

THE TRIP
of
THE PRESIDENT
to
MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA,
PORTLAND, OREGON,
SPRINGFIELD, OREGON,
and
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

June 12-13, 1998

Staff Copy

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Friday, June 12, 1998

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1998

Final Schedule

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STREETT

HOME: 202-332-5651

OFFICE: 202-456-2823

WHCA PAGER: 4824

TRIP COORDINATOR:

LAURA GRAHAM

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MICHELLE BONNER

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WEATHER:

WASHINGTON, DC

Cloudy with light drizzle, becoming mostly cloudy with thunderstorms. Winds southeast at 5 to 10 knots, becoming south to southwest at 10 to 15 knots in the afternoon. Low 59 to 64. High 75 to 80.

MONTEREY, CA

Mostly cloudy, becoming partly cloudy by afternoon. Winds west-northwest at 5 to 10 knots, with gusts to 20 knots. Low 52 to 57. High 69 to 74.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA

Mostly cloudy, becoming partly cloudy by afternoon. Winds west-northwest at 5 to 10 knots, with gusts to 20 knots. Low 52 to 57. High 67 to 72.

June 11, 1998 (10:51pm)

Friday, June 12, 1998

**Schedule of the President
for
Friday, June 12, 1998
*Final Schedule***

6:30	am		THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart the White House via motorcade en route the Reflecting Pool [flight time: 5 minutes]
6:35	am		THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive the Reflecting Pool
6:45	am		THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart the Reflecting Pool via Marine One en route Andrews Air Force Base [flight time: 10 minutes]
6:55	am	ET	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Andrews Air Force Base
7:10	am		THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Andrews Air Force Base en route Moffet Air Force Base [flight time: 5 hours, 10 minutes] [time change: -3 hours]
9:20	am	PT	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Moffet Air Force Base OPEN PRESS CLOSED PUBLIC Greeter: Ken Muncehika, Director, Base Operations
9:35	am		THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Moffet Air Force Base via Marine One en route Monterey Airport Landing Zone [flight time: 40 minutes]
10:15	am		THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Monterey Airport Landing Zone OPEN PRESS CLOSED PUBLIC Greeter: The Vice President

June 11, 1998 (10:51pm)

Friday, June 12, 1998

10:25 am

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Monterey Airport Landing Zone via motorcade en route Hopkins Marine Research Center [drive time: 15 minutes]

Note: The Vice President will accompany the President in the motorcade.

10:40 am

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Hopkins Marine Research Center

Greeters: Dr. Dennis Powers, Director, Hopkins Marine Research Center
(Curbside) John Shoven, Dean, School of Humanities and Science, Stanford University

Greeters: John Dalton, Secretary of the Navy
(Inside) William Daley, Secretary of Commerce
Dr. Jane Lubehenco, Oregon State University
Bill Amaru, Commercial Fisherman
Robert Gazosian, Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution
Admiral Donald Pilling, Vice Chief of Naval Operations
John Shoven, Dean of Humanities, Stanford University
Leon Panetta

10:45 am-

11:15 am

BRIEFING BY CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS
HAROLD A. MILLER LIBRARY
Hopkins Marine Research Center
Staff Contact: Katie McGinty
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
PRINT REPORTER ONLY (OPTIONAL)

Note: The event requires casual attire.

Note: The rain site is the Monterey Aquarium.

- The Vice President, Secretary John Dalton, Secretary William Daley, Leon Panetta and four conference panelists will brief the President and the First Lady.
- Upon conclusion of the briefing, the First Lady will proceed in a separate movement and rejoin the President, accompanied by Secretary John Dalton and Secretary William Daley, prior to departure from Hopkins Center.

11:20 am-

11:25 am

POLICE/DRIVER PHOTOGRAPHS
HALLWAY

June 11, 1998 (10:51pm)

Friday, June 12, 1998

11:30 am

THE PRESIDENT and the Vice President, accompanied by Stanford University Professor George Somerow, proceeds to Tide Pools

Greeters: Raphael Sagarin, Researcher
Nancy Eufemia, Researcher

11:35 am-

12:05 pm

VISIT TIDE POOL
HOPKINS MARINE RESEARCH CENTER
Staff Contact: Katie McGinty
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
POOL PRESS

Note: The event requires casual attire.

Note: The rain site is the Monterey Aquarium.

— The President and the Vice President, accompanied by Raphael Sagarin and Nancy Eufemia, Researchers. Hopkins Marine Research Center, view the tide pool.

12:10 pm

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Hopkins Marine Research Center via motorcade en route San Carlos Park
[drive time: 10 minutes]

Note: The Vice President will accompany the President in the motorcade.

June 11, 1998 (10:51pm)

Friday, June 12, 1998

12:20 pm

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive San Carlos Park and proceed inside Tent

Greeters:

Barbara Boxer, U.S. Senator
Mr. Stewart Boxer
Sam Farr, U.S. Representative
George Miller, U.S. Representative
Anna Eshoo, U.S. Representative
Brian Bilbray, U.S. Representative
Lois Capps, U.S. Representative
Lynn Woolsey, U.S. Representative
Earl Blumenauer, U.S. Representative
Eni Faleomavaega, U.S. Representative
Bob Underwood, U.S. Representative
Donna Christian-Green, U.S. Representative
Katie McGinty, CEQ
Administrator Carol Browner, EPA
Sylvia Panetta
Bruce McPherson, State Senator
Fred Keeley, State Assemblyman
Dan Albert, Mayor
Beverly O'Neill, Mayor
Don Edgren, City Council Member
Ruth Vreeland, City Council Member
Simon Salinas, County Supervisor
Judy Pennycook, County Supervisor
Edith Johnsen, County Supervisor
Dave Potter, County Supervisor

Award Winners

Ted Danson, President, American Oceans Campaign
Dr. Sylvia Earle, *National Geographic*
Jean-Michel Cousteau, Director, Jean-Michel Cousteau Institute
Bob Talbot, Marine Photographer

June 11, 1998 (10:51pm)

Friday, June 12, 1998

12:30 pm-
1:30 pm

REMARKS TO OCEANS CONFERENCE
SAN CARLOS PARK
Remarks: Lowell Weiss
Staff Contact: Katie McGinty
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
OPEN PRESS

Note: The Rain Site is the Industrial Hall.

Note: There will be approximately 700 guests in attendance.

- Off-stage announcement of Senator Barbara Boxer, Representative Sam Farr, the First Lady, and Dr. Sylvia Earle, *National Geographic*.
- Off-stage announcement of **the President** and the Vice President to "Ruffles and Flourishes" and "Hail to the Chief" by the Watsonville Adult Marching Band.
- Representative Sam Farr makes brief remarks and introduces Senator Barbara Boxer.
- Senator Barbara Boxer makes brief remarks and introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady makes brief remarks and introduces Sylvia Earle.
- Sylvia Earle makes brief remarks and introduces the Vice President.
- The Vice President makes brief remarks and introduces **the President**.
- **The President** makes remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, **the President** and the Vice President proceed to the signing table on stage where **the President** signs a Presidential Directive.
- **The President** and the Vice President work a ropeline and depart.

1:35 pm

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart San Carlos Park via motorcade en route Monterey Airport Landing Zone
[drive time: 15 minutes]

Note: The Vice President will accompany the President in the motorcade.

1:50 pm

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Monterey Airport Landing Zone

June 11, 1998 (10:51pm)

Friday, June 12, 1998

2:00 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady depart Monterey Airport Landing Zone via Marine One en route San Francisco Presidio Landing Zone [flight time: 55 minutes]

2:55 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady arrive San Francisco Presidio Landing Zone
OPEN PRESS
CLOSED PUBLIC

3:05 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady depart San Francisco Presidio Landing Zone via motorcade en route Fairmont Hotel [drive time: 15 minutes]

3:20 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady arrive Fairmont Hotel

Greeter: Mark Huntley, Fairmont Hotel Manager

3:30 pm- **MEET AND GREET**
3:45 pm **SQUIRE ROOM**
Fairmont Hotel
Staff Contact: Craig Smith
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
CLOSED PRESS

Note: There will be 7 in attendance.

— **The President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Senator Barbara Boxer, meets and greets with guests.

3:45 pm- **MEET AND GREET**
4:15 pm **FRENCH ROOM**
Fairmont Hotel
Staff Contact: Craig Smith
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
CLOSED PRESS

Note: There will be 35 in attendance.

— **The President** and the First Lady, accompanied by Senator Barbara Boxer, meets and greets with guests.

June 11, 1998 (10:51pm)

Friday, June 12, 1998

4:20 pm-
5:05 pm

RECEPTION FOR SENATOR BARBARA BOXER
GRAND BALLROOM
Fairmont Hotel
Remarks: Laura Capps
Staff Contact: Craig Smith
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
POOL PRESS

Note: The event requires casual attire.

Note: There will be 450 guests in attendance.

- Off-stage announcement of the President and the First Lady accompanied by Senator Barbara Boxer.
- Senator Barbara Boxer makes brief remarks and introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady makes brief remarks and introduces the President.
- The President makes remarks.
- The President works a ropeline.
- The President and the First Lady depart.

5:10 pm-
5:15 pm

POLICE/DRIVER PHOTOGRAPHS
HALLWAY
Fairmont Hotel

5:20 pm-
6:20 pm

DOWN
PRESIDENTIAL SUITE
Fairmont Hotel

Note: The First Lady will remain in San Francisco.

6:25 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs Fairmont Hotel via motorcade en route San Francisco International Airport
[drive time: 30 minutes]

6:55 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives San Francisco International Airport

Greeter: Charlotte Maillard-Scheelty, City Chief of Protocol

Note: Representative Earl Blumenauer will join the President and the First Lady at the airport.

June 11, 1998 (10:51pm)

Friday, June 12, 1998

7:10 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs San Francisco International Airport via Air Force One en route Portland International Airport - Portland, Oregon
[flight time: 1 hour, 30 minutes]

8:40 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Portland International Airport - Portland, Oregon
OPEN PRESS
CLOSED PUBLIC

Greeters: Governor John Kitzhaber, Governor (T)
Mayor Vera Katz, City of Portland
Hardy Myers, Attorney General
Jim Hill, State Treasurer
Brady Adams, Senate President
Lynn Lundquist, House Speaker
Dianne Lynn, County Commissioner
Gary Hansen, Commissioner (T)
Dan Bernstine, President, Portland State University
Mr. and Mrs. David Waite and Family

Note: The President will pause for a photograph with the Waite Family.

8:55 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Portland International Airport - Portland via motorcade en route Tiffany Center
[drive time: 25 minutes]

9:20 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Tiffany Center

9:25 pm- **PHOTO RECEIVING LINE**
9:45 pm **CRYSTAL BALLROOM WEST**
Tiffany Center
Staff Contact: Craig Smith
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
CLOSED PRESS

Note: There will be 75 guests (50 photos) in attendance.

Note: Upon conclusion of the photo receiving line, the President will pause for a quick photo with Bill Bradbury, Susan Graber and Jeff Rogers in the hallway.

June 11, 1998 (10:51pm)

Friday, June 12, 1998

9:50 pm-
10:30 pm
[12:50 am-1:30 am ET]

RECEPTION FOR REPRESENTATIVE DARLENE HOOLEY
EMERALD BALLROOM
Tiffany Center
Remarks: Laura Capps
Staff Contact: Craig Smith
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
POOL PRESS

Note: There will be 400 guests in attendance.

- Off-stage announcement of the **President** and Representative Darlene Hooley.
- Representative Darlene Hooley makes brief remarks and introduces the **President**.
- **The President** makes remarks.
- **The President** works a ropeline and departs.

10:30 pm-
11:00 pm

RECEPTION FOR COORDINATED CAMPAIGN
CRYSTAL BALLROOM EAST
Tiffany Center
Remarks: Laura Capps
Staff Contact: Craig Smith
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
CLOSED PRESS

Note: There will be 40 guests in attendance.

- The **President**, accompanied by Senator Ron Wyden and Governor Kitzhaber, meets and greets with guests.

11:10 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs Tiffany Center via motorcade en route Bentsen Hotel
[drive time: 10 minutes]

11:20 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Bentsen Hotel

11:30 pm-
11:50 pm
[2:30 am-2:50 am ET]

BRIEFING/ TAPE RADIO ADDRESS
PRESIDENTIAL SUITE
Bentsen Hotel
Remarks: Jeff Shesol
Staff Contact: Ann Lewis, Megan Moloney
CLOSED PRESS/CLOSED GUESTS

June 11, 1998 (10:51pm)

Friday, June 12, 1998

BC RON
HRC RON

BENTSEN HOTEL - PORTLAND, OREGON
SAN FRANCISCO

June 11, 1998 (10:51pm)

Schedule of the President
for
Saturday, June 13, 1998

Draft Schedule

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STREETT

HOME: 202-332-5651

OFFICE: 202-456-2823

WHCA PAGER: 4824

EVENT COORDINATOR:

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PRESS DESK:

MICHELLE BONNER

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OFFICE: 202-456-7193

WHCA PAGER: 4200

WEATHER:

PORTLAND, OR

Partly sunny. Winds north-northeast at 5 to 10 knots. Low 52 to 57. High 71 to 76.

EUGENE, OR

Partly to mostly cloudy. Winds north-northeast at 5 to 10 knots. Low 49 to 54. High 74 to 79.

LOS ANGELES, CA

Partly sunny. Winds northwest at 8 to 12 knots. Low 58 to 63. High 70 to 75.

**Schedule of the President
for
Saturday, June 13, 1998
Draft Schedule**

9:00 am **THE PRESIDENT** departs Bentsen Hotel via motorcade en route Rose Garden Arena
 [drive time: 10 minutes]

9:10 am **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Rose Garden Arena

Greeter: Dan Bernstine, President, Portland State University

9:15 am- **RECEPTION**
9:45 am **ROSE ROOM (3RD FLOOR)**
 Rose Garden Arena
 Staff Contact: Bruce Reed
 Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
 CLOSED PRESS

Note: There will be 250 guests in attendance.

- Off-stage announcement of the President and Dan Bernstine, President, Portland State University
- Dan Bernstine, President, Portland State University, makes brief remarks and introduces the President.
- The President makes brief remarks.
- The President works a short ropeline and departs.

9:50 am- **HOLD**
10:05 am **ROSE GARDEN ARENA - 3RD FLOOR**

10:10 am- **POLICE/DRIVER PHOTOGRAPHS**
10:15 am **HALLWAY**
 Portland State University

10:15 am **The President** proceeds to the 1st Floor - Site TBD

Greeter: Dan Bernstine, President, Portland State University

10:25 am-
12:05 pm

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

ROSE GARDEN ARENA

Portland State University

Remarks: Jordan Tamagni, June Shih

Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

Event Coordinator: Laura Graham

OPEN PRESS

- Provost Reardon makes welcoming remarks.
- The "National Anthem" is performed.
- Provost Reardon makes brief remarks and introduces Dan President Bernstine.
- President Dan Bernstine makes brief remarks.
- Provost Reardon introduces Tom Imeson and John Wykoff.
- Tom Imeson makes brief remarks.
- Provost Reardon introduces Susan Purpura, President, Oregon Donor Program.
- Susan Purpura makes remarks.
- Provost Reardon introduces Theo Hall III, Student, Portland State University.
- Theo Hall III makes remarks.
- Provost Reardon introduces Jane Rongerude, Graduate Student, Portland State University.
- Jane Rongerude makes remarks.
- Provost Reardon recognizes two faculty members for their contributions.
- President Dan Bernstine presents Robert Miller with honorary degree.
- Robert Miller makes brief remarks.
- President Dan Bernstine presents the President with honorary degree.
- President Dan Bernstine introduces the President.
- The President gives keynote address.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, Provost Reardon joins the President at the podium.

– Provost Reardon thanks the President.

– The President departs.

Note: The presentation of degrees will occur after the President departs.

12:10 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Rose Garden Arena via motorcade en route
Portland International Airport
[drive time: 25 minutes]

12:35 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Portland International Airport

Note: Senator Gordan Smith will meet the President at the airport.

12:50 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Portland International Airport via Air Force
One en route Eugene Airport, Eugene, Oregon
[flight time: 40 minutes]

1:30 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Eugene Airport, Eugene, Oregon
OPEN PRESS
CLOSED PUBLIC

Greeters: Elected Officials TBD

1:45 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Eugene Airport via motorcade en route
Springfield, Oregon
[drive time: 15 minutes]

2:00 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Springfield, Oregon

Greeters: Elected Officials TBD

2:05 pm **MEETING WITH VICTIMS AND FAMILIES**
3:05 pm **SIZE TBD**
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
CLOSED PRESS

3:10	pm-	REMARKS TO COMMUNITY
3:55	pm	SITE TBD
		Remarks:
		Staff Contact:
		Event Coordinator:
		PRESS TBD
4:00	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Springfield, Oregon via motorcade en route Eugene Airport, Eugene, Oregon [drive time: 10 minutes]
4:10	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Site #2
4:15	pm-	HOLD
4:45	pm	SITE #2
4:50	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Site #2 via motorcade en route Eugene Airport [drive time: 10 minutes]
5:00	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Eugene Airport
5:15	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Eugene Airport via Air Force One en route Los Angeles International Airport, California [flight time: 1 hour, 50 minutes]
7:05	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Los Angeles International Airport
		Greeter: Lt. Governor Gray Davis
7:20	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Los Angeles International Airport via motorcade en route Private Residence [drive time: 35 minutes]
7:55	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Private Residence #1

Note: The First Lady will rejoin the President at this time.

Greeters: Lew Wasserman and Family
Steve Grossman, Chairman, DNC

8:00 pm-
9:00 pm

PHOTO RECEIVING LINE
PATIO AREA
Private Residence
Staff Contact: Craig Smith
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
CLOSED PRESS

Note: There will be 150 guests in attendance (75 photos).

9:05 pm-
10:00 pm

DNC DINNER
PATIO AREA
Private Residence
Remarks: Laura Capps
Staff Contact: Craig Smith
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
PRINT REPORTER ONLY

Note: There will be 150 guests in attendance.

- Lew Wassermen makes brief remarks and introduces Steve Grossman (T), Chairman, Democratic National Committee.
- Steve Grossman (T), Chairman, Democratic National Committee makes brief remarks and introduces Jack Valenti.
- Jack Valenti makes brief remarks and introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady makes brief remarks and introduces **the President**.
- The President makes remarks and departs.

10:15 pm

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Private Residence via motorcade en route Private Residence #2
[drive time: 10 minutes]

10:20 pm

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Private Residence #2

Greeters: Paul Birchall
Ari Swiller

BC/HRC RON

PRIVATE RESIDENCE #2
LOS ANGELES, CA



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

98 JUN 11 PM 5:37

June 11, 1998

BRIEFING BY CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

DATE: June 12, 1998
LOCATION: Hopkins Marine Research Center, Monterey, CA
TIME: 10:45am - 11:15am
FROM: Kathleen McGinty *NPW for KAM*
Karen Skelton

I. PURPOSE

To receive an overview of the National Oceans Conference issue forums and hear firsthand from some of the panelists participating in the conference.

II. BACKGROUND

Discussions at the conference began Thursday with four issue forums on 1) Commerce; 2) Global Security; 3) Environment and Health; and 4) Exploration, Education, and Research. You will be briefed by a participant from each panel. The Vice President will moderate the discussion.

Commerce Panel - Charles W. Foster, Executive Director, Port of Oakland

Mr. Foster served in a variety of positions at the Oakland Port before being named Executive Director. His expertise is in dredging, dredge disposal, long-term urban planning, and the need for adequate land-side and water access to the nation's ports. He will discuss the responsibilities of federal, state, and local authorities, as well as private interests, to meet the stresses and opportunities that an increasingly global economy will place on the nation's port communities.

Global Security Panel - Admiral Donald L. Pilling, Vice Chief of Naval Operations, United States Navy

Admiral Pilling will discuss essential Navy missions and the importance of naval power to national security and global stability. He will also brief you on the importance of the Law of the Sea as a check against excessive claims and as an assurance that we can use law, rather than force, to transit through choke points to meet our essential mission requirements.

Exploration, Education, and Research Panel - Robert B. Gagosian, Director, Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution

Dr. Gagosian's multiple research cruise experiences provide a practical understanding about conducting scientific investigations in an often inhospitable marine environment. He has diverse and solid scientific credentials backed up by a 26-year career at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution.

He will discuss the need for increased research efforts to explore our ocean frontiers -- utilizing new technologies such as remotely operated vehicles (such as the one that discovered the *Titanic*), manned submersibles, and satellites.

Environment and Health Panel - Jane Lubchenco, Former President, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Member, National Academy of Sciences.

Dr. Lubchenco is a marine ecologist by training and is a recognized expert on a broad range of marine biology and policy issues. She has extensive experience on the subjects of marine protected areas, global warming, biodiversity, and ecosystem approaches to marine resources management and utilization.

She will give an overview of the environment panel and the importance of biodiversity, especially in the oceans. She will also highlight the emerging problem of climate change and how it threatens our socio-economic well being as well as our natural ecosystems.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Event participants:

The Vice President, The First Lady, Secretary John Daley, Secretary John Dalton, Leon Panetta, Admiral Donald L. Pilling, Robert B. Gagosian, Jane Lubchenco, and Charles W. Foster.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Print Reporter Only (T)

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- The Vice President, Secretary Dalton, and four conference panelists will brief YOU and the First Lady
- Upon conclusion of the briefing, the First Lady will proceed in a separate movement and rejoin YOU prior to departure from the Hopkins Center.

VI. REMARKS

N/A



NATIONAL OCEAN CONFERENCE

Oceans of Commerce, Oceans of Life

US Naval Postgraduate School - 11/12 June 1998

Conference Schedule

Wednesday, 10 June

6 pm - 9 pm Registration in Herrmann Hall Lobby, Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) and the Doubletree Hotel

Thursday, 11 June

7:00 am - 8:00 am Registration in Herrmann Hall, NPS

8:00 am - 8:30 am Opening Remarks and Welcome, Ballroom, Herrmann Hall, NPS
- U.S. Representative Sam Farr
- Navy Secretary John H. Dalton
- Commerce Secretary William M. Daley (taped)
- Superintendent, NPS, RADM Robert Chaplin

8:30 am - 9:00 am Move to Issue Forums

9:00 am - 11:30 am Issue Forums (concurrent)
• Oceans and Commerce, Ingersoll Hall, NPS
• Oceans and Global Security, Mechanical Engineering Auditorium, NPS
• Ocean Environment and Health, Glasgow 102, NPS
• Ocean Exploration, Education, and Research, Glasgow 109, NPS

12:00 pm - 1:00 pm Lunch

1:30 pm - 4:00 pm Plenary I: Cross-cutting Issues in Ocean Programs and Policy, King Hall, NPS
Chaired by Vice President Al Gore
• Ecosystem Health
• Sustainable Use of Ocean and Coastal Resources
• Research
• Law of the Sea
• Ocean Management

4:00 pm Adjourn for evening

7:30 pm - 10:30 pm Evening reception at Monterey Bay Aquarium

Friday, 12 June

9:30 am Opening Remarks, San Carlos Park
- Commerce Secretary William M. Daley

9:30 am - 11:15 pm Plenary II: Congressional and State/Local Officials Panel, San Carlos Park
Chaired by Secretaries William M. Daley and Rodney Slater

11:15 am - 11:45 pm Break

11:45 am - 1:00 pm Ocean Programs and Policies for the 21st Century, San Carlos Park
Remarks by Vice President Al Gore, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
and keynote address by President William Jefferson Clinton



NATIONAL OCEAN CONFERENCE

Oceans of Commerce, Oceans of Life

US Naval Postgraduate School - 11/12 June 1998

Conference Structure

General Overview

The conference is scheduled for Thursday, June 11 and Friday, June 12, 1998. The overall structure will be as follows:

Thursday morning

Opening remarks by U.S Representative Sam Farr, Secretary of the Navy John H. Dalton, Secretary of Commerce William M. Daley (taped), and Superintendent of the Naval Postgraduate School RADM Robert Chaplin will be followed by four concurrent, facilitated Issue Forums. Each Forum will be chaired by a Federal government official (Cabinet Secretary or designee) and have selected panelists to lead and stimulate discussion.

The purpose of the Issue Forums is to bring individuals of diverse backgrounds together to identify and discuss ocean issues. It is anticipated that these interactions will result in participants acknowledging others' point of view and to, perhaps, rethink how they approach and solve problems involving the sea.

It is expected that all attendees will increase their understanding of the issues and subjects and, thus, be a more informed participant in future ocean policy and program decisions.

The Issue Forums are an opportunity whereby dialogue will occur between and among the panelists and the audience. The facilitators will help insure a range of issues are brought forth for a balanced dialogue and will seek an integrated perspective around the five cross-cut issues that are the focus of dialogue for Plenary I.

Thursday afternoon

Plenary moderated by Vice President Gore. Issue Forum chairs will give brief report of highlights of general discussion (not crosscuts). The Vice President will then lead a discussion of the five cross-cut issues to begin building an ocean agenda for the 21st century.

The Vice President will then ask selected questions of the Panelists (audience participation is not planned) and summarize his understanding of the future challenges and opportunities in the ocean for a report to the President on June 12. During this session, the Vice President, with help from Conference panelists, will begin to frame a vision for how our nation should think about our oceanic future - both the challenges and opportunities ahead.

Friday morning

Secretary William M. Daley will deliver opening remarks for a Congressional and State/Local Officials Panel. Secretary Daley and Secretary Rodney Slater will chair the panel discussion.

Following the panel discussion Vice President Gore will report to President William Jefferson Clinton on conference highlights. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will deliver brief introductory remarks to the keynote address given by President Clinton.

The purpose of the Legislative panel is to involve U.S. Congressional Members, State Governors, and representative local publicly elected officials in a question and answer dialogue with Secretaries Daley and Slater. It is anticipated that these deliberations will contribute to the Conference vision of the challenges and opportunities facing our nation's interaction with the global oceans.

More Detailed Description of the Schedule

Thursday, June 11 - morning

Issue Forums

Thursday morning, after a general introduction, conference attendees will "break out" into four concurrent Issue Forums:

- Oceans and Commerce
- Oceans and Global Security
- Ocean Environment and Health
- Ocean Exploration, Education, and Research

These Forums will address issues posed as challenges and opportunities for U.S. ocean policies and programs in the 21st Century with emphasis on the cross-cut issues scheduled to be explored in Plenary I.

The Issue Forums will be opened and chaired by a senior Federal official (Cabinet Secretary or designee) with panelists leading the discussion. A professional facilitator will guide the discussion, and rapporteurs will record the proceedings of each issue forum.

The structure for each Forum will be as follows.

- Co-chairs will lead off with brief remarks (3-5 minutes) and introduction of Panelists and the Facilitator.
- Facilitator will give a very brief overview of the sequence of discussions starting with the talks by the Panelists.

- Each Panelist will deliver a brief assessment (3-5 minutes) of major challenges and opportunities from their perspective of the Forum topics.
- Following the presentations by the Panelists, the co-chairs will give initial comments and then ask the Facilitator to open up discussion from the audience.
- The Facilitators will issue simple guidelines for discussion and then begin with solicitation of questions from the floor to the Panelists about their talks.
- Facilitator will then open discussion to remarks from the floor about challenges and opportunities related to any topic within the bounds of the Forum.
- After approximately one hour of discussion involving the audience, Facilitator will wind down discussion and hand the meeting over to co-chairs for closing.
- Facilitator directs a closing discussion to summarize, on a very broad scale, challenges and opportunities.

Over lunch (1 and 1/2 hours) the facilitators and recorders of the issue forums will meet to summarize the discussions. Each will produce brief highlight remarks for their chair to present in the afternoon Plenary. The four groups will then work together to produce a bulletized outline combining the results of the separate discussions on each crosscut issue. This will be presented to the Vice President for his use during the afternoon plenary.

Thursday, June 11 - afternoon

Plenary I: Cross-cutting Issues in Ocean Programs and Policy

A discussion moderated by the Vice President tying results of each forum theme area with the cross-cut issues.

Thursday afternoon, the Vice President will introduce the session objectives. Each of the four forum chairs will be given 3-5 minutes to present the highlights of their general discussions (not their crosscuts).

The Vice President will then lead a discussion through each of the crosscut issues by directing questions to specific panelists. About 20 minutes will be available for each crosscut. The Vice President will wrap up Plenary I with a summary of the crosscuts dialogue and an overview of the “new” issues identified for future consideration.

Friday, June 12 - Morning

Plenary II: Congressional and State/Local Officials Panel

Plenary II will be moderated by Secretary of Commerce William Daley and Secretary of Transportation Rodney Slater. Secretaries Daley and Slater will give a brief report of the previous day’s activities. They will then ask panelists various questions and engage them in a discussion of Federal, state, and local ocean related issues.

Ocean Programs and Policies for the 21st Century

Highlights from the Conference discussions during issue forums, Plenary I and Plenary II will be reported to the President.

Following the panel discussion Vice President Gore will report to President William Jefferson Clinton on conference highlights. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will deliver brief introductory remarks to the keynote address given by President Clinton.

Products

Products of the Conference will be a report of the issue forums, Plenary I (discussion of cross-cut issues), Plenary II (the Congressional panel), remarks by Vice President Gore and President Clinton's keynote address.

Highlights of these will be presented to an international audience on U.S. Day (June 14, 1998) at the EXPO '98 oceans-focused World's Fair in Lisbon, Portugal.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

June 11, 1998

TIDE POOL VISIT

DATE: June 12, 1998
LOCATION: Hopkins Marine Research Center, Monterey, CA
TIME: 11:30am - 12:00pm
FROM: Kathleen McGinty *WAF for KAM*
Karen Skelton

I. PURPOSE

To obtain a better understanding of the Monterey Bay ecosystem and see firsthand the importance of some of the topics discussed at the National Ocean Conference.

II. BACKGROUND

By studying tide pools, scientists can obtain important information on the health of oceans overall. You will take a short walk among the tide pools with two local biology students, Rafe Sagarin and Nancy Eufemia, who will brief you on the rocky coast tidal pool ecosystem. They will also discuss some of their on-going research and investigations.

Raphael (Rafe) David Sagarin is third year Ph.D. student at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He teaches marine science and gives tide pool tours to students from the elementary to undergraduate level. His research focuses on responses of marine invertebrates species to global warming. *Science Magazine* published his findings in February of 1995.

Nancy Eufemia is a fourth year Ph.D. student in biological sciences at Stanford. She works as a naturalist leading kayak tours and volunteers at the Monterey Bay Aquarium. Her research has focused on pollution effects on the bay and animals' natural defense mechanisms against toxin stress.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Event participants

The Vice President, Raphael David Sagarin and Nancy Eufemia

IV. PRESS PLAN

Pool press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- YOU and the Vice President, accompanied by Raphael David Sagarin and Nancy Eufemia, view the tide pools.

VI. REMARKS

N/A

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JUNE 12, 1998

THE NATIONAL OCEANS CONFERENCE

DATE: JUNE 12, 1998
LOCATION: MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA
TIME: 11:00 AM - 2:00 PM
STAFF CONTACTS: KATIE MCGINTY
KAREN SKELTON

I. PURPOSE

The primary purpose of the Oceans Conference is to reinforce your commitment to protecting and managing the environment--in this case, the ocean. You and the Vice President have established a strong environmental record by, among other things, preserving and restoring natural resources for future generations, including Lake Tahoe, the Florida Everglades, the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, California's redwoods and Escalante-Staircase. In 1997, you positioned the United States to lead international efforts to address global warming. In 1998, the International Year of the Ocean, you are devoting special attention to the world's oceans.

You will have a short briefing with Conference participants to get a sense of the issues raised at the Conference before your arrival. You will then visit a tide pool with two biologists who will describe aspects of the Ocean through this ecosystem. You will then address the Conference.

II. BACKGROUND

The Departments of Commerce and the Navy are co-sponsors of the National Ocean Conference. Senator Barbara Boxer and Congressman Sam Farr have also been instrumental in bringing attention to the Conference and in your agreeing to attend. Congressman Farr is very pleased about the extent to which you have directed your Administration to learn about the Ocean and to attend this Conference. Your visit is preceded by a day-long discussion with Vice President Gore on topics including the environment, commerce, exploration and research, and global security.

Many believe this Oceans Conference is historic and long overdue. It is historic because for the first time it brings together government experts, business executives, scientists, environmentalists and elected officials to examine the opportunities and challenges involved in managing the oceans for the 21st Century. It is believed long overdue because the Oceans are suffering from overfishing, pollution, and lack of a coherent policy

balancing competing interests, including the environment, commerce, research, science, and global security.

Oceans sustain nearly half of all life on Earth. Two-thirds of the world's 5.5 billion people live within 50 miles of the coast. Worldwide, fishing, along with processing and marketing on land, employs about 200 million people. Oceans sustain one out of every six American jobs. America's coastal areas produce 85 percent of all American tourism dollars. And, 95% of all imports to the United States arrive by ocean.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Pre-brief participants:

The Vice President
Mrs. Clinton
Doug Sosnik
Bruce Lindsey
Katie McGinty
Karen Skelton

VIPS ATTENDING

Barbara Boxer, U.S. Senator
Stewart Boxer
Sam Farr, U.S. Representative
George Miller, U.S. Representative
Anna Eshoo, U.S. Representative
Brian Bilbray, U.S. Representative
Lois Capps, U.S. Representative
Lynn Woolsey, U.S. Representative
Earl Blumenauer, U.S. Representative
Secretary William Daley
Katie McGinty, CEQ
Administrator Carol Browner, EPA
Leon Panetta
Delegate Faleomavaega
Delegate Underwood
Delegate Christian-Green
Gray Davis, Lieutenant Governor
Bruce McPherson, State Senator
Fred Keeley, State Assemblyman
Dan Albert, Mayor of Monterey
Beverly O'Neill, Mayor of Long Beach
Don Edgren, City Council Member
Ruth Vreeland, City Council Member

Simon Salinas, County Supervisor
Judy Pennycook, County Supervisor
Edith Johnsen, County Supervisor
Dave Potter, County Supervisor
Bill Jones, Secretary of State
Antonio Villaraigosa, Assembly Speaker
Kathleen Connell, State Comptroller

Award Winners

Ted Danson, President, American Oceans Campaign
Dr. Sylvia Earle, *National Geographic*
Jean-Michel Cousteau, Director, Jean-Michel Cousteau Institute
Bob Talbot, Marine Photographer

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- After returning from your briefing and tide pool visit, you will take a short motorcade drive to San Carlos Park to deliver remarks.
- You, the Vice President, and Mrs. Clinton will greet VIPs attending the Conference who will be assembled in a tent outside the Conference Park.
- Congressman Sam Farr will open remarks, followed by Senator Boxer, Mrs. Clinton, Dr. Sylvia Earle, the Vice President and You.
- You will deliver formal remarks.
- You and the Vice President work a rope line and depart.

Note: There will be an audience of approximately 1000 at the speech.

VI. REMARKS

To be provided by speech writers.

VII. ATTACHMENTS

- * Article from the May 23, 1998 issue of *The Economist* on the state of our oceans.

Draft 6/11/98 7:30pm
Lowell Weiss

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT THE NATIONAL OCEAN CONFERENCE
MONTEREY, CA
June 12, 1998

Acknowledge: VP Gore; HRC; Sec. Daley; Sec. Dalton; Sec. Slater; Admin. Browner; NOAA Admin. Dr. James Baker; Katie McGinty; Sen. Boxer; Rep. Farr; Rep. Capps; Lt. Gov. Davis; Sylvia Earle [When she was NOAA's chief scientist, her friends called her the U.S. "Sturgeon General."] I'd also like to say hello to everyone watching from the U.S. Pavillion at Expo '98 in Portugal, where this year's World's Fair is dedicated to the preservation of the oceans.

I have been an admirer of John Steinbeck, Monterey's favorite son, since I was in high school. But it wasn't until I was preparing for this trip that I came to realize what a serious student of the seas he was. In fact, in his masterful account of the 4,000-mile marine expedition he launched about a half-mile from here, Steinbeck summed up, for me, precisely what our work at this conference is all about: "Most of the feeling we call religious is really the understanding that man is related to the whole, inextricably related to all reality."

I suspect that all of us have had that profound feeling -- the abiding sense that we are inextricably linked with our world, with the whole of nature, and, of course, with our majestic and mysterious seas. That is why we have convened this historic ocean conference. And that is why it is so important that we leave Monterey not only with an appreciation for the divine beauty of this patch of coast, but also with a renewed sense of responsibility for helping to maintain living, thriving seas.

When astronomers study the heavens for signs of life, they search for water, because water is the single nonnegotiable ingredient of life. Earth is blessed with, and defined by, its enormous oceans. They are the key to the life-support system for all the creatures on this planet - from giant tubeworms in deep-sea vents to saguaro cactuses in the most arid deserts.

In our daily lives, the oceans play a crucial role. Our oceans drive our climate and weather -- and El Nino's storms and droughts this past winter made that point loud and clear. Fish from the sea are one of the most important staples of diets around the world -- and will become even more so as world population continues to grow. The oceans allow us the global mobility required by our armed forces around the world. And, as the Vice President has just said, through fishing, shipping, and tourism, the oceans sustain one in six American jobs.

The oceans are so vast and so powerful that we sometimes blithely assume that we can not affect them. We assume our actions represent a mere "drop in the ocean." But as many of you have highlighted over the past day and a half, we can affect our oceans -- and we have.

Two-thirds of the world's people live within 50 miles of the coast, and far too much pollution from the land runs straight to the sea. One large city can spew more than 9 million

gallons of petroleum products into the ocean every year, roughly the amount that spilled from the Exxon Valdez. Polluted runoff from watersheds has led to deadly red tides, brown tides, and *Pfiesteria* [fiss-TEER-ree-uh]. Runoff from thousands of miles up the Mississippi River has been so severe that there is now a dead zone the size of New Jersey in the Gulf of Mexico. Ten percent of the world's coral reefs have been destroyed and another 30% will all but disappear within the next 20 years. And we have not yet learned the lesson of Monterey's Cannery Row; more than two-thirds of the world's fisheries are over-exploited; more than one-third are in steady decline.

And as the Vice President highlighted at the White House earlier this week, we are also changing the temperature of our seas. We've just learned that our oceans are the warmest they've been in the 104 years we've been taking their temperature -- more evidence that our emissions of greenhouse gases are heating the planet.

In all these ways, we have shown once again that we are inextricably linked to nature. We do, indeed, have the ability to harm. Fortunately, we have also learned that with innovative environmental efforts and prudent business practices we also have the power to heal. We have shown that we can clean the water we drink and the air we breathe, protect marine sanctuaries and wildlife refuges, phase out deadly pesticides and ozone-eating chemicals -- and do it while producing the strongest, most competitive economy in the world. But our work has really just begun.

With partnerships and persistence, we must extend this record of success to our oceans, a treasure and a resource we are becoming more dependent upon by the day. If we want our children to inherit the gift of living oceans, we must work together to make sure that the 21st century is the greatest century of stewardship of our seas. And for this purpose, I am pleased to announce a \$224 million initiative that will enhance the health of our oceans -- while expanding ocean opportunities in environmentally responsible ways.

First, we must save our shores from oil drilling. Here in California, you know all too well how oil spills from off-shore drilling can despoil our coasts -- causing not just the death of marine life and the destruction of fragile ecosystems, but also economic devastation in the tourism, recreation, and fishing industries. All the oil in proven reserves off the coast of California would quench our oil needs for a mere 38 days. Is it really worth the risk?

In a few moments, I will sign a Directive that will extend the nation's moratorium on off-shore leasing for an additional ten years, while protecting our marine sanctuaries from drilling forever. I want to thank Sen. Boxer -- who tracks me down every chance she gets to talk about this issue -- as well as Lt. Gov. Davis, Rep. Farr, and Rep. Capps for their leadership on behalf of our shores and our oceans. By standing firm against off-shore oil drilling here in California and around the nation, they have helped protect some of the most beautiful shores anywhere in the world.

Second, we must restore precious marine resources. To help create sustainable fisheries, we will help rebuild fish stocks within 10 years, work with industry to develop new technologies to net only targeted species of fish, ban the sale and import of undersized Atlantic swordfish, and

protect essential fish habitats. To protect and restore coral reefs, I have signed an Executive Order to speed our efforts to map and monitor our reefs, research causes of their degradation, revive damaged reefs, and promote worldwide efforts to do the same. To reduce land-based pollution that threatens marine life, I call on Congress once again to fund my \$2.3 billion Clean Water Action Plan to reduce the diffuse pollution that has been running, unchecked, into our rivers, lakes, streams, and oceans.

Third, we must deepen our understanding of the seas. As the Vice President announced yesterday, the U.S. military will release previously classified data to help researchers track marine mammals, predict deadly storms, detect illegal fishing, and gain new insight into the complexities of climate change. By the year 2002, we will complete an advanced ocean monitoring system that will also provide data for climate change studies. And we will provide new submersibles and other advanced tools for mapping and exploring the world's last great frontier.

Fourth, we must create sustainable ports for the 21st Century. International trade will nearly triple over the next two decades -- and more than 90% of this trade will move by ocean. I propose a new Harbor Services Fund to help our ports and harbors remain competitive in the new century by deepening them for the newest and largest ships and by providing state-of-the-art navigation tools for preventing marine accidents.

Finally, we must join the world in ratifying, at long last, the Convention on the Law of the Sea. The United States has achieved its economic success by championing the rule of law at home and abroad. The historic Convention on the Law of the Sea extends the rule of law to the world's oceans. It assures the open seaways that our armed forces and our fishing, telecommunications, and shipping industries require. We must ratify this vital treaty during this legislative session. This is the year that the U.S. should -- and must -- confirm its leadership role in the community of nations by becoming a party to the Convention on the Law of the Sea.

During his marine expedition in the Gulf of Mexico, John Steinbeck called hope -- the idea that tomorrow can be better than today -- the defining human trait. I believe we are also defined, and blessed, as a species with two other crucial traits: creativity and imagination. Hope, creativity, and imagination. These are the traits that enabled and inspired the very first explorers to take to the seas in search of more fertile shores. These are the traits that have allowed us to look at our inextricable tie to our environment and invent new ways to protect our natural wonders from harm. And in the 21st Century, these are the traits that will allow us to preserve our living oceans as a sacred legacy for all generations to come. Thank you for your hope, creativity, and imagination. God bless you all.

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The Economist

A SURVEY

The deep
green sea



THE SEA



A second fall

THE eviction of Adam and Eve from the garden of Eden marked the end of man as a hunter-gatherer. For most of history, mankind had survived on berries, nuts and wild animals, but as numbers grew and food became scarce, people were reduced to farming. As God told Adam, "The earth will be cursed. You will get your food from it only by labour all the days of your life." After the freedom of the forests and the plains, it was back-breaking work. The first farmers suffered from rotten teeth and stunted bones. Farming was the antithesis to the nomadic way of life, bringing with it a domesticated landscape, a settled existence, ownership, and laws to protect it.

Something similar is now happening to the ocean. Where once it seemed infinite in its bounty, it is suffering from overfishing and pollution. Wherever humanity meets the sea, the sea comes off worse. Two-thirds of the world's 5.5 billion people live within 50 miles (80km) of the coast, and much of the pollution from the land runs to the sea. Residents, tourists, commercial interests and wildlife are all fighting for their corner of the garden.

After decades of expansion, many of the world's fishing grounds are already overfished, and many more soon will be. The scale of the hunt is awesome. In a study published in the journal *Nature*, Daniel Pauly and Villi Christensen, then both working at the International Centre for Living Aquatic Resources Management (ICLARM), a non-profit research centre in Manila, tried to measure how much of the tiny marine plants, called phytoplankton, is needed to support the life that man extracts from the sea. They concluded that people take 25-35% of the output of the richest areas of the sea: the

continental shelf and the places where currents saturated in nutrients well up from the deep. Although these areas are small, less than a tenth of the ocean surface, the finding is alarming. Mankind's share of the output of the land, at 35-40%, is not that much higher—and look how irrevocably the land has been changed by this exploitation.

Then there is global warming with all its uncertainties. Tens of millions of people—most of them poor—who live only a few metres above the high-tide mark have much to fear from even a slight rise in the sea level. Hundreds of millions more who have settled on the coast will also suffer if today's Prosperos end up creating more or wilder storms.

"The sea is not landscape. It is the experience of eternity," wrote the German novelist Thomas Mann. Yet the fringes of eternity are polluted with nitrates and blooms of foetid algae. Immensity and fecundity were once the ocean's defining characteristics. Now the sea turns out to be just another environment under threat. What the British poet W.H. Auden called "the alpha of existence, the symbol of potentiality" seems tired and worn.

There was no more sea

The time has come for people to change the way they think about the sea. Hunter-gatherers were never banished from the salt water. Although coastal states control the waters to 200 miles off shore they find it hard to exert their authority there. Most of the deep sea is subject to the even frailer rule of international law. Scientific ignorance and the sea's lack of natural boundaries further frustrate the task of designing institutions to manage the marine environment. Little is known about the precise

The ocean used to seem infinite in its bounty. Now it needs care and maintenance, writes Edward Carr



effects of, say, the changing climate on fish stocks or the remote consequences of estuarine pollution.

Despite being badly governed, the sea provides vast benefits. For some, these are measured in jobs—fishing, along with processing and marketing on land, for example, employs about 200m people. To many more the benefits are food, recreation and protection against storms. And everyone needs the sea for shipping and to wash away waste, recycle water, and provide a habitat for wildlife. In a recent paper, Robert Costanza of the University of Maryland put a value of \$21 trillion on these services, compared with \$12 trillion for what the land offers. The numbers are debatable, but the idea behind them makes sense. Environmentalists would like the sea to be a pristine environment; others treat it as a waste-dump: in fact it is a resource that must be preserved and harvested.

To enhance its uses, the water must become ever more like the land, with owners, laws and limits. Fishermen must behave more like ranchers than hunters. Polluters should pay something for the

damage caused by their pollution. Planners will have to balance the natural habitat against development and prepare, if necessary, for a rapid rise in sea-level. Should the world's population double, mankind may have to treat the coastal waters like prime agricultural land.

It will not be easy to extend fallible laws and regulations to a realm that has stood for freedoms dating from before civilisation. Attempts to "manage" the sea are seen as somehow unnatural. Yet the laws and regulations are coming all the same. Byron was right in 1817 when he wrote: "Roll on thou deep and dark blue ocean—roll! Man marks the earth with ruin—his control stops with the shore." But he is right no longer.

This has been declared the year of the ocean: a time for glossy display, including an Expo that has just opened in Lisbon. Few want to think about the sea's fall from grace, its loss of infinity; and no one likes to pay for resources that had always been considered free. The second fall will no more feel like progress than did the first.

On the edge

Too many people want too much from the coast

WHY are people drawn to the sea? A recent book by Elaine Morgan, a British writer, argues that it is because part of the evolution of *Homo sapiens* took place on the seashore. The story is highly speculative: the aquatic ape protected himself from the water by becoming balder and fatter than his forest-bound relatives. Like seals, dolphins and other large aquatic mammals, man is equipped for immersion, thanks to a high concentration of haemoglobin and the rare ability to breathe at will (without which, incidentally, it would be impossible to talk). Perhaps the only ape on two legs waded before he walked.

Paleontologists scoff at such circumstantial evidence. But perhaps the hordes moving to the coast know something the academics do not; likewise the trippers squeezed into a ribbon of tarry, cigarette-strewn sand. Thirteen of the world's 16 cities with more than 10m people are on the coast. In America,

almost half of all new residential development is near the ocean, and people are moving there at the rate of 3,600 a day.

The coast is the place where everything comes together. It is the marine environment from which people obtain the most benefit. But the demands made on the coast for different purposes—commercial, residential, recreational—often conflict. Efforts to allocate the right to pollute and exploit the coastline and coastal waters are fraught with complexity.

And confusion. People tend to think of oil pollution as the biggest threat, and to blame it on large spills. In fact, the amount of oil entering the ocean has been falling, and large well-publicised oil spills make up only a small part of the total. Industrial dumping—such as the fateful release of mercury from a factory in Minimata Bay in Japan in the 1950s, causing appalling disease—is now illegal in most countries, and is easily detected. Occasionally, nature itself is the polluter. According to a United Nations team*, volcanic eruptions on the sea bed account for far greater quantities of heavy metals and radioactivity than do man-made sources.

The real damage to the coast comes from a myriad small parts that add up to one big whole. Each day New York, a city of over 7m people, deposits 500 tonnes of treated sewage in the Atlantic. A city of 5m people would release some 42m litres (8.8m gallons) of petroleum products a year, roughly the quantity of oil spilled by the Exxon Valdez. James Baker, the head of America's National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), gives warning that the chemistry of the water round the coast is gradually changing. He thinks coastal pollution is as serious a problem as climate change.

The most visible consequence of human habitation is rubbish. No coastline, however far-flung, is



Aquatic apes at play

*"The State of the Marine Environment", by the Group of Experts on the Scientific Aspects of Marine Pollution. Blackwell, 1990

free from it. In the early 1990s, Tim Benton, a scientist visiting the Pitcairn Islands (four dots in the Pacific Ocean 5,000 miles east of Australia), was struck by the rubbish washed up on the beaches. One morning, on a small uninhabited atoll called Ducie Island, the remotest of the Pitcairns, he decided to record what he found. The 953 objects included a meat pie and six light bulbs (see table 1).

Ducie's rubbish, which probably came from boats, was ugly, but fairly harmless. Crowded coasts face a bigger threat from compounds containing nitrogen and phosphorus. According to one book*, the North Sea now collects four times as much nitrate and eight times as much phosphate as it did 20 years ago. Some of the pollution comes from easily identifiable sources, mainly treated sewage. But most originates from the drainage of hundreds of thousands of farms and the exhaust of millions of petrol and diesel engines.

With these "non-point" sources, identifying the polluter is impossible. Some 40% of the land in the United States, including mid-western farm land, drains into the Gulf of Mexico. The nitrate-rich river water has spoiled an area of the sea bed the size of New Jersey. Nobody knows the cost of this damage—nor how much each farmer caused and what it would cost to prevent it. Even if they did, studies in other regions—admittedly less exposed to agricultural pollution—show that, typically, 40% of the nitrate in the sea originally came from the air.

To complicate the picture, while too much of the stuff is certainly a bad thing, some of it is probably better than none at all. Limited amounts of nitrate and phosphate—which go into making fertiliser—are almost certainly beneficial. When the High Aswan dam was built on the Nile in the 1960s, the reduction in nutrients washing into the Mediterranean cut the fish catch immediately offshore from 38 tonnes in 1962 to less than 6 tonnes in 1975. The Mediterranean as a whole has confounded scientists, who in the late 1970s had said that the sea was fully exploited. Since then the catch has almost doubled. John Caddy, of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) in Rome, suggests that this may be due to a greater concentration of nutrients.

Yet, as Mr Caddy would be the first to point out, too many nutrients are harmful. The gravest example is the Black Sea, into which rivers drain from a vast area of Europe and Asia. Since the 1950s, concentrations of nitrate and phosphate in the Danube, for example, have increased up to tenfold. Worse, the pollutants become concentrated in the Black Sea, because the only exit to the open ocean is through the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara. This has caused algae to grow, making the waters turbid, which prevents light from penetrating much below the surface. Organic sediment containing dead algae settles on the sea floor, where it absorbs oxygen as it rots. That leaves insufficient oxygen for benthic (bottom-dwelling) species, many of which die. New species, such as jellyfish, have supplanted the sea's original inhabitants. Only six of the 26 original commercial fish are often still caught there, accord-

ing to David Aubrey of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution in Massachusetts.

As an enclosed body of water, the Black Sea is exceptional, but other coasts have also been affected by pollution. One symptom is "harmful algal blooms"—sudden growths of a single type of alga which are usually unsightly, often foul-smelling and occasionally toxic. Such blooms have a long history. The first plague that Moses visited upon Egypt was a blood-red tide which killed fish and fouled the water. These days, places that never had blooms are seeing them for the first time, and places used to having them are suffering more often, and for longer.

Blooming algae

Along the Chinese coast, aquaculture has been struck by an organism called *Noctiluca scintillans*, which turns the water tomato-red and kills shrimp. A related species, called *Gymnodinium Mikimotoi*, also bloomed there recently, killing half the annual production of farmed fish in Hong Kong, where it had never been seen before. In Texas, in the Laguna Madre, a brown tide caused by an alga called *Aureocymbra lugimensis* lasted for seven years. A few scientists argue that more blooms are seen today because people are looking for them. But most think the increase is real, and that it has a number of causes—possibly including climate change—beside the extra nutrients running off from the land.

The main trouble with blooms is that they deprive other species of oxygen. Little is known about the lasting effects this might have. A few types of alga are clearly harmful. *Gymnodinium breve* leaves toxic residues in shellfish. After inhaling tiny droplets of the poison, people have difficulty breathing, and in Florida in 1996 it killed 150 manatees, an endangered sea mammal. Algae of the genus *Chaetoceros* kill fish by clogging their gills. Other organisms cause memory loss in people and suppress the immune system. One organism, *Pfiesteria piscicida*, discovered by scientists at North Carolina State University in 1992, achieved notoriety last year after it was detected in Chesapeake Bay, killing tens of thousands of fish. It may also have caused nausea, memory loss and stomach cramps in fisherman and others in close contact with the water. For all that, the direct damage caused by algal blooms is probably more aesthetic than economic. According to an unpublished study† of the cost of blooms off America in 1987-92, the total bill averages only about \$40m a year.

One explanation for the recent flourishing of blooms is that new species of alga are being intro-

Beachcombed

Beach debris from Ducie Island

Item	Number
Unidentified (or broken) plastic pieces	268
Glass bottles	171
Bottle tops	74
Plastic bottles	71
Buoys, small	67
Buoys, pieces	66
Buoys, large	46
Pieces of rope	44
Segments of plastic pipe	29
Shoes	25
Jars	18
Crates	14
Copper sheeting from hulls of wrecks	8
Aerosol cans	7
Food or drink cans	7
Fluorescent tubes	6
Light bulbs	6
Jerry cans	4
Cigarette lighters	3
Pen tops	2
Dolls' heads	2
Gloves (1 pair)	2
Asthma inhaler	1
Construction-worker's hat	1
Football (punctured)	1
Glue syringe	1
Lorry-tyre	1
Plastic coat-hanger	1
Plastic foot-mat	1
Plastic skittle	1
Small gas cylinder	1
Tea strainer	1
Tinned meat pie	1
Toy soldier	1
Toy aeroplane	0.5

Source: T. Benton

*The Wealth of Oceans", by Michael Weber and Judith Gradwohl. Norton, 1995

†Estimated Annual Economic Impacts Resulting from Harmful Algal Blooms in the United States", by D.M. Anderson, P. Hoagland, Y. Kaoru and A.W. White, 1998





duced in the ballast water of ships and in new species of farmed shellfish. This form of "pollution" has a long history, but it has worsened with the growth in shipping traffic. According to Sea Grant, part of NOAA, in 1850 one new species was introduced into America every 36 weeks. By 1985 the rate had increased to one every 12 weeks. Ronald Baird, of Sea Grant, complains that it is hard to find a native species in San Francisco Bay these days.

The new species can do great damage. At one point in 1992, smacks of comb-jellyfish, *Mnemiopsis leidyi*, accounted for 90% of the Black Sea's entire wet biomass, according to one Russian scientist. *Mnemiopsis* not only competes with fish for food, but eats fish eggs and larvae too. In the Mediterranean, where local sea plants have been weakened by pollution, an alga called *Caulerpa taxifolia* has taken root. It was discovered 14 years ago on the beach below the Monaco Oceanographic



Dead fish bloom

Museum. The museum, then run by the late Jacques Cousteau, was growing the weed in its tanks.

As well as producing waste, people use a lot of land. In Maryland, for example, half an acre is developed for each new resident. In the rich world, many of the remaining undeveloped sites are now protected by law.

Marine habitats are lost too. Estuaries and wetlands are important nurseries for juvenile fish and crustaceans. Ocean-going salmon returning to their river to spawn find their way blocked by dams. And even if they manage to climb the river, many of their smolt are chewed up by power-station turbines on the way back to the sea. Farmers have converted mangrove swamps into brackish ponds for shrimp and fish. In Thailand, about 30% of the mangroves have been lost to aquaculture, in the Philippines as many as half.

The most alarming loss of habitat, however, is on coral reefs. According to SeaWeb, a charity based in Washington, DC, that provides information about the marine environment, 10% of the world's reefs have been destroyed and another 30% will all but disappear within the next 20 years. And this is one of the more sober estimates.

The loss of reef has a host of causes. Sediment

from forestry sluices into coastal waters, smothering coral. Tourism disrupts the habitat. In a single day the anchor of a cruise ship can destroy an area of coral reef half the size of a football pitch. The rubble left behind kills more reef later. Overfishing removes the fish that graze on algae. In Jamaica, this led to a population explosion among algae-grazing sea urchins, and when those succumbed to a disease in the early 1980s, the algae overran the coral.

In Asia, fish are often caught by using bombs and cyanide. The explosive came first, left over from the second world war. But sodium cyanide is better for stunning the fish, and is less likely to injure the fisherman. Both techniques are used to capture live fish for aquaria and for restaurants in Hong Kong. Wealthy Chinese like to see their supper on the fin before they eat it.

These methods have a disastrous effect on fish. The most valuable species are few and far between and grow slowly. Carl Safina, an environmental activist, mentions* a Napoleon wrasse at Hong Kong's Ocean Park aquarium that took nearly 20 years to grow from 450 grammes (1lb) to 32kg; a large specimen on the reef can reach more than 180kg. The fishing also tears the coral apart or poisons it. Coral takes about 40 years to recover from blast fishing.

Blast and cyanide fishing are illegal in most countries; in the Philippines they have been banned since 1979. Yet they continue, despite the risks to the fishermen (it is not unusual to see a Filipino fisherman who has lost a hand). The reason is money. Studies of the effects of anchor damage, cyanide and blast fishing in the north-western Philippines, published last year by John McManus and Rodolfo Reyes of ICLARM and Cleto Nanola of the University of the Philippines suggest that a traditional Filipino fisherman can expect to earn around \$1 a day, while a blast fisher might earn \$15-40 from a single catch.

Even if they are reluctant to fish, many fishermen need to pay back money they have borrowed from the boats from Hong Kong. In any case, the Hong Kongers are prepared to pay a lot. One official at the World Bank was told about live groupers (big reef fish) selling in Hong Kong last year for HK\$10,000 (\$1,300) apiece.

Many people, rich and poor, want to live by the sea, and many of those who can't want to visit it. In developing countries coastal planners have trouble just coping with the local population. According to Stephen Lintner of the World Bank, they are swamped by the arrival of poor migrants from inland. In developed countries things are not so much better organised. Tom Collins, of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography in California, was part of a committee to manage San Diego Bay on which 30 groups were represented, including federal, state and city government, and various lobbies. It took five years to agree on the scientific data needed to understand the bay's ecosystems, and another five years to prepare a plan of action. But by that time some people had retired, there was a new agenda, and funding was hard to come by. After a decade's work, the programme looks like fizzling out.

* "Song for the Blue Ocean", by Carl Safina. Henry Holt, 1997

Going deep

TO CALL the planet we cling to "earth" is to be grossly anthropocentric. "Ocean" would be more accurate. Almost 71% of our planet's surface is covered by sea (by an odd coincidence, precisely the proportion of the human body that is salt water). Similarly, when people talk about the ocean, they usually mean coastal waters, or possibly the seas over the continental shelf. In fact, the shelf covers only 6% of the planet's surface, and those people who venture into the open ocean usually skim whales, tuna and other large creatures from the surface, or rush to safety on the other side. Of the volume of the planet in which traces of life can be found, something over 90% is deep under water.

By virtue of its inaccessibility to man, the deep is as pristine an environment as can be (though scientists trawling 4km down complain of the coke cans and clinker they find everywhere). The deep is owned by nobody and governed by international treaty, unlike coastal waters, which are under the control of the states that border them. In this sense the deep-water environment is the ultimate commons—one that is all the harder to manage sensibly because so little is known about it.

Modest trawl-sampling of the deep began only in 1872 with the British ship *HMS Challenger*. On its four-year voyage, *Challenger* found 103 new species. They are still stored in tall glass jars in the basement of London's Natural History Museum, shoulder to shoulder with specimens collected by *HMS Beagle*, which had carried Darwin to the Galapagos Islands 37 years earlier.

The discovery of new species, which began with animals washed up on the shore in the 18th century, has shown no sign of slowing (see chart 2). Indeed, an animal as large as the megamouth shark, which is 4.5 metres (15 feet) long and weighs 750kg, was one of the horrors of the half-known deep that turned up only a few years ago. The shark, which lives only 300 metres down, has since been caught alive on several occasions. Deeper-living creatures rarely survive the journey to the surface. A deep-water scientist will almost never hold a living specimen of the creatures he spends a lifetime studying.

Life below the surface ranges from gloomy to black. At only 10 metres down, most of the red light

in the spectrum has been absorbed, which is why the underwater has a greeny-blue tint. At 50 metres, only 5% of the light is left. At 150 metres, photosynthesis stops. In even the clearest ocean, below 1,000 metres it is eternally night.

For the animals in the deep (there are no plants and, oddly perhaps, no insects, the most successful land animals), everything comes from the surface. The fish swimming freely in the body of the water column, known as pelagic fish, and those near the bottom, called demersal fish, each take their share of the surface crumbs as they fall to the sea floor. With increasing depth, there is less to be had. As a rule, only about 5% of the food at the surface is available to creatures lower down, and four-fifths of that is captured before it reaches the sea bed.

Because many deep-sea creatures make their own light, there is still a need for disguise in the dark deep. This is why many deep-living species, such as *Gonostoma bathyphilum*, a 10cm-long machete-shaped fish, are completely black. A few, such as the orange roughy and the 7cm-long deep shrimp, *Acantheephyra purpurea*, are bright scarlet—a colour that is invisible in the lunar glow from other creatures' luminescent organs. Some species, such as the angler fish, produce light to attract prey. In others living and feeding near the bottom, such as the grenadier, the light organs presumably warn off predators or signal to mates.

Because food is scarce, many animals grow slowly and live a long time. The Pacific slope-dwelling grenadier respire at one hundredth the rate of its distant relative, the Atlantic cod. The abyssal grenadier has a liver that can store enough food to keep it going for 186 days if needs be. Some species forage, whereas others probably live in suspended animation, waiting to be roused by a passing morsel. All the really deep species are adapted to the intense pressure: at the deepest parts of the ocean this can reach 1,100 atmospheres, the equivalent of 50 jumbo jets weighing down on a human.

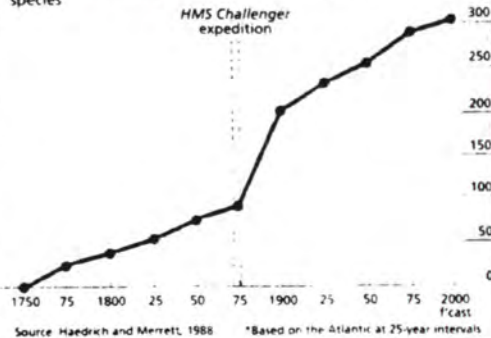
In the open ocean, surface nutrients are limited and phytoplankton are scarce. In effect, the high seas are a blue desert. On the sea bed far below, therefore, most of the sediment is mineral, and accumulates at a rate of only 1mm every thousand years. Where there is more phytoplankton on the surface, nearer the continental shelf, a more nutritious silt washes down. These areas contain more of the life that is found everywhere on the sea floor, including worms, crabs, bivalves and the odd sea cucumber. Buried in the sediment are many sorts of tiny organism. Some scientists think that the sea floor may contain up to 10m different species. But that is pure guesswork: according to Elisabeth Mann Borgese of Dalhousie University, in Canada, only 1.5% of the sea bed has been explored.

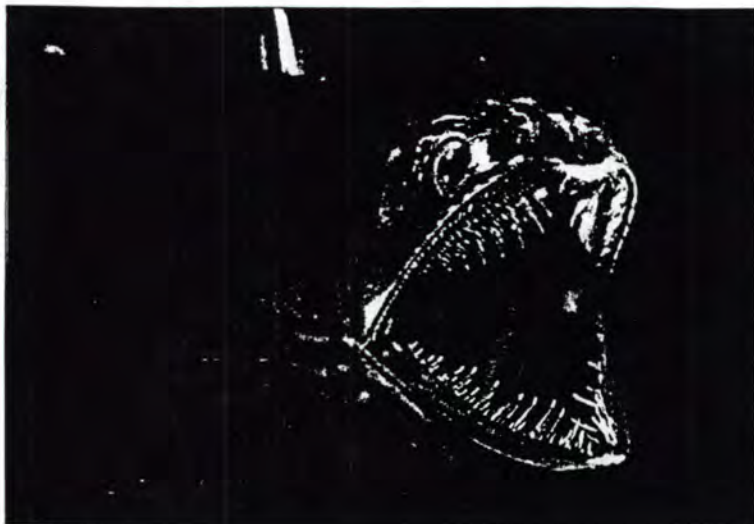
Here and there, this watery desert is dotted with islands of fire. Nine-tenths of this planet's volcanic activity takes place on the sea floor. Water that has seeped into the earth's crust is heated and driven out into the cold sea in mineral-charged jets called black smokers. It is dark here too, but there are colo-

Davy Jones's locker is the ultimate commons: vast, ownerless and largely unknown

Out of the deep

Cumulative number of bottom-living fish* species





Jaws

nies of bacteria that can metabolise the abundant hydrogen sulphide (a substance poisonous to most life). Some of the bacteria are free-living, others find a home in shrimps, clams and worms, which harvest them for food. An entire ecosystem, including crabs and snails, lives off the shrimps and clams.

Growth is faster here than on the rest of the sea floor. A 22cm giant clam could be just six-and-a-half years old, whereas shells from sediments in 3,800 metres of North Atlantic water were found to have grown to only 8mm in roughly a century. Other bacteria live in or near the chimneys of minerals that are deposited by the saturated water. According to Holger Jannasch, a scientist at Woods Hole and one of the first explorers of hot vents, some of these crea-

tures can survive at 113°C, far beyond the temperature used for pasteurisation. The implications have not been lost on biotechnologists, who see a potential for exploiting the newly found enzymes.

Indeed, exploitation of the deep seems only a matter of time. At the end of last year an Australian firm, the Nautilus Mineral Corporation, won a licence to extract gold from the chimneys left by extinct hot vents at depths of 1.2-1.7km in the Bismarck Sea off the coast of Papua New Guinea. The reserves, richer than many on land, could be worth billions of dollars, says the firm. Further in the future, it may be possible to extract metals from the manganese nodules that collect like tennis balls on the sea floor (an idea that enjoyed a vogue in the 1970s, but proved uneconomic then). And at depths below 300 metres, methane is locked away in cages of water molecules. Off the coast of Central America huge deposits have been found that might one day become a source of natural gas.

Fisheries are also extending into deeper waters, with the Patagonian toothfish in the Southern Ocean, and the orange roughy, which is fished from depths of 400 metres to 1,800 metres off the coast of Australia and New Zealand and in the Atlantic. In a recent book*, Nigel Merrett of the Natural History Museum in London and Richard Haedrich of the Memorial University in Canada warn against this deep-water fishing. Because food is scarce, deep-living fish grow slowly, and some spawn only once in their long lives. There are few predators in the deep, probably because there is not much to prey on. A new predator armed with nets and a diesel engine might, literally, clean up—and leave nothing.

*"Deep-Sea Demersal Fish and Fisheries", by Nigel Merrett and Richard Haedrich. Chapman & Hall, 1997

A fisherman's tale

Overfishing is one part human nature, and two parts poor management

AT DAWN the boats across the Marican Strait dim their floodlights and haul in their nets. Light-fishing is illegal in the Philippines, but the law is routinely ignored. It is a better way of catching fish, and fish are increasingly hard to come by in the South China Sea.

The boats take their haul to market in Anilao, 20 minutes down the coast. Bonito are for sale at the water's edge, and stalls a few paces from the harbour offer rabbit fish, snappers, goat fish and a ropey-looking marlin. The market, which starts at around 6.30am, used to last until mid-morning, but this Saturday the tubs of fish are gone by 8am. Many fish are small, some below spawning age. Filipinos now serve guests species of fish that they barely considered edible a decade ago. One market trader has given up fish and taken to selling chicken instead.

The scarcity is the result of overfishing, and it affects both poor and rich countries, polluted and unpolluted. Although the rich world can afford to manage its fisheries, and commands the expertise of some of the world's best fisheries biologists, it has brought some spectacular failures on itself. In the Grand Banks, off the coast of New England and Canada, it has presided over the collapse of possi-

bly the world's most valuable fishing grounds.

The banks' abundance was legendary. In his recent book on the cod, Mark Kurlansky recalls that when Cartier "discovered" the mouth of the St Lawrence river in 1534, he found a thousand Basque vessels already fishing there. Eventually, the banks attracted fishermen from all over the Atlantic. But by 1992, the biomass of spawning cod off Newfoundland and Labrador had fallen to only 22,000 tonnes, compared with 1.6m tonnes 30 years earlier. America halved its fishing effort in the New England groundfish fisheries. Canada closed the Grand Banks, announcing a five-year aid package worth C\$1.5 billion (\$1.05 billion). The collapse has cost 40,000 jobs in Newfoundland.

The effects of overfishing are masked by the overall statistics, which show that the world's supply of fish has continued to grow nicely as the fishing effort has intensified in one ocean after another (see chart 3 on next page). But the statistics aggregate hundreds of species, and in a practice reminiscent of a Soviet factory of former days, report the catch by weight rather than by value—a number that is hard to collect. Overfishing threatens to become ubiquitous, and on the whole has not been reme-



Economy of scales

Chronology of fisheries expansion
World production, m tonnes



died even in fishing grounds such as the North Sea, where it was first identified as long ago as the beginning of this century.

The world catch of demersal fish (which include the best fish to eat, such as cod and haddock) has not grown since the early 1970s (see chart 4). Instead, the growth in landings has come from aquaculture and large volumes of pelagic fish, such as the Peruvian anchoveta, that are used mostly to make meal. One study suggests that there are now more low-value pelagic fish precisely because large numbers of their valuable predators have been taken. Indeed, as people "fish down the food chain" in this way, the available catch might increase disproportionately, since predators consume more than their own weight in prey. In some fisheries, therefore, the volume of the catch has grown even as its value has fallen.

The overfishing is spreading. The FAO, which does more than anyone to monitor the world's fisheries, says that 35% of the 200 main stocks are currently in decline and 25% at their peak. Almost all were underexploited a few decades ago. Stocks that have crashed are rarely given the chance to recover completely. Except for stocks in the south-east Pacific (where the newly discovered Japanese pilchard has boosted catches), the stocks classified by the FAO in 1992 as overexploited have been in decline for three decades. Over that period the catch of these stocks has fallen by 4m tonnes, or a third.

First catch your handout

The reason why overfishing can easily happen is that in most fisheries just about anyone has the right to have a go, and plenty have exercised that right. In past decades, the number of fishermen, as well as fish farmers, has been growing across the developing world. According to Richard Grainger of the FAO, the total worldwide has more than doubled in the past 25 years.

"Open access" can lead to absurd races for fish. In Alaska in the early 1990s anyone could catch sable fish, although the overall total was controlled. As a result, a year's worth of sable fish were usually caught off the coast of Alaska in under a week. Not only are such scrambles dangerous for fishermen but, since most people will pay less for a frozen fish than a fresh one, they are wasteful too. In most fish-

eries there is no finishing line: the race goes on, week after week, month after month.

But overfishing is more than, in the language of economists, "a tragedy of the commons". Governments have used subsidies to encourage people to work and invest in fishing, especially after territorial waters were extended to 200 miles in the 1970s and foreign fleets were kicked out. A new study by the World Bank* estimates that these subsidies are worth a total of up to \$16 billion a year. They come in many forms, including direct aid for building boats and state-financed fisheries management.

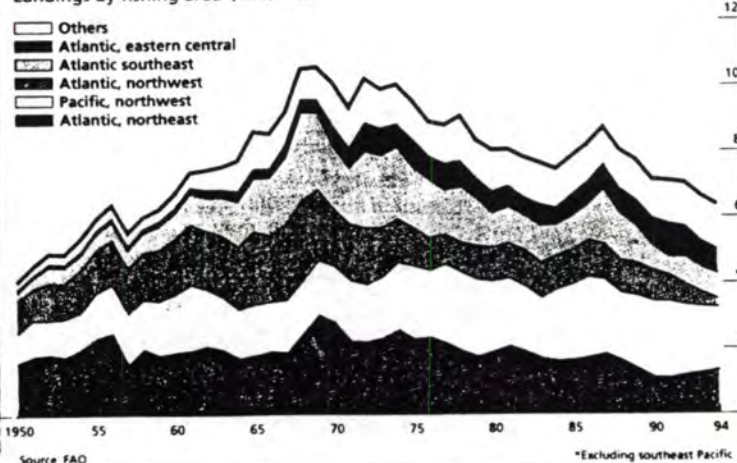
Even America, having scrapped programmes to expand the national fleet, still exempts fishing from fuel duty and lets fishermen defer income tax. Fishermen exploit a resource that belongs to everyone, without paying rent—unlike, say, companies that log government-owned land. If you count that as a subsidy too, the study says, the total aid to fishing worldwide amounts to as much as \$21 billion. This is more than a quarter of fishing boats' total revenues, making fishing one of the most subsidised industries anywhere (though less so than farming).

The combination of open access and subsidy in-

*Subsidies in World Fisheries: a Re-examination, by Matteo Milazzo. World Bank, 1998

Sinking feeling

Landings by fishing area*, m tonnes





By hook or by crook



evitably leads to overcapacity. FAO scientists estimate that 53% of the world's fishing fleet is superfluous. In 1996 the EU decided that its fleet should be cut by 40% over six years (although it later retreated from this goal). According to an American estimate, Russia should lose two-thirds of its fleet.

Nevertheless, some countries are still expanding their fishing industries. The number of Chinese fishermen quadrupled between 1970 and 1990. The distant-water fleet has grown especially fast and Chinese officials say they want it to grow further. The EU has bought licences in such places as Africa as a way to deal with overcapacity at home. When Morocco and Namibia tried to end these agreements in the 1990s, the EU applied intense diplomatic pressure. The EU has sometimes paid its fishermen to give up their boats and exported the surplus hulls. The extra boats that arrived in Argentina helped destroy the hake fishery there.

All this points to another factor in overfishing: increasing technological sophistication. Distant-water fleets bring industrial fishing to countries such as Gabon or Guinea, which do not have big boats of their own. Technology has improved rapidly. The last American sailing boat was fishing on the Grand Banks as recently as 1963. What with new engines, satellite navigation, sonar, computerised gear, you name it, it is still improving all the time. Andy Smith, of the FAO, reckons that even if the fleet's tonnage remained the same, its fishing capacity would increase by 3% a year.

In the face of overfishing, governments have tried to control both the effort that goes into fishing and the catch. This has two shortcomings. The first is that not enough may be known about the fish. The collapse of the Pacific sardine fishery in the 1940s (see chart 5), which killed Cannery Row and provided a novel for John Steinbeck, was once regarded as a result of overfishing. Research on sediments by the Scripps Institution shows that the collapse was in fact a natural oscillation. In such cir-

cumstances, overfishing makes matters worse. Michael Mullin of Scripps says it delayed the return of the sardine by about 15 years.

The obvious answer is to manage fish stocks conservatively. But that is to ignore the other shortcoming of government controls: the bad blood between fishermen and fisheries managers. To a large extent this is a symptom of the overcapacity created by subsidies and open access, which keeps fishermen under constant financial pressure. "Scientists think fishermen overfish, and fishermen think scientists overprotect," laments James Baker of NOAA.

The institutions designed to manage fisheries often do not work. America has set up eight regional councils to recommend how to manage fisheries. They are meant to represent all interests, including those of recreational fishermen and conservationists, but some of them have been hijacked by commercial fishermen. Canada's more autocratic system has proved even less effective. At the end of March the Canadian parliament recommended sacking the officials responsible for the Atlantic cod fishery. The EU's common fishery policy is widely loathed for failing either to conserve stocks or to keep fishermen happy. Developing countries often have no fisheries management at all. What laws there are tend to be ignored—sometimes by foreign fleets that have bribed their way in.

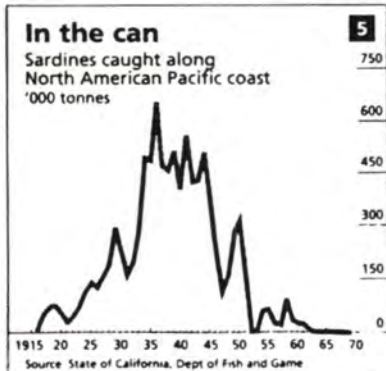
The damage from overfishing is mostly economic. According to Mr Grainger of the FAO, the world catch, worth more than \$80 billion, could be 10-20% larger with good fisheries management. America estimates that the profits from its part of the Grand Banks could be \$150m higher. In many poor countries an individual fisherman's catch has barely grown since 1981; sometimes it has dropped.

Fishing also seems to bring even supposedly friendly countries to blows. In 1995 Canada arrested the *Estai*, a Spanish boat from Vigo, which led to a row with the EU. The British have been getting worked up for years about Spanish "quota hoppers", boats that have, quite legally, bought the right to fish from British skippers. Canada and America fight a running battle over salmon on the north-western coast. Last year a gang of Canadian fishermen blockaded an American ferry in British Columbia. Japan and South Korea have been sparing over the fishing around some rocks the Japanese call Take-shima and the Koreans Tok-to.

But there is a less-noticed toll, too. Some types of fishing lead to large amounts of "by-catch", made up of unwanted species. Nobody knows how much is killed this way, but the best estimate is 22m tonnes, roughly a quarter of the total wild catch.

On the whole, overfishing does not lead to the biological extinction of species. Left for a few years, the fish seem to recover. According to Pamela Mace, a distinguished fisheries biologist with NOAA, this has happened with herring in Norway and the Gulf of Maine, and striped bass on the Atlantic coast of America. But trawling can damage the sea bed. Some parts of the benthic habitat are scoured several times a year, which gives the animals and plants insufficient time to recover.

Yet fishing does have subtler genetic consequences. Rather than destroy, say, the herring species in its entirety, it may destroy particular groups of fish, such as spring-spawning herring. Surviving



fish may also be changed by the relentless hunt. The cod on the Grand Banks now reach sexual maturity at two years of age, instead of four as they used to—presumably because early-maturing fish have a better chance of spawning. And there is no guarantee that ecosystems will re-establish themselves. The Grand Banks have become home to the Arctic cod, which competes with its Atlantic cousin for food.

Although most fish will not die out as a result of overfishing, a few species of marine animals are threatened with extinction. Most at risk are valuable animals that are stationary. Paul Dayton and Mia Tegner from Scripps have tracked the decline of the white abalone, a shellfish living in the kelp off the Californian coast that has been ruthlessly pursued. Fishermen took 65 tonnes of white abalone in 1972. Now the scientists think that only a few dozen specimens remain. Large, slow-growing creatures, such as whales, are also in danger, as are sharks and skates, which reach sexual maturity late and have few offspring. Sturgeon are included on the list of endangered species. So are sharks, which are killed for their fins.

Fish and ships

The future of fishing rests on two pillars. The first is better management. This is not a matter of coming up with some big idea, but of making lots of detailed improvements, often at local level. Access can be limited by licensing. Fishermen can be rewarded for husbanding the stock. Satellites and electronic logs can help enforcement officers catch offenders at sea. New gear can reduce the by-catch and protect endangered species, such as turtles and sea birds.

The second pillar is aquaculture. This is growing rapidly, more than doubling in volume to 28m tonnes and almost trebling in value to \$43 billion between 1986 and 1995, according to a new report by the FAO. About half of this takes place in fresh-

water ponds.

Aquaculture is usually pilloried for the pollution it causes. The culprits are shrimp and fin fish such as salmon. A study in 1994 found that 80kg of nitrogen compounds and 7.5kg of phosphates were produced for each tonne of farmed salmon, and that 70-80% of the antibiotics that were supposed to protect the fish went to waste. Shrimp cultivation can also pollute, but spectacular outbreaks of disease in Asia farms have been a great incentive for better management.

Pollution from fish farming can be avoided. It is hardly in the farmers' interest to waste medicine and feed. Moreover, carnivorous finfish and crustaceans make up a tenth of marine aquaculture by weight. A far larger proportion is seaweed and shellfish, which are filter-feeders and require no added food. Because they depend on clean water, their farmers are likely to seek a clean environment.

The real worry about aquaculture is genetic. New species, strains and breeds are being used in aquaculture, and being created by it. When fish are farmed, they become domesticated. Farm-bred rainbow trout come to the surface when people approach; their wild cousins hide. Farmed tilapia can be handled without struggling; the wild fish suffer. Such differences will grow as strains are bred in captivity. More importantly, there is a great temptation to breed improved varieties: salmon that will grow faster, taste better and keep fresher.

These fish may present a danger to wild strains. True, many are unfit to survive outside their cages. True again, breeders will be able to make almost all the hatchlings sterile, or dependent upon some man-made chemical. But these safeguards are not yet absolute, and experience has shown that farmed fish will escape to the wild. As things stand, an escaped gene is more of a threat in the boundless sea than it ever would be on land.



Come the storm-blast . . .

CANADIANS are used to snow. But last winter brought something worse: ice that paralysed Quebec, twisted electricity pylons like wire coat-hangers and deprived 3m people of power, some of them for weeks. The country's armed-services chief described Montreal's South Shore as "Sarajevo without the bullets".

The ice storm was caused by El Niño, a weather pattern produced by a change in the Pacific Ocean currents that in the past year has been blamed for almost every twitch of the North American barometer. The ice started as moisture, carried northwards on a current of warm air. In any normal winter it would have fallen as snow. But El Niño creates wetter and warmer weather on America's east coast. This year the extra water froze only when it fell into the cold Canadian airmass below. Proof, if any were needed, that changes in the ocean can have freak effects thousands of miles away.

There was a time when meteorologists looked on the ocean in two contradictory ways: as an infinite reservoir of heat and water, and as a passive recipient of changes in the atmosphere, cooling or

warming in response. As John Woods of Imperial College in London explains, this is changing now, partly because more powerful computers can model what goes on in the water, but also because of worries about climate change. And there is a growing conviction that fluctuations in ocean currents are important in their own right—especially as oil and gas production moves into deeper waters.

The ocean matters to the climate in three ways. First, it acts as a store for water, heat and carbon. The ocean contains 96% of the planet's water, and 50 times as much carbon as the atmosphere. The top 3 metres of the ocean can store the same amount of heat as the entire atmosphere. The ocean also transports prodigious amounts of water, heat and carbon. The various currents that operate between 30° and 40° north, mainly the Gulf Stream in the Atlantic and the Kuroshio in the Pacific, between them carry 2 petawatts of heat northwards, the equivalent of 1,000 large power stations. The Gulf Stream shifts up to 150m cubic metres of water a second, over 100 times more than all the world's fresh-water rivers put together. Lastly, there are exchanges be-

... the ocean is equal partner to the air



tween the ocean and the atmosphere through warming and cooling, evaporation and rainfall, and photosynthesis. Some parts of the ocean lose more water vapour than they receive in rain, and vice versa. The Pacific, for example, is less saline and therefore less dense than the Atlantic, and stands almost half a metre higher.

The whole climatic machine is driven by the sun and the earth. In the tropics the sun strikes squarely from directly overhead. But in temperate and polar latitudes, the earth's surface curves away from the sun, so its beams strike only obliquely. The surplus energy arriving at the equator then spreads to the poles in currents of warm water and warm water-laden air. The ocean currents, called gyres, are swirled around by the earth's rotation and crimped by its land masses.

This is uncontroversial. So is forecasting tomorrow's weather, which will follow predictably from today's. However, an unknown lurks between the specificities of weather and the generalities of meteorology: nobody can say much that is useful about the climate next year.

And that is the big achievement of the scientists who successfully forecast El Niño several months in advance. The value of accurate El Niño forecasts to agriculture in the southern United States has been put at \$260m by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. And those people who heeded official advice and mended their roofs before the "pineapple expresses" began to roll in from the Pacific saved themselves untold trouble.

As Daniel Cayan, of the Scripps Institution, points out, El Niño is probably the easiest such phenomenon to understand: it follows a regular cycle, and its effects are widespread. Recently, other systems have been found in the temperate latitudes of the Atlantic and the Pacific. Many others may be waiting to be discovered.

Mike McCartney and his colleagues at Woods Hole have studied a phenomenon called the North Atlantic Oscillation (NAO). When the NAO is high, that means a high-pressure region in the Azores and a low near Iceland. Westerly winds are warmed as

they cross the Atlantic from North America to Europe, bringing mild weather with them. When the oscillation switches to a new phase, the Icelandic low moves to the south. The prevailing winds over Europe now contain cold, dry polar air, leading to harsher weather. They cross the ocean towards Canada, becoming warmer as they do so, and bringing mild weather to Labrador. The NAO flips from one state to the other many times a year. For a few decades one state is more common than the other, before its opposite again prevails. It is this longer-term pattern that particularly interests scientists.

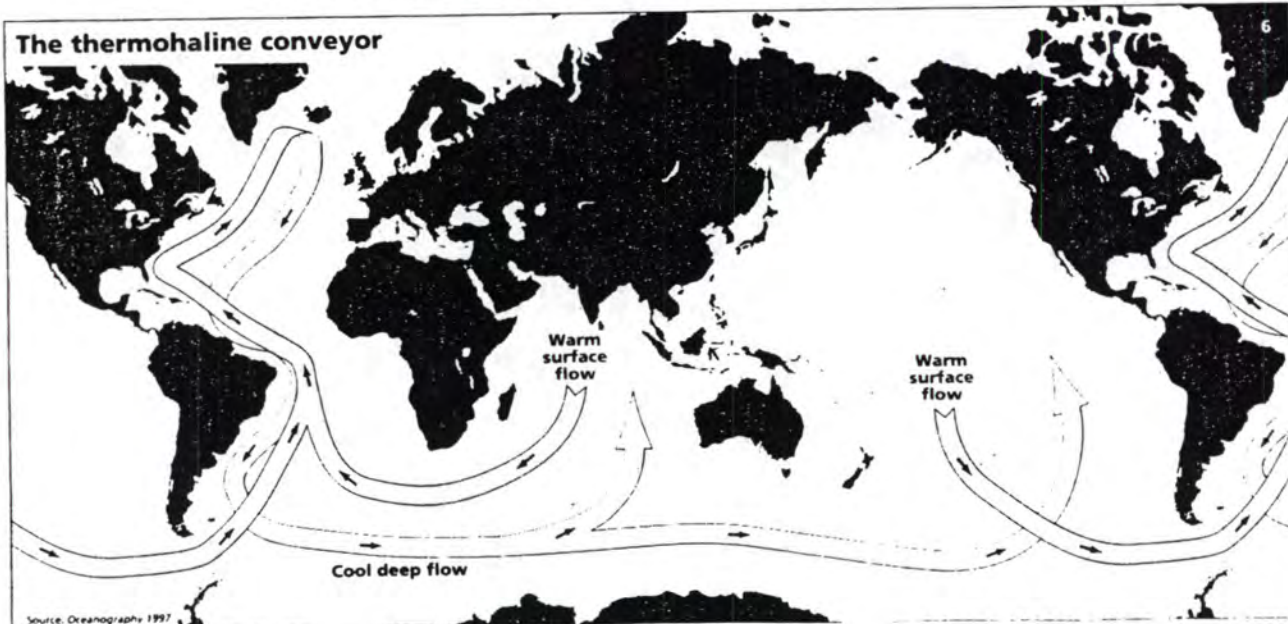
The rapidly changing atmosphere is a flibbertigibbet without permanence. This has led Mr McCartney to conclude that the long-term pattern is caused by alternating packets of cold and warm water passing along the north Atlantic gyre. Because the packets of water take a few decades to work their way through the currents, the NAO has a "memory".

Another system that has been discovered is the Pacific Decadal Oscillation (PDO), in the North Pacific, which has been extensively studied by Tim Barnett of Scripps with scientists from the Max-Planck-Institut for meteorology in Hamburg. It, too, may depend upon the stately progression of warmer or colder water around the gyre.

The PDO and the NAO now hint at the possibility of proper long-term forecasts. But aside from such practical applications, understanding systems in which the ocean and the atmosphere interact is vital in gauging how the climate is changing naturally—and therefore how much of the warming seen in the past century is due to mankind.

Indeed, climate change has lent a sense of urgency to oceanography. Curiosities have taken on a new significance. One oddity, called the Younger Dryas, a short ice age roughly 12,500 years ago, chilled the entire northern hemisphere during a period of warming. In a decade or so the temperature fell several degrees, staying low for some 1,300 years. The scientists of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), who study global warming, have identified such sudden events as one of the surprises that today's climate might spring again.

The thermohaline conveyor



Wallace Broecker of Columbia University in New York has suggested that the Younger Dryas was caused by a breakdown in the "thermohaline circulation", which carries heat in the ocean northwards from the equator. Normally, warm currents lose heat and water to the air on their way to the pole. Eventually, somewhere near Iceland, the cold and salty water becomes dense enough to sink to the ocean floor, where it begins a submarine trek back southwards (see map 6 on previous page). Mr Broecker speculated that fresh water from a melting ice sheet could form a "cap" that stops the current sinking. Having blocked the circulation, it would prevent the arrival of equatorial heat at the poles.

Nobody knows whether such a mechanism is possible today. Although computer models can recreate the effect, some scientists doubt whether there is enough fresh water in the north Atlantic Ocean to cap the circulation. However, large pools of fresh water have been observed there. Robert Dickson, from the fisheries laboratory in Lowestoft on the east coast of Britain, followed a "great salinity anomaly" (a pool of water less saline than the surrounding sea) as it proceeded around the north Atlantic in the late 1960s to early 1980s. He is tracking a new salinity anomaly even now.

Sea surge

Climate change is surrounded by huge uncertainty. Assuming there is no Younger-Dryas-like ice age, one concern is a rise in the sea level. This has varied enormously in the past. Towards the end of the last ice age 18,000 years ago the sea was at least 100 metres lower than it is today. Conversely, 120,000 years ago, when the earth was slightly warmer than it is today, the sea was 5-6 metres higher than now.

Even the half-metre rise during the next century predicted by the IPCC is worrying for maritime countries, which may have to decide how to strengthen their coastal defences. For some it could be disastrous. Some 7% of the area of Bangladesh, with 6m inhabitants, is less than a metre above sea level. A rise of 3 metres would drive 30m Bangladeshis from their homes. Moreover, as people extract ground water for drinking, the country is sinking. By 2100 it could easily have dropped by 1.2 metres. And even if land is not permanently under water, it is vulnerable to storms, which in April 1991 killed 100,000 Bangladeshis.

The 1,190 islands in the Maldives and the Marshall Islands are an average of only 3 metres above sea level. According to Sir John Houghton, of the



A perfect storm

IPCC, a half-metre rise would take much of their land and turn up to half of their freshwater to brine.

A changing climate would affect sea life too. The current El Niño has reduced the plankton on the Californian coast by 70%. Salmon have deserted America and moved north to Canada and Alaska.

El Niños are a common event, and their effect is not likely to be lasting. Climate change would be different. Marea Hatzilios of the World Bank fears that coral, which are sensitive to temperature, will not be able to adapt, and will die. Keith Brander, of the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea, in Copenhagen, has shown how a warm period coincided with the appearance of cod off the coast of Greenland in the 1920s. Forty years later, when the weather turned cold again, they disappeared almost immediately. Andrew Bakun of the FAO speculates that there is a climatic link between the simultaneous variations in the stocks of pelagic fish seen on different sides of the world, such as pilchards off South Africa and anchoveta off Peru.

American officials complain that it has been impossible to negotiate with Canada over the northward-shifting salmon. Imagine the shift repeated, stock after stock, country after country. There might be fewer fish, and there would be no guarantee that those fish which migrate beyond the range of a particular fleet would be replaced. Some of those in the rich world who depend upon fishing for their livelihood would no longer have anything to catch. Some of those in poor countries who depend upon fish for their food would go hungry.

Bobbing bytes

COASTAL waters, fishing and climate change all require more attention from governments. The exception is shipping. There was a time when maritime strategists were busy discovering a route to the Indies, finding the longitude, and deciding whether dreadnoughts should burn coal or oil. Today, shipping gets its share of criticism for things like spilling oil and dumping rubbish at sea, but it is no longer the political issue it was. This is thanks partly to international laws and codes, many of

which took decades to hammer out, and which now guarantee right of way and safe passage. But efficiency born of new technology and competition has also played its part.

Take, for example, containerisation, which amounted to building a logistical Internet decades before the real thing was invented. Like a packet of data, a container is just a box with an address. Like the World Wide Web, container routes have the economies of a network: the more users, the greater

Shipping shows a way to manage the use of the sea



Packet-boat



the benefit. As railways, shipping lines and haulage firms adapted their equipment to carry containers, the efficiencies mounted rapidly.

Containers are digital. Container ships no longer carry varied cargo, but standard boxes measured in one or two TEUS—20-foot-equivalent units. The point of containerisation is that the content of each box is irrelevant. It is the box itself that matters to the crane operators, shipping lines, railways and lorry drivers that handle them. Because every container is identical, it is simply another "packet" to be routed through the transport network.

The idea dates back to the 1950s, when vacuum tubes were still warm. It was the brainchild of Malcom McLean, a haulier from Cape Fear, North Carolina. The shipping lines and railway companies dismissed his scheme but Mr McLean, undeterred, bought a coastal tanker and converted it to carry lorry trailers. On April 26th 1956, the *Ideal X* carried its load from Port Newark, New York, to Houston in Texas. The voyage was a success, and within a decade shipping lines were convinced that international routes could also be served by container. Ten years after the *Ideal X*'s voyage, the *American Racer* sailed for Europe.

The unions quickly saw the threat of what became known as the "longshoreman's coffin". The shipping lines were not too enthusiastic either. In a dilemma that will be familiar to today's telephone companies, they were loath to spend money on a container network when they had already invested heavily in old-fashioned equipment.

Yet the savings have proved immense. Thanks to containers, sea transport these days represents only 1.5% of the total cost of a typical product, compared with 5-10% before their introduction. A ship

spends 24 hours in port today, rather than three weeks under the old system of pallets. In total, 60% by value of sea-borne trade now goes by container.

Inevitably, there have been losers. The jobs of hundreds of thousands of dockers have disappeared. In 1956, 31,000 longshoremen were employed in the ports run by

the New York Port Authority (NYPA); now barely a tenth of that number are left. The world's great harbours have suffered too. Container ships require a new sort of dockside crane and loading yard, so the NYPA built Port Elizabeth in New Jersey, the first harbour for container ships. The life went out of the old docks in such cities as Copenhagen and London. One of the bosses of a container line recently admitted to the *Journal of Commerce*, a sister publication of *The Economist*, that the business has lost its romance.

In the same way that globalisation has led to competition in telecoms and the privatisation of the old state-owned monopolies, so the logic of containerisation has undermined the two governmental pillars of merchant shipping. The first is national ownership. Shipping was once so central to a nation's prosperity that it was treated as a protected industry. Governments wanted to be sure that a merchant navy was always at their disposal, and that hostile powers would not be able to cut off trade. Shipping lines were not for sale to foreigners.

But the 1990s have seen a series of international shipping mergers. Last year Neptune Orient Lines (NOL) of Singapore paid \$825m for American President Lines (APL) of California, America's second-largest container line. Britain's P&O and Nedlloyd of the Netherlands have already merged their container businesses to create one of the world's largest shipping lines. South Korea's Hanjin has bought a majority share of DSR-Senator. There have been many smaller deals as well.

National boundaries have been further blurred by alliances in which shipping lines join forces to buy road, rail and port capacity. Mr McLean's Sealand has an alliance with Maersk of Denmark. Hyundai Merchant Marine, Mitsui OSK Line and the new NOL/APL are in what they call the Global Alliance. And P&O Nedlloyd has joined four other lines in the "Grand Alliance".

These manoeuvres are designed to lower costs in an industry that has been plagued by overcapacity. During the past decade, prices for most trades have been steady or falling (see chart 7). According to John Reeve, of A.T. Kearney, a management consultancy, volume has grown by an average of 9.4% a year since 1991, against only 4.1% for sales revenue.

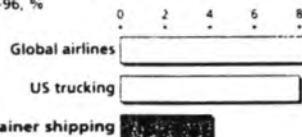
Modes and nodes

Customers worry that the consolidation will reduce competition, and that fear is undermining the second principle of merchant shipping, immunity from antitrust prosecution. There was a logic to this when there were fewer ships and no communications. The first ship to market gets the best price for its commodity; late arrivals sell into a glut. In order to avoid booms and busts and ensure a steady supply for consumers, shipping lines were allowed to organise "conferences" for each trade. These set rates and helped establish timetables for sailings.

The shipping lines claim that the conferences are still beneficial. In general, there are enough lines outside the agreement to keep prices down, though the conference running the trade between Europe and America did manage to impose a notorious hike in prices at the start of the 1990s. However, the conferences restrict innovation in services and technology by limiting the ability of the lines to

Boxed in

Revenues, compound annual growth 1991-96, %



Source: A.T. Kearney

charge different prices. Partly because those outside the lines, such as China's Cosco and Taiwan's Evergreen, have thrived, the days of the conferences are probably numbered. In March, for example, the American senate passed a law which proposes that lines be able to strike exclusive deals with customers. This will, in effect, remove the largest customers from the conference system.

With the decline of conferences and of national ownership, merchant shipping is starting to look like just another business. When America shipped huge amounts of materials for the Gulf war, nobody seemed to mind that many of the ships it used were owned by foreign lines. According to Mr Reeve, the

process will go further as shipping is subsumed by its homologue, the Internet. In an electronic world, the real power lies with the brain that buys and sells space on lorries, trains and ships, not the brawn that shifts the goods. The sea will become just a node between routers. People will still share the destination of John Masefield, who "must go down to the seas again, to the lonely sea and the sky"; but few will share this British poet's quest. Nobody seeks a tall ship in the container age.

These days, shipping is governed by international law and the market. It is efficient and—generally—well organised. How can fishing and coastal waters best achieve a similar balance?



The deep green sea

THE politics of the sea suffers from three twists that also complicate the politics of other environments. First, nobody knows exactly how marine environments are affected by people, so policy will usually have to be devised before there is conclusive proof of, say, a rise in the sea level or the destruction of habitat.

Second, much that happens in and around the sea involves what economists call externalities—things that entail costs which the beneficiary does not fully bear. When a trawler damages the sea bed, it is the whole fleet that pays the price in lost fish. When a shrimp farmer fells mangroves, he does not pay for making the coast more prone to storm damage and erosion.

Third, just about any policy directed at the sea seems to involve a bewildering number of government bureaucracies—and possibly several countries as well. America's Environmental Protection Agency reports that shallow marine habitat in the mid-Atlantic region is regulated by 17 agencies (and this number does not include local jurisdictions). The FAO estimates that roughly a seventh of the fish caught at sea are part of stocks that straddle an international boundary.

Wavelength

Given these complications, how should the sea be treated? Marine environments vary enormously, but here are eight rules that apply to most:

- If you want to protect an environment, stop subsidising its destruction. There are already too many fishermen, so it does not make sense to spend public money to attract more. Ultimately, fishermen should pay a rent for the fish they catch.
- Limit access to resources. The oyster is a good example. In mid-19th-century Britain the poor used to get through around 500m oysters a year. "Poverty and oysters always seems to go together," as Sam Weller observed in Dickens's "Pickwick Papers". Common ownership of the foreshore and sewage, leading to overfishing and poisoning, put paid to that. Today the British slurp only a few million of the molluscs a year.

By contrast, 19th-century France controlled pollution and passed laws to limit oyster fishing. Later it restricted concessions to specially trained people. Like the British, the French were big oyster eaters

then, but unlike the British they never stopped. Today they scoff 2 billion of the things a year.

- Where possible, put resources into private hands. A number of countries have given individual fishermen a fixed share of the catch. These quotas are permanent and can be bought or sold, so they reflect the value of the fish that are still in the water. Quotas encourage fishermen to think about investing in conserving the stock instead of trying to catch the fish before someone else grabs them.

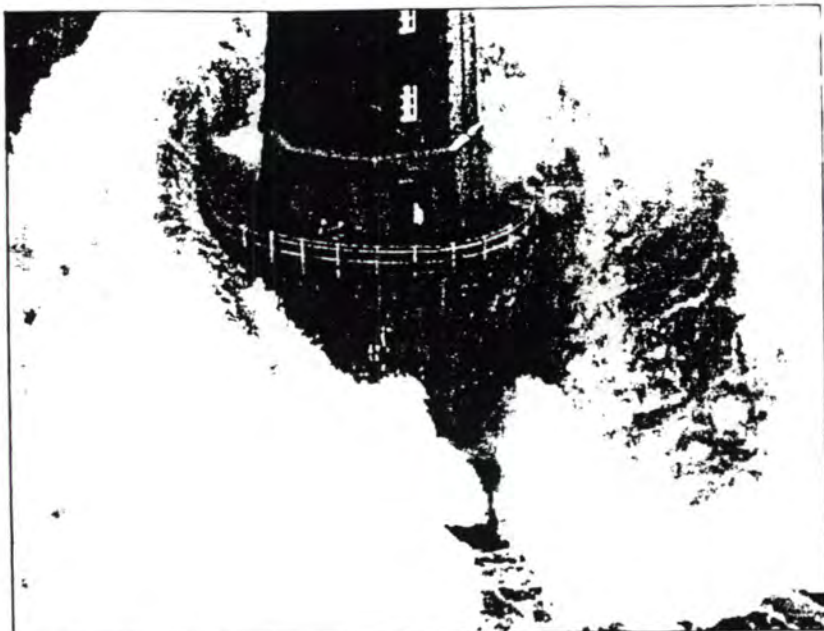
Transferable quota systems have been tried in a range of countries, including New Zealand, Australia, America, Chile, Iceland and the Netherlands. Others, such as Argentina, are thinking about them. Where they are in operation, the fishermen have begun to use words such as "product" and "customers". They complain that the joy has gone out of the life—but they are making money.

- Recognise that, except in emergencies, both central governments and international organisations make poor administrators. This is because coastal waters and fishing are complex, involving dozens of competing interests. Central authorities often lack the information they need to design a regime for the coast and fisheries, let alone enforce it.

The centre can, however, pass laws and offer advice. Governments can delegate powers to local authorities to manage their part of the coast and lay down procedures and budgets. The FAO has produced a useful "code of conduct for responsible fisheries", which includes details on coastal-zone management and aquaculture. There is also an international agreement on managing stocks that straddle international borders. The International Council for the Exploration of the Sea (ICES) helps to take the politics out of management by offering independent assessments of stocks.

- Get people to look after themselves. San Salvador Island, in the north of the Philippines, has been involved in a project to create "community management" of the coral reef. In the 1980s the villagers were using cyanide and explosives to fish the reef. Catches had fallen from more than 20kg of fish per trip in the 1960s to under 5kg by the end of the 1980s. In 1989, after encouragement from a local environmental group and a popular vote, San Salvador created a 137-hectare marine reserve, including a portion of the reef, in the best-preserved part

A user's guide



Handle with care

of the shoreline. Fishing was banned, the villagers helped patrol the reserve and violators were punished. Within two years the villagers' catches outside the reserve had increased by about a third.

The strength of a community is that it can impose social norms, which are as important as legislation in guiding people's conduct. In industrialised countries, quota-owners may eventually start to behave like communities too. In New Zealand, quota-holders have begun to form associations to decide the policy for their stock. In Iceland it has become socially unacceptable for fishermen to cheat. Those who do face their friends' scorn long before they face prosecution.

- Set up reserves to preserve important habitat. The San Salvadorians were on to a good thing. Reserves are now seen as a way to protect fish stocks in developing and developed countries alike.

Three researchers based in Nouméa in New Caledonia, 800 miles off the east coast of Australia, recently published a study* on how reserves can protect coral reefs. They looked at the fish around five islands in New Caledonia's south-western lagoon before the reserves were created, and again five years later. They concluded that in the reserves the number of different species had grown by 67%, the number of fish by 160% and the biomass by 246%. Those islands where the reserves were most closely watched seemed to improve more than the others.

Reserves not only provide a sanctuary for fish, but a stock that can migrate to areas open to fishing. Moreover, they can provide a reference point against which scientists can measure the change in environments elsewhere. As Paul Dayton of Scripps observes, one of the difficulties of managing marine resources is that nobody any longer has a clear idea of what a normal habitat is like.

There is a movement in America to get 20% of the coastal waters set aside as reserves within the next 20 years. The campaign is a good idea, but the target is somewhat arbitrary. Nobody really knows how big reserves need to be or how to design them.

- The flip side of sanctuaries inside reserves is exploitation outside. As long as the marine environment is safeguarded by the sorts of rules outlined above, there is no reason not to use the sea to the full. The purpose of managing coastal waters is not to keep them in a "natural" state. That would be impossible, largely because most coastlines have already been altered by such things as dams, pollution and aquaculture. Instead, management should make these areas more useful.

Fishermen might want to "fertilise" the water to help plankton to grow. Oil companies might want to dispose of rigs in deep water, where they might do less harm than if they were dismantled near the shore. Although they are unpleasant, algal blooms might not justify expensive remedial action.

- Lastly, governments should remember that there is more than one marine environment. John Steele of Woods Hole argues for different types of management in different places. The coast needs to be actively managed because so many people have competing claims to it. Policy cannot recreate a pristine coastal environment even if that were

thought desirable. Deep waters, on the other hand, are vast and pristine, and have no need for management. The task there is conservation: to ensure that species are not destroyed, that the harmful effects of mining or dumping are limited. In-between lies the continental shelf, where fishing is intensive and most oil and gas is produced. Here people must strive to find a balance between management and conservation.

The great mirror

Baudelaire described the sea as the mirror of a free man. In superstitious times the sea reflected the fear of monsters and raiding parties. In the age of empire its glassy surface dispatched fleets and trade. For the romantics the sublime sea represented freedom from stuffy, money-obsessed convention. At the end of the 20th century, it seems, the brine is clouded with environmental pessimism.

More mouths, more money and more mess lead to an exploited sea, runs the refrain. In developing countries it is hard to manage resources for the long term, and even successful schemes are vulnerable to changes in the local hierarchy. Rich countries seem to get bogged down in politics.

The pity is that if people gave the sea a chance, it would repay them handsomely. Because it has few boundaries, it has always been subjected to constant change. Within limits, this has made marine life adaptable and resilient; but humanity has, in places, begun to test those limits. If people want both to preserve the sea and extract the full benefit from it, they must now moderate their demands, and structure them. They must put aside ideas of the sea's immensity and power, and instead take stewardship of the ocean, with all the privileges and responsibilities that implies.

* "Effects of Marine Reserves on Coral Reef Fish Communities from Five Islands in New Caledonia", by L. Wanier, P. Thollot and M. Kulbicki. *Coral Reefs*, November 1997

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**BOXER FOR SENATE RECEPTION
AT THE FAIRMONT HOTEL**

DATE: Friday, June 12, 1998
LOCATION: The Fairmont Hotel
Nob Hill
San Francisco, CA
3:35 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.

I. PURPOSE

To raise money for Senator Barbara Boxer's reelection campaign and Victory Fund '98.

II. BACKGROUND

This is a three-tiered event consisting of two private receptions and a large reception. The private receptions include a meet-and-greet with 6 high-end donors and a mix and mingle with 30 guests during which candid photos will be taken. The large reception with 400 guests will include a brief program with formal remarks.

III. PARTICIPANTS

YOU, the First Lady, and Senator Boxer.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Large reception open for remarks only.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- Call time for guests is 3:00.
- YOU and the First Lady arrive and are greeted by Senator Boxer, Gina Pennestri, and Marc and Nancy Zimmeran and family.
- YOU, the First Lady, and Senator Boxer proceed to the Squire Room for a meet and greet with 6 guests.
- YOU, the First Lady, and Senator Boxer proceed to the French Room for a mix and mingle with 30 guests. Candid photos will be taken.
- YOU proceed to reception room from stage right. Program begins.
- Senator Boxer makes welcoming remarks, recognizes VIPs, and introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady delivers brief remarks and introduces YOU.
- YOU deliver brief remarks and the program ends.
- YOU, the First Lady, and Senator Boxer work ropeline and depart.

VI. REMARKS

To be provided by speechwriting.

VII. ATTACHMENTS

- * Description of greeters.
- * List of guests at small receptions.
- * List of guests at large reception.

Ack: Rep. Barbara Lee; State Chair Art Torres; State Sen. John Burton; Assemblyman Kevin Shelley; House Candidate: David Shapiro (Doolittle's seat)

• **Proud partner in Sen. Boxer's fight to protect our oceans:** thanks to her persistence, today we extended the nation's moratorium on off-shore drilling for an additional 10 yrs.

• **Time to strengthen Nation for 21st Century:** OMB predicts \$39bn surplus, largest in US history; **16M new jobs**; Unemp **4.3%** (28 yr low) and 1st Qtr. Growth **4.8%**; Inflat. lowest in 30 yrs; Crime ↘ 5 yrs in a row, welfare rolls 27 yr low; Fam. Income ↗ \$2,200; real wages ↗; mid. class taxes lowest in 20 yrs; record homeownership.

• **Much to do:**

- Bal Bud: Save SS first.
- Educ: School Modernization; Avg. class size 18; 100k new teachers.
- Tobacco: "replacement smokers"
- Families: Medicare buy-in; HMO **Bill of Rights**; childcare
- Call on Congress to fund \$2.3 billion Clean Water Action Plan
- Campaign Reform (Shays-Meehan)

June 12, 1998

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Karen Skelton and Jocelyn Bucaro

RE: California Political Briefing

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS

1992			1996		
Clinton/Gore	5,121,249	46%	Clinton/Gore	5,067,124	51%
Bush/Quayle	3,630,566	33%	Dole/Kemp	3,817,726	38%
Perot/Stockdale	2,296,004	16%	Perot/Choate	697,727	7%

POLITICAL DATA

Governor:	Pete Wilson (R)	55% in 1994
Senate:	Diane Feinstein (D)	47% in 1994
	Barbara Boxer (D)	48% in 1992
U.S. House:	29D/23R	
State Senate:	23D/16R/1I	
State Assembly:	43D/37R	
Electoral Votes:	54	

CALIFORNIA AT A GLANCE...

- 1994 estimated population of California is 31,431,000, which is up 5.6% from 1990.
- More than 10% of California residents are 65 years of age or older.
- 57% of California citizens are white; 26% Hispanic; 10% Asian; 7% African-American.
- Only 53% of the voting age population participated in the 1996 elections.
- 7,387,041 registered voters in 1996 identified themselves as Democrats, while 5,704,536 identified themselves as Republicans.
- Current political line up: Governor Pete Wilson (R), Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis (D), Secretary of State Bill Jones (R), Attorney General Dan Lungren (R), Treasurer Matt Fong (R), and Controller Kathleen Connell (D).

RECENT PRINCIPAL TRAVEL

- **YOU** were last in California from May 1, 1998 to May 4, 1998 where **YOU** toured Thurma Inc. in San Jose, attended an event to introduce new environment-friendly home improvements in West Lake Village, and attended fundraisers for the DNC, DCCC, Congresswoman Sanchez, and the "No on Proposition 226" campaign.
- **The Vice President** was last in California on March 20, 1998 to March 21, 1998 where he gave remarks at the University of California, Irvine; met with leaders from the California Teachers Association and National Education Association in Los Angeles; attended a DNC/California Democratic Party fundraiser in Los Angeles; gave remarks to the California State Party Convention in Los Angeles; gave remarks to the Greater Los Angeles African American Chamber of Commerce; and attended the AIPAC/AJC dinner.

- **The First Lady** was in California on May 25-26, where she attended a children's environmental health event, participated in a child care roundtable, and attended two fundraising receptions for Senator Boxer.

FUTURE PRINCIPAL TRAVEL

- **YOU** are tentatively scheduled to be back in California in August for an event with Democratic gubernatorial nominee Gray Davis, and again in September and October.
- **The Vice President** may be traveling to California again in September.

CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D)
 Representative Frank Riggs (R-01)
 Representative Vic Fazio (D-03)
 Representative Robert T. Matsui (D-05)
 Representative George Miller (D-07)
 Representative Barbara Lee (D-09)
 Representative Richard Pombo (R-11)
 Representative Fortney "Pete" Stark (D-13)
 Representative Tom Campbell (R-15)
 Representative Sam Farr (D-17)
 Representative George P. Radanovich (R-19)
 Representative William M. Thomas (R-21)
 Representative Elton Gallegly (R-23)
 Representative Howard "Buck" McKeon (R-25)
 Representative James E. Rogan (R-27)
 Representative Henry A. Waxman (D-29)
 Representative Matthew G. Martinez (D-31)
 Representative Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-33)
 Representative Maxine Waters (D-35)
 Representative Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-37)
 Representative Edward Royce (R-39)
 Representative Jay Kim (R-41)
 Representative Ken Calvert (R-43)
 Representative Dana Rohrabacher (R-45)
 Representative Christopher Cox (R-47)
 Representative Brian Bilbray (R-49)
 Representative Randy Cunningham (R-51)

Sen. Barbara Boxer (D)
 Representative Wally Herger (R-02)
 Representative John Doolittle (R-04)
 Representative Lynn Woolsey (D-06)
 Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-08)
 Representative Ellen Taushner (D-10)
 Representative Tom Lantos (D-12)
 Representative Anna Eshoo (D-14)
 Representative Zoe Lofgren (D-16)
 Representative Gary Condit (D-18)
 Representative Calvin Dooley (D-20)
 Representative Lois Capps (D-22)
 Representative Brad Sherman (D-24)
 Representative Howard L. Berman (D-26)
 Representative David Dreier (R-28)
 Representative Xavier Becerra (D-30)
 Representative Julian C. Dixon (D-32)
 Representative Esteban Edward Torres (D-34)
 Representative Jane Jarman (D-36)
 Representative Steve Horn (R-38)
 Representative Jerry Lewis (R-40)
 Representative George E. Brown, Jr. (D-42)
 Representative Mary Bono (R-44)
 Representative Loretta L. Sanchez (D-46)
 Representative Ron Packard (R-48)
 Representative Bob Filner (D-50)
 Representative Duncan Hunter (R-52)

CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICERS AND LEGISLATIVE LEADERSHIP

Governor:	Pete Wilson (R)
Lt. Governor:	Gray Davis (D)
Secretary of State:	Bill Jones (R)
Attorney General:	Dan Lungren (R)
State Controller:	Kathleen Connell (D)
Treasurer:	Matt Fong (R)
Insurance Commissioner:	Charles Quackenbush (R)
State Superintendent:	Delaine Eastin (D)
Speaker of the Assembly:	Antonio Villaraigosa (D)

Speaker Pro Tempore:	Sheila James Kuehl (D)
Majority Leader of the Assembly:	Kevin Shelley (D)
Minority Leader of the Assembly:	Bill Leonard (R)
Senate President Pro Tempore:	John Burton (D)
Senate Majority Leader:	Charles M. Calderon (D)
Senate Minority Leader:	Rob Hurtt (R)

GUBERNATORIAL RACE

Despite being outspent by his wealthy Democratic rivals by over \$40 million, Lt. Governor Gray Davis (D) won the Democratic nomination for governor in the state's June 2 primary. The primary race was the most expensive non-presidential race in the history of American politics, with candidates spending over \$65 million. Voters, frustrated by the bombardment of negative television ads, spoke out against "insurgent" millionaires in the open primary and instead, chose "experience money can't buy." Davis was the state's highest vote-getter, edging out Republican Attorney General Dan Lungren, who ran unopposed.

The results of the primary were as follows:

Gray Davis (D)	34.8%
Dan Lungren (R)	33.7%
Al Checchi (D)	20.9%
Jane Harman (D)	12.4%

Among moderate voters, Davis received 44% of the vote, while Lungren received 23%, Harman received 15%, and Checchi received 13%. Among independent voters, Davis took 42%; Lungren, 21%; Harman, 15%; and Checchi, 13%.

A Mason-Dixon/PMR poll, conducted May 26-28, showed Davis slightly ahead of Lungren in a general election matchup:

General Election	All	Men	Women	Fav	Unfav
Davis (D)	44%	39%	49%	43%	16%
Lungren (R)	42%	47%	37%	42%	19%
Undecided	14%	14%	14%		

1998 SENATE RACE

In the Republican primary race to take on Senator Barbara Boxer (D), voters again chose experience over money as state Treasurer Matt Fong (R) defeated wealthy businessman Darrell Issa (R) by 22% to 19.5%. Issa outspent Fong 4-to-1, pumping nearly \$15 million of his own money into his campaign.

Senator Boxer received just 44% of the popular vote in the June 2 primary. She was elected in 1992 with 48% of the vote. Political analysts noted prior to the election that Boxer appeared

vulnerable. Polling in May showed her support as low as 39%.

DOWN BALLOT RACES

Lieutenant Governor

Former Assembly Speaker Cruz Bustamante (D) won the Democratic nomination for Lieutenant Governor with 34% of the vote. The first Latino ever to become speaker, Bustamante was term-limited and left the Assembly at the end of last year. If elected in November, Bustamante would become the first Latino elected to statewide office in California in modern times. He will face state Senator Tim Leslie (R) of Tahoe City in November. Leslie received 16% of the open primary vote.

Secretary of State

Former Gore staffer and '96 congressional candidate Michela Alioto (D) is challenging incumbent Secretary of State Bill Jones (R). Neither candidate faced opposition in the June 2 primary. Jones received 50% of the popular vote in the open primary while Alioto received 39%.

Controller

State Controller Kathleen Connell (D) is seeking re-election and will face San Mateo County Supervisor Ruben Barrales (R) in November. Connell received 59.6% of the popular vote in the open primary while Barrales received 32.7%.

Treasurer

Current Treasurer Matt Fong (R) is running for U.S. Senate against Sen. Barbara Boxer. Former California State Party Chair and '94 Treasurer nominee Phil Angelides (D) won the Democratic nomination in the June 2 primary with 25.5% of the popular vote. In what is expected to be the toughest statewide race, Angelides will face state Assemblyman and former Minority Leader Curt Pringle (R), who received 27.8% of the vote.

Attorney General

State Senator and former President Pro Tem Bill Lockyer (D) won the Democratic nomination for Attorney General with 23.7% of the popular vote, defeating former Rep. Lynn Schenk with 12.6%. He will face Dave Stirling (R) who received 29.5% of the vote.

DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP IN THE STATE HOUSE

Assembly Democrats unanimously selected Antonio Villaraigosa (D) of Los Angeles on January 21, 1998, to be their new speaker. He officially took over his duties as Assembly Speaker on February 26th. Democrats hold a 43-to-37 majority in the Assembly.

State Senator John Burton (D) of San Francisco is the new President Pro Tem of the state Senate of California. Democrats now hold 23 seats in the 40-member state Senate, while Republicans hold 16 and independent Quentin Kopp holds the 40th.

CONGRESSIONAL RACES

CD 1 - Riggs (R) - Rep. Frank Riggs is retiring from the Eureka-based district. He earlier sought the Republican nomination to take on Sen. Barbara Boxer (D), but dropped out of that race in mid-April citing fundraising concerns. State Senator Mike Thompson (D) is the clear frontrunner in the race to replace Riggs. He won the open primary race with 51% of the popular vote. He will face Napa County Supervisor Mark Luce (R), who received 20.3% of the vote.

CD 3 - Fazio (D) - Sandra Dunn (D), an environmental attorney and former Republican staffer on Capitol Hill, won the Democratic nomination in the race to succeed retiring Rep. Fazio. Fazio has endorsed Dunn. She received 23.1% of the popular vote in the June 2 primary. Dunn faces wealthy businessman Doug Ose (R), who received 30.5% of the popular vote.

Fazio beat Republican Tim Lefever, 53 to 41 percent, after outspending him more than 3-to-1 in 1996.

CD 09 - Dellums (D) - Representative Ron Dellums resigned his seat as of February 6, 1998. In a special election, his former Chief of Staff, ex-state Senator Barbara Lee (D), defeated her opponents with 67 percent of the vote.

CD 10 - Tauscher (D) - Freshman Ellen Tauscher won the open primary race with 54.7% of the popular vote. Tauscher is reported to have \$200,000 in her campaign war chest and plans on spending about \$1.6 million of her own money. She narrowly defeated former Rep. Bill Baker (R) by 49 to 47 percent in 1996, in the Bay Area's most Republican district. She is expected to defeat her Republican challenger, Charles Ball, who received 23.6% of the primary vote.

CD 22 - Capps (D) - On March 10th, Lois Capps was elected with over 53 percent of the vote to complete her late-husband's, Walter Capps, term. She defeated Assemblyman Tom Bordonaro (R) in this district, which includes Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo counties. Capps will face Bordonaro again in November. Capps received 51.5% of the popular vote in the June 2 primary, while Bordonaro received 41.4%.

CD 24 - Sherman (D) - Rep. Brad Sherman, a tax attorney, kept this San Fernando Valley-based seat in the Democratic column after Rep. Anthony Beilenson (D) retired in 1996. The freshman beat businessman Richard Sybert (R), whom Beilenson had narrowly defeated in 1994. In the '96 election, both Sherman and Sybert campaigned as moderates: Sherman is pro-death penalty and tough on illegal immigration, and Sybert is a pro-choice environmentalist.

In 1998, Sherman is running in another tough race. He faces Randy Hoffman (R), president of Magellan Systems, a high-tech satellite navigation and communications company. Hoffman, who has never run for office, was recently appointed by Gov. Wilson to the California Domestic Violence Advisory Council, which will distribute grants to battered women's shelters.

Sherman received 54% of the primary vote, while Hoffman received 21%. The race is expected to be competitive, though, because of the personal fortune Hoffman is expected to spend on his

campaign.

CD 34 - Torres (D) - Rep. Esteban Torres announced his retirement in February and endorsed his son-in-law, Jamie Casso, for the seat in this Democratic district. Casso was narrowly defeated by just 613 votes by Assemblywoman Grace Napolitano (D) in the June 2 primary. Casso announced that he will challenge the results of the election.

CD 36 - Harman (D) - Janice Hahn (D), daughter of Kenneth Hahn, the former Los Angeles County Supervisor, is running for this seat. Hahn is slightly favored, but the race will be difficult because she is not well-funded. She faces Assemblyman Steven Kuykendall in November. Hahn received 30% of the primary vote while Kuykendall received 22.7%.

CD 42 - Brown (D) - In 1996, five Republicans campaigned for Brown's San Bernardino district, which he has represented for 33 years. He won the race against Linda Wilde, a Superior Court Judge, by just 996 votes, one of the narrowest margins in the country. Brown, who received 53.6% of the popular vote in the June 2 primary, will face Elia Pirozzi (R), who received 18.7% of the vote. The district leans Democratic -- it went for Clinton/Gore by 17 points in 1996 -- but is one of the purest "swing districts" in the nation.

CD 44 - Bono (R) - Rep. Mary Bono (R) replaced her late husband, Rep. Sonny Bono (R), in a special election with 64 percent of the vote. Bono had received a top Republican endorsement on February 18, when former Vice President Dan Quayle (R) lauded her as the candidate best suited to fill her late husband's seat in Congress. The leading Democrat to challenge Bono was actor Ralph Waite, who played Mr. Walton in the popular TV show "The Waltons." He received 29 percent of the vote.

The southern California district is heavily Republican in most elections, but voted for President Clinton by 40 to 36 percent in 1992. Bono easily captured the seat by 56 to 38 percent in 1994, along with a tidal wave of other Republican Congressional wins; he held onto the seat with almost the same proportion in 1996. The district also voted for Bob Dole over Clinton/Gore '96 by one percent.

Waite is again challenging Bono in the general election.

CD 46 - Sanchez (D) - Loretta Sanchez won this seat by 948 votes in 1996. Sanchez is seeking re-election in the Orange County-based district in what is expected to be one of the most hotly-contested House battles in the country. Once a Republican stronghold, the 46th Congressional District voted for Clinton by 8 percent in 1996, and for Bush by 3 percent in 1992. Sanchez received 44.8% of the popular vote in the June 2 primary.

Former Representative Robert Dornan (R), whose 14-month election challenge was formally rebuffed by the House earlier this year, won the Republican nomination in the June 2 primary with 26.1% of the popular vote.

Sanchez (D) and Dornan (R) have raised more money than any other House candidate except

Speaker Newt Gingrich (R) and Minority Leader Dick Gephardt (D). Sanchez has raised over \$2 million and had \$1 million on hand as of May 13. According to Dornan's most recent FEC filings on March 31, he had raised \$1,765,417 and had \$149,300 on hand.

CD 49 - Bilbray (R) -San Diego City Councilmember Christine Kehoe (D), in her bid to unseat Rep. Bilbray, has won the endorsement of EMILY's List and is raising money and organizing volunteers in what is shaping up to be a hot contest in 1998. According to the recent FEC filings, Kehoe has raised \$201,000 and has \$251,000 in cash on hand. Bilbray raised \$76,000 and has \$265,000 on hand.

Kehoe is the first openly gay candidate to be elected to public office in San Diego. She has received the endorsements of the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund and the Human Rights Campaign.

Despite being outspent two to one, Bilbray won the seat in 1994 after defeating one-term Rep. Lynn Schneck (D).

HOT POLITICAL ISSUES

Bilingual Education: Proposition 227

Proposition 227, an initiative that will virtually eliminate bilingual education programs, passed 61%-39% in the June 2 election. 63% of Latinos voted against 227, while 65% of Caucasians supported it. Opponents of the initiative have already taken their fight to the courts, hoping to block the measure.

The initiative had been opposed by the Administration as well as the four candidates for governor, including Republican Attorney General Dan Lungren. Proponents of the measure included Governor Pete Wilson (R), who vetoed alternative legislation that would have granted control of bilingual education to local school districts, and Mayor Richard Riordan (R) of Los Angeles.

Bilingual education is gaining national attention and will likely be debated in Congress in the next few weeks. Representative Frank Riggs (R-01) of California has introduced legislation that would replace the current federal bilingual and immigrant education programs with a block grant to states to help students master English in two years. Funds would be less effectively targeted to high need communities than the current program, and the bill would end funding for teacher training. Riggs' bill has been reported out of committee and may reach the House floor for debate in the next few weeks.

Labor Initiative: Proposition 226

California voters rejected Proposition 226, which would have required unions to seek permission from individual members before withholding dues for political contributions. The measure was defeated 46%-54% in large part due to a \$20 million campaign by unions.

Western Primary

The California Senate approved a measure on May 14 to move the state's presidential primary to

the March 7 in 2000. The goal is to align California's primary with Oregon and Washington to create a Northwest Superprimary that would be a mandatory stop for all presidential candidates with a quarter of the delegates needed for the nomination.

Minority Enrollment at the University of California

Figures released by the University of California on May 21 indicate that 24% fewer black and 5% fewer Hispanic students will enroll at the state's most competitive campuses next fall in the first year after California abolished racial preferences in admissions. At the University of California at Berkeley, the nation's most selective public university, 62% fewer black students and 46% fewer Hispanic students will enroll next fall. UCLA reported similar figures for its freshman class. Less prestigious campuses, including Riverside, Santa Barbara, and Santa Cruz, reported increases in minority enrollment, indicating a redistribution of students who in earlier years might have been admitted to Berkeley or UCLA.

Immigration

A federal judge in Los Angeles has ruled that Proposition 187, the 1994 ballot initiative targeting illegal immigrants, violates both the Constitution and last year's sweeping congressional overhaul of welfare law. The ruling effectively means that, barring a successful appeal, the controversial measure that focused attention nationwide on the problem of illegal immigration will never be fully implemented. The judge cited as unlawful the initiative's major sections-those barring illegal immigrants from receiving publicly funded education, social services and health care-along with provisions mandating that local law enforcement authorities, school administrators, social workers and health care aides turn in suspected illegal immigrants. However, the judge did let stand two less controversial sections that establish state criminal penalties for the manufacture and use of false documents to conceal immigration status.

PARTIAL LIST OF ADMINISTRATION APPOINTEES FROM CALIFORNIA

White House

Craighead, Kelly	Special Assistant to the President, Director of Advance, and Trip Director for the First Lady
Echaveste, Maria	Assistant to the President for Public Liaison
Ibarra, Mickey	Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs
Matsui, Doris	Deputy Assistant to the President, Public Liaison
Palmieri, Jennifer	Special Assistant to the President for Scheduling and Advance
Pasquil, Mona	Western Regional Political Director, Office of Political Affairs
Scott, Marsha	Deputy Assistant to the President for Presidential Personnel
Skelton, Karen	Deputy Assistant to the President, Political Affairs
Spector, Stacie	Deputy Assistant to the President, Communications
Umberg, Tom	Deputy Director, Office of the Drug Czar

Office of the Vice President

Bustos, Miguel	Policy Advisor to Mrs. Gore
Cherny, Andrei	Speechwriter
Gonzales, Rick	Deputy Director of Legislative Affairs
Kohlenberger, Jim	Assistant Domestic Policy Advisor
Winograd, Morley	Senior Policy Advisor to the Vice President

Departments/Agencies

Barram, David

Berg, Olena

Cruz, Frank

Ehrlich, Thomas

Fisher, Ray

Huerta, Michael

Lee, Bill Lam

Manella, Nora

McFadden, Nancy

Nathanson, Marc

Ochi, Rose

Palast, Geri

Rominger, Richard

Yellen, Janet

Administrator, General Services Administration

Assistant Secretary, Pension & Welfare Benefit Admin,
Dept/Labor

Member/Board of Directors, Corp. of Public Broadcasting

Member/Board of Directors, National & Community Service Corp

Associate Attorney General

Associate Deputy Secretary, Department of Transportation

Acting Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights

US Attorney, Central California

General Counsel, Department of Transportation

Broadcasting Board of Governors

Director of Community Relations, Department of Justice

Assistant Secretary, Department of Labor

Deputy Secretary, Department of Agriculture

Chair, Council of Economic Advisors

ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN CALIFORNIA UNDER PRESIDENT CLINTON

President Clinton's strategy to strengthen the economy is based on reducing the federal budget deficit, lowering trade barriers, and empowering workers, families, businesses and communities to succeed. Here are some of the results for California after 63 months of the Clinton Administration:

Improved Economic Conditions in California during the Clinton Administration:

- The unemployment rate has dropped from 9.7% to 5.9%.
- California has added 1,420,300 new jobs, or 270,533 **per year** -- compared to **LOSING** 11,350 **per year** during the previous administration.
- California has added 1,330,800 new private-sector jobs, or 253,486 **per year** -- compared to **LOSING** 38,600 **per year** during the previous administration.
- California has added 153,100 new construction jobs, or 29,162 **per year** -- compared to **LOSING** 28,025 **per year** during the previous administration.
- New business incorporations have increased 5.0% **per year** -- after **DECLINING** 10.8% **per year** during the previous administration.
- Home sales have increased 5.7% **per year** -- after **DECLINING** 6.6% **per year** during the previous administration.
- Business lending has increased by 7.2% **per year** -- after **DECLINING** by 7.8% **per year** during the previous administration.
- Consumer confidence has increased 123.1%.

What President Clinton's Accomplishments Have Achieved for the People of California:

15,000 OF REDUCED FEDERAL DEBT FOR EVERY FAMILY OF FOUR IN CALIFORNIA: The national debt will be **more than \$1 trillion** lower than was projected before the passage of the President's economic plan. That's about \$15,000 of reduced federal debt for each family of four in California.

10 TIMES MORE CALIFORNIA FAMILIES RECEIVE A TAX CUT THAN A TAX INCREASE: As a result of the expanded Earned Income Tax Credit, 2,146,915 working families in California will receive a tax cut. This compares to an increase in the income tax rate for only the 218,777 wealthiest taxpayers in California.

TAX CUT FOR 178,917 SMALL BUSINESSES IN CALIFORNIA: The President helped entrepreneurs, proprietors, and other small businessmen and women by expanding the annual expensing allowance from \$10,000 to \$17,500. About 178,917 small businesses in California are likely to benefit from the expansion of the expensing allowance this year alone *and many more will benefit over the coming years.*

4,959,000 CALIFORNIA WORKERS PROTECTED BY FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE ACT: The Family and Medical Leave Act allows workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for the birth of a child, to care for a sick family member, or if they become too sick to work. This law covers about 4,959,089 workers in California, and protects the jobs of 297,914 workers in California who are likely to use unpaid leave this year alone.

1.65 MILLION STUDENTS AND FORMER STUDENTS IN CALIFORNIA WILL BE ABLE TO BENEFIT FROM STUDENT LOAN REFORMS: Approximately 1.65 million California borrowers -- 1.16 million current borrowers and 490,000 new borrowers in the next few years -- can take advantage of the new direct student loan program by participating directly in the program or by consolidating guaranteed loans into direct loans. Some will benefit from lower interest rates, and all will benefit from more repayment options, including income contingent repayment.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

June 11, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHLEEN A. MCGINTY *KAM*

SUBJECT: CALIFORNIA ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Following are hot issues for California. You will be provided with background on issues related to the National Ocean Conference in your event memos.

American Heritage Rivers

Six rivers in California have been nominated as American Heritage Rivers: the Gualala River, Lower American River, San Joaquin River, San Luis Rey River, Santa Clara River, and Santa Rosa Creek.

There is strong congressional opposition for three of the nominations. Representative George Radanovich has requested that the San Joaquin River not be designated, Representative Richard Pombo has requested that the portion of the Lower American River that flows through his district not be designated, and Representative Howard McKeon has requested that the portion of the Santa Clara River that flows through his district not be designated. The Congressmen cite possible effects on private property rights as their primary source of concern. Senators Feinstein and Boxer have expressed support for rivers in California.

The American Heritage Rivers Advisory Committee began the process of reviewing the river nominations on May 11-12. The Committee will reconvene on June 16 and recommend up to 20 rivers for your designation. You are scheduled to announce the designation of ten American Heritage Rivers in July.

If asked about the issue, you should say that you are waiting to hear from the Advisory Committee and that you will designate the American Heritage Rivers over the summer.

Napalm Shipping

There has been a great deal of controversy over a proposal for the Navy to ship twenty-two tons of napalm from its Fallbrook Naval Ordnance Center in California to a hazardous waste disposal facility in East Chicago, Indiana. EPA's Chicago office, Illinois and Indiana community groups, and Members of Congress expressed concern over the shipments, and, two days after the first shipment of napalm departed California, the Indiana disposal facility announced it would not

accept the shipment. The "orphan" shipment was sent to China Lake Naval Base in California for temporary storage.

As a result of these difficulties, all of the napalm is still in California. The Department of the Navy is currently evaluating other alternative disposal facilities and is anxious to move forward with the napalm disposal. To date, no new site has been named. EPA is prepared to work with the Navy to assure that there are no problems with any new facility prior to the commencement of shipments.

If asked about the issue, you should say that the Administration is committed to working to move the napalm from current facilities to a disposal site for safe and final processing.

CalFed Bay-Delta Program

Several federal agencies have prepared an Environmental Impact Statement which is currently open to public comment that explores options for restoring the Bay-Delta ecosystem while improving water quality and reliability for California. One option in the draft is a "peripheral canal" that could be constructed to move water around the Bay Delta to central valley farms and southern California. Environmentalists are opposing anything approximating a peripheral canal on grounds that it would take too much water from the already stressed river system. The parties continue to work together to address the water allocation issues, although as decisions get closer, the process is becoming more difficult.

If asked about CALFed, you should say that we are committed to working with stakeholders to develop a consensus solution that meets the water needs of farmers, cities, and environmentalists.

Restoration of the Salton Sea

Legislation to restore the Salton Sea has been reported out of the House Resources Committee, and may see floor action the week of June 29. The Administration continues to be supportive of the goals of the bill, although we have reservations about proposed exemptions from the Clean Water Act and the authorization of \$350 million in funds for an unidentified restoration project. We continue to hope that we can work out these issues with Representative Mary Bono and other Republican Members. Another Salton Sea restoration bill, introduced by Senators Feinstein and Boxer, is preferable.

If asked about this issue, you should say that we are working with Congress to iron out the details of this project and hope to make this restoration effort a joint success.

Methyl Bromide

Methyl bromide is a widely-used agricultural pesticide that is highly toxic and a threat to the ozone layer. The current phaseout date for methyl bromide under the Montreal Protocol is 2005, although there are efforts to bring that date forward. The Clean Air Act calls for the chemical to be phased-out by 2001.

Growers are pushing to extend domestic use past 2001, which would require an amendment to the Clean Air Act. Environmental groups and labor unions -- including local activists in California -- are fighting hard against any extension.

California Democrats take different positions on this issue. Representative Vic Fazio is pushing for a Clean Air Act amendment while Representative Henry Waxman is opposed. Representative Sam Farr would prefer not to vote on this issue this year. Senator Barbara Boxer is focusing attention on improved research for methyl bromide alternatives.

If asked whether you support extending the Clean Air Act's 2001 phaseout date, you should say that methyl bromide is highly toxic and a threat to the ozone layer, and that we should focus on developing safe and effective alternatives. If alternatives are not available, we would consider legislative changes as the 2001 phaseout date approaches.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 11, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THURGOOD MARSHALL, JR. *TM*
JON P. JENNINGS *JPJ*

SUBJECT: HOT ISSUES -- SAN FRANCISCO AND LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

710: On June 10, the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the City of South Pasadena filed suit in federal court to halt the 710 highway project. A referendum is planned in August about raising funds to support these efforts. (DOT)

IG Investigation: The City of Los Angeles Housing Authority may still face an investigation by HUD's Office of Inspector General. It is conceivable that the Los Angeles Housing Authority could still be selected as part of a \$9.2 million probe to track federal money given to urban housing authorities. Possible HUD IG investigations have also raised concern in Baltimore, New Orleans and San Francisco. HUD is unaware of the possible direction that the IG's investigation will take. (HUD)

Proposition 227: A coalition of civil rights groups filed a federal lawsuit on June 3 alleging that the law violates the Equal Protection clause and the Civil Rights Act of 1964; on the same day, the San Francisco school board voted unanimously to continue its bilingual programs and fight the law in court. Also on June 3, State Board of Education officials said requests for exemptions from the law's requirements filed by eight school districts, including San Jose, would be rejected. (DOEd)

Bureau of Land Management ?

Ward Valley: The site is currently illegally occupied by Native Americans and anti-nuclear protestors, denying BLM access to do tritium testing. A decision was made to take no action on removing the individuals. The Speaker, Speaker pro tem, and President pro tem of the CA Legislature submitted a letter to DOI in April asserting CDHS is without authority to purchase the Ward Valley land from BLM. DOJ recently put before the courts its view that CDHS has not had the authority to contract for the purchase of land or to acquire it on behalf of the state. The DOI has suspended further processing of the state's application and the proposed on site test drilling activities until a court decision on whether CA has the legal right to buy the federal site in the desert. (DOI)

✓

LA County Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA): The MTA continues to be in serious financial trouble due to over commitments in both subway and bus service expansion. The current focus of the controversy is the MTAs \$6 billion Red Line subway construction program includes more than \$3 billion in FTA funds. In addition, the MTA has committed to improve bus service significantly in order to settle a lawsuit brought by low income bus patrons frustrated with the huge diversion of transit funds into subway construction. Two recovery plans submitted in early 1997 were rejected by the FTA. After extensive efforts, the MTA adopted and submitted a new Recovery Plan dated May 15, 1998. This plan is quite controversial as it eliminate extension of the Red Line to the east side. This has angered Hispanic constituencies and elected officials. (DOT)

AIDS Programs: On May 13, the CA state auditor released an audit of the LA Office of AIDS Policy that was extremely critical of how the Office oversees its AIDS projects. As a result of the audit, the CA office of AIDS denied payment to LA County for drug overcharges by the LA AIDS Healthcare Foundation. The Foundation has filed suit to recover the funds. (HHS)

Headwaters: Representatives of the DOI, DOC and the State of CA have been engaged in intensive negotiations with the Pacific Lumber Company (PALCO) on a draft Habitat Conservation Plan (HCP) for the 200,000 acres of forest land that are owned by PALCO and which are adjacent to the Headwaters Preserve. It was hoped that the draft HCP would be ready for public release during the week of June 6, but several important issues continue to divide the parties. Negotiations are ongoing. (DOI)

PRESIDENT CLINTON AND VICE PRESIDENT GORE'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS: *CALIFORNIA*

EXPANDING ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

- **Unemployment Down to 5.9%:** The unemployment rate in California has declined from 9.7% to 5.9% since 1993.
- **1,420,300 New Jobs:** 1,420,300 new jobs have been created in California since 1993 -- an average of 270,533 jobs per year. In contrast, an average of 11,350 jobs were lost each year during the previous administration.
- **1,330,800 New Private Sector Jobs:** Since 1993, 1,330,800 new private sector jobs have been created in California -- an average of 253,486 jobs per year, compared to an average loss of 38,600 private sector jobs per year in the previous administration.
- **95,900 New Manufacturing Jobs:** 95,900 manufacturing jobs have been created in California since 1993 -- an average of 18,267 jobs per year. In contrast, an average of 66,475 manufacturing jobs were lost each year during the previous administration.
- **153,100 New Construction Jobs:** 153,100 construction jobs have been created in California since 1993 -- an average of 29,162 jobs per year. In contrast, an average of 28,025 construction jobs were lost each year during the previous administration.
- **Business Failures Down 1.7% Per Year:** Business failures in California have decreased an average of 1.7% per year since 1993, after increasing 21.8% per year during the previous 12 years.
- **New Business Incorporations Up 5%:** New business incorporations in California have increased at an average rate of 5% per year since 1993. In contrast, new business incorporations fell an average of 10.8% per year during the previous administration.
- **1.2 Million Have Received a Raise:** 999,000 California workers benefited from an increase in the minimum wage -- from \$4.25 to \$4.75 -- on October 1, 1996. They, along with 200,000 more, received an additional raise -- from \$4.75 to \$5.15 -- on September 1, 1997.
- **Home Building Up 2.6%:** Home building in California has increased by an average of 2.6% per year since 1993, after falling over 21.2% per year during the previous administration.
- **A \$500 Child Tax Credit to Help Families Raising Children:** To help make it easier for families to raise their children, the balanced budget includes a \$500 per-child tax credit for children under 17. **Thanks to President Clinton, the balanced budget delivers a child tax credit to 3,229,000 families in California.**
- **Personal Income Has Risen 2.4% Annually:** Personal income in California has risen at an annual rate of 2.4% since 1993, compared to an average growth of just 1% per year during the previous administration.
- **4.4% Growth in Total Bank Loans and Leases:** California has seen a 4.4% average growth rate in total bank loans and leases per year since 1993, after falling over 1.5% per year during the previous 12 years.
- **7.2% Growth in Commercial and Industrial Loans and Leases:** Since 1993, California has experienced a 7.2% annual growth rate in commercial and industrial loans and leases. In contrast, commercial and industrial loans and leases fell over 7.8% per year during the previous administration.
- **Over \$25,000 of Reduced Federal Debt for Every Family of Four:** The national debt will \$1.7 trillion lower in fiscal year 1999 than projected in 1993 -- that's \$25,000 less debt for each family of four in California next year.

EXPANDING ACCESS TO EDUCATION

- **\$509 Million in Head Start Funding:** In FY97, California received nearly \$459 million in Head Start funding benefitting nearly 80,000 children. This year, California receives \$509 million for Head Start, an increase of \$50 million over 1997. President Clinton's FY99 budget proposal will increase Head Start funding for California's children by an additional \$41 million.
- **\$54.8 Million in Goals 2000 Funding:** This year [FY98], California receives \$54.8 million in Goals 2000 funding. This money is used to raise academic achievement by raising academic standards, increasing parental and community involvement in education, expanding the use of computers and technology in classrooms, and supporting high-quality teacher professional development.

- **\$46.6 Million for Technology Literacy:** This year [FY98], California receives \$46.6 million --more than doubling its funding over FY97 -- for the Technology Literacy Challenge Fund which helps communities and the private sector ensure that every student is equipped with the computer literacy skills needed for the 21st century. President Clinton's FY99 budget proposal will raise funding for technology literacy by \$5 million over FY98.
- **Nearly \$830 Million for Students Most in Need:** California receives \$829.5 million in Title I Grants (to Local Educational Agencies) providing extra help in the basics for students most in need, particularly communities and schools with high concentrations of children in low-income families [FY98]. President Clinton's FY99 budget proposes to increase funding for Title I Grants by \$95 million to aid California's students.
- **\$877.6 Million in Pell Grants:** This year [FY98], California will receive \$877.6 million in Pell Grants for low-income students going to college, an additional \$170.3 million over last year. With this increase, a total of 439,800 California students will benefit, 25,400 more than the previous year. And President Clinton's FY99 budget proposal increases Pell Grant funding to \$907.4 million.
- **Over 11,300 Have Served in California through AmeriCorps:** Since the National Service program began in 1993, over 11,300 AmeriCorps participants, working in 640 different programs, have earned money for college while working in California's schools, hospitals, neighborhoods or parks. [through 3/98]
- **Tuition Tax Credits in Balanced Budget Open the Doors of College and Promote Lifelong Learning:** The balanced budget includes both President Clinton's \$1,500 HOPE Scholarship to help make the first two years of college as universal as a high school diploma and a Lifetime Learning Tax Credit for college juniors, seniors, graduate students and working Americans pursuing lifelong learning to upgrade their skills. This 20% tax credit will be applied to the first \$5,000 of tuition and fees through 2002 and to the first \$10,000 thereafter. **761,000 students in California will receive a HOPE Scholarship tax credit of up to \$1,500. 934,000 students in California will receive the Lifetime Learning Tax Credit.**

FIGHTING CRIME AND VIOLENCE

- **Crime Falls 19% in California:** Since 1992, serious crime has fallen 19% state wide. In California's cities, between 1992 and 1997, serious crime has declined 38% in Long Beach, 40% in Los Angeles, 21% in Oakland, 36% in San Diego, and 32% in San Francisco. Notably, murder has dropped 46% in Long Beach, 48% in Los Angeles, 40% in Oakland, 54% in San Diego and 50% in San Francisco. [1996 and preliminary 1997 Uniform Crime Report data, FBI]
- **9096 More Police:** The President's 1994 Crime Bill has funded 9096 new police officers in communities across California. [through 6/98]
- **Over \$13 Million to Combat Domestic Violence:** Through the Violence Against Women Act, California receives \$13,327,000 in federal funds this year [FY98] to establish more women's shelters and bolster law enforcement, prosecution, and victims' services.
- **\$6,810,844 in Grants for Battered Women and Children:** This year [FY98], California will receive \$6,810,844 in HHS's Family Violence Prevention Program grants to assist women and children fleeing domestic abuse, an additional \$1.2 million increase over last year. President Clinton's FY99 budget proposal increases HHS's Family Violence Prevention Program grants to nearly \$7 million.
- **\$59.5 Million to Keep Drugs & Violence Out of California's Schools:** California receives \$59.5 million in FY98 for the Safe & Drug Free Schools Program, which invests in school security and drug prevention programs.

MOVING CALIFORNIANS FROM WELFARE TO WORK

- **312,417 Fewer on Welfare:** There are currently 312,417 fewer people on welfare than there were in the beginning of 1993-- a 13% decrease. [through 3/98]
- **Child Support Collections Up 38%:** Child support collections have increased by over \$249 million -- or 38% -- in California since FY92. [through FY96]
- **California Receives \$190 Million in Welfare-to-Work Grants:** In FY98, California is eligible to receive \$190 million in welfare-to-work state formula grants, helping California prepare welfare recipients for work and to place them in jobs. Part of the President's comprehensive efforts to move recipients from welfare to work, this funding is included in the \$3 billion Welfare-to-Work Jobs Challenge Fund signed into law in the 1997 balanced budget.

INVESTING IN CALIFORNIA'S HEALTH

- **Health Care for Uninsured Children:** The balanced budget includes the largest single investment in health care for children since the passage of Medicaid in 1965 -- an unprecedented \$24 billion over five years to cover as many as five million children throughout the nation. This investment guarantees the full range of benefits -- from checkups to surgery -- that children need to grow up strong and healthy. It ensures that prescription drugs, vision, hearing, and mental health coverage now offered at the state level are extended to millions of uninsured children. **To expand health coverage to more than 1.2 million uninsured children in California the balanced budget provides \$855 million in 1998.** This compares to the 1995 Republican plan vetoed by President Clinton that would have denied health care coverage to 356,600 children in California.
- **Helping California Women and Children with WIC:** The Clinton Administration is committed to full funding in the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC). Last year, in California, 402,496 more women and children in need received health and food assistance than in 1994.
- **More Toddlers Are Being Immunized:** As a result of the President's 1993 Childhood Immunization Initiative, childhood immunization rates have reached an historic high. According to the CDC, 90% or more of America's toddlers in 1996 received the most critical doses of each of the routinely recommended vaccines -- surpassing the President's 1993 goal. In California in 1996, 94% of two-year olds received the vaccines for diphtheria, tetanus, pertussis; 91% received the vaccine for polio; 90% received the vaccine for measles, and 90% received the vaccine for *Haemophilus influenzae* B, the bacteria causing a form of meningitis.
- **Increased Funding for HIV/AIDS Programs by 105%:** In FY97, California communities received \$169.8 million in Ryan White formula and other HIV/AIDS program funds, a 105% increase over FY93 levels. This funding provides people living with HIV and AIDS medical and support services, including the AIDS Drug Assistance Program which helps those without insurance obtain much needed prescription drugs. [HHS, Health Resources and Services Administration, 4/98]
- **President's Tobacco Plan Will Cut Smoking and Premature Deaths by 40% in California:** If the Clinton Administration's tobacco proposal on youth smoking is enacted, by 2003, California will see a 40% cut in youth smoking and resulting premature deaths. Over the next five years, 248,000 young Californians will be kept from smoking and 83,000 will be spared a premature tobacco-related death. [Treasury Dept., 3/23/98]
- **13,090,000 Americans in California Cannot Be Assured They Have Patient Protections.** Even if California enacted all the protections in the Patients' Bill of Rights, 13,090,000 people in California cannot be assured they have the comprehensive patient protections recommended by the President's Advisory Commission. This is because the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) may preempt state-enacted protections. That is why the President has called on Congress to pass a federally enforceable patients' bill of rights so that everyone enrolled in managed care may have a basic set of protections. Notably, 6,230,000 California women are in ERISA health plans and are therefore not necessarily protected. Women are particularly vulnerable without these protections because they are greater users of health care services, they make three-quarters of the health care decisions for their families, and they have specific health care needs addressed by a patients' bill of rights.

PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

- **14 Toxic Waste Sites Cleaned Up:** Since 1993, the EPA has completed 14 Superfund toxic waste cleanups in California, in Sunnyvale (3), Santa Clara (2), Porterville, Coalinga, Palo Alto, Richmond, Oroville, Cloverdale, Fillmore, Riverbank, and Scotts Valley [through 1/98]. Only 14 sites were cleaned up in the previous 12 years combined.
- **Revitalizing 11 Brownfields in California:** Part of the Clinton-Gore Administration's efforts to clean up Brownfields, the EPA has designated 11 communities in California -- East Palo Alto, Emeryville, Oakland, Pomona, Richmond, Sacramento, San Diego, San Francisco, Santa Barbara County, Los Angeles and Stockton -- for environmental clean-up and economic revitalization. These projects are intended to jump-start local clean-up efforts by providing funds to return unproductive, abandoned, contaminated urban properties to productive use.

SPEARHEADING URBAN RENEWAL EFFORTS

- ***\$128 Million to Los Angeles:*** Los Angeles/ Huntington Park was designated an enterprise community in December, 1994 and was awarded \$3 million to create more jobs, housing, and economic opportunity for city residents. Later, it was designated a Supplemental Empowerment Zone and was awarded \$125 million for similar job creation efforts.
- ***\$28 Million to Oakland:*** Oakland was designated an Enterprise Community in December 1994, and was awarded \$3 million to create economic opportunity for area residents. Later, it was designated an enhanced enterprise community and was awarded an additional \$25 million.
- ***\$12 Million to Other Communities Across California:*** Additionally, Imperial County, San Diego, San Francisco, and Watsonville were all designated Enterprise Communities and were each awarded \$3 million for job creation efforts.
- ***Expanding the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit Will Help Develop 12,700 To 15,200 New Affordable Housing Units in California Over the Next 5 years:*** In January, the Vice-President announced the Clinton-Gore Administration's proposed 40-percent expansion of the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit. If enacted, it will mean an additional 12,700 - 15,200 quality rental housing units for low-income American families in California during the next five years.

EXPANDING FUNDS FOR TRANSPORTATION IMPROVEMENT

- ***Nearly \$9.5 Billion in Federal Highway Aid:*** Since 1993, California has received \$9.46 billion in federal highway aid. These funds have helped generate nearly 400,000 jobs. [through FY97]
- ***Over \$800 Million in Aviation Funds:*** From FY93-FY97 California received \$825,560,000 in AIP funds to help build and renovate airports, and, when necessary, to provide funds for noise abatement to improve the quality of life for residents who live near airports.
- ***Over \$1 Billion in Transit Funds:*** California has received a total of \$1.1 billion in FTA funds since 1993.
- ***\$15 Million for Soundproofing:*** In April 1997, the city of Los Angeles announced the establishment of the LAX Airport Residential Soundproofing Bureau (ARSB) to expedite noise abatement actions that will ultimately soundproof about 9,000 homes. The ARSB has allocated \$15 million for Phase I of this project involving approximately 1,500 homes.
- ***\$2.3 Million to Improve Transit for Low-Income Communities:*** In July 1994, \$2.3 million was awarded to the Los Angeles County Municipal Transit Authority (LACMTA) for the Los Angeles Neighborhood Initiative (LANI) which is a two-year transit-based demonstration program covering eight transit dependent, low-income LA communities.
- ***\$750 to Improve Transit to the Airport:*** On June 30, 1997, FTA committed \$750 million in New Starts funds over an eight year period to provide mass transit to San Francisco Airport (SFO).

June 11, 1998

**RECEPTION FOR REP. DARLENE HOOLEY
AND THE OREGON COORDINATED CAMPAIGN**

Date: 12 June 1998
Location: Tiffany Center
Portland, Oregon
Time: 9:05 pm
From: Craig T. Smith and Mona Pasquil

I. PURPOSE

The purpose of this joint fundraising event is to aid Rep. Darlene Hooley (D-05) and Democratic candidates in the Oregon Coordinated Campaign.

II. BACKGROUND

Rep. Darlene Hooley (D-05) is seeking her second term and will face state Senator Marilyn Shannon (R) in November. During her time in Congress, Hooley has earned the reputation of someone who puts aside partisan differences, finds common ground, and crafts legislation that not only passes, but serves the public well. She has championed the expansion of child care options and after-school programs, as well as tax relief for family farmers and small business owners.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Approximately 400 grassroots activists and supporters of the Democratic Party and candidates are expected.

IV. PRESS PLAN

The reception is Open Press and the photo receiving lines are Closed Press.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- **Note:** There is a pre-program.
- **YOU** arrive at the Tiffany Center and proceed directly to the Photo Receiving Line to greet 68 guests.
- **YOU**, accompanied by Rep. Hooley, will proceed to the Reception.
- There will be an off-stage announcement of **YOU** and Rep. Darlene Hooley.

- Rep. Hooley makes brief remarks and introduces **YOU**.
- **YOU** make remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, **YOU** work a ropeline and depart for the Coordinated Campaign Reception.
- **YOU**, accompanied by Senator Ron Wyden and Governor John Kitzhaber, proceed to the Coordinated Campaign Reception.
- The Senator and Governor will escort and informally introduce **YOU** to approximately 20 guests.
- The Senator and Governor will escort **YOU** to the motorcade and **YOU** depart.

VI. REMARKS

Remarks will be provided by Speechwriting.

VII. ATTACHMENTS

- List of Photo Receiving Line Guests
- Preliminary list of Coordinated Campaign Reception Guests (final list to be forwarded the day of the event)

Ack: Gov. Kitzhaber; Sen. Wyden; Rep. DeFazio; Rep. Blumenauer; Rep. Furse; House candidates: David Wu and Kevin Campbell.

Darlene Hooley has hit the ground running, and her experience as Clackamas County Commissioner and State Rep. has served her well in Congress. She's a strong fighter for insuring uninsured children; on the frontlines for childcare; and an advocate for expanding afterschool programs.

- **Time to strengthen Nation for 21st Century**: OMB predicts \$39bn surplus, largest in US history; **16M new jobs**; Unemp **4.3%** (28 yr low) and 1st Qtr. Growth **4.8%**; Inflat. lowest in 30 yrs; Crime ↘ 5 yrs in a row, welfare rolls 27 yr low; Fam. Income ↗ \$2,200; real wages ↗; mid. class taxes lowest in 20 yrs; **record homeownership**.

- **Much to do:**

- Bal Bud: Save SS first.
- Educ: School Modernization; Avg. class size 18; 100k new teachers.
- Tobacco: "replacement smokers"
- Families: Medicare buy-in; HMO
- Bill of Rights**; childcare.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 11, 1998

TAPED WEEKLY RADIO ADDRESS

DATE: June 12, 1998
LOCATION: Bentsen Hotel,
Portland, Oregon
TIME: 11:30 PM
FROM: Megan Moloney

I. PURPOSE

You will discuss school safety and how, as a nation, we must think long and hard about what we can do to stop this kind of violence and save our children.

You will also direct the Secretary of Education and the Attorney General to work with school officials and law enforcement to develop an early warning guide to help adults understand the trouble signs and respond to them. This guide will be available to every school in America when classes start this fall, and will help adults reach out to troubled children quickly and effectively.

II. BACKGROUND

On Saturday, you will travel to Springfield, Oregon, where in May, a 15-year old student opened fire on fellow students. This address once again allows you to use your Saturday address to focus attention on this issue, having previously done so in May, March and last December.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Brenda Anders or Rob Rosen
White House Communications Agency (WHCA) Staff
White House Television (WHTV)
White House photographer

IV. PRESS PLAN

The ABC, AP, C-SPAN, CBS, NBC/Mutual/Westwood One, NPR, UPI, USA, American Urban Radio and Standard News networks will carry the address in its entirety to their thousands of stations across the country this Saturday at 10:06 AM ET.

V. REMARKS

To be forwarded by the Office of Speechwriting.

REVISED

Draft 06/11/98 6:30pm
Jeff Shesol

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON RADIO ADDRESS ON CHILDREN AND VIOLENCE June 13, 1998

This weekend, I will meet with families in Springfield, Oregon -- families whose lives, just a few weeks ago, were irreparably changed by a 15-year-old boy with semi-automatic weapons. We will speak, no doubt, of pain and sadness, and of the senselessness of such acts. And I am sure we will reflect, as Americans often have in recent months, on similar, shocking incidents in Paducah, Kentucky; Jonesboro, Arkansas; Pearl, Mississippi; and Edinboro, Pennsylvania. This litany of loss is familiar to every American, and has tragically grown longer. Now, as a nation, we must think long and hard about what we can do to stop this violence and save our children.

There is an important and sometimes painful debate underway, around our kitchen tables and on our public airwaves: what are the root causes of youth violence? I believe this is a healthy discussion, so long as it leads us toward taking action -- and toward taking the responsibility that belongs to us all.

We are long past the question whether culture makes an impact. Of course it does. School shootings do not occur in a vacuum; they are, in part, symptoms of a culture that glorifies violence. It is no wonder our children are increasingly numb to violence -- they see it everywhere, from TV screens to movie screens to computer screens, and hear it blasting from stereos. When killing is offered up as family entertainment, when cinematic conflicts are resolved not with words but with weapons, we should not be surprised when real violence erupts in peace-loving communities like Springfield. Those who create the culture of violence must step up to their responsibility. So, too, must the rest of us remember our responsibility -- to monitor the content of what is seen by young eyes and heard by young ears.

We have another important responsibility: to remember that unsupervised children and guns are a deadly combination. Parents cannot permit easy access to weapons that kill. **We must get serious about gun safety; we must, every one of us, get serious about prevention.**

That is why, for five years now, our administration has worked hard to protect America's children. School security is tighter; prevention is better; penalties are tougher. We have promoted discipline with curfews, school uniforms, and anti-truancy policies. And we will continue to show zero tolerance toward guns in schools: during the 1996-1997 school year, our policy led to the expulsion of nearly 6,100 law-breaking students and the prevention of countless acts of violence like the one in Springfield.

This year, Congress has an opportunity to further protect America's children by passing the juvenile crime bill I have proposed. It will ban violent juveniles from buying guns for life and take other important steps. Congress can also give communities much-needed support: I

have proposed that in our balanced budget, \$95 million be allocated to the prevention of juvenile crime. I urge Congress to step up to its responsibility, invest in prevention, and stop violent outbursts before they start.

In Springfield, and in far too many recent cases, troubled children announced their intentions before turning guns on their classmates. We have learned that terrible boasts can be more than idle talk. To help adults understand the signs and respond to them -- before it is too late -- I am today directing the Secretary of Education and the Attorney General to work with school officials and law enforcement to develop an early warning guide. It will be available to every school in America when classes start this fall, and will help adults reach out to troubled children quickly and effectively.

Across America, communities are taking responsibility for making our schools, and streets, safer for our children. As individuals and as a nation, we must teach our children right from wrong and how to resolve conflicts peacefully. In this way, we will build a better, safer future for all our children -- a future free of fear and full of promise.

June 11, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Craig Smith and Mona Pasquil

RE: Oregon Political Briefing

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS

1992

Clinton/Gore	621,314	43%
Bush/Quayle	475,757	33%
Perot/Stockdale	354,091	24%

1996

Clinton/Gore	649,631	47%
Dole/Kemp	538,155	39%
Perot/Choate	121,218	9%
Other	68,746	5%

MOST RECENT PRINCIPAL TRAVEL

YOU were in Portland on September 20, 1996, for an event for 1996 Senate candidate Tom Bruggere (D) at the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry.

The Vice President was in Eugene on October 29, 1996, for a rally at the University of Oregon.

The First Lady was in Corvallis on November 2-3, 1996, and gave remarks at a rally.

Mrs. Gore was in Portland on March 9-10, 1995, for a cancer education event.

POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

In a state not known for topsy-turvy politics, this year promises to be an entertaining one as comeback attempts, term limits, and intraparty rivalries appear to dominate this election cycle. While the Republican Party has dominated the state legislature for the past decade, they stand a chance of losing the state House to Democrats this fall. (See State Legislature section.)

This year Republicans had a hard time finding viable candidates to run against the state's top two Democrats, Governor John Kitzhaber (D) and Senator Ron Wyden (D). Democrats hold five of the state's seven congressional seats and all four statewide offices. Observers attribute this to several factors: moderate Republicans have been eclipsed by religiously oriented conservatives, Democrats' ability to attract urban and suburban voters by painting Republicans as anti-environmental, and the fact that the state's voters tend to be more liberal on social issues such as abortion, gay rights, and environmental quality.

Recently, the Measure 9 campaign finance restrictions were repealed by the Oregon Supreme Court, which declared them a violation of contributors' free speech rights. During the four years Measure 9 was in effect (1994 to 1997, but affecting only the 1996 elections), gifts were limited

to \$100 per legislative candidate and \$500 per statewide candidate. With state limits abolished, the upcoming election promises to be one of the most expensive in history. Contributions to legislative candidates at the first financial reporting period this year have already far exceeded the total amount raised by legislative candidates for the entire 1996 Primary Election. This initial data predicts that campaign contributions have not only returned to pre-Measure 9 levels, but will exceed them by 3 or 4 times.

1998 SENATE RACE

Senator Ron Wyden (D) won this seat in a 1996 special election to replace former Senator Bob Packwood (R). He now faces moderate state Senator and wealthy businessman John Lim (R) in November. Both Wyden and Lim easily won their respective primaries, though better known Republicans opted to stay out of this race. A poll taken in March for *The Oregonian* showed that only 6% had a favorable opinion of Lim and 88% had no opinion, while 64% favored Wyden. Wyden remains popular with the voters and is likely to win reelection.

1998 CONGRESSIONAL RACES

First District

Rep. Elizabeth Furse (D) announced last year that she would not seek reelection in 1998 and retaining this seat is a priority for Democrats. The primary election for both parties on May 19 was fiercely fought. On the Democratic side, Washington County executive and county commissioner Linda Peters (D) and political newcomer, attorney David Wu (D) were both strong candidates. Though Peters was initially predicted to win the nomination in May, Wu won 54% of the vote in the primary, as opposed to Peters' 42%.

Wu is considered a centrist Democrat who opposes school vouchers, is pro-choice, and believes all Americans have the right to quality, affordable health care. A lawyer by profession, Wu co-founded a law firm ten years ago that serves the high technology industry and numerous small businesses in the Portland area. His wife, Michelle, has been a Head Start teacher in Portland for the past seven years, and will receive her Master of Early Childhood Development from Portland State on June 13. Their son, Matthew, will celebrate his first birthday on the 4th of July.

The Republicans faced a distinct ideological battle between 29-year old conservative public relations consultant Molly Bordonaro (R) and moderate, pro-choice Jon Kvistad (R), the Metro Council presiding officer. This race was considered a toss-up, but Bordonaro succeeded in gaining 68% of the vote to Kvistad's 32%. Bordonaro is from a well-known political family and has been quite adept at fundraising. Bordonaro's cousin, Tom, recently ran unsuccessfully in the special election against Rep. Lois Capps (D-22) in California.

Although the Bordonaros represent the far-right wing of the Republican party, Molly Bordonaro is repackaging herself as a moderate in order to appeal to voters in this district.

The general election will be a battle, with the three primary issues being support for public education, abortion, and health care. In a 54% Democratic performance district, this race is too close to call.

Second District

In a situation similar to the 1st District, Rep. Bob Smith (R) is retiring and the race to succeed him will likely be drawn along stark ideological lines. The Democratic nominee is former county judge Kevin Campbell (D). Party leaders have been surprised that he is proving to be a strong fundraiser and a very credible candidate. Campbell said his win in the primaries "puts him in the position of underdog in the general election." He is the third Democrat elected Grant County judge in this century. Due to this district's strong Republican leanings, it is not likely that Campbell will be elected.

Former state Senate Majority Leader Greg Walden (R), the candidate endorsed by Smith, succeeded in winning the Republican nomination last month by 53%. The most moderate of the four Republican candidates, Walden is a longtime legislator, radio station owner, and political operative who has broad support among business and agricultural interests.

Third District

Rep. Earl Blumenauer (D) was elected by a huge margin, 79% to 19% in 1994, and easily re-elected in 1996 by 67% to 26%. He is running unopposed in 1998. The 3rd District incorporates most of Portland and Multnomah County east of the Willamette River, where voters tend to be culturally liberal. Clinton/Gore won this district by 33 points in 1996.

Fourth District

Rep. Peter DeFazio (D) was reelected in 1996 by a 66% to 28% margin, and his seat will be safe in 1998. He is running against grocery store manager Steve Webb (R) in a historically Democratic district. Webb has no prior governmental experience and has declared his intent to "join the war against 'partial-birth' abortion, gay marriage, assisted suicide, and the constant attack against the American family by the liberal establishment."

Fifth District

While Republicans were hoping to target freshman Rep. Darlene Hooley (D), only ultra-conservative state Senator Marilyn Shannon (R) has decided to challenge her. During Hooley's time in Congress, she has earned the reputation of someone who puts aside partisan differences, finds common ground, and crafts legislation that not only passes, but serves the public well. She has championed the expansion of child care options and after-school programs, as well as tax relief for family farmers and small business owners.

Shannon is a long-time right wing activist with strong anti-environment, anti-gay rights, and pro-life stances. Shannon's extreme views and Hooley's popularity will be Shannon's biggest obstacles.

The district is known as Oregon's swing district (though Republicans have gained a slight registration edge in the last two years), and incumbents seem to have a difficult time holding on to the seat. Fortunately for Hooley, most of the viable Republican candidates decided against running, leaving the nomination to the fringe of the party. Hooley should easily win reelection.

1998 GUBERNATORIAL RACE

Governor John Kitzhaber (D) is seeking his second term in November. A poll conducted by *The Oregonian* from March 20 to 29 shows that Kitzhaber remains very popular, 66% favorable and 18% unfavorable.

As Governor, Kitzhaber has diligently fought for higher standards for public schools and safer communities. He is the author of the Oregon Health Plan and is working on expanding the plan to include students, pregnant women, and children. He has also developed cooperative efforts to save Oregon's salmon and steelhead.

The Governor became seriously ill with an Entero virus upon his return from a recent trip to China. He maintained a fever of 103° F for three weeks. Aside from a very brief appearance after the Springfield shooting, this event with **YOU** is his first public appearance in six weeks.

On the Republican side, tax activist Bill Sizemore (R) has won the nomination to challenge Governor Kitzhaber. Sizemore is the Executive Director of Taxpayers United and gained recognition in 1996 when voters approved two initiatives supported by the group, including one to reduce property taxes by 10% and a cap on future increases at 3%. However, he has never run for office, and no one is certain what type of candidate he is or whether he can raise money. More recently, an article in *The Oregonian* publicized Sizemore's alleged \$795,000 debt accumulated from past business failures. This news will likely hamper his campaign.

Even previous to the article, Sizemore was having a difficult time. Polling numbers in early April were so poor that the pollster called the results "the worst head-to-head numbers I've seen in a major statewide race in Oregon." Governor Kitzhaber was more popular with Sizemore's party than Sizemore.

General Election Match-up

	<u>All</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Kitzhaber	67%	52%
Sizemore	26%	41%

Sizemore Ratings

Favorable	22%
Unfavorable	35%

With a strong state economy and his popular personality, Governor Kitzhaber will likely win reelection.

STATE LEGISLATURE

Republicans have maintained control of the state legislature with a 20 to 10 seat margin in the state Senate, but only a 31 to 28 to 1 seat margin in the state House. The Republicans are expected to retain the state Senate in 1998, but stand a chance of losing the state House to Democrats. Right-wing extremist Republicans have managed to take out more moderate Republican candidates in several races, leaving unexpected opportunities for Democrats to pick up seats. Adding to these opportunities is the fact that term limits have forced most incumbents out of the races. With only three seats needed to achieve a majority in the state House and an estimated 20 to 30 races that could go either way, Democrats have a very real opportunity to gain a majority this election year.

HOT ISSUES

Labor Initiative

Gubernatorial candidate Bill Sizemore (R) is now sponsoring a labor initiative in Oregon similar to California's Proposition 226. The measure would require unions to obtain permission from all members to spend any of their dues on political activity. In California on June 2, unions and supporters spent a combined \$25 million and mobilized about 24,000 activists to defeat Proposition 226 by 53%. Organized labor in Oregon is expected to exert as much, if not more, effort to defeat this initiative if it receives enough signatures to appear on the ballot in November.

Department of Justice Decision re: Wheat Exports

As you know, this is a very hot issue that has a significant impact on the NW states. A separate memo will be provided to you by the NSC.

Assisted Suicide

Oregon's assisted suicide law (or Death With Dignity Act) is the world's first to make doctor-assisted suicide legal. Senator Wyden (D) called the decision, "...a victory for democracy." Though he did not vote for the assisted-suicide law, he did argue that: 1) the Drug Enforcement Agency lacks the authority under the Controlled Substances Act to overturn Oregon's ballot measure, 2) acceptable medical practice has always been left to the states except where constitutional issues are at stake, and 3) Oregon's voters should not be "disenfranchised" by the federal government where there is no overriding federal or constitutional interest. Wyden had the support of all Oregon Democratic House members and Governor Kitzhaber. Senator Gordon Smith (R) and Rep. Bob Smith (R-02) urged federal intervention.

U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno announced on June 5 that the Justice Department does not plan to challenge the assisted-suicide law. After researching the possibility at the request of more than 190 Congressional members, Reno found that federal law does not permit prosecution of a doctor who complies with the law. This announcement eases the minds of Oregon doctors, who had expressed concern over the announcement made last November, by the Administrator of the Federal Drug Enforcement Agency, Thomas Constantine, that any physicians who acted under Oregon's assisted-suicide law would be in violation of the Federal Controlled Substances Act and subject to severe Federal sanctions, including revocation of their right to prescribe drugs.

The Justice Department's decision is in accordance with the Supreme Court, which has said that the states must be free to engage in the "profound debate about the morality, legality and practicality" of this issue, although it has ruled that there is no constitutionally protected right to assisted suicide.

Although Oregon voters first passed the assisted suicide law in 1994, and then overwhelmingly again last November after a repeal referral from the state legislature, it did not gain widespread attention in Washington, D.C. until news of the first assisted suicides surfaced in March.

School Shooting

On May 21, fifteen year-old Kip Kinkel brought a rifle to his high school, Thurston High in Springfield, OR, and opened fire in the cafeteria, killing two students, 17 year-old Mikael Nickolauson and 16 year-old Ben Walker, and wounding 22 others. One female student remains in the hospital, waiting to be released. Kinkel is now being tried as an adult for those crimes, as well as the murders of his parents, Faith and William Kinkel, who were found dead in their home.

A two-block long memorial fence (mourning fence) was set up outside the high school after the shooting and was taken down June 5 after more than 400 people turned out at the high school to discuss the shooting. One parent, John Walley, says he will probably file a federal lawsuit because Kinkel was not kept in custody after being found with a gun on campus the day prior to the shooting. The senior class held their graduation last Saturday, June 6. Governor Kitzhaber (D) and Senator Wyden (D) have been holding closed press meetings with the victims and their families over the past week.

Salmon Recovery

The most recent development in the salmon issue has been the criticism of Governor Kitzhaber's (D) Oregon Coho Plan by U.S. Magistrate Janice M. Stewart. The Governor proposed the plan in reaction to suggestions by the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) to institute major logging restrictions to protect wild coho salmon under the Oregon Forest Practices Act. NMFS suggestions received criticism from timber industry officials, landowners, and the Governor, who collaborated with the timber industry, local government, and environmental and fishing interests to develop a state plan for the recovery of the coho, in hopes of keeping it off the endangered species list.

Judge Stewart's two primary points of opposition were: 1) the NMFS's decision not to list the coho was arbitrary since the agency's own scientists (in an agency that is required by the Endangered Species Act to err on the side of conservation and recovery) were in disagreement about the degree of peril faced by the species and 2) NMFS did not have the authority under the Endangered Species Act to defer a listing on the basis of a state plan (such as the Oregon Coho Plan). The agency now has until July 2 to reconsider its decision, the outcome of which may derail the Governor's plan. NMFS is still considering whether to appeal the ruling.

Growth

Portland has been experiencing unprecedented growth in almost every area; surpassing the national average in the increase of jobs, increasing exports by 60%, becoming the country's twentieth largest manufacturing region, jumping ahead of the national average in percentage of population with a college degree, and raising wages at a faster rate than the national average. Statewide planning laws have also protected valuable farm and forest lands and preserved natural areas in the face of population growth.

The region's economy has shifted from a resource base to one of high technology and is driven by clusters of smaller, interconnected businesses, rather than a few large firms, earning it the nickname of "Silicon Forest."

Portland also claims the distinction of possibly being the only region in America where transit uses have increased faster than vehicle miles traveled. The city is currently in the midst of building a new rail line, the Westside Light Rail Transit, a local, state, and federally funded project that is scheduled for its grand opening in September. The project's most ambitious endeavor, a three-mile tunnel, has already been completed, and the first two light rail stations adjoining the existing MAX line went into service in August 1997.

These achievements have made Portland the model for the rest of the nation in land use planning, reduction of sprawl, intelligent city planning and development, livability, environmental concern, and quality of life.

POLITICAL DATA

Governor:	John Kitzhaber (D)	51% in 1994
Senate:	Gordon Smith (R)	50% in 1996
	Ron Wyden (D)	73% in 1994
U.S. House:	4D/1R	
State Senate:	10D/20R	
State House:	28D/31R/1I	
Electoral Votes:	7	

CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

Senator Gordon Smith (R)
Senator Ron Wyden (D)
Rep. Elizabeth Furse (D-01)
Rep. Robert Smith (R-02)
Rep. Earl Blumenauer (D-03)
Rep. Peter A. DeFazio (D-04)
Rep. Darlene Hooley (D-05)

CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICERS

Governor:	John Kitzhaber (D)
Secretary of State:	Phil Keisling (D)
Attorney General:	Hardy Myers (D)
State Treasurer:	Jim Hill (D)

LEGISLATIVE LEADERSHIP

Speaker of the House:	Lynn Lundquist (R)
House Majority Leader:	Lynn Snodgrass (R)
House Minority Leader:	Peter Courtney (D)
Senate President:	Brady Adams (R)
Senate Majority Leader:	Gene Derfler (R)
Senate Assistant Majority Leaders:	Neil Bryant (R)
	Ken Baker (R)
Senate Minority Leader:	Cliff Trow (D)
Senate Assistant Minority Leaders:	Kate Brown (D)

Avel Gordly (D)

OREGON AT A GLANCE

- 1997 estimated population in Oregon was 3,217,000, up 13.2% since 1990.
- 90.8% of Oregon citizens are White, 4% Hispanic, 2.4% Asian, 1.6% African-American, and 1.3% Native American.
- 13% of Oregon residents are 65 years of age or older.
- 57% of the voting age population participated in the 1996 elections.
- 41% of registered voters in 1996 identified themselves as Democrats; 36% identified themselves as Republicans; 23% identified themselves as unaffiliated and/or minor parties.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN OREGON UNDER PRESIDENT CLINTON

President Clinton's strategy to strengthen the economy is based on reducing the federal budget deficit, lowering trade barriers, and empowering workers, families, businesses and communities to succeed. Here are some of the results for Oregon after the first 63 months of the Clinton Administration:

Improved Economic Conditions in Oregon:

- The unemployment rate has dropped from 8.1% to 5.1%.
- Oregon has added 280,500 new jobs, or 53,429 **per year** -- compared to 23,200 **per year** during the previous administration.
- Oregon has added 257,300 new private-sector jobs, or 49,010 **per year** -- compared to 18,550 **per year** during the previous administration.
- Oregon has added 37,500 new manufacturing jobs, or 7,143 **per year** -- after **LOSING** 28,500 during the previous administration.
- Growth in Personal Income has reached 4.7% **per year**.
- Consumer confidence has increased 123.1%.
- Business failures have dropped 2.5% **per year** -- after **INCREASING** 25.4% **per year** during the previous administration.
- Home building has increased 9.3% **per year** and home sales have increased 2.8% **per year**.

What President Clinton's Accomplishments Have Achieved for the People of Oregon:

\$15,000 OF REDUCED FEDERAL DEBT FOR EVERY FAMILY OF FOUR IN OREGON: The national debt will be **more than \$1 trillion** lower over 7 years than was projected before the passage of the President's economic plan. That's about \$15,000 of reduced federal debt for each family of four in Oregon.

12 TIMES MORE OREGON FAMILIES RECEIVE A TAX CUT THAN A TAX INCREASE: As a result of the expanded Earned Income Tax Credit, 145,323 working families in Oregon will receive a tax cut. This compares to an increase in the income tax rate for only the 12,350 wealthiest taxpayers in Oregon.

TAX CUT FOR 18,286 SMALL BUSINESSES IN OREGON: The President helped entrepreneurs, proprietors, and other small businessmen and women by expanding the annual expensing allowance from \$10,000 to \$17,500. About 18,286 small businesses in Oregon are likely to benefit from the expansion of the expensing allowance this year alone *and many more will benefit over the coming years.*

431,000 OREGON WORKERS PROTECTED BY FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE ACT: The Family and Medical Leave Act allows workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for the birth of a child, to care for a sick family member, or if they become too sick to work. This law covers about 430,843 workers in Oregon, and protects the jobs of 25,883 workers in Oregon who are likely to use unpaid leave this year alone.

215,900 STUDENTS AND FORMER STUDENTS IN OREGON WILL BE ABLE TO BENEFIT FROM STUDENT LOAN REFORMS: Approximately 215,900 Oregon borrowers -- 151,100 current borrowers and 64,800 new borrowers in the next few years -- can take advantage of the new direct student loan program by participating directly in the program or by consolidating guaranteed loans into direct loans. Some will benefit from lower interest rates, and all will benefit from more repayment options, including income contingent repayment.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

June 11, 1998

'98 JUN 11 PM 12:51

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHLEEN A. MCGINTY

→ PW for KAM

SUBJECT: OREGON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Coho Salmon Decision

In 1997 the National Marine Fisheries Service formally decided not to list coastal coho salmon in Oregon and instead endorsed the "Oregon Plan." Last week, a Federal Magistrate found the 1997 decision arbitrary and capricious.

The Oregon Plan to restore salmon and watersheds is an innovative approach to restoring endangered and threatened species on a watershed approach through collaboration. It is an alternative to Federal regulatory action. This court finding would be a major setback to efforts to find creative, nonregulatory approaches toward the restoration of salmon throughout the Northwest and in Maine. Last Thursday, Governor Kitzhaber announced the State of Oregon's intent to appeal the decision. The Department of Justice has initiated an interagency process to study the opinion and explore our options.

If asked about this issue, you should state that we are studying the opinion and weighing our options.

American Heritage Rivers

Governor Kitzhaber has nominated the Willamette River to be an American Heritage River. Senator Ron Wyden and Representatives Earl Blumenauer and Elizabeth Furse have supported the nomination along with Portland Mayor Vera Katz. However, Senator Gordon Smith has opposed the nomination. The focus of the Willamette River nomination is restoring the water quality of the river to maintain its economic and recreational health.

The American Heritage Rivers Advisory Committee began the process of reviewing the river nominations on May 11-12. The Committee will reconvene on June 16 and recommend up to 20 rivers for your designation. You are scheduled to announce the designation of ten American Heritage Rivers in July.

If asked about the issue, you should say that you are waiting to hear from the Advisory Committee and that you will designate the American Heritage Rivers over the summer.

Little Sandy Watershed

Congresswoman Hooley has been very concerned about possible logging in the little Sandy Watershed, an area outside of Portland. She and other Oregon Members have requested that a complete ban on logging be announced. They are concerned that this area is a potential watershed for Portland's municipal water supply.

We are told by the Forest Service that there is no intent to implement a formal logging ban and that there are no immediate or future plans to log in the watershed. This has been confirmed by the Forest Supervisor. The Forest Service also notes that there are no plans to use the watershed for a municipal water supply, and that current guidelines would protect water quality to municipal supply standards. A report regarding this issue, including the potential of the Little Sandy as a source of municipal water supply was transmitted to Congress the week of May 18, 1998.

If asked about the issue, you should not express any intent to implement a logging ban but mention that the Forest Service has no future plans to log the area.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 11, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THURGOOD MARSHALL, JR. TM
JON P. JENNINGS JPS

SUBJECT: HOT ISSUES -- PORTLAND, OREGON

Wheat Controversy: DOJ's Office of Legal Counsel has issued a legal determination that the sanctions law does not provide sufficient flexibility to exempt USDA's Export Credit Guarantee Program (ECGP) from sanctions to be imposed against India and Pakistan under the Glenn Amendment to the Arms Export Control Act. Approximately 25 percent of the Pacific Northwest's (PNW) employment is in farm and farm related jobs. Wheat farmers in the PNW produce "white" wheat which is highly valued in many Asian markets. Pakistan is usually the single largest market for PNW white wheat. Virtually all of the white wheat exports to Pakistan, valued at \$375 million in FY97, were made possible through the ECGP. Without the program, Pakistan will likely turn to other countries to supply their import demands. It is anticipated that Senator Murray will introduce legislation that will exempt the program from the sanctions law. (USDA) [Mr. President: Please see separate Berger/Stein memo for a more recent update on this issue. -- Staff Secretary]

Assisted Suicide Proposal: On May 1, OR requested HCFA approval to add Physician Aid in Dying (PAID) to the Prioritized List of Health Services associated with the OR Health Plan, the state's section 1115 statewide health reform demonstration. The state's proposal indicates that no Federal funds would be used to pay for services associated with PAID. HCFA is currently reviewing the state's proposal. (HHS)

Columbia River: Rising water temperatures of the Columbia River may be jeopardizing the river's ecosystem and affecting the recovery of salmon. The river is being warmed by a variety of development activities and EPA is exploring its options under the Clean Water Act to help improve the river's health. Issues surrounding the Columbia are sensitive because of the river's effect on power rates and environmental concerns, like the recovery of salmon. (EPA)

Willamette Industries: On June 4, EPA notified Willamette Industries, a wood products company based in Portland, OR, that the company's facilities were violating the Clean Air Act. The violations included: failure to identify pollutants in emissions, failure to obtain permits before the construction or modification of air pollution sources, and failure to install proper air pollution control equipment. Willamette has facilities located across the country, including eight facilities in Oregon. Six of Willamette's facilities in Oregon were found committing violations. (EPA)

Children's Health Insurance Program (Title XXI) Proposal: OR has submitted a Title XXI proposal which will create a separate state health insurance program for infants and children using the state's section 1115 Medicaid managed care delivery system. The state is proposing to use Title XXI enhanced matching funds to expand eligibility to children up to age 6 in families with income between 133 percent and 170 percent of the Federal Poverty Level (FPL) and to children from age 6 to age 19 in families with incomes between 100 percent and 170 percent of the FPL. The state is proposing an effective date of July 1. Approximately 17,000 children will be enrolled by July 1, 1999. The state's proposal is currently under review within HHS. (HHS)

PRESIDENT CLINTON AND VICE PRESIDENT GORE'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS: *OREGON*

EXPANDING ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

- **Unemployment Down to 5.1%:** The unemployment rate in Oregon has declined from 8.1% to 5.1% since 1993.
- **280,500 New Jobs:** 280,500 new jobs have been created in Oregon since 1993 -- an average of 53,429 jobs per year, compared to an average of just 23,200 jobs per year under the previous administration.
- **257,300 New Private Sector Jobs:** Since 1993, 257,300 new private sector jobs have been created -- an average of 49,010 jobs per year, compared to an average of just 18,550 private sector jobs per year in the previous administration.
- **37,500 New Manufacturing Jobs:** 37,500 manufacturing jobs have been created in Oregon since 1993 -- an average of 7,143 jobs per year. In contrast, an average of 1,850 manufacturing jobs were *lost* each year during the previous administration.
- **36,500 New Construction Jobs:** 36,500 construction jobs have been created in Oregon since 1993 -- an average of 6,952 jobs per year. In contrast, an average of just 1,525 construction jobs were created each year during the previous administration.
- **107,000 Have Received a Raise:** 107,000 Oregon workers benefited from an increase in the minimum wage - from \$4.25 to \$4.75 -- on October 1, 1996.
- **Business Failures Down 2.5% Per Year:** Business failures have dropped to an average of 2.5% per year since 1993, after increasing 25.4% per year during the previous four years.
- **A \$500 Child Tax Credit to Help Families Raising Children:** To help make it easier for families to raise their children, the balanced budget includes a \$500 per-child tax credit for children under 17. **Thanks to President Clinton, the Balanced Budget delivers a child tax credit to 340,000 families in Oregon.**
- **Homebuilding Up 9.3%:** Homebuilding in Oregon has increased 9.3% per year since 1993.
- **4.7% Growth in Personal Income:** Personal income in Oregon has risen at an annual rate of 4.7% since 1993, compared to an average growth of just 1.9% per year during the previous 12 years.
- **Over \$25,000 of Reduced Federal Debt for Every Family of Four:** The national debt will \$1.7 trillion lower in fiscal year 1999 than projected in 1993 -- that's \$25,000 less debt for each family of four in Oregon next year.

EXPANDING ACCESS TO EDUCATION

- **Over \$37 Million in Head Start Funding:** In FY97, Oregon received \$34.5 million in Head Start funding benefitting 5,200 children. This year, Oregon will receive \$37.4 million, an increase of nearly \$3 million over 1997. President Clinton's FY99 budget proposal will increase Head Start funding for Oregon's children by an additional \$2.4 million.
- **\$5 Million in Goals 2000 Funding:** This year [FY98], Oregon receives \$5 million in Goals 2000 funding. This money is used to raise academic achievement by raising academic standards, increasing parental and community involvement in education, expanding the use of computers and technology in classrooms, and supporting high-quality teacher professional development.
- **\$3.8 Million for Technology Literacy:** This year [FY98], Oregon receives \$3.8 million for the Technology Literacy Challenge Fund which helps communities and the private sector ensure that every student is equipped with the computer literacy skills needed for the 21st century. President Clinton's FY99 budget proposal will raise funding for technology literacy by \$430,000 over FY98.
- **Over \$68 Million for Students Most in Need:** Oregon will receive over \$68 million in Title I grants providing extra help in the basics for students most in need, particularly communities and schools with high concentrations of children in low-income families [FY98]. President Clinton's FY99 budget proposes to increase funding for Title I Grants by \$400,000 to aid Oregon's students.
- **\$69.9 Million in Pell Grants:** This year [FY98], Oregon will receive \$69.9 million in Pell Grants for low-income students going to college, an additional \$13.5 million over last year. With this increase, a total of 38,500 Oregon students will benefit, 2,200 more than the previous year. And President Clinton's FY99 budget proposal increases Pell Grant funding to \$72.3 million.

- **Over 2,300 Have Served in Oregon through AmeriCorps:** Since the National Service program began in 1993, over 2,300 AmeriCorps participants, working in 207 different programs, have earned money for college while working in Oregon's schools, hospitals, neighborhoods or parks. [through 3/98]
- **Tuition Tax Credits in Balanced Budget Open the Doors of College and Promote Lifelong Learning:** The balanced budget includes both President Clinton's \$1,500 HOPE Scholarship to help make the first two years of college as universal as a high school diploma and a Lifetime Learning Tax Credit for college juniors, seniors, graduate students and working Americans pursuing lifelong learning to upgrade their skills. This 20% tax credit will be applied to the first \$5,000 of tuition and fees through 2002 and to the first \$10,000 thereafter. **68,000 students in Oregon will receive a HOPE Scholarship tax credit of up to \$1,500. 83,000 students in Oregon will receive the Lifetime Learning Tax Credit.**

FIGHTING CRIME AND VIOLENCE

- **718 More Police:** The President's 1994 Crime Bill has funded 718 new police officers to date in communities across Oregon. [through 6/98]
- **Nearly \$1.9 Million to Combat Domestic Violence:** Through the Violence Against Women Act, Oregon receives \$1,880,780 in federal funds this year [FY98] to establish more women's shelters and bolster law enforcement, prosecution, and victims' services.
- **Nearly \$685,000 in Grants for Battered Women and Children:** This year [FY98], Oregon will receive \$684,543 in HHS's Family Violence Prevention Program grants to assist women and children fleeing domestic abuse, an additional \$128,000 increase over last year. President Clinton's FY99 budget proposal increases HHS's Family Violence Prevention Program grants to over \$700,000.
- **\$5.3 Million to Keep Drugs & Violence Out of Oregon's Schools:** Oregon receives \$5.3 million in FY98 for the Safe & Drug Free Schools Program, which invests in school security and drug prevention programs.

MOVING OREGON RESIDENTS FROM WELFARE TO WORK

- **68,993 Fewer People on Welfare:** There are 68,993 fewer people on welfare in Oregon now than there were at the beginning of 1993 -- a 59% decrease. [through 3/98]
- **Child Support Collections Up 67%:** Child support collections have increased by \$71.6 million -- or 67% -- in Oregon since FY92. [through FY96]
- **Oregon Receives \$8.6 Million in Welfare-to-Work Grants:** In FY98, Oregon is eligible to receive \$8.6 million in welfare-to-work state formula grants, helping Oregon prepare welfare recipients for work and to place them in jobs. Part of the President's comprehensive efforts to move recipients from welfare to work, this funding is included in the \$3 billion Welfare-to-Work Jobs Challenge Fund signed into law in the 1997 balanced budget.

INVESTING IN OREGON'S HEALTH

- **Health Care for Uninsured Children:** The balanced budget includes the largest single investment in health care for children since the passage of Medicaid in 1965 -- an unprecedented \$24 billion over five years to cover as many as five million children throughout the nation. This investment guarantees the full range of benefits -- from checkups to surgery -- that children need to grow up strong and healthy. It ensures that prescription drugs, vision, hearing, and mental health coverage now offered at the state level are extended to millions of uninsured children. **To expand health coverage to more uninsured children in Oregon the balanced budget provides \$39.1 million in 1998.** This compares to the 1995 Republican plan vetoed by President Clinton that would have denied health care coverage to 12,900 children in Oregon.
- **Helping Oregon Women and Children with WIC:** The Clinton Administration is committed to full funding in the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC). Last year, in Oregon, 14,633 more women and children in need received health and food assistance than in 1994.

- **More Toddlers Are Being Immunized:** As a result of the President's 1993 Childhood Immunization Initiative, childhood immunization rates have reached an historic high. According to the CDC, 90% or more of America's toddlers in 1996 received the most critical doses of each of the routinely recommended vaccines -- surpassing the President's 1993 goal. In Oregon in 1996, 92% of two-year olds received the vaccines for diphtheria, tetanus, pertussis; 87% received the vaccine for polio; 88% received the vaccine for measles, and 89% received the vaccine for *Haemophilus influenzae* B, the bacteria causing a form of meningitis.
- **Increased Funding for HIV/AIDS Programs by 434%:** In FY97, Oregon communities received \$6.5 million in Ryan White formula and other HIV/AIDS program funds, a 434% increase over FY93 levels. This funding provides people living with HIV and AIDS medical and support services, including the AIDS Drug Assistance Program which helps those without insurance obtain much needed prescription drugs. [HHS, Health Resources and Services Administration, 4/98]
- **President's Tobacco Plan Will Cut Smoking and Premature Deaths by 41% in Oregon:** If the Clinton Administration's tobacco proposal on youth smoking is enacted, by 2003, Oregon will see a 41% cut in youth smoking and resulting premature deaths. Over the next five years, 33,000 youth of Oregon will be kept from smoking and 11,000 will be spared a premature tobacco-related death. [Treasury Dept., 3/23/98]
- **1,520,000 Americans in Oregon Cannot Be Assured They Have Patient Protections.** Even if Oregon enacted all the protections in the Patients' Bill of Rights, 1,520,000 people in Oregon cannot be assured they have the comprehensive patient protections recommended by the President's Advisory Commission. This is because the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) may preempt state-enacted protections. That is why the President has called on Congress to pass a federally enforceable patients' bill of rights so that everyone enrolled in managed care may have a basic set of protections. Notably, 750,000 Oregon women are in ERISA health plans and are therefore not necessarily protected. Women are particularly vulnerable without these protections because they are greater users of health care services, they make three-quarters of the health care decisions for their families, and they have specific health care needs addressed by a patients' bill of rights.

PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

- **Three Superfund Sites Cleaned Up:** Since the President took office in 1993, the EPA completed toxic waste site clean-up in Portland, Joseph, and The Dalles, Oregon [through 1/98]. Only one site was cleaned up in the previous 12 years combined.
- **Revitalizing Brownfields Projects in Portland and Oregon Mills:** Part of the Clinton-Gore Administration's efforts to clean up Brownfields, the EPA has designated two communities in Oregon -- Portland and Oregon Mills -- for environmental clean-up and economic revitalization. These projects are intended to jump-start local clean-up efforts by providing funds to return unproductive, abandoned, contaminated urban properties to productive use.

SPEARHEADING URBAN RENEWAL EFFORTS

- **\$6 Million to Oregon Communities:** Portland and Josephine County were designated Enterprise Communities in December, 1994 and were awarded \$3 million each to create more jobs, housing, and economic opportunity for area residents.
- **Expanding the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit Will Help Develop 1,400 To 1,700 New Affordable Housing Units in Oregon Over the Next 5 years:** In January, the Vice-President announced the Clinton-Gore Administration's proposed 40-percent expansion of the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit. If enacted, it will mean an additional 1,400 - 1,700 quality rental housing units for low-income American families in Oregon during the next five years.

EXPANDING FUNDS FOR TRANSPORTATION IMPROVEMENT

- ***Over \$1 Billion in Federal Highway Aid:*** Since 1993, Oregon has received \$1.24 billion in federal highway aid. These funds have helped generate nearly 52,400 jobs. [through FY97]
- ***Over \$115 Million in Aviation Funds:*** From FY93-FY97 Oregon received \$115,123,000 in AIP funds to help build and renovate airports, and, when necessary, to provide funds for noise abatement to improve the quality of life for residents who live near airports.
- ***Over \$16.5 Million in Transit Funds:*** Oregon has received a total of \$16,636,000 in FTA funds since 1993.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 11, 1998

PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT SPEECH

DATE: June 13, 1998
LOCATION: Rosegarden Stadium
EVENT TIME: 10:25 pm - 12:05 pm
FROM: Bruce Reed

I. PURPOSE

To mark the one year anniversary of the President's Initiative on Race and remark on the important role that new immigrants play in America's growing diversity. You will encourage Portland State University graduates and all Americans to recommit themselves to the shared ideals and values that are the core of our society.

II. BACKGROUND

This is an opportunity to highlight your continued commitment to your Initiative on Race and to address the requirements of citizenship in an era of increasing diversity. In your speech you will underscore that the new wave of immigration is good for all Americans: it revitalizes our cities, builds our new economy, enriches our culture, and renews our values. You will also challenge all Americans to recommit to the true duties and spirit of citizenship that are at the core of our civil society and civic culture.

You last visited Portland during the 1996 campaign, and in 1995 you held the Pacific Rim Economic Conference at Portland State University.

You will be addressing an audience of over 20,000 students, faculty, graduates, and their families. Portland State University has a student population of 15,000, and approximately 2,000 are graduating this year. The student body is 10% Asian, 3% Hispanic, 3% African-American. 44% of students are 25 years or older.

You will be receiving an Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters for your career of public service. Specifically, you are being honored for expanding educational opportunities through the HOPE Scholarships, the tuition tax credits, and educational IRAs, and your commitment to community service.

In Oregon, the HOPE Scholarship will assist 70,000 students, the Pell grants are helping more than 38,000, and 82,000 students will receive \$47 million from the Lifetime Learning Tax Credits.

Portland State University was founded 52 years ago after WWII. Classes were first held in a temporary housing project that was built during the war to house shipyard workers. As a result of the GI bill, enrollment increased rapidly and the school moved to a downtown location. It was the first public education institution in Portland, and the school has a very good relationship with the city of Portland. In fact, each senior student is required to do community service for a course credit. In a couple of weeks, the school will have a ground breaking ceremony to designate some under utilized city blocks as part of a new university district.

Congressman Walter Capps graduated from the Portland State University in 1958, and was the first alum to be elected to the House of Representatives.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Event Participants:

Daniel O. Bernstine, President of Portland State University. *This is his first year as President, and this is his first commencement ceremony. He served previously as the Dean of the School of Law at the University of Wisconsin - Madison.

Provost Reardon

Robert G. Miller, President and CEO of Fred Meyer

Susan Purpura, Representative of the University Alumni Association

Theo Hall, III, Representative of the Graduating Class. *Theo is graduating with a degree in Administration of Justice and is the Student Government Vice-Executive Chair. He is a member of the Black Cultural Affairs Board, played football, and balanced his school work as well as his wife and two children.

Jane Rongerude, Honors Graduate in Environmental Science

Steven Brenner, Professor in the School of Business Administration

Michael Cummings, Professor in the Department of Geology

IV. PRESS PLAN

Breakfast Reception -- CLOSED PRESS

Commencement -- OPEN PRESS

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Breakfast Reception

- **YOU** will be announced into the room accompanied by President Bernstine.
[NOTE: 250 faculty and University supporters will be in attendance.]
- President Bernstine will make brief remarks.
- **YOU** will briefly thank the University for their invitation to the commencement.
- **YOU** will work a short ropeline, and then depart.

Commencement Ceremony

- **YOU** are announced onto the stage accompanied by President Bernstine.
- Provost Reardon makes welcoming remarks.
- The National Anthem is performed.
- Provost Reardon makes remarks and introduces President Bernstine.
- President Bernstine makes remarks.
- Tom Imeson makes remarks on behalf of the Oregon University System State Board of Higher Education.
- Susan Brickey Purpura makes remarks on behalf of the Alumni Association.
- Theo Hall, II makes remarks on behalf of the Class of 1998.
- Jane Rongerude makes remarks on behalf of the honors program.
- Provost Reardon recognizes the faculty, and they rise for applause.
- Provost Reardon presents the Branford Price Millar Award to Steven Brenner, Professor in the School of Business Administration.
- Provost Reardon presents the George Hoffmann Award to Michael Cummings, Professor in the Department of Geology.
- President Bernstine presents an Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters to Robert G. Miller, President and CEO of Fred Meyer, Inc.
- Provost Reardon reads the citation on the honorary degree.
- President Bernstine confers the honorary degree.
- Robert Miller makes brief remarks.
- President Bernstine presents **YOU** with an Honorary Doctor of Humane Letter, and invites **YOU** to join him at the podium.
- Provost Reardon reads the citation on the honorary degree.
- President Bernstine confers upon **YOU** the honorary degree.
- President Bernstine introduces you.
- **YOU** will make remarks and remain at the podium.
- Provost Reardon joins **YOU** at the podium and excuses you from the remainder of the ceremony due to your departure for Springfield.
- **YOU** will then depart.

VI. REMARKS

Provided by Speechwriting.

Revised Draft 6/11/98 7:00pm
June Shih and Jordan Tamagni

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
"THE NEW IMMIGRATION:
BUILDING ONE AMERICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY"
PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY
JUNE 13, 1998**

Acknowledgments: TK

Let me begin by congratulating each of you on your tremendous achievement. I know that the roads some of you have traveled to reach this day were not easy. Some of you have worked full-time and cared for your families, even as you carried a full course load here at Portland State. But you kept the faith.

Let me tell you, it was worth it. The education you will take away today from this campus will open many doors of opportunity wherever you build your lives.

Today, I want to talk to you about the America of your future.

One thing is certain: at the edge of the 21st Century, America is changing at breathtaking speed. This Spring, I have addressed graduates about the challenges these changes pose to our most cherished values and to America's fundamental, enduring mission -- widening the circle of opportunity, deepening the meaning of our freedom, and forming a more perfect union. At the U.S. Naval Academy, I spoke about defending our nation against the new security threats, including terrorism, and chemical and biological weapons. At MIT, I talked about bringing the opportunities of the Information Age to all Americans.

Today, I want to speak about strengthening the bonds of our national community as we grow more racially and ethnically diverse.

One year ago tomorrow, I launched a national initiative on race, and called on all Americans to address the lingering problems and limitless possibilities of our diversity.

The driving force behind this increasing diversity is the new wave of immigration: millions of new immigrants are changing the face of America. While these changes are good for America, they demand more of all Americans. We share a responsibility to welcome the new immigrants -- and to ensure that they strengthen our nation. If we are to make the most of the new global information economy, we must redouble our commitment to the ideals and values that have held our union together, that have made us American, for two centuries and more.

More than any nation on earth, America has drawn our strength and spirit from immigrants. In each generation, they have proved to be the most restless, the most adventurous, the most innovative, the most industrious of people. Bearing different memories, honoring many heritages, they have strengthened our economy, enriched our culture, and renewed our promise of opportunity for all. And together, we have built a new nation on a simple, yet powerful idea: we are all created equal.

Of course, the path of immigrants has not always been smooth. Some Americans have met each group of newcomers with suspicion, with violence and discriminatory laws, and doubted they could ever become truly American. So great was the hatred of Irish immigrants 150 years ago that they were greeted with signs that read no "No Dogs or Irish;" so profound was the fear of Chinese immigrants in 1880 that they were barred from entering the country; so deep was the distrust of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe at the beginning of this century, that they forced to take literacy tests designed to keep them out.

But eventually, the guarantees of our Constitution and the better angels of our nature prevailed over ignorance and insecurity, prejudice and fear.

Now, the strength of our ideals and our character is being tested again -- by a new wave of immigration, larger than any in a century, far more diverse than any in our history. Each year, nearly one million people come legally to build new lives in America. Today, nearly one in ten people in America was born in another country; one in five schoolchildren are from immigrant families. Today, largely because of immigration, there is no majority race in Hawaii or Houston or New York. Within 5 years, there will be no majority race in California. And in a little more than fifty years, there will be no majority race in America.

No other nation in history has gone through demographic change of this magnitude, over so short a time. It can either strengthen and unite America, or weaken and divide us. We must decide.

Let me state unequivocally: I believe new immigrants are good for America. They are revitalizing our cities. They are building our new economy, and strengthening our ties to the global one. They are energizing our culture and broadening our view of the world. They are renewing our values. And they are reminding all of us what it truly means to be an American.

It means working hard, like the teenager from Vietnam who does his homework as he watches the cash register at his family's grocery store. It means making a better life for your children, like the father from Russia who works two jobs and still finds the time to take his daughter to the public library to practice reading. And it means dreaming big dreams -- and passing them on to your children, like Mago Gilson, an immigrant from Mexico who came here without a high school education, but twelve years later is receiving her Master's Degree in education, and becoming a teacher. She is joined here today by her son Eddi, who worked full time for nine years to put himself through school, and is receiving his Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration today.

We see these new immigrants, and we see the spirit that built America -- the drive to succeed, the commitment to family, the hope for a better life. We see our parents or grandparents' stories ... the living legend that America is not so much a place, as a promise; not a guarantee, but a chance; not a particular race, but an embrace of our common humanity.

But some Americans do not see that. They hear the new accents, they see the new faces, and they feel unsettled. They worry that the new immigrants come to our shores not to promote our prosperity but to live off our largesse. They are afraid the America they know and love is becoming a foreign land.

This reaction may be understandable. But it is wrong. When anxiety and fear give rise to policies and ballot propositions that exclude immigrants from our civic life, it is wrong; wrong to deny them benefits that are available to every one else; wrong to ignore them as people not worthy of being counted in a Census. My fellow Americans, it is more than wrong, it is un-American.

Let me be clear: No American should condone illegal immigration that flouts our laws, strains our tradition of tolerance, and taxes our resources. We must strictly enforce the immigration laws, and we must continue to bring the rule of law to our borders.

But we must remember: the vast majority of immigrants are here legally. In every measurable way, the new immigrants give more to our society than they take. Consider: On average, immigrants pay \$1,800 more in taxes every year than they cost the system in benefits. Immigrants are paying into Social Security at record rates, helping to balance the books as millions of Americans retire in the next 20 years.

And the new immigrants benefit our nation in ways that are not as easily measured.

We should be honored that America -- whether it is called the 'city on a hill,' the 'old gold mountain,' El Norte -- is seen around the world as a land of new beginnings. We should all be proud that people living in isolated villages in far corners of the world recognize the Statue of Liberty. We should rejoice that children all around the world study our Declaration of Independence and embrace its creed.

My fellow Americans, we, the descendants of those who passed through the portals of Ellis Island, must never lock the door behind us. Americans whose parents were denied the rights of citizenship simply because of the color of their skin, must never deny those rights to others because of the country of their birth, or the nature of their faith. We should treat these new immigrants as we would have wanted our own grandparents to have been treated.

I believe that every American is honor-bound to share our country with immigrants, not to shun them or shut them out. But I believe this as well: We cannot be blind to the fact that immigration of this sweep and scope can threaten our union. Around the world, we have seen what can happen when people who live on the same land put race and ethnicity before country and humanity.

If America is to remain the world's most diverse democracy, if immigration is to strengthen America as it has throughout our history, then we must say: whether your ancestors came here in slave ships or on the Mayflower; whether they landed on Ellis Island or LAX or have been here for thousands of years, if you believe in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, if you accept the responsibilities as well as the rights embedded in them, you are an American.

Only that belief, strengthened and renewed in a time of great change, will keep us one America in the 21st Century. And all of us, whether native-born, naturalized, or newly arrived, must carry that conviction in our hearts and into our daily lives.

So I say, first, to all immigrants -- you are welcome here. And you must take responsibility, too. Honor our laws. Embrace our culture. Learn our language. Know our history. Become citizens. Become American.

And I say to all Americans -- we have responsibilities, as well. To welcome our newest immigrants to our communities. To vigorously enforce the laws against discrimination. To ensure equal access to education and health care. To help immigrants become successful and productive citizens.

And we must ensure that no immigrant who has taken responsibility and met all our requirements for citizenship has to wait a year, a month, or even a day longer than necessary to become an American citizen.

And all Americans must recommit ourselves to the true duties and spirit of citizenship.

Not just immigrants, but every American should study our Constitution and understand our shared history.

Not just immigrants, but every American should participate in our democracy -- by voting, by volunteering, and yes, even running for office.

Not just immigrants, but every American -- on our campuses and in our communities -- should reject identity politics that seeks to separate us, not bring us together. Ethnic pride is a good thing. The days when immigrants felt compelled to Anglicize their last names or shed their heritage are, thankfully, gone. But pride in one's ethnic or racial heritage must never become an excuse to withdraw from the larger American community. It does not honor diversity -- it breeds divisiveness. And it will weaken America.

And not just immigrants, but every American should recognize that our public schools are not just places where our children learn to read, but where they learn to be American, where they make American heroes -- from Washington to Lincoln to Rosa Parks -- their own. Today, too many Americans, and far too many immigrants, attend crowded, often crumbling inner city schools. Too many young people, and far too many Hispanic young people, drop out of school altogether. With more children from immigrant families entering school than at

any time since the turn of the century, we must redouble our efforts to renew our public schools, and give all of America's children the best education in the world.

And we must ensure that all of America's children master the English language. There are schools within miles of the White House where children speak more than 100 languages, languages they should be encouraged to remember. But unless they learn English -- in flexible programs that take into account that children learn at different rates and have individual needs -- they will never reach their full potential.

I applaud the students here at Portland State who are tutoring immigrant children to speak and read English -- and I call on more Americans to do the same. We will only become one America if we come together in the sincere belief that we have much to learn from one another -- and far to travel together toward our common future as Americans.

So to the Portland State University graduating class of 1998, I say: Take the knowledge and skills you have earned, and share them, not only with your family and your community but with your nation. Build the 21st Century America that you want for your children and your grandchildren.

Remember, while the challenges we face are new, we must meet them as Americans at their best always have: Together.

140 years ago, in the City of Chicago, immigrants outnumbered native born Americans. Addressing a crowd there in 1858, Abraham Lincoln asked what connection those immigrants could possibly feel to those who founded our nation. Here was his answer: "If they look back through this history to trace their connection with those days by blood, they find they have none." But our founders proclaimed that we are all created equal. And that, he said, "is the electric cord in that Declaration that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving [people] together."

That electric cord still links every graduate here with every new immigrant and every American who came before us, and if we carry it with conscience and courage into the new century, it will light our way to America's greatest time -- your time.

Good luck, God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

THE BRIEFING MEMO
FOR THE EVENT IN SPRINGFIELD, OREGON
WILL BE FORWARDED

THE REMARKS
FOR THE EVENT IN SPRINGFIELD, OREGON
WILL BE FORWARDED

**THE BACKGROUND
FOR THE EVENT IN SPRINGFIELD, OREGON
WILL BE FORWARDED**

**DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
LOS ANGELES DINNER**

DATE: Saturday, June 13, 1998
LOCATION: Home of Lew Wasserman
911 N. Foothills Road
Beverly Hills, California
7:40 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

I. PURPOSE

To raise money for the DNC.

II. BACKGROUND

This event consists of a seated dinner for 150 guests. The guests are new and renewing members of the National Finance Council (NFC) and Democratic Business Council (DBC) in the southern California area. They include executives from Fortune 500 companies, representatives from national labor organizations, entertainment executives, small business owners, and opinion leaders from across California and the nation. The event will be held at the home of Lew Wasserman, a longtime supporter of the Party who hosted a dinner honoring YOU for the DNC in 1996.

III. PARTICIPANTS

YOU, the First Lady, DNC Chairman Steve Grossman, and Lew Wasserman.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open to one print reporter.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- Call time for guests is 6:30 p.m.
- YOU and the First Lady arrive and are greeted by Lew Wasserman, his family and Steve Grossman.
- YOU and the First Lady proceed to stage for photo-receiving line with approximately 80 photos (150 people).
- YOU and the First Lady proceed into the tent and are seated at separate head tables for dinner. Dinner is served.
- Program begins during dinner.
- Lew Wasserman delivers welcoming remarks and introduces Steve Grossman.
- Steve Grossman delivers brief remarks.
- Lew Wasserman introduces Jack Valenti.
- Jack Valenti delivers brief remarks.

- Lew Wasserman introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady delivers brief remarks and introduces **YOU**.
- **YOU** deliver remarks and the program ends.
- **YOU** depart following remarks.

VI. REMARKS

To be provided by speechwriting.

VII. ATTACHMENTS

- * Guest list
- * Photo-receiving list
- * Table diagrams

Ack: Edie and Lew Wasserman; Sen. Feinstein and Dick Blum; Sen. Boxer and Stuart Boxer; Lt. Gov. Gray Davis and Sharon Davis; Rep. Waxman and Janet Waxman; Steve Grossman; Len Barrack.

There is no one who can better lead this state than Gray Davis -- with his strong experience, his dedication to the people of Calif., and his commitment to education and healthcare. He has a tough road ahead of him, but I know he can win and I'm supporting him 100%.

- **Time to strengthen Nation for 21st Century:** OMB predicts \$39bn surplus, largest in US history; **16M new jobs**; Unemp **4.3%** (28 yr low) and 1st Qtr. Growth **4.8%**; Inflat. lowest in 30 yrs; Crime ↘ 5 yrs in a row, welfare rolls 27 yr low; Fam. Income ↗ \$2,200; real wages ↗; mid. class taxes lowest in 20 yrs; record homeownership; **off shore oil, 10 yr. moratorium.**

- **Much to do:**

- Bal Bud: Save SS first.
- Educ: School Modernization; Avg. class size 18; 100k new teachers.
- Tobacco, Medicare buy-in; HMO **Bill of Rights**; childcare.