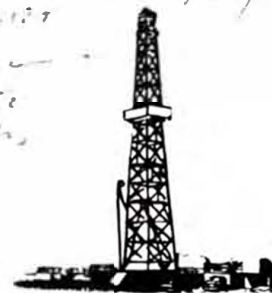


STRAGO PETROLEUM CORPORATION

811 Dallas Street • Suite 1407

Houston, Texas 77002-5982

Phone (713) 652-5064 • Fax (713) 652-0518



L. F. "Bud" Goza, President

March 18, 2000

President Clinton
The Whitehouse
Washington, D.C. 20500

Re: Hope, Arkansas

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed are photos of the Blythe-Cassidy family plot at the cemetery in Hope, Arkansas. This Mothers Day, my wife, Charlotte, and I were visiting my wife's mother, Ruth Brown, who lives in Hope and during our visit to the cemetery we noticed that your mother's gravesite did not have flowers so we took the liberty of placing an arrangement at the headstone.

Charlotte and her brother, Charles Brown, were both raised in Hope and he attended the first grade with you at Brookwood Elementary School.

The Clinton Birthplace and Boyhood Home is an honor for the town of Hope. We are all proud of your accomplishments beginning with your early days at Hope and now as President. You are an example for the new young generation who can look to your success with "hope" for their future. Keep up the good work.

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June 6, 2000

William Whitworth
Editor Emeritus
The Atlantic Monthly
77 North Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02114

Dear Bill:

Thank you for your thoughtful note.

I do hope our paths cross in Little Rock. Send me your new address when you get it, and we'll stay in touch.

I hope you're enjoying your new position.

Sincerely,

Bar Clinton

*I look forward to seeing
you - maybe we can do some
good things together*

The Atlantic Monthly

apr

May 19, 2000

WILLIAM WHITWORTH
Editor Emeritus

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As you may know, The Atlantic Monthly was sold a few months ago. I have moved into an advisory role with the magazine, as editor emeritus, and will continue to edit writers whose work I'm particularly interested in. I'm also editing books for Houghton Mifflin and Public Affairs Books.

I'm not writing to update you on my career but only to say that, since I no longer have to go to an office regularly, I plan to move back to Little Rock in a few months. I understand that you also will be in Little Rock when your term ends, and I just wanted to say that I hope our paths cross there. Meanwhile, you're doing a wonderful job; I wish you had another term.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Whitworth

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re: this
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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June 6, 2000

Kearnie Carleton
4577 East 106th Drive
Thornton, Colorado 80233

Dear Kearnie:

Thank you for your recent letters and for sending along your resumé. I'm sorry your position in Denver hasn't worked out and understand why you want to relocate to Florida.

I'll think about what you said and see if I know of any way to help. In the meantime, take care, friend.

Sincerely,

Bin

I love seeing you
I'll see what I can do

7
moes
April 17, 2000

EP
my

President Bill Clinton,
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I reviewed the letter I sent you last week and decided I should do a follow-up. The letter sounds very single in purpose and I should better explain my needs.

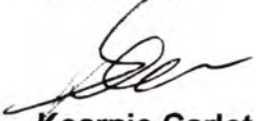
I need to locate in southwest Florida. I am not limited to banking. I would take any job, government or private that utilizes my skills.

I hope you can help me but understand if you can't.

Thank you for your recognition of Mary' Grandmother on Mother's Day. She is one of your biggest fans and you really made her day.

With warmest regards, I remain,

Sincerely,


Kearnie Carleton

4577 East 106th Drive
Thornton, CO. 80233

Cell 303.909.6686
Home 303.255.5604