FOIA Number: 2016-0970-F

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Subseries:

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Thursday, September 23, 1999

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	09/21/1999	b(6)
002. memo	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	09/21/1999	b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Sean Maloney (Chron File (Sept 99))
OA/Box Number: 14867

FOLDER TITLE:
Thursday, September 23, 1999

2016-0970-F
rs3010

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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9-23-99

MEMORANDUM

TO: SEAN MALONEY
F.R.: MARK SPENGLER
RE: RADIO ADDRESS
DT: SEPTEMBER 21, 1999

My mom is in town next month and I know she would really like to attend a Presidential radio address. Either a recorded address on Friday October 22 or the live address on Saturday October 23 would be great. I'll check in with you in the next few weeks. Thanks for your willingness to help me with this.

Mark Spengler

(b)(6)

Roberta Spengler

MARY M —

WE SHOULD REALLY TRY TO DO THIS FOR MARK IF WE CAN. HE DOES A GREAT JOB AT DNC. PLEASE LET ME KNOW ☺

SEAN

SEND TO MARY MORRISON

FROM DNC (TUE) 9. 21' 99 13:45/ST. 13:43/NO. 4861903333 P 3

'99 SEP 21 PM3:54

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

OFFICE OF GAY & LESBIAN OUTREACH
MARK SPENGLER, DIRECTOR

PHONE: 202-488-5060
FAX: 202-488-5081
spengler@dnc.democrats.org

DATE: **TIME:**

TO: Sean Maloney **PHONE:**
FAX: 202-456-2215

FROM: Mark Spengler

RE:
CC:

Number of pages including cover sheet: 3

Message

1. Caucus Members
2. Radio Address Request

Thanks

THIS MESSAGE IS INTENDED ONLY FOR THE USE OF THE INDIVIDUAL OR ENTITY TO WHICH IT IS ADDRESSED. THIS MESSAGE MAY CONTAIN INFORMATION THAT IS PRIVILEGED, CONFIDENTIAL AND EXEMPT FROM DISCLOSURE UNDER APPLICABLE LAW. IF THE READER OF THIS MESSAGE IS NOT THE INTENDED RECIPIENT, YOU ARE NOTIFIED THAT ANY DISSEMINATION, DISTRIBUTION OR COPYING OF THIS COMMUNICATION IS STRICTLY PROHIBITED. IF YOU HAVE RECEIVED THIS COMMUNICATION IN ERROR, PLEASE NOTIFY US IMMEDIATELY BY TELEPHONE AND RETURN THE ORIGINAL MESSAGE TO US AT THE ADDRESS BELOW VIA THE U.S. POSTAL SERVICE. THANK YOU.

(TUE) 9. 21' 99 13:44/ST. 13:43/NO. 4861903333 P 1
FROM DNC

DAVID PRICE
4TH DISTRICT
NORTH CAROLINA

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

OFFICES:
2162 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-1784
16 E. ROWAN STREET
SUITE 525
RALEIGH, NC 27609
(919) 789-8771
1777 FORDHAM BLVD.
SUITE 202
CHAPEL HILL, NC 27514
(919) 967-7924
315 E. CHAPEL HILL STREET
SUITE 202
DURHAM, NC 27701
(919) 688-3004

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515

September 22, 1999
9/23/99

Thru Staff Secretary

Send to Legislative Affairs —
Yes ✓
No ____

C.

President William Je
The White House
Washington, DC 20

Dear Mr. President:

Following a briefing t rricane Floyd, I talked briefly with Elgie Hol es, Energy, and Science at the Office of Manage ccount of a vote on the House floor, but my st n. What they heard from him was disturbing.

The US Department of Agriculture personnel on the ground in North Carolina have worked hard to develop preliminary estimates of the needs for agriculture to recover from the damage done by Hurricane Floyd. The total is nearly $1.2 billion, an amount that excludes livestock losses that are inestimable until the waters recede. This is an amount covering only North Carolina, but we know that the greatest damage to agriculture has been in my state. Everyone involved in assembling the estimate knows that the numbers will rise as more information becomes available.

Mr. Holstein refused to look at the estimates, saying they were not worth the paper they were written on. He informed my staff that reliable estimates would not be available until late October or early November, and implied that the OMB would not make a proposal for relief for our farmers until then. Assuming that OMB proposes assistance on November 1, I doubt Congress would be able to complete action on an agriculture disaster appropriations package before Thanksgiving.

Mr. President, that is not acceptable.

I would suggest that the Administration work with the delegations of the effected states to develop an emergency down payment for Hurricane Floyd relief as soon as possible. The conference on the Agriculture Appropriations bill for FY 2000 is attempting to complete its work as I write this letter. The farmers suffering in North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and New York need the support of your Administration to be able to

survive this fall. Their production loans will be due soon, and they cannot afford to wait for OMB to have completely accurate estimates on which to base a proposal to the Congress.

Please help the victims who look to you and us for assistance now in their hour of need.

Sincerely,

David Price
Member of Congress

9-23-99

To Burkhardt for reply after you have seen.

B.

P.O. BOX 2160
JINJA
(U)

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-23-99

Dear M

It ... for me to write to you this ... you over there. I thank you for the good work you are doing. You may wonder who am I writting to you. I am the Mother of Baby Bill Clinton whom President Clinton held on his chest in Nanyange Village. I thought of writting to you because it was necessary for you to know how Baby Bill is now. I last saw you when you came with Minister Amama Mbabazi to have a look at the FINCA projects. I thank you very much for your Coming that day. Baby Bill is now 1 year and 4 months, a strong and jolly boy being liked by all people. He has an American height like his namesake and people call him Baby President. He has a sharp brain and it picks quickly he has now started to talk. I have sent you that photograph so that you can see how Baby Bill looks like now.

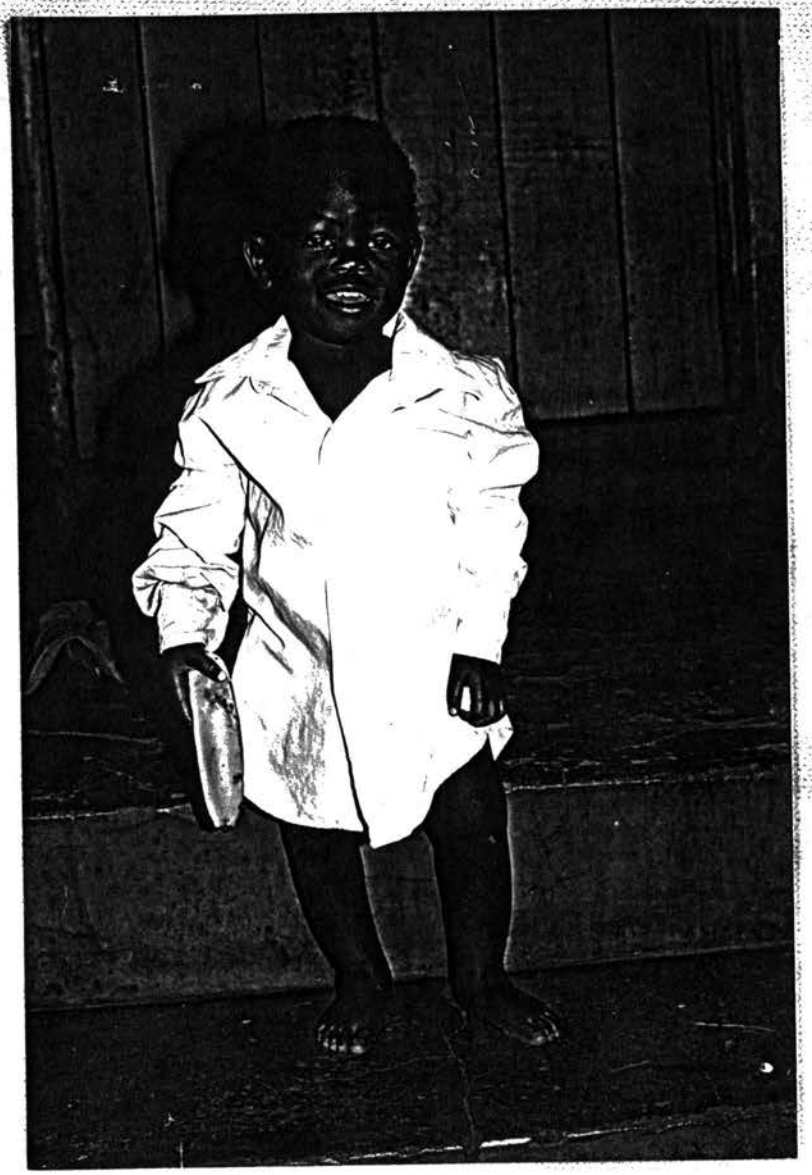
Okey Madam but Please send my warm greetings to the US First Lady Hillary Random and President Bill Clinton. Send them this message that Baby Bill Clinton's eyes and ears has remained in the direction which the chooper took to return them home in America. Thinking that may be one day they will come back or send someone to come and check on the Baby.

Goodbye Madam

A reply is expected soon

I remain Namugosa Betty.

Mother of Baby Bill Clinton in Uganda.



Baby Bill Clinton standing on the verendar of his home the same place where President Clinton stood last time when he told him.

JOHN F. KENNEDY
LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

'99 SEP 24 AM 12:25

9-23-99

To Burkhardt for reply?
Yes ✓ No —
B.

A Presidential Library
Administered By
The National Archives
And Records
Administration

September 14, 1999

Dear Mr. President:

I write today to ask a very great favor of you

In my seven years of working at the Kenned
and privilege of meeting some wonderful an
great contributions to our country and the v
during the two times you visited here). Perl
treasured possession) of my tenure here is a
with Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis and John
rededication ceremonies of our Museum in 1

In the time since the rededication, I was fortunate enough to have the opportunities to obtain the signatures of Mrs. Onassis and John on my photo. Of course, I have always intended to obtain your signature on the photograph as well as it would never be complete without it (and perhaps a personal inscription -- something I now wish I had asked Mrs. Onassis and John to add to their names, but was probably too nervous to do at those times!). In fact, after John signed it he said to me: "Now you should get the President to sign it for you." I always thought I would have to wait for such a time -- perhaps when you were no longer President with a million and one more important things to worry about than my trivial request, but lately the photograph has been on my mind quite a bit. I would so much like to frame and display my photo, but not until you have had the opportunity to sign it for me.

Of course, even if you say yes to my request, I have great concerns about sending my photo to the White House -- I can only imagine the deluge of mail that is received there everyday. I would be devastated if it were inadvertently lost. Would it therefore be all possible for me to attend one of your Saturday morning radio addresses and then perhaps get your signature on the photo afterwards (I have always wanted to attend an address and meet you and shake your hand)?

I realize I am asking a huge favor (two huge favors, actually), but I assure you your kind consideration of either means a great deal to me.

Most sincerely and respectfully,

Jim Wagner

James Wagner

So many wants — I hope you have the opportunity to at least see my letter.

Columbia Point, Boston, Massachusetts 02125 • 617.929.4500 • 617.929.4538 (fax) • http://www.cs.umb.edu/jfklibrary/index.htm

John Kennedy
Jacqueline Kennedy

James Wagner
JOHN F. KENNEDY
LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

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

ATTN: Ms. Currie

Columbia Point, Boston, Massachusetts 02125

JOHN F. KENNEDY
LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

James D. Wagner, Jr.
Curatorial Assistant

Columbia Point, Boston, Massachusetts 02125
617.929.4562 Fax: 617.929.4538
e-mail: jim.wagner@kennedy.nara.gov

CARRYE B. BROWN
ADMINISTRATOR

FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY
U.S. FIRE ADMINISTRATION

500 C STREET, SW
WASHINGTON, DC 20472
(202) 646-4244
FAX: (202) 646-4301

16825 S. SETON AVENUE
EMMITSBURG, MD 21727
(301) 447-1018
FAX: (301) 447-1270

Carrye.brown@fema.gov

9-23-99

Virginia's mother works at FEMA - also nice letter. Sorry (may not make it to her school but I will stop by classroom) have a good year learning Ok

Re

9-23-99

To Burkhardt for reply after you have seen.

B.

Mr. President,

Come to my school

Xenia Brown 726-3941(202)

Age 8

Shepherd Elem School/

NW-DC

LAW OFFICE OF TONY CENTER, P.C.
BLDG 3, SUITE 101
5828 GLENRIDGE DRIVE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30328

800-382-8669
FAX 404-467-0624

Betty?
Send to
Scheduling?
Yes ✓
NO ___ (Carolyn - thoughts?)
9-23-99
Send to Scheduling?
Yes ✓
No ___

September 17, 1999

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20500-0001

ATTN: Ms. Betty Curry

Dear President Clinton:

My name is Tony Center. In 1992 I was the Democ
6th District of Georgia. I was there with you (and 5
day in Decatur three days before you were elected Pre

I lost in 1992. (I did receive 30,000 votes more tha
staffing your office and building your first cabinet, I l
County, where I thought I would fare best, I was crean
the five counties which then comprised the 6th Distr
Gwinnett), Fulton was the only county in which the
You, Wyche Fowler, and I shared the ballot. (I beat W
our party to be successful in this area, we needed loca
allow Republicans to pool resources, money, and pe
public, needed competition.

I sought and received the blessing of state and count
Fulton Chapter of the Democratic Party, in the heart o
worked the phones, called on connections made while ru
of the public, members of the party, and local media to
Secretary of State Max Cleland was our inaugural speaker.

...ing in 1993. Then

No one thought we would last. In fact, the predominately Democratic demographic south Fulton copied us and their chapter is not now active. We have lasted 6 long, and often difficult years. We have kept our activities known in the area media; we have sent speakers to local schools, civic groups, and religious organizations; we joined the local Chamber of Commerce and I am the lone Democrat on the public affairs committee. We have grown to 300 mailing list members, we have monthly meetings, and the Republicans know we are here. Our members regularly track local Republican activities and have been featured on national network television confronting Newt at town meetings. In 1996 we ran three local candidates. In 1998 we ran more and hosted the only forum in our part of the county attended by both Democratic and Republican candidates.

We just celebrated our fifth anniversary. We believe our story is a good one. We did not wait for a message from higher up, we did not ask for money from the party. We were a group of people who shared the core values of the Democratic Party and we took it upon ourselves to plant a post in foreign territory (sort of like "Dances With Wolves"). I think we deserve recognition; the type of recognition that would inspire other Democrats around the country to do what we did. We are about to celebrate our sixth anniversary and we would like you to be our featured speaker.

I learned from Beth Dozoretz at a DNC meeting Monday that you are planning a trip to Atlanta in October. I ask that you please consider using that occasion to also visit the North Fulton Democrats and be our anniversary speaker. I would love for you to do a Town Hall hosted by the North Fulton Democrats. You should also note that I am a seven time golf club champion at the Standard Club (a 150 year old predominately Jewish golf club), and if you will come earlier in the day, I would love to take you golfing at my club.

Please honor us with your presence.

Very truly yours,

Tony Center

TONY CENTER
North Fulton Democrats
cc: Ms. Beth Dozoretz
Ms. Ellen Milholland

LAW OFFICE OF TONY CENTER, P.C.
1 MT. VERNON CIRCLE
ATLANTA, GA 30338

ATLANTA GA 303
PM
17 SEP
1999

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington. DC 20500-0001

ATTN: Ms. Betty Curry

20500-0003

Have / does
Letter to Carl?
If not / should
BB

9-23-99

9-23-99

After you have
seen, we will send
to Burkhardt -

Carl

9-23-99

William N. Deans

Wednesday, September 1, 1999

Mr. Samuel R. Berger and
Ms. Mara Rudman
National Security Council
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20504

Dear Mr. Berger and Ms. Rudman:

I'm writing to express my sincere appreciation for the care and compassion shown by both of you and your staff in the circumstances surrounding little Almedina Pilavdzic and her flight home to Bosnia. I can't begin to thank you adequately for your willingness to become so involved in this truly humanitarian deed.

None of us expected the fact of her death as soon or as suddenly as it happened. But we accept that as God's plan and know that each and every person involved in her care did their utmost. I was personally blessed by the level of commitment shown by everyone along this path. In spite of the knowledge of the eventual outcome of her condition, each person worked diligently to provide for her and especially her family a gift beyond measure.

I am confident that I speak for Sebiha and Sefko, Almedina's mother and father, and the rest of her family when I also thank you on their behalf. As people that suffered much through the horror of the war years and then to have this illness of their daughter, they sense little in the way of hope at the moment. But I believe as they reflect on this time over the coming days, are visited by myself and others and remember the loving concern shown to them by so many, they will be strengthened and recall that in their very difficult time, there were those that truly cared for them without regard for their station in life or their ethnic background.

It should also be remembered that because of this endeavor, two other Bosnian children have hope for the saving of their mothers' life. As I write, Semira Brekic is in SouthCrest Hospital in Tulsa awaiting a heart catheterization this afternoon and open heart surgery as soon as possible.

1094 Cottingham Drive, Mount Pleasant, South Carolina 29464

If it is appropriate and a time presents itself, please express my appreciation and that of the Pilavdzic and Brekic families to President Clinton. Without his interest and concern none of this would have been possible.

In closing, I wish to especially thank both of you for the kind and encouraging words spoken to me. As if your untiring efforts to help weren't enough, each of you lifted my spirits by expressing your support for the attempts to help these children. As you may have noticed, I can be quite passionate when it comes to my children and at times the work is hard if not heart breaking as with Almedina. It's easy to feel alone in this when a critical need is in front of me and there's no hospital, doctors or others available to help. But I know that I'm blessed to have such an opportunity and am thankful for folks like you that are supportive of it.

It is my hope that we will meet in the future so I may express my gratitude in person. With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

'99 SEP 23 P4:45

September 23, 1999

The Honorable Haldane Robert Mayer
Chief Judge
U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit
717 Madison Place, NW
Washington, DC 20439

Dear Judge Mayer:

On June 9, 1999, we lost the Honorable Giles S. Rich, an icon in the legal community. During his 70 years of service, first as a practitioner and then as a federal judge, Judge Rich made many profound contributions to our nation's legal system and to our citizens' well-being. I write now to celebrate his life of exemplary service.

After graduating from Columbia University School of Law in 1929, Judge Rich joined Williams, Rich & Morse, where he practiced law until 1952. From 1952 to 1956, he was affiliated with Churchill, Rich, Weymouth & Engel. As a private practitioner, Judge Rich played a significant role in drafting the landmark Patent Act of 1952, which forms the foundation for today's patent laws.

Judge Rich's work on the Patent Act of 1952 brought him to the attention of President Eisenhower, who appointed him in 1956 to the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, the Federal Circuit's predecessor court. Judge Rich dedicated his career to providing meaningful guidance to the bench and bar on the proper interpretation and application of our nation's patent laws. During his 43-year tenure on the bench, Judge Rich drafted more than 1,000 opinions that laid the foundation for American innovation, especially in the biotechnology and software industries. For that, we are profoundly grateful.

Even as the oldest active judge ever to sit on the federal bench, Judge Rich's curiosity was boundless. Hailed as the "dean of patent law," Judge Rich was a demanding jurist who was also admired for his personal warmth, generosity, and willingness to teach others. He will be sorely missed by his family, many of his law clerks, his colleagues, and his country.

9-23-99

Sincerely,

9-23-99

Send to Burkhardt?
Yes ✓
no ____

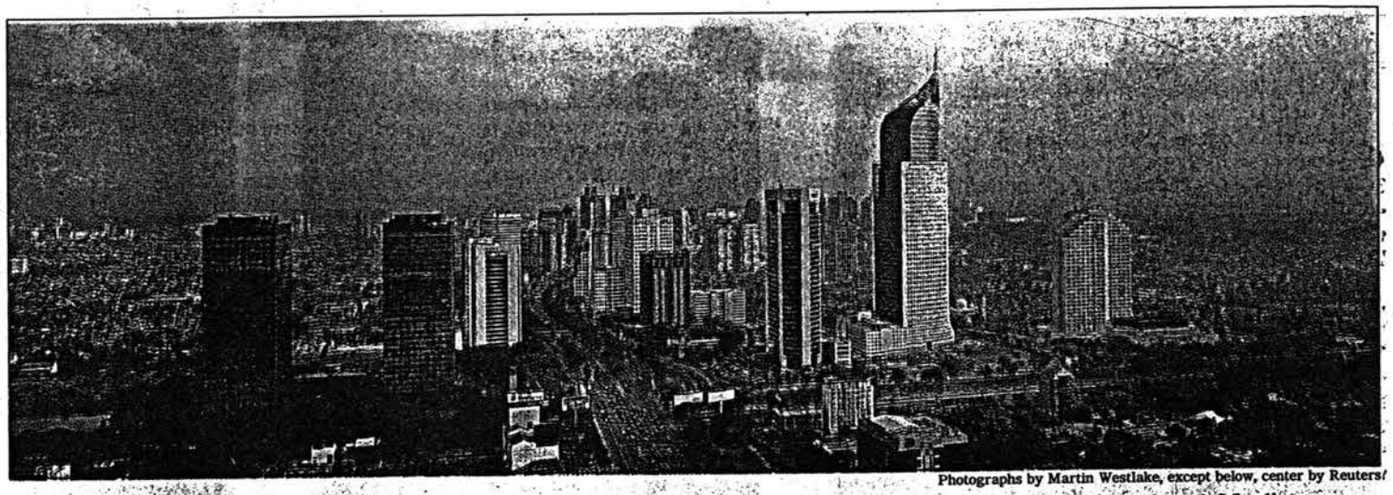
C.

Beth Nolan wants this letter to go over the President's signature for a memorial service on Sept. 27 — they intend to frame it so they would like it by tomorrow. Contact Ben Adams 65214

The World

Sounds FYI—it's good BS

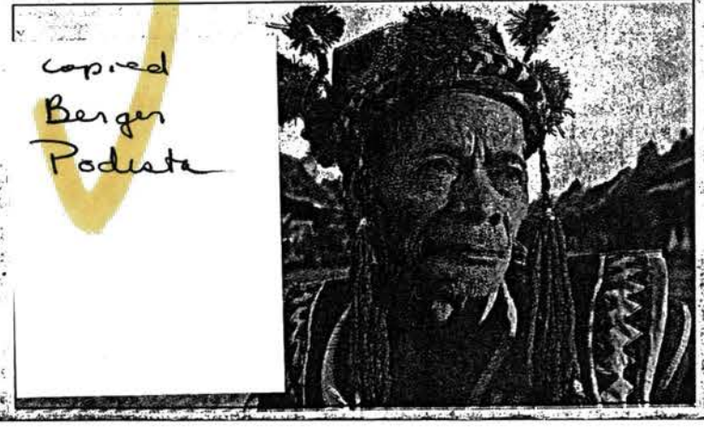
Indonesia's Many Faces Reflect One Nation, Divisible

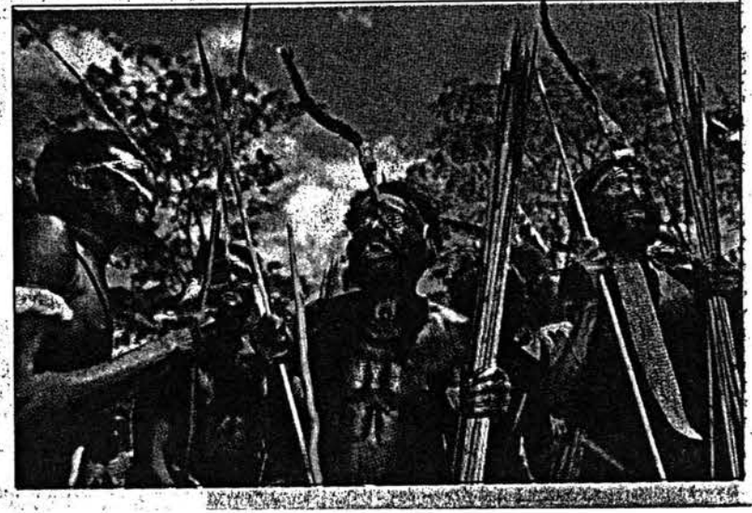


Photographs by Martin Westlake, except below, center by Reuters/

Indonesia's staggering diversity is forcing it to think hard about what makes it a nation. In Jakarta (skyline, above) Muslim women and a girl attending a religious ceremony (below, center); in Irian Jaya, Dani tribesmen dressing for mock battle (below, right).

Tea pickers working on the Gunung Mas estate in western Java (above); an aged warrior performing a welcome dance on Nias island, part of Sumatra (right).





By SETH MYDANS

JAKARTA, Indonesia

"ONE country. One people. One language."

As a national credo, displayed on banners and placards, it sounds simple enough.

But in this scattered archipelago of 13,000 islands, roiling with an untamed mix of cultures, ethnic groups, histories, rivalries, gods and spoken tongues, it begins to seem almost impossible.

These days, some people say it is.

Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous nation with well over 200 million people, is deep in a crisis of economics, politics and national identity. Its leaders and institutions have lost much of their popular standing and legitimacy. The forces that most overtly held Indonesia together — the grip of a dictator and the harshness of his military — have retreated since the forced resignation 15 months ago of Suharto as President.

A country so unsure of its unity that it has made oneness an obsession is being forced to rediscover the logic of its nationhood. The challenge as it steps gingerly into an era of democracy is to want to be a nation.

The violence that ravaged the former Portuguese colony of East Timor last week as it was voting for independence from Indonesia came as a reminder to the outside world of the diversity and tenuousness of this scattered nation. Perhaps the fears it has aroused — of centrifugal forces that could pull Indonesia apart — are exaggerated. Still, it points up the counterproductiveness of enforced union.

"If you are going to have an Indonesia in which the constituent parts sit happily together as a republic and not because they are held together by bayonets, you are going to have to have a system where the constituent parts come together because they want to be together," said James Dunn, a former Australian diplomat who is an expert on Indonesia. "Since the founding of Indonesia, the military has seen itself as the guardian of national integrity. In a democracy national integrity has to be held together by the national will."

In recognition of this, the post-Suharto Government — which is still taking shape — is exploring ways to devolve some economic and political control to the provinces. An extreme possibility, one that would demand a Constitutional amendment, would be to shift power into a federal structure.

Indonesian rule has sometimes been likened to a colonial structure, with the dominant Javanese on their relatively small island asserting their rule over the larger and more resource-rich outer islands. A fairer distribution of the national wealth along with greater political empowerment could go a long way toward mollifying Indonesia's restive provinces.

But the loosening of a grip always carries the risk of loss of control. After 32 years of Mr. Suharto's policy of enforced national harmony, the vacuum created by his departure and the humbling of the military has been quickly filled by all the repressed passions of political, religious and ethnic differences that strain Indonesia's fabric.

In particular, separatist movements have been energized in several areas, highlighted by East Timor, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 but which never accepted integration as the country's 27th province.

Many in the Indonesian capital, Jakarta — and particularly in the military — fear that freedom for East Timor could be the start of a process of national disintegration. Other analysts point to that territory's unique place as a national afterthought and argue that a line can be drawn between East Timor and the rest of Indonesia. It is the only part of the country to have been colonized by the Portuguese rather than by the Dutch and it is the only part to have been dragged into union by invasion.

THE most potentially destabilizing separatist movement is in the strongly Islamic, natural gas-rich province of Aceh, where the loss of life this year has been far greater than in East Timor. A former Islamic kingdom with its own proud past, Aceh is an integral part of Indonesia's history and self-definition and its loss could deal a severe blow.

"They are very worried," a senior Western diplomat said. "If Aceh begins to take off, they will really have problems with the integrity of the state."

A smaller, less unified separatist movement has flared in the remote mountains of Irian Jaya, whose primitive people are as strange and exotic to residents of modern Jakarta as they are to New Yorkers.

Vicious bloodletting has also continued in the Moluccas (the former Spice Islands that first attracted traders to the archipelago) and in West Kalimantan on the island of Borneo. But these eruptions, for the moment at least, have more to do with local feuds, and with Jakarta's inability to impose order, than with serious separatist threats.

Though they may not pull the nation apart, the declarations of individuality by the separatists offer a reminder that Indonesia is an artificial geographical conglomeration inherited from its Dutch colonizers.

The elegant, taciturn princes of Java seem to have little in common with the otherworldly dancers of Hindu Bali, the long-eared Dayak tribesmen of Borneo, the seagoing pirates of the Spice Islands or the Chinese traders who control the country's ports and warehouses.

What brings them all together as Indonesians?

"I think it is an idea, as in other big, diverse countries like India and the United States," said James C. Clad, a professor of Southeast Asian studies at Georgetown University. "It is an idea of an archipelagic country, a concept that goes back to pre-Islamic times."

The idea of Indonesia as a union of islands took firm root during the struggle for independence — which was proclaimed in 1945 — and flourished under the founding President, Sukarno. His successor, Mr. Suharto, also made national unity the core of his tenure with a philosophy called Pancasila, in which Indonesia's Babel of differences were crushed whenever they asserted themselves too strongly.

This fear of the power of diversity may have been one of Mr. Suharto's most destructive legacies. Its mélange of identities denied, its passions forcefully repressed, Indonesia seethed. The hard work of celebrating the country's differences while finding a common ground in which all could thrive together was made all the more difficult for Mr. Suharto's successors.

The last and most unwilling participant in this nationwide humiliation was East Timor, where Javanese teachers were imported to teach Indonesian history to schoolchildren in the Indonesian language.

The idea of Indonesian unity is so elemental that it is defined as much as anything simply by the superimposition of a common tongue, the Malay language of the ancient seagoing traders who first brought Indonesia's islands together.

But among older or more assertively separatist East Timorese, the Portuguese language has persisted.

In the small East Timorese town of Baucau, Indonesia's Government has built a monument, literally, on the three pillars of the revolutionary 1928 student oath, a sort of Pledge of Allegiance for Indonesians: "One country. One people. One language."

Was it a misguided supporter of unity with Indonesia or a sly opponent who painted on its base the graffito "Unidades"?

"Unity," indeed — but in Portuguese, the language of East Timorese separatism.

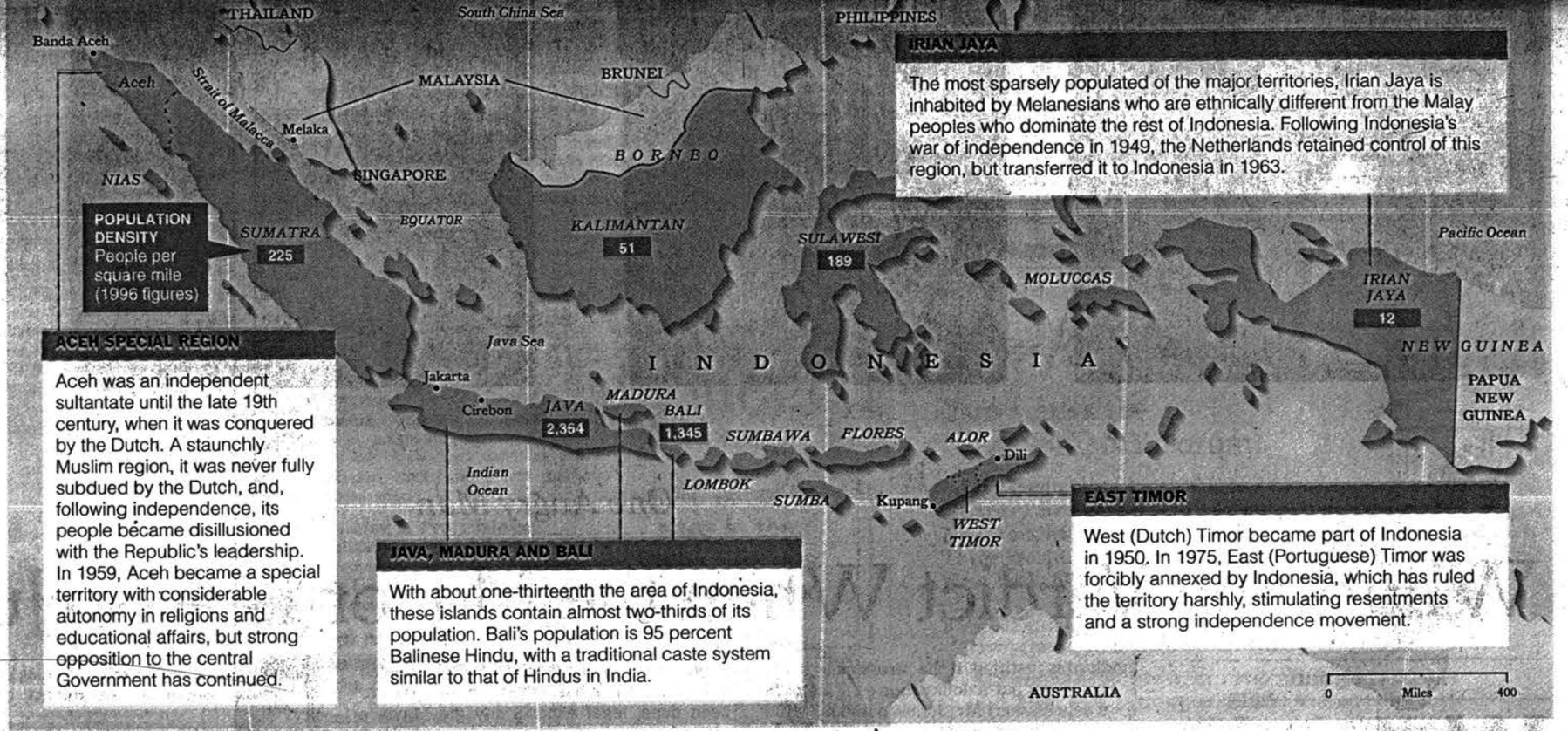
A Tenuous Union

THE LAND Indonesia is made up of more than 13,000 islands, half of them inhabited, that extend about 3,000 miles from east to west. Total land surface (788,430 square miles) is about three times the area of Texas.

THE PEOPLE Almost 90 percent of Indonesia's 213 million people identify themselves as Muslims, making Indonesia the world's largest Islamic nation. The character of Indonesian Islam varies from region to region and religious practice varies considerably according to local customs. About 9 percent of the people are Christian and about 2 percent are Hindu. Most of the Hindus live on the island of Bali.

Of about 300 ethnic groups, the Javanese are the largest, making up 45 percent of the nation's population. There are hundreds of languages and dialects, but Bahasa Indonesia is the official language and is understood in all but the most remote villages.

Of all the ethnic minorities, few have had a larger impact on the country than the Chinese. Though only 3 percent of the population, they are a major force in the economy.



From Colonialism . . .

1511 The Portuguese, in pursuit of the valuable spice trade, capture the strategic commercial center of Melaka on the Malay Peninsula. Other European nations, including England, Spain and the Netherlands, follow.

BY 1610 The Dutch oust the Portuguese, who retain only the eastern half of Timor.

17TH TO 19TH CENTURY The Dutch East India Company gains political control over the entire area. When the company is liquidated in 1799, the Dutch Government takes control and continues to exploit the islands.

. . . to the Rise of Nationalism . . .

1920 The Indonesian Communist Party is founded.

1929 The Indonesian Nationalist party arises under Sukarno, who blends Javanese, Western and socialist influences. The movement remains politically weak until World War II.

Sukarno

. . . to Independence and Turmoil

1942 The Dutch colonial government surrenders to Japan.

1945 After the Japanese surrender, Sukarno proclaims independence. The Dutch resist and four years of fighting follow. The Dutch yield in1949. Sukarno becomes president.

1968 Following years of inflation and economic hardship, a Communist coup is thwarted by army forces under General Suharto, who gradually assumes power. Thousands of alleged communists are executed amid widespread violence.

1998 During three decades of Suharto's presidency, in which his family and associates amass a large share of the nation's wealth, the country suffers widespread unrest. He is forced to resign and the presidency is passed to B.J. Habibie.

1500's | 1600's | 1700's | 1800's | 1900's | 1910's | 1920's | 1930's | 1940's | 1950's | 1960's | 1970's | 1980's | 1990's

Jim Perry/The New York Times

...oy professionals will
...e to endure until a strong union
movement returns. □

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-23-99

The Undiscovered Plan B for Northern Ireland

By Geoffrey Wheatcroft

BATH, England

Back once more in Belfast, a town he must sometimes wish he never sees again, George Mitchell, the former Senator, today begins a review of the Northern Ireland peace process. As he knows too well, this process is not so much flagging as near exhaustion.

In the spring of last year, Mr. Mitchell helped to negotiate the so-called Good Friday peace agreement, which envisaged a new power-sharing political cabinet for Northern Ireland, including the Ulster Unionists, the main Protestant party that wants continued ties with Britain, and Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army.

After the agreement was approved by referendum that May, there was an atmosphere of relief in Ulster that you could almost feel physically, not surprising after 30 years of bloodshed.

Since then, the mood is quite changed. Charges of murder and gunrunning have been made against the I.R.A. And 41 people have died in 11 incidents, attributed to the I.R.A. and other republican groups, as well as to Protestant paramilitaries.

At the end of August, Sir Ronnie Flanagan, head of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, accused the I.R.A. of involvement in the July slaying of Charles Bennett, a 22-year-old cabdriver. Mr. Bennett, a Roman Catholic, was suspected of helping the police.

Nevertheless, Mo Mowlam, Britain's Northern Ireland Secretary, ruled on Aug. 26 that the I.R.A. had not broken the cease-fire, apparently to insure that Sinn Fein did not pull out of the review.

Ms. Mowlam did admit, in a tut-tutting way, that she accepted Mr. Flanagan's version of events. The killing was "savage and disgraceful," she said, and the I.R.A.'s behavior was "counterproductive and unhelpful," as Charles Bennett would no doubt agree.

> Power-sharing needn't start at the pinnacle.

The implication of Ms. Mowlam's decision is chilling. She is saying, in effect, that Sinn Fein's armed wing is honoring the cease-fire so long as it refrains from attacking British soldiers — but that it is free to do what it pleases to Irish Catholics.

It should not be surprising that David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionists, does not give Mr. Mitchell's review much chance of success. Indeed, Ms. Mowlam's decision casts a bleak light on Prime Minister Tony Blair's part in the "peace process."

At the time of the referendum, the Prime Minister made promises to win over unenthusiastic unionists. Parties like Sinn Fein that are linked to paramilitary groups can be included in government only when "the threat of violence has gone," Mr. Blair said. "That doesn't just mean decommissioning, but all bombing, killings, beatings and an end of targeting, recruiting and all the structures of terrorism."

The Prime Minister cannot possibly claim that this promise has been fulfilled. Instead, the continuing violence has only added to a lingering sense of unease about the whole peace process.

This distaste is widespread and not confined to Ulster Protestants or English Tories. More and more have come to share the view of the Irishman who said, when asked how anyone could be against a peace process, "I like the peace, I don't like the process."

There is a strange comparison to be made between Northern Ireland and that other problematic peace process in the Middle East. The wrangling there last week stemmed from the Israeli reluctance, which many find understandable, to release prisoners with blood on their hands.

Since the peace agreement was signed in Northern Ireland, more than 270 paramilitary prisoners have been released, most of them I.R.A. men, but also some Protestant loyalists.

Or compare those released prisoners with terrorists in America. Last week, Gov. Frank Keating of Oklahoma deplored the idea that President Clinton might grant clemency to 16 members of the Puerto Rican F.A.L.N. They were convicted of crimes that supported terrorist acts likes bombing and killing.

In an article on this page, the Governor quoted the President's condemnation of the Oklahoma City bombing as "a terrible sin." And he also cited Howard Safir, the New York Police Commissioner, who said that releasing the F.A.L.N. prisoners would "encourage terrorism worldwide" and that "we should never make deals with terrorists."

Those words have a bitter ring in Ulster. The failure of F.A.L.N. members to express any penitence for what they have done is rightly held against them. But the Sinn Fein leaders have also never expressed any remorse. Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness are both former "chiefs of staff" of the I.R.A. and are both almost impressively unapologetic about its methods.

Last summer, there was a horrible bombing in the town of Omagh. It killed 29 people, most of them Catholics. This was not the work of the I.R.A., but of a splinter group.

Nevertheless, Mr. McGuinness has reportedly all but conceded that he knows the identity of the Omagh killers, but he refuses to name them. This is a man who is supposed to become a salaried minister in Northern Ireland under the Good Friday peace agreement.

And yet Mr. Blair and his colleagues continue to say that there is no alternative to negotiating with Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican Army. Ms. Mowlam has chanted this for more than two years. As the Belfast Agreement has tottered, she has just as repetitiously added that "there is no Plan B."

This was meant in a minatory sense — "You may not like the agreement, but you'd better swallow it, or else" — but it was more than a little irritating. Don't we pay politicians to envisage contingencies, if their own best-laid plans go awry?

In any case, there *is* an alternative. It was practiced from 1976 to 1979 under the last Labor government of James Callaghan and his Northern Ireland Secretary, Roy Mason. This was to govern Northern Ireland as fairly as possible, with justice for all communities.

But it also meant abandoning the search for an elusive — or even illusory — political settlement acceptable to both the Protestant unionist majority and militant republicans.

Above all, it meant treating the I.R.A. as a security problem, and nothing else.

That policy was practiced with considerable success in terms of diminished terrorist violence. And it earned Mr. Mason the undying hatred of both the I.R.A. leaders and the "loyalist" terrorists on the other side, no small compliment in Ulster.

When the latest attempt to start a power-sharing cabinet foundered in July, The New Statesman suggested in an editorial, "Maybe now it's time to try Plan B."

The leftist weekly magazine, broadly supportive of the Blair Government, wrote that it was time "to give up on Northern Ireland, at least in the sense of trying to create some power-sharing government."

"The closer an Ulster executive comes," the magazine said, "the more implausible it seems that its leading members could ever work together."

There is a growing view that, instead of a power-sharing cabinet, it would be better to try devolving real power over education, health and welfare to local government, the level at which unionists and Sinn Fein already work together.

Of course, there is nothing grandiose about that plan, and it doesn't offer photo opportunities for international statesmen. But it might yet be the truly creative answer. □

Geoffrey Wheatcroft is the author of "The Controversy of Zion: Jewish Nationalism, the Jewish State and the Unresolved Jewish Dilemma."

Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks. For further information, call (212) 556-1831.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 13, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CHARLES M. BRAIN CMB

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Attached for your signature is a letter to Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA), in response to his August 5 correspondence regarding efforts to enroll more children in the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP). Additionally, attached for your review is a copy of the Senator's incoming letter.

[redacted] Doug CJ Jim

Before sending
this, I'd like Nancy
Ann's opinion – Bowles
recommend Jim
be involved & can do
that with [redacted] before
sending you?

TK

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Kennedy,

Thank you for your recent letter regarding how to enhance our current efforts on children's health insurance outreach. As always, I appreciate your steadfast leadership in ensuring that all Americans have access to adequate health care coverage.

I certainly agree with you that the back-to-school time period offers a great opportunity to launch new efforts to identify and enroll eligible children in both Medicaid and CHIP. To that end, I have planned several efforts to take advantage of this opportunity to insure children. As you know, last month at the National Governors Association's (NGA) annual conference, I announced that the Department of Education and the National Association of Elementary School Principals sent letters to nearly 16,000 school superintendents and 27,000 elementary school principals asking them to commit to conducting on-site education and enrollment of uninsured children. Additionally, beginning in late September, the Departments of Health and Human Services and Education will hold regional meetings to bring together state officials, school systems, and groups to promote local school based outreach efforts. These meetings will lay the foundation for a national conference on school-based health insurance outreach, currently scheduled for mid-November. I will ensure that your ideas get incorporated into these efforts to institutionalize enrolling children in health insurance.

Our work to insure children is not limited to schools. We are continuing our public-private "Insure Kids Now" campaign to engage a range of citizens and organizations in outreach. At the NGA conference, I encouraged states to step up their outreach efforts, and I announced that the United Way will join the Departments of Justice and Health and Human Services to conduct aggressive community-based outreach in over 20 vulnerable cities. This joint action follows similar efforts by foundations, corporations, health care providers, consumer advocates and others in the private sector that include placing the toll-free number -- 1-877-KIDS NOW (1-877-543-7669) -- on corporate products and airing public service announcements on TV and radio. Also, my Federal Interagency Task Force on Children's Health Insurance Outreach implemented over 150 new activities to educate Federal workers and families nationwide about the availability of

Medicaid and CHIP. These activities include distributing hundreds of thousands of posters to health centers, providers, and Federal grantees nationwide; launching the new "insurekidsnow.gov" website; and providing thousands of employees with information, such as the new toll-free number, on their wage and earning statements. The second report by the Task Force is due out shortly, with a new set of actions to promote outreach.

We are also continuing to focus on outreach to legal immigrant children. Our public charge policy, which clarifies that the receipt of Medicaid or CHIP will not affect immigration status, has been well received not only by the immigrant community, but by public health experts, providers, and state and local governments. We have begun to publicize this clarification to eliminate the fear that previously deterred so many members of the immigrant community from applying for benefits for themselves and their children. To this end, INS and HHS together with members of your staff are currently designing an outreach campaign to further educate providers, immigration officials, and the immigrant community about our current policy on public charge.

Finally, I think it is essential to ensure that there are no barriers to enrollment. In the near future, my Administration will be conducting comprehensive, on-site reviews of state Medicaid enrollment and eligibility processes to assess compliance with current law and to develop recommendations for improvements. As part of these reviews, HHS officials will stress the need for accurate and timely state data submissions. We are committed to ensuring that any barriers to enrollment and access to quality care that may exist as part of the state TANF, Medicaid, and CHIP are eliminated.

Once again, thank you for taking the time to share your thoughts on this issue, which is so important to me. For your review, I am enclosing a summary of our recent activities on outreach.

Sincerely,

Bill

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITTMENT TO PROVIDING HEALTH INSURANCE TO CHILDREN

THE IMPORTANCE OF CHILDREN'S HEALTH OUTREACH. Over 11 million children in America are uninsured. Nearly 90 percent of these children have parents who work, but do not have access to or cannot afford health insurance. Over 4 million of these uninsured children are already eligible for Medicaid. However, many families are not aware that their children are eligible for Medicaid, and others have difficulty filling out the application. Similar problems could undermine the new Children's Health Insurance Program's goal to enroll millions of uninsured children.

INTENSIVE PUBLIC-PRIVATE OUTREACH EFFORTS TO IDENTIFY AND ENROLL ELIGIBLE CHILDREN. The President, Vice President, and First Lady have unveiled several public-private initiatives to identify and enroll eligible uninsured children in either Medicaid or CHIP, including:

Launching a new nationwide "Insure Kids Now" Outreach Campaign. This campaign will engage a broad-based, bipartisan, public-private coalition to use a variety of means to educate and assist families in insuring their children. Initial activities include:

- Unveiling the "1-877-KIDS NOW" Hotline. Together with members of the National Governors Association, the President unveiled 1-877 KIDS NOW, a toll free number developed by the NGA in partnership with Bell Atlantic and the Administration, to provide state-specific information about Medicaid and CHIP to families in all 50 states. Families calling this number will receive information about eligibility criteria, benefits, and how to apply for coverage.

- Running public service announcements on national television and radio about Insure Kids Now. NBC, ABC, Univision, Turner Entertainment, the National Association of Broadcasters, and Viacom/Paramount have begun to air public service announcements providing information about the importance of health insurance and promoting the Insure Kids Now number. Radio ads on Insure Kids Now will also be aired nationwide, starting with California, Utah, Colorado, Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Ohio, and North Carolina.

- Printing the Insure Kids Now toll free number on commonly used products. Building on a series of commitments made in 1998, K-Mart, General Motors, the American Dental Hygienists Association, and American Medical Response have pledged to put the new toll-free number on grocery bags, toothbrushes, diaper boxes, pharmaceutical products, child safety seats, and schoolbuses.

- Reaching out to enlist every school in the country in a back-to-school children's health outreach campaign. The President announced that the Department of Education and the National Association of Elementary School Principals will send letters to all 15,725 school superintendents and 27,000 elementary school principals asking them to get involved in children's health outreach. The letters include information on how schools can target and help enroll these children and a pledge form to document their commitments.

- Collaborating with the United Way of America, DOJ, and HHS in targeting 21 key cities in conducting outreach campaigns. The President announced that in September **1999**, the United Way of America, HHS, DOJ, and Education will launch intensive outreach efforts that include: providing information in orientation packets; including CHIP information with school lunch applications; and hosting outreach events at school and community events. HHS will invest $1 million in a radio campaign to promote the Insure Kids Now toll-free number.

Releasing an Executive Memorandum ordering Federal Agencies to conduct new outreach activities. In an Executive Memorandum dated June 23, 1998, the President ordered the Departments of Health and Human Services, Treasury, Agriculture, Education, Labor, Housing and Urban Development, Interior, and the Social Security Administration to enact over 150 initiatives designed to help enroll millions of uninsured children in Medicaid or the new Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP). The Task Force has begun new outreach efforts include launching the new "insurekidsnow.gov" website; distributing 145,000 posters to over 20,000 health centers, providers, and other grantees; and providing 92,000 USDA employees with information about outreach, including the new toll-free number, on their wage and earning statements.

New actions to assure families access to Medicaid, CHIP, and other benefits. On May 25, 1999, the Administration unveiled new regulations assuring families that enrollment in Medicaid or the new Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) and the receipt of other critical benefits, such as school lunch and child care services, will not affect their immigration status. The new regulation, effective immediately, clarifies a widespread misconception that has deterred eligible populations from enrolling in these programs and undermined the public health. In addition, Federal agencies will send guidance to their field offices, program grantees and to work with community organizations to educate the public about this new policy.

Reviewing Medicaid eligibility and enrollment processes in every state and promoting best practices. On August 9, 1999, the President instructed HCFA to launch comprehensive, on-site reviews of state Medicaid enrollment and eligibility processes. These reviews, conducted by HCFA regional office staff, will include interviews with state officials and case file checks to assess compliance with current law and to develop recommendations for improvements. The review teams will also highlight best practices for ensuring that eligible families get Medicaid. These efforts build on recently released guidance encouraging states to reach out to children who are no longer eligible for cash assistance but are still eligible for Medicaid or CHIP.

Investing in new children's health insurance outreach. The President has included a $1 billion, 5-year initiative to fund outreach to enroll uninsured children in Medicaid and the new Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) in his FY 2000 budget. These new funds will enable States to simplify enrollment systems, launch ad campaigns, educate community volunteers, outstation eligibility workers, and conduct outreach campaigns to identify and enroll uninsured children in both Medicaid and CHIP.

EDWARD M. KENNEDY
MASSACHUSETTS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-10-99

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2101

August 5, 1999

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I have spoken to you several times about a cause that is close to both of our hearts–guaranteeing health insurance coverage for all children. As you know, the vast majority of uninsured children today are eligible for either Medicaid or CHIP, but too many are not participating.

A recent report by the Kaiser Family Foundation found that CHIP enrollment has increased dramatically in the last six months–to 1.3 million--but is still only a fraction of those eligible. This school year will be the first full year in which the program is fully operational in all states. The back-to-school period offers a unique opportunity for a new initiative on enrollment in both CHIP and Medicaid, and can be the launching pad for a major effort for the entire upcoming year.

Under your leadership, the Executive Departments and Agencies have made significant efforts to enroll more children, and your staff have been working effectively on this issue. Here are some suggestions for the next few months:

- Appoint a high level White House coordinator, whose responsibility is to work with the Executive Branch, the states, the Congress, and voluntary agencies and organizations to enroll children in CHIP and Medicaid and to assure that enrolled children receive needed health services. This coordinator should have the same stature as the Director of the White House Office of National AIDS policy or the Y2K coordinator.

- Use the occasion of your address to the National Governor's Association on Sunday to urge greater efforts by states to enroll uninsured children. Many states are making worthwhile efforts, but the gap between what has been done and what could be done is still too wide. The practices that would have the greatest potential impact to encourage enrollment of children include presumptive eligibility for both programs, and assigning eligibility workers to schools, health centers, churches, day care centers, pre-schools, and other organizations.

- Use a Saturday radio address to encourage parents to enroll their children in CHIP and Medicaid as they prepare to go back to school.

- Encourage coordination of enrollment for school lunch programs and CHIP and Medicaid. Participation in school lunch programs is high, and the eligibility largely overlaps.

- Launch a campaign, working with the INS and voluntary organizations with ties to the immigrant community, to assure immigrant populations that enrolling their children in CHIP will not affect their immigration status. The INS agrees that this is the case, but a greater effort must be made to publicize this point and reassure parents, since a substantial proportion of uninsured children come from this community.

- Direct the Departments of HHS and Education and other appropriate agencies to hold joint regional conferences around the country this month, to bring together state officials, school systems and groups, advocates and others to launch an enrollment effort tied to back to school events. Governors and other local leaders should be asked to address these conferences as a way of strengthening their commitment to this goal. For school systems, the objective should be a system in which determining children's insurance status and enrolling them if they are uninsured is as routine as verifying that they have required vaccinations.

- HHS needs to insist that states provide better and more timely data on the progress of enrollments. Only with better data will it be possible to identify the trouble spots that need special attention.

I hope these suggestions are helpful. I was delighted with the focus you put on uninsured children in your recent press conference. The coming weeks offer an unparalleled opportunity to bring the goal of universal health insurance for children closer to reality.

Warmest regards -

Respectfully,

Edward M. Kennedy

Examples of Creative and Successful School-based Outreach Strategies That Governors Could Replicate

District of Columbia: A poster/poetry contest helped to raise awareness about need for and availability of health insurance. Application boxes are provided in principals' offices, and training is provided for selected school staff. Enrollment at events such as report care parent/teacher conferences is an effective strategy -- one such event resulting in 400 approved applications.

Idaho: The Hospital Consortium of North Idaho partners with 12 school districts in five counties as part of a federally funded demonstration project. As part of the project, the shared school nurse provides information about health coverage to families, and works with local Medicaid staff to ensure that families' applications are processed appropriately.

Illinois: Chicago Public Schools identified more than 200,000 children without health insurance, of whom more than 100,000 should be eligible for KidCare. The KidCare Enrollment Campaign has evolved into an innovative and aggressive school-based outreach campaign at over 600 public schools. Enrollment for health insurance at the time of report-card pick up was the focus of the successful campaign. Chicago Public Schools' experience provides important lessons on the need for public-private partnerships, and for cooperation across state agencies.

Nevada: Experience in Nevada shows that 70% of CHIP applicants learn about the program through the school system. Coordination with school lunch programs, athletic programs and parent-teacher conferences helps to spread the word about CHIP. School principals became effective leaders to coordinate school outreach efforts.

Massachusetts: Teenagers and their families, working with Health Care for All, helped to organize the Coaches' Campaign to focus on enrolling children who want to participate in school sports. Coaches learn about opportunities for health coverage for students during Red Cross CPR training for coaches and other school athletic staff.

Minnesota: Assistance with completion of Medicaid applications is available to families of new students at the Welcome Center operated by the Minneapolis Public Schools. During peak registration months of August and September, a Medicaid eligibility worker is outstationed at the Welcome Center.

Nebraska: In Nebraska, community health centers are permitted to enroll children who are presumed to be Medicaid eligible. Staff of Panhandle Community Services health center attended a parent information night at a Scotts Bluff elementary school and was able to directly enroll children by assisting parents to fill out Medicaid applications on site.

South Carolina: About two thirds of all CHIP applications originate in schools. School employees involved in the outreach effort included school nurses, athletic directors and guidance counselors. An incentive program encouraged applications with five dollars paid to each child with a completed application, and pizza parties for the schools with the most applications.

Utah: Families can apply for Medicaid at Edison Elementary School in Salt Lake City. After the Utah Department of Health discovered at an Edison school health fair that many students were suffering from untreated health conditions, a Medicaid eligibility worker was outstationed at the school five days a week. The worker also provides information in six other schools on parent teacher nights and to school counselors.

Washington: Seattle schools are organizing multiple approaches to increase enrollment of eligible children in Medicaid. School nurses and family support workers trained by the Washington Health Foundations's Child Health Access Program assist families with Medicaid applications. Families learn about the program from school-based promotional materials including letters, posters and activity at school events. Linkage with school-lunch program and other strategies for making insurance application a part of school routine are being explored.

West Virginia: Teaming up with community health centers provides additional resources for enrollment. New River Health Association operates four school-based health clinics and provides assistance to other school-based clinics in West Virginia. Health center staff provides families with application forms and offers assistance with the application process.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 7, 1999

MR. PRESIDENT:

Prior to your vacation, you requested the remarks that you made at the Dinner for Senator Harkin in Iowa on Friday, July 16.

Sean Maloney

copied Edmonds Podesta

9-23-99

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT TOM HARKIN FOR SENATE DINNER
Private Residence
Des Moines, Iowa
July 16, 1998

Thank you very much. First of all, thank you, Jerry, for having me in your home. The last time he took me to his golf club. Now he takes me to his home. I can't wait for my third trip.

Thank you, Linda. Thank you all for being here. Governor, thanks for spending the day with me, with your Lt. Governor and your distinguished array of officials, and the First Lady from the great state of Iowa. I want to thank Tom and Ruth for giving me the chance to come down here and be with them. I want to say it's wonderful to see Congressman and Mrs. Smith. He did everything he could to educate me about agriculture before he left Congress, and I did the best I could to learn. I'm a little slow, but he's still working on me.

Let me say to all of you, first, I want you to know that I wanted to come here to say thank you to the people of Iowa. We had a big crowd over at the middle school earlier today when we were promoting one of the many initiatives Tom Harkin is identified with -- our efforts to get a modest tax cut through that will lead to $25 billion in construction, modification or modernization of 6,000 schools in this country. So we were over there and there were, I don't know, a few hundred people there. And the air-conditioning was out, so the atmosphere was warm -- and friendly. Secretary Riley and I, having come from the Washington heat, felt right at home.

So, anyway, we were there and having a good time. And I said, "You know, you folks in Iowa ought to be glad to see me. I'm the first guy that's been here in weeks that's not running for anything." And I must say, after 24 years, most of which -- 25 now -- most of which time I was running every two years, it's a little awkward for me to say that. But I want you to know that I am profoundly grateful to the people of Iowa for being so good to me and Hillary and the Vice President and Mrs. Gore, for voting for us twice, for supporting our policies, for giving us a chance to serve.

The second reason I wanted to come down here is I love Tom Harkin and I am profoundly grateful. You know, I'm not sure -- and this is no offense to the people of Iowa -- but I bet you could get elected and reelected senator from Iowa without being the world's number one opponent of abusive child labor in foreign countries. He just did that because he thinks

it's wrong, and because he doesn't want children anywhere to suffer when children everywhere should be going to school and growing up with decent lives.

Yes, he's one of the greatest advocates for farmers this country has, and we've got an earful again today about the terrible dilemmas that our farmers are facing. And there's a general consensus I think on what causes it. Tom and I both said back in 1994 or '95 when they passed that Freedom To Farm bill that without a safety net this would happen sooner or later; unfortunately, sooner came before later. And we have to act there, and we will.

He also is perhaps the foremost advocate in the United States Senate for the disabled, and perhaps one of the two or three foremost advocates for research and development in new technologies in sciences. There is hardly anybody who serves in either House in the United States Congress that has the combination of wide interests, deep knowledge, genuine compassion, and effectiveness. I have rarely known anyone in public office that I thought was as truly good a person and as truly good a public servant as Tom Harkin. And you are very lucky to have him.

I just want to say a couple of things. Iowa is once again at the vortex of America's political concerns. And everybody is coming here to tell you how great they're going to be if you vote for them. One of the things I think we should posit is that most everybody who comes here will actually believe what they say. Having been criticized, as Tom noted inside, fairly mildly for a few years -- it has been my observation that most people in politics in both parties actually pretty much believe what they say and believe in what they do, and show up every day and try to pretty well do a good job.

Forty years ago this year, I took 8th grade science from a guy who was a coach and a science teacher named Vernon Dokey. Now, to be charitable, he was not the most handsome man I had ever seen. And he knew it. He was -- he looked sort of like a grizzly bear that had been through a meat grinder but walked out.

And he would come -- it wouldn't be politically correct to do so today, but in those days it was bearable -- he used to smoke these cheap cigars that he had in a cigar holder that he would grit in his teeth like that. He had this sort of highly prominent, well-chiseled nose, and he was a big, burly guy. And he was not particularly conventionally attractive. Interesting -- he had a beautiful wife who was our social studies teacher, who had a beautiful sister who was my geometry teacher.

We were 13, and we were crazy and we were trying to figure out how the world works. So old Vernon Dokey says one day in science class, he says, "You kids won't remember a thing I teach you about science, but I want you to remember some things I teach you about life." He said, "Now, look at me. I want you to know something. Every morning, I get up and I go in the bathroom, I throw water in my face, I put shaving cream on, I shave my face, I wash that shaving cream off, I look in the mirror and I smile and I say, 'Vernon, you're beautiful," and he said, "Now, if you kids remember that, you'll get a lot further in life."

Now, you think about that. Forty years later, I still remember. So if you notice when I fight with the Republicans, no matter how hard I fight with them, I don't question their motives or their patriotism or their love of country. When I think they're wrong, I say they're wrong.

Iowa and New Hampshire, because you go first, have a heavy responsibility to help to render judgment, if you will, for the country not only about candidates, but issues. What I want to say to you is that I came to the presidency in 1992, having been governor of what my predecessor affectionately called a small Southern state. And I loved every day of it. And to me, politics was about ideas, action, and people. It was not about Washington rhetoric, personal destruction, and who looked good in the morning paper. It was about ideas, action, and people.

And we believed that we could bring new ideas based on old-fashioned Democratic philosophy, that everybody who was willing to work for it ought to have opportunity in this country; that we had to change to meet the changes of the time; and that everybody who was a responsible citizen ought to be part of America's community. It was pretty simple, really.

But if that's what was guiding you, then we no longer believed that you couldn't, for example, balance the budget and still increase investment in education; that you couldn't have a strong and effective government and reduce the size and burden of government. When you heard Tom say that the Vice President ran our reinventing government plan -- this is one of those -- if you do a survey on this, people say, "I don't care, I still don't believe it." People do not believe it, but we have the smallest federal establishment since 1962 when John Kennedy was President. We have eliminated hundreds of programs, and you can't name one of them. I'll give $5 to anybody in this audience who can name two of the hundreds of programs we have eliminated. And we have a more vigorous, more effective government.

We've got the longest peacetime expansion in history, the lowest crime rate in 26 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years, the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years, very high wage growth, high business start-ups, the highest home ownership in history, the lowest minority unemployment in history. All that is only evidence of the important thing: all elections are about tomorrow. All elections are about tomorrow. And a good record is only evidence of what will be good in the future -- however, very important evidence.

For many of these things, we've had to fight with our friends on the other side, and Tom Harkin was always leading the fight. We said we could lower the crime rate, but you had to help these communities put police on the street and you had to take more guns out of the hands of criminals. Well, they said, if you try to put 100,000 police on the street, it wouldn't make a lick of difference, and if we checked the backgrounds of people that tried to buy handguns in gun shows, all you would do is make the hunters mad and criminals didn't buy guns at gun shows, anyway.

Well, four years later, we haven't inconvenienced a single hunter, and 400,000 people -- 400,000 people -- were not able to buy guns because of their criminal backgrounds at gun stores. So our arguments were right and their arguments were wrong. They said we couldn't balance the budget and we were going to provoke a recession, but we balanced the budget -- biggest surplus in history -- and we doubled our investment in education while we were doing it. So we have evidence here.

So I say to you as you think about the future of your state and nation, there is evidence here. And what I want to say to you is, Tom Harkin and I -- I'm not running for anything and he's not running for anything right yet -- but we and all the people that are running who are in public office, we're still drawing a paycheck from you every two weeks, and we should show up for work, and we should do things.

I tell all the Republicans and Democrats in Washington all the time, if we agreed on everything I'm asking us to agree on, there would still be stuff for us to fight about. There will always be something to have a next election on. But we get hired to show up for work. Now, the big question we have before us today is: what are we going to do with the surplus; what are we going to do with this period of bounty we have?

And I would argue -- I don't want to repeat my whole State of the Union address -- but I want to tell you, I would argue three things for sure. Number one, we ought to do whatever we

can to deal with the aging of America, because when the baby boomers retire, we're going to have more people retired and fewer people working to support them. If you want the seniors of this country to be able to have their Social Security and their Medicare, and you want them to have it in a way that is secure and does not bankrupt their children so they can't afford to raise their grandchildren, now is the time to set aside most of this surplus to save Social Security and Medicare and provide a prescription drug benefit with Medicare.

So I think that is a big deal. The second thing I think we ought to do is everything we can to keep this economy going and then reach out and touch the people who have not been affected by the recovery. And let me just say on the first, the way I want to save Social Security and Medicare will keep us from spending that surplus and devote the interest savings on the surplus to making Social Security last longer, so we'll make Social Security last for more than 50 years, make Medicare last for more than 25 years, and make the country debt-free in 15 years for the first time since 1835.

Now, these are big things. We should not wait for another election to deal with these big things. On the economy, the last thing we've got to do is to try to reach the people that aren't affected by the recovery. There are a lot of disabled people, as Tom would tell you, who want to go to work and could go to work. There are still people on welfare who want to go to work, who could go to work. There are whole regions of our country, from Appalachia to the Mississippi Delta, to the Indian reservations to the inner city that need new investment. And, of course, there is the problem of the farms, which you are very well familiar with.

But consider the irony of the lowest unemployment rates in the country being in Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, all these farming states where we're at risk of losing a huge percentage of our family farmers unless there is both an emergency response and a different long-term course that they have available. So I say to you, yes, have the election, yes, have the debate, but let's keep on working for what's good for America, and let's not avoid the big choices. Let's not pretend that we don't have to make them.

We're in the shape we're in today because we made the tough choices and we kept at it, and that's what the country needs to do. And that's the gift I want to give you, that when you see me, you think I'm working and not enjoying the sunshine of our prosperity.

The last point I want to make is this -- I thought about this today when I was in Iowa. Politics is really personal to me. You know this debate we just had over the patients' bill of rights. Several doctors who are here today thanked me for that, thanked Tom for fighting for that. Look, here's the issue: more people than not are in managed care plans. A lot of them have done a lot of good; they've cut down on a lot of inflation and health care costs. But if your doctor says you need to see a specialist, no accountant should be able to stop your doctor from sending you to a specialist.

If you get hit in an accident, you should not have to go by the nearest hospital to one that's farther away because that's the one covered by your managed care plan. Now, if you are working for a small business and your small business -- your employer has to change coverage at some point and you're six months into a difficult pregnancy, you ought not to have to get another OB/GYN to finish your pregnancy.

If you are halfway through a difficult chemotherapy treatment, you ought not have to get another oncologist to finish your treatment. Now, every physician in this audience will tell you this happens all the time in America. This is not some radical notion, this happens all the time. So all we said was that basically everybody in America ought to have the same protections that I gave all the people in the federal programs -- Medicare, Medicaid, the Federal Health Employees Program, the Veterans Program, by executive order. And we were actually attacked by our friends in the other party. Tom was attacked, because, they said, "Oh, you're relying on personal stories. You're trying to play on the emotions of the people." Well, get a life. I mean, what is politics about anyway? Why are we doing this?

Every time I come to Iowa, I think of two things. One of them, I got hit right between the eyes with today. When I was here for the flood in 1993, I'd go out to sack my -- you know, my sand bags, you were talking about that -- I'd go out and do my sandbag deal. And I look up and there is this child about so big, with a head about so big -- huge bones coming out of her eyebrows -- very short, large head, knobby elbows, gnarled knuckles, knobby knees. This child has brittle bone disease. She's 12 years old. She has been operated on already more than a dozen times. Her bones shatter at will. She has come all the way from Wisconsin to stand in the flood in Iowa to help people who are putting the sandbags up -- literally risking her life.

So I talked to this kid and I said, where are you from? And I said, well, how's your condition -- because I've seen -- you

know, she's actually done pretty well. There are a lot of children who have that disease who never get out of bed, they have to be prone for their whole life. But this kid is up walking. She said, "I told my parents I wanted to go down there." She said, "I can't hide my whole life, I've got to serve, I've got to be a citizen, I've got to do this like everybody else."

Then that child started coming to the National Institutes of Health for help -- Tom Harkin. You know, all this money is put in the NIH all these years. So am I playing on your emotions? You bet I am. What else is there? What else is life about? What is politics about? This child has a chance at life.

And you know what happened? Six years later I go to American University and give a speech and here is this girl, beaming, a freshman at American University, still growing, still getting stronger, still out there taking chances, doing things other kids wouldn't do with those problems, being brave. We didn't -- none of us -- Tom Harkin and I didn't have a lick to do with her courage, her bravery, her heart, her soul, her character. But because of what he did, she had a better chance. She had a better chance.

And I'll tell you another story -- 1992, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, huge rally we're having out in front of Quaker Oats. And I'm working the crowd -- after the speech, grasping for votes. And there is this lady there, this tall, white woman, holding an African American baby. And I said, whose baby is this? She said, this is my baby. And I said, well, how did you get this baby? She said, from Miami. She said, this child was born with AIDS and no one would take her and she was going to be homeless, and so I took her.

Now, this is a good story, right? But what you need to know is this woman was living in a rented apartment with her two kids because she had been left by her husband. And she barely had enough money to support her own kids, but she couldn't bear to see this child be left alone, so she took in the other child. Okay. Fast forward to today. Today, at that middle school, mama was there, since remarried, doing fine, with her daughter, giving me a report on her son, holding that beautiful child who is almost too big for me to hold. And she has come repeatedly to the National Institutes of Health.

And I held her today and I said, Jemiah, how you doing? She is so beautiful. And I have seen her a half a dozen times. She is so beautiful and she said, "Oh, Mr. President, I'm giving myself my own shots now and I'm going to be just fine."

Now, is this playing on your emotions? You bet it is. What is life about anyway? Tom Harkin didn't put a heart in that little girl or a heart in the mother. But she has a chance because of the kinds of things he's fought all his public life for. And it is a beautiful story.

So I just ask you to be faithful to your friend, Tom Harkin, to fight for the things we believe in. If your friends and neighbors wonder whether the President is right or whether the Republicans are right in saying we ought to take all the non-Social Security surplus and spend it on a tax cut right now and make everybody happy right here before the election; tell them that you think we have earned the benefit of the doubt with our record, and that, you know, we should not squander this. We ought to think about our children's future. We ought to think about what we're going to do when the baby boomers retire. We ought to think about how we can make everybody a part of this economy. And remember the stories. That's part of what makes us who we are.

It's not about power. It's about ideas and action and, in the end, it's about people. When you breathe your last breath you are not going to be thinking about what some arcane political philosophy was that you embraced. You're going to be thinking about who you liked, who you loved, how you felt when the seasons changed, and what you're proud of that you did for somebody else. And I want to be part of a political party that tries to give those gifts to America.

Thank you very much.

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PRESERVING AMERICA'S PRIVACY AND SECURITY IN THE NEXT CENTURY: A STRATEGY FOR AMERICA IN CYBERSPACE

A REPORT TO
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

September 16, 1999

William Cohen
Secretary of Defense

Janet Reno
Attorney General

Jacob J. Lew
Director of the Office
of Management and Budget

William Daley
Secretary of Commerce

PRESERVING AMERICA'S PRIVACY AND SECURITY IN THE NEXT CENTURY: A STRATEGY FOR AMERICA IN CYBERSPACE

1. A TIME OF PIVOTAL CHANGE

American history has been punctuated by periods in which the Nation had to respond to sweeping social, economic and technological developments. In the best of times, people working together in government and industry became the engine of progress that shaped the character of the time and facilitated new prosperity and opportunity for Americans. Three examples illustrate this point.

Opening the Heartland and expanding the frontier. Beginning with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the government initiated a remarkably successful policy to open up a vast new area. Over the next five decades, the United States doubled the size of its territory. Under the government's plan, land grants were given to railroads to open the Midwest and in turn to create a future market for rail services. Land was awarded to homesteaders, and yet other parcels were reserved as income sources for institutions of higher education.

The technological advance of the railroad was the engine pulling this growth. From the 1820s to 1900, American railroads added an average of more than 2,000 miles of track each year. By the close of the 19th century, the combination of these factors had served to triple the size of our nation. The Administration and the Congress, working together and in concert with technology advances, created an infrastructure for a new society.

Industrialization and the Great Depression Produce a New Society. Around the turn of the century, the country was firmly in the Industrial Age. Technical innovations in automation and machinery spurred the growth of factories, assembly lines and mass-production in our nation's cities. The Ford assembly line for the Model T and the Wright brother's flight catapulted us into a mobile society and drove further technological innovations. Telephones became more commonplace and the nation began to shrink as news and information traveled faster. As a nation, we created new opportunities in industries never heard of, and created a new class of wealth, based on opportunity and innovation, not birthright. The economy moved from an agrarian society to an industrial society.

But the growth and prosperity experienced by many halted when the Great Depression gripped the country. In response, the government developed a series of

creative policies and programs that brought government and business to the common task of restoring productivity to America. While there were a number of social programs, government support for technology was key to driving development. For example, the government took a pivotal role in expanding the electrical grids that would become the backbone of our national infrastructure, first with the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1933 and two years later with the creation of the Rural Electrification Administration. Electrical technology, in the ensuing years, radically altered the capabilities of America's rural farms and industry. Just as important, it created a transmission belt that further disseminated the ideas and technology being generated in the nation's cities.

A World War Produces a Global Community and the American Century. In a third case, World War II shattered the international political system at the same time that it brought an end to 19th century colonialism. The creation of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the rules for a global trading system became the cornerstones of the emerging global economy.

The urgent need for increased production and the burst of scientific funding associated with the war effort -- sustained by a continuing Federal commitment to new science and technology in the following years -- vaulted the United States into the age of electronics and computers – the beginning of the Information Age.

Advances in telecommunications, such as broad-band carrier systems and switching devices, combined with innovations in the computer industry to give individuals more power than ever to process large amounts of information and transmit that information at ever-greater speeds. Further, this country's goal to reach the moon by the end of the 1960s fueled development of advanced electronics, increased computing power and communications capabilities. At the same time, technological leaps in computer memory and data storage enabled the centralized use (and, unfortunately, misuse) of information to examine or profile individuals, consumers, and groups. As these issues emerged, our legal system responded. Looking back, the "Information Economy" that Americans recognize today could be seen emerging as early as the late 1940s.

Each of these examples was a pivotal episode in American history in which complex social, economic, and technological forces came together. Facing the challenges of the day, America's governmental, societal and technical leaders crafted a new vision of the future, and in the process became pioneers on a new frontier of opportunity and promise.

America now faces a new time of pivotal change, enormous opportunity, and promise. This time, technology itself presents both an opportunity and a threat to global society increasingly dependent on, and connected by, advanced computing and communications. Continuing a balanced strategy that advances our national interests is the challenge of our day.

2. Cyber America: Great Promise and Serious Risks

America now stands on the brink of revolution fueled by machines – computers – and networks of computers that facilitate the instant exchange of and access to ideas and information. The computer has and will continue to revolutionize virtually all aspects of American society, just as electricity, the power grid and the railroad changed our forefathers' society.

The Computer as an Economic Engine. It is well known that the computer, and its application in business, commerce, education and recreation has transformed the American economy. America is becoming a country of "knowledge workers," with the ubiquitous application of computer technology at its core. America's productivity today is grounded in computer applications and networks. Barcodes speed us through shopping lines and simultaneously facilitate store manager recordkeeping and reordering. Airline reservations can be booked from home computers. Everything from clothes to books to software can be purchased over the Internet. American companies are discarding their proprietary computer systems and using the Internet and the Web to increase productivity, network their entire chain of suppliers, and deliver "just-in-time" training to their employees. American students can conduct original research with colleagues on machines around the world with but a few keystrokes. Travelers can monitor current weather conditions in another country. Scientists can "conference" electronically and transmit astounding volumes of information in seconds to colleagues on other continents.

As remarkable as today's innovations are, the years ahead hold even greater promise. Computers will become virtual partners in all aspects of our lives. Homes will be centrally wired to allow integrated alarms, electronics, appliances, telephones, and computers to simplify our lives. Education will become more adaptive to the routines of individual students, and banking, finance, and shopping will increasingly migrate to the home and portable computing devices.

And in this process and through networking, computers have created the well-known "cyberspace" that eliminates the traditional boundaries of time and place and links governments, businesses, and individuals in the same electronic environment.

The Dangers of Cyberspace. Like any new tool in previous eras, computers can be used by those who prey on the innocent. International narcotics traffickers now routinely communicate with each other via computer messages. Hostile governments and even some transnational organizations are establishing cyber-warfare efforts, assigned the mission of crippling America's domestic infrastructure through computer attacks. Hackers destroy cyber-property by defacing homepages and maliciously manipulating private information. Pedophiles stalk unsuspecting children in computer chat rooms. Individuals post homepages with instructions to manufacture pipebombs, chemical weapons, and even biological agents. Crooks break into business computers, either stealing funds directly or extorting payments from companies anxious to avoid more expensive disruption. Disgruntled employees, with valid access to their companies' system, can take steps to disrupt the business operations or steal proprietary, sensitive,

and financial information. And our personal data is at risk of being unlawfully accessed and read by malicious individuals, without our knowledge, as it resides on or traverses communications and computer networks.

These concerns are not hypothetical. We have seen these types of activities, and other equally dangerous activity, in past and on-going cases. The danger posed by evil individuals using these powerful new tools grows by the day. Just as other technologies have the risk of being abused, it is necessary for us to evaluate how to respond. Without protective action, we will not be safe. America must take responsible steps to ensure that this promising electronic environment is safe for law abiding citizens and businesses.

3. Balancing America's Bedrock Values

While these problems seem unprecedented, in fact they represent a return to the bedrock problems faced by America's constitutional founders. American democracy became and remains a new experiment in government--balancing the rights of individuals against the imperatives of society and limiting the reach of government into personal, private lives, while mandating a government responsibility for public safety and security for all citizens.

Computers are now at the center of competing American values. In honest, law abiding citizens' hands, the computer becomes an indispensable tool for education, personal and commercial business, research and development, and communications. In criminal hands, the same computer becomes a tool of destruction and criminality.

Enter encryption. Over the past decade, another information technology has emerged that amplifies this tension - encryption. Encryption includes special instructions that scramble a clear readable message in complex ways that make it unreadable. For the strongest forms of encryption, only the intended recipient can unscramble the message and read the original plain text, unless someone else has gained access to the corresponding decoding software and decryption key.

Originally only available and used by military agencies, strong encryption is now available to many and has become a building block for the new digital economy. It is essential to provide security and privacy for electronic commerce and e-business. Encryption is critical because it allows individuals, businesses, and other organizations to share information privately without it being unlawfully intercepted or accessed by a third party, to establish their identities, and to maintain the integrity of information. Without the use of encryption, it is difficult to establish the trust that people and firms need to do business with each other, or to have confidence to run their business electronically. With the use of encryption:

- Individuals and consumers can securely conduct their finances and communicate with each other over the Web.

- Firms can transmit their software, music, movies, reports and other forms of intellectual property over the Internet while minimizing the risks of widespread piracy.

- Businesses can protect their company proprietary information over the Internet, with confidence that the information is secure from prying eyes.

- Firms can develop products more rapidly, as teams of engineers around the world can collaborate on their designs in real-time over secure high-speed networks.

However, while the majority of users will use encryption for legitimate, lawful purposes, we must recognize that terrorists, pedophiles and drug gangs are increasingly using encryption to conceal their activities. Hence, encryption has posed a serious public policy challenge over the past decade.

The Federal Government has sought to maintain a balance between privacy and commercial interests on one hand and public safety and national security concerns on the other by limiting the export of strong encryption software. Preserving this balance has become increasingly difficult with the clear need for strong encryption for electronic commerce, growing sophistication of foreign encryption products and the proliferation of software vendors, and expanded distribution mechanisms. In the process, all parties have become less satisfied with the inevitable compromises that have had to be struck. U.S. companies believe their markets are increasingly threatened by foreign manufacturers in a global economy where businesses, consumers, and individuals demand that strong encryption be integrated into computer systems, networks, and applications. National security organizations worry that the uncontrolled export of encryption will result in diversion of powerful tools to end users of concern. Law enforcement organizations see criminals increasingly adopting tools that put them beyond the reach of lawful surveillance.

At the end of the century, these are the important national interests that must be reconciled. Determining a policy direction for encryption has become more complex, and more urgent, for all those affected. A strategic paradigm that better achieves balance is needed.

4. A New Paradigm to Protect Prosperity, Privacy and Security

To support America's prosperity and protect her security and safety, we propose a new paradigm to advance our national interests. The new paradigm should be comprised of three pillars - information security and privacy, a new framework for export controls, and updated tools for law enforcement. We discuss each in turn.

I. Information Security and Privacy. As a nation, we have become increasingly dependent on computers and telecommunications. These new technologies create vast opportunities for personal expression and electronic commerce, while also

creating new risks to public safety and national security. Computers and telecommunications rely on open protocols and ultra-accessibility, thus making individuals' and organizations' words and actions vulnerable to outsiders in new and potentially frightening ways. A first pillar of our new paradigm must be to promote information security and privacy – to assure the security and privacy of stored and transmitted data from unauthorized and unlawful access.

The President has recognized the challenge of updating privacy for new technologies: "We've been at this experiment in Government for 223 years now. We started with a Constitution that was rooted in certain basic values and written by some incredibly brilliant people who understood that times would change, and that definitions of fundamental things like liberty and privacy would change, and that circumstances would require people to rise to the challenges of each new era by applying old values in practical ways."

In updating enduring constitutional values for the computer age, we need to assure that our citizens' personal data and communications are appropriately protected. Businesses need to privately communicate with their employees and manufacturing partners without risk that their proprietary information will be compromised through unauthorized access. Encryption is one of the necessary tools that can be used in this technological environment to secure information. Therefore, we encourage the use of strong encryption by American citizens and businesses to protect their personal and commercial information from unauthorized and unlawful access.

We must also recognize the inherent security risks posed by the spread of and dependence on "open systems" and ready accessibility. The Defense Department's situation is typical. Twenty years ago the Defense Department operated largely proprietary communications systems over government owned switches and circuits. DOD technology was homebuilt and tightly controlled. Today, the U.S. DOD has more computer users than any other organization in the world – 2.1 million computers access over 10,000 networks on an average work day. Even so, 95% of DOD's communications occur over public circuits or with commercial software and hardware. The Defense Department's reliance on commercial products and services is repeated throughout the country by government agencies and the private sector.

If the Department of Defense is to function safely in cyberspace, it must use strong tools for encryption and identity authentication. It is not just military operations and data that must be protected. All government agencies and all business activities will increasingly need a full set of security tools to ensure access, privacy and absolute confidence in business operations that utilize computer technology.

We recognize that information technology is changing rapidly and constantly providing both new security capabilities and challenges and, hence, we will never reach a "perfect solution." Nevertheless, there are many efforts underway throughout the government to address the need for more secure systems. By adopting commercial approaches, where appropriate, and sponsoring R&D to fill needed capabilities, we

believe the Federal government should, by example, lead the way for America to develop and use the tools and procedures for information security and privacy in the next century.

The Department of Defense, for example, has allocated over $500 million to develop a comprehensive security management infrastructure. This infrastructure will utilize a range of encryption products (with stronger products for more sensitive applications involving higher levels of classification), and a public key infrastructure (PKI) to identify and authenticate those who use our information networks. The Department is also adopting stronger standards for network configuration and operator qualification and certification, and is taking steps to better detect unauthorized intrusions into DOD networks.

The Federal government must continue to promote the development of stronger encryption technologies for federal use. The advanced encryption standard (AES) is in the final stages of a public selection process. Once promulgated, AES could become as ubiquitous as today's digital encryption standard (DES) which has contributed greatly to the growth of electronic commerce.

In the Federal government, the Department of Defense is a leading proponent of information security through its information assurance initiative, and other agencies are recognizing the need for increased diligence in maintaining adequate security of Federal information and systems. We encourage each agency to vigilantly build security enhancements into their business operations in risk-based and cost-effective ways that enable, not impede, the agency's ability to perform its mission.

Further, we believe that the Congress and Executive Branch should work together to promote both the awareness of information privacy and security and the development of appropriate tools and resources by the private sector, and to consider whether tangible incentives are appropriate. Given the rapid changes in technology, we advocate a technology neutral approach. This approach would have the public and private sectors working together to encourage development of a broad range of privacy and security products and processes and share promising practices with one another. We believe equally strongly that security infrastructures and the deployment of security products -- should neither be mandated nor prohibited. Public and private organizations must determine their risks and be free to choose their own solutions.

The government's requirement to protect its own sensitive and privacy information is matched by individual's and the private sector's own interests in proper handling of sensitive information. Many in industry and elsewhere are already developing and using sophisticated security and privacy products and processes. Government should act as a facilitator and catalyst and help stimulate the development of commercial products that will help all Americans protect their sensitive information.

In sum, the first pillar of the new paradigm calls on the Federal government, the Congress and all others to partner in promoting ways to bring information security and privacy to the Information age. Working together, we can develop tools and procedures

for safe operation in cyberspace, applying enduring constitutional values to our new circumstances.

II. Encryption Export Controls for the New Millennium. At the dawn of the new millennium, technology is advancing at such a rapid pace that attempts to control its global spread under the existing export control regime need to be regularly reevaluated. Encryption will continue to enable new economic realities that must be considered in a balanced approach to export controls.

Encryption products and services are needed around the world to provide confidence and security for electronic commerce and business. With the growing demand for security, encryption products are increasingly sold on the commodity market, and encryption features are being embedded into everyday operating systems, spreadsheets, word processors, and cell phones. Encryption has become a vital component of the emerging global information infrastructure and digital economy. In this new economy, innovation and imagination are the engines, and it is economic achievement that underpins America's status in the world and provides the foundation of our national security. We recognize that U.S. information technology companies lead the world in product quality and innovation, and it is an integral part of the Administration's policy of balance to see that they retain their competitive edge in the international market place.

We as a nation must balance our desire and the need to assist industry with a prudent, objective and steady judgment about how to protect national security; a judgment that acknowledges that technological advantages may add new dimensions to an already complicated problem set. We must ensure that the advantages this technology affords us are not extended to those who wish us ill or who harbor criminal intent. This judgment must be informed by both foreign and domestic realities.

While the U.S. is a huge market for telecommunications goods and services, the other nations of the globe present markets much larger than our domestic demand. Our networks are inextricably bound to those of our allies and adversaries alike. Likewise, America's interests do not end at our borders. American diplomats, service men and women, as well as countless business people work and live around the globe. America's interests are served by the ability to send and receive proprietary, personal and classified information to exactly where it is needed around the world. Likewise, America's interests are served daily by shared actions with our allies, which require accurate and authentic information be exchanged. Our policy must acknowledge these vital interests.

But even as we do, it is imperative that we uphold international understandings, and strive with other nations to prevent the acquisition of encryption technology to sponsors of terrorism, international criminal syndicates or those attempting to increase the availability of weapons of mass destruction. We must also meet our responsibilities to support our national decision makers and our military war fighters with intelligence information in time to make a difference.

Accordingly, the Administration has revised its approach to encryption export controls by emphasizing three simple principles that protect important national security interests: a meaningful technical review of encryption products in advance of sale, a streamlined post-export reporting system that provides us an understanding of where encryption is being exported but is aligned with industry's business and distribution models, and a license process that preserves the right of government to review and, if necessary, deny the sale of strong encryption products to foreign government and military organizations and to nations of concern. With these three principles in place, the Federal Government would remove almost all export restrictions on encryption products. This approach will provide a stable framework that also will allow U.S. industry to participate in constructing and securing the global networked environment. This approach also maintains reasonable national security safeguards by monitoring the availability of encryption products and limiting their use in appropriate situations.

The Administration intends to codify this new policy in export regulations by December 15, 1999, following consultations on details with affected industries and other private sector organizations.

However, with this new framework for export controls, the national security organizations will need to develop new technical tools and capabilities to deal with the rapid expansion of encrypted communications in support of its mission responsibilities. The Congress will need to support such new tools and technical capabilities through necessary appropriations.

III. Updated tools for Law Enforcement. Because of the need for and use of strong encryption globally, governments need to develop new tools to deal with the rapid expansion of encrypted communications. Updated tools for law enforcement that specifically address the challenges of encryption constitute the third pillar of the new strategy. We cannot ignore the fact that encryption will be used in harmful ways - by child pornographers seeking to hide pictures of exploited children, or commercial spies stealing trade secrets from American corporations, or terrorists communicating plans to destroy property and kill innocent civilians. Even more significant, because cyberspace knows no boundaries and because it is not immediately clear if a cyberattack involves Americans or foreigners, America's national security will increasingly depend on strong and capable law enforcement organizations. This is because the United States military and intelligence agencies have long been restricted by law from undertaking operations inside the United States against American citizens. Accordingly, America's national defense is now increasingly reliant on ensuring that our law enforcement community is capable of protecting America in cyber space.

Under existing law and judicial supervision, law enforcement agents are provided with a variety of legal tools to collect evidence of illegal activity. With appropriate court orders, law enforcement may conduct electronic surveillance or search for and seize evidence. In an encrypted world, law enforcement may obtain the legal authority to access a suspect's communications or data, but the communications or data are rendered worthless, because they cannot be understood and cannot be decoded by law enforcement

in a timely manner. Stopping a terrorist attack or seeking to recover a kidnapped child may require timely access to plaintext, and such access may be defeated by encryption. Hence, law enforcement's legal tools should be updated, consistent with constitutional principles, so that when law enforcement obtains legal authority to access a suspect's data or communications, law enforcement will also be able to read it.

Quite simply, even in a world of ubiquitous encryption, law enforcement with court approval must be able to obtain plaintext so that it can protect public safety and national security. Therefore, we must undertake several important and balanced initiatives.

First, we need to ensure that law enforcement maintains its ability to access decryption information stored with third parties, but only pursuant to rules that ensure appropriate privacy protections are in place. To ensure this result, the Administration and the Congress must develop legislation to create a legal framework that enhances privacy over current law and permits decryption information to be safely stored with third parties (by prohibiting, for example, third party disclosure of decryption information), but allows for law enforcement access when permitted by court order or some other appropriate legal authority.

Second, since criminals will not always store keys with third party recovery agents, we must ensure that law enforcement has the personnel, equipment, and tools necessary to investigate crime in an encrypted world. This requires that the Congress fund the Technical Support Center as proposed by the Administration, and work with the Administration to ensure that the confidentiality of the sources and methods developed by the Technical Support Center can be maintained.

Third, it is well recognized that industry is designing, deploying and maintaining the information infrastructure, as well as providing encryption products for general use. Industry has always expressed support, both in word and in action, for law enforcement, and has itself worked hard to ensure the safety of the public. Clearly, industry must continue to do so, and firms must be in a position to share proprietary information with government without fear of that information's disclosure or that they will be subject to liability. Therefore, the law must provide protection for industry and its trade secrets as it works with law enforcement to support public safety and national security. The law must also assure that sensitive investigative techniques remain useful in current and future investigations by protecting them from unnecessary disclosure in litigation. These protections must be consistent with fully protecting defendants' rights to a fair trial under the Constitution's Due Process clause and the Sixth Amendment.

The Administration and the Congress need to work jointly to pass legislation that provides these updated authorities. The Administration is in the final stages of drafting legislation and will shortly submit it to the Congress for consideration.

It is imperative to emphasize that the malicious use of encryption is not just a law enforcement issue - it is also a national security issue. The new framework for export

controls must be complemented by providing updated, but limited authorities to law enforcement.

5. Conclusion

America stands on the pivot point of a crucial time in its ongoing development, and we face once again the on-going debate in this country between individuals' rights and the collective needs of society. The genius of our Constitution is in the balanced way it addressed that debate and in the procedures it created for continuing that discussion as the society and the economy evolved. For our own part, we enter that debate determined to preserve that same balance of the rights and responsibilities that has characterized our country through its history, but we are equally determined not to be thoughtlessly bound to old approaches and old technologies. Our challenge is to adapt our historical approach to the technological challenges we face. We believe the new paradigm described above achieves that objective.

We can now see a future with great promise and - and serious consequences - posed by the same technical developments. How well we handle these important challenges will shape the next century. It is far better that we approach these problems from a cooperative perspective. The past years of confrontation must be replaced by an era of collaboration. For only by working together, which is the rich history of this nation, can we ensure our economic viability and protect ourselves from those who would do us harm.

Bill Clinton

Podesta / Reed

Do we have a position on Guam yet? They have been asking questions on why it's taking so long to make such a decision. Big issue.

BC

9-23-99

copied Podesta Reed

President of the United States

Podesta / NSC Cahill

We need a strategy to counter this approach by our own meeting w/ Putin

BS

9-23-99

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Podesta
Cahill

9-23-99

For Asian-Americans, a New Political Resolve

By JAMES STERNGOLD A1

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 21 — As the chairman of Al Gore's Presidential campaign, Tony Coelho routinely meets with wealthy Democratic fund-raisers to offer encouragement and listen to their views. But these feel-good pep talks are rarely as blunt or as riveting as the one held with about two dozen Asian-Americans here late one afternoon last month.

As several participants later recounted, Victor W. Hwang, a young lawyer who worked for the Democratic National Committee in 1996, broke the usual pattern of pleasantries and insisted that if Asian-Americans were to be pressed for millions of dollars in donations once again they expected clear benefits, like prime-time speakers at the Democratic convention next summer and a firm promise of a Cabinet-level appointment in a Gore Administration.

But that was just a warm-up for Mary Miyashita, a highly regarded Democratic fund-raiser for more than 40 years. Ms. Miyashita burst into sobs as she asked whether Mr. Gore could make a courtesy telephone call to John Huang, a Chinese-American who was at the center of the furor that erupted over illegal donations by Asians to President Clinton's 1996 re-election campaign. Like many Asian-Americans, Ms. Miyashita feels that Mr. Huang was unfairly vilified in the fund-raising scandal, less because of any violations of the law than because of his Asian ancestry.

"He listened very silently with his head bowed," Ms. Miyashita said, breaking into tears again as she recalled the meeting with Mr. Coelho. "Maybe I put him on the spot, but it was my personal way to begin the healing. I don't think it's started yet, but it so needs to happen because so many people are bitter."

In the relatively brief span of one Presidential cycle the role of Asian-Americans in national politics appears to have changed in fundamental ways. After years as one of the most financially generous but underrepresented ethnic minorities in American politics, many Asian-Americans are nursing deep wounds from what they regard as a string of insulting scandals. And this time, they say, things will be different.

There will be less interest in photo opportunities with the candidates, the groups say, and instead a laser-like focus on getting more Asian-Americans appointed to positions in Washington and to judgeships, and on bolstering government efforts to fight hate crimes and discrimination.

In addition, many Asian-Americans say they are now taking political matters into their own hands by trying to transform the diverse Asian-American groups into an electoral bloc where the population is most concentrated, in California, which is also the biggest prize in the Presidential campaign.

These efforts are backed by a great deal of emotion, too, because of the shock of the campaign finance scandals. No one doubts now that some election finance laws were broken by Mr. Huang as well as by two political newcomers who had ties to Mr. Clinton, Johnny Chung and Yah Lin Trie. All have pleaded guilty to charges involving improper political fund-raising and hundreds of thousands of dollars of donations they solicited had to be returned. Privately, some Asian-Americans have expressed anger that the reckless efforts of these people harmed the reputation of the whole community.

But many Asian-Americans feel that the fund-raising scandals put anyone with an Asian surname under a humiliating cloud of suspicion — with many perfectly legitimate donors receiving calls from the F.B.I. They hold both political parties partly responsible. The Republicans, they say, exploited racist fears for political gain, while the Democrats did little to openly defend the loyalty and integrity of Asian-Americans.

Despite the pain, some Asian-American leaders say the process was ultimately beneficial.

"I think this has been a great experience," said Thomas Chan, a founder of the newly formed Asian Pacific American Bar Association of Los Angeles. "Finally, there's something galvanizing the Asian-American community. It's sad, but you have to have an event that shakes people to make them care. There was a paradigm shift. The focus now has got to be on practical things, like discrimination in jobs, glass ceilings at work, hate crimes and the appointment of Asian-Americans to important jobs in the next administration."

The meeting with Mr. Coelho is regarded here as a harbinger of some tough bargaining ahead by the Asian-American groups — a collection that includes Americans of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Philippine and Vietnamese descent, among others.

"They were expecting the usual meeting where everyone was real nice and just said their platitudes," Warren Furutani, an aide to the Speaker of the California State Assembly, Antonio Villaraigosa. "But there is a definite residue of bitterness, and that bitterness has really created a political vacuum."

Despite the bitterness, no one is suggesting that the flow of Asian money into American politics will subside. Mr. Furutani and others said donors will scrutinize candidates more closely.

"Fund-raising is a mechanical part of the system, and it can't be avoided," said Henry Tang, an investment banker and the chairman of the Committee of 100, an influential group of Chinese Americans in society and the arts. "But we will be getting into much more of the philosophical core of the candidates and what their policies will do for us."

What has made the campaign finance scandals a particularly bitter pill to swallow is that Asian-Americans have been one of the most generous ethnic groups in the country. They contributed, quite legally, about $10 million in each of the last two Presidential elections, by some estimates, but the money seems to have earned little open support from the political parties they had financed.

"I haven't completely come to grips with what I would call maltreatment by both parties," Mr. Tang said. "People drew a linkage between Asians who were breaking the law and Asian-Americans that was completely unfair. We felt helpless."

Those concerns were heightened earlier this year when a Chinese American scientist, Wen Ho Lee, was fired from the Los Alamos National Laboratory, where nuclear weapons are designed, on charges that he had violated security policies by downloading secret data to an unsecure computer.

An ethnic group feels ill-treated by political parties.

Mr. Lee was widely reported to be under suspicion of handing over nuclear secrets to China, but he has not been charged with a crime and has denied any spying. Adding to the concerns, last month the former head of counterintelligence at Los Alamos, Robert S. Vrooman, said that Mr. Lee was singled out in large part because of his race, something the Energy Department denied.

Mr. Lee's case has particularly enraged Asian-American scientists and engineers who had generally steered away from politics and had felt their work for the national defense would place them above suspicion.

"Nothing remains the same today," said Bill Chang, a former bank chairman and now the president of the Chinese American Engineers and Scientists Association of Southern California, which has about 800 members. "I do have reports from other scientists, even professors, that they have suffered some kind of prejudice since this happened. It is just amazing to many of us. A lot of times we are looked at not as Americans, but as Chinese, even after all these years."

Matt Fong, a Republican who ran unsuccessfully against Barbara Boxer for a United States Senate seat in 1998 and is now a fund-raiser for Gov. George W. Bush of Texas, said the attacks on Mr. Lee were a catalyst for the new strains of political thinking.

"There's a new mood of activism that hadn't existed before, and it has a different flavor," Mr. Fong said. "The different flavor is Wen Ho Lee. That has caused a far more broad-based chill. What the community fears is the broad brush strokes, in

The New York Times
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1999

1/2

which everyone of Chinese ancestry is suspected of spying for China."

As a result, party loyalties are being abandoned and Asian-Americans are looking to candidates who appear to offer benefits to their community. Jackson Tai, an investment banker and a lifelong Republican, said he had abandoned his old party because of what he felt was its eagerness to fan the flames of Asian racism. Now, he is raising money for former Senator Bill Bradley.

Indeed, Mr. Bradley has been picking up significant support in some Asian-American circles, in part because of what he is not: neither a Republican nor a member of the Clinton Administration. "The biggest failure was the Administration's unwillingness to openly defend Asian-Americans in the campaign financing scandal," said Dale Minami, who heads the Coalition of Asian Pacific Americans, based in San Francisco, and was a co-chairman of President Clinton's northern California committee in 1992. "That kind of sticks in the craw of a lot of Asian-Americans, and will for some time."

Though he did make a small number of appointments of Asian-Americans, Mr. Clinton is perceived as having not been vocal enough in supporting them during the scandals. And Mr. Gore has his own problems. He participated in a fund-raiser for Asian-Americans at a Buddhist temple here in 1996 at which, it was later disclosed, many improper contributions were made at a venue, a nonprofit religious institution, where candidates are prohibited from soliciting donations. Mr. Gore's staff returned many of the improper donations, and some Asian-Americans say they detect a reluctance on his part to be identified too closely with them.

Kiki Moore, a Gore campaign spokeswoman, denied this, saying, "Absolutely not. This is a community he wants to work with." Indeed, the Asian Pacific American Bar Association said that the White House has just confirmed that Mr. Gore will deliver the keynote address at the group's annual convention here on Nov. 13.

Senator Dianne Feinstein, who has endorsed Mr. Gore, said she thinks he will win over many Asian-Americans once they hear his views, but she conceded he has a problem. "The Vice President, because of the Buddhist temple thing, may not have wanted to have ventured forth," Ms. Feinstein said. "My own view is that the community itself needs to come together and speak out."

That is what many Asian-Americans are doing. They are focused on the local, grass roots level, and are working on long range plans to develop a broader base for influence over the political process. For instance, a new group was formed here, called Vision 21, to quicken the pace of voter registration and to do extensive exit polling after elections. Much of the polling will be used to convince candidates of the importance of the Asian-American votes.

There are also efforts to get more Asian residents to become citizens and, importantly, to find and train potential Asian-American candidates for public office.

"The community needs more facets and dimensions," said Don T. Nakanishi, director of the Asian-American Studies Center at the University of California at Los Angeles. "One can't participate effectively with just one means, like giving money."

Another effort is something called the 80/20 Initiative. This is a campaign to persuade the Asian-American community in California to vote as a bloc for the candidate — no matter which party — who demonstrates the strongest commitment to offering tangible policy benefits. The aim is to get 80 percent of registered Asian-American voters in the state to back the endorsed candidate.

This is not a completely fanciful strategy. In the 1998 elections here, Mr. Fong, a Republican, received nearly 59 percent of the Asian-American vote in his unsuccessful campaign against Senator Barbara Boxer. In the gubernatorial race, 64 percent of Asian-Americans voted for the Democratic candidate for governor, Gray Davis, who defeated a Republican candidate perceived to be anti-immigrant.

Some Asian-Americans consider the initiative slightly unrealistic, but at the least a potent symbol of the new mood. "It's a vehicle for peoples' frustration," said Mr. Tang of the Committee of 100. "80/20 is one of the new arrows in our quiver."

He added: "The word naïveté is too simple a word for where we were four years ago. Maybe sophomoric, in terms of the whole process. We were probably set back 10 years by what happened, but at least we're far more realistic now."

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1999

2/2

copied Sperling Podesta

9-23-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

Gene
They would
help in Congress
with support
Mr. President, Gene lobbying

This is a follow-up to your meeting in Chicago with Robert Shapiro and Stan Engelberg. Is there anything specific you want me to do with this?

Bruce

9-23-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

Gene
They would
keep it unoffi-
cial but support
GMO labeling

Mr. President,

This is a follow-up
to your meeting in
Chicago with Robert
Shapiro and Stan
Engelberg. Is there
anything specific you
want me to do
with this?

Bruce

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Chairman and Chief Executive Officer

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bob@monsanto.com
http://www.monsanto.com

August 16, 1999

copied
Sperling
Podesta

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

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for taking the time to meet with us during your recent trip to Chicago.

During our discussion, you asked if approval of biotech products would benefit the Brazilian farmer and farm economy. We believe it will.

Biotechnology allows farmers to plant crops that are protected from specific pests or diseases, or which can be used in conjunction with more effective weed control and pest management practices. The result is increased yields due to better pest management, reduced costs for the farmer, increased flexibility in farming methods and reduced burden on the environment. For example, farmers in the United States have reduced their weed control costs by approximately 15 % since 1995, as a result of the use of Roundup Ready soybeans. An agricultural economist from the University of Missouri, has estimated that this product alone will deliver on-farm value of up to $1 billion dollars by the end of 1999. Similar value is being realized through other crop applications of biotechnology in the United States, and these same benefits can be realized by Brazilian farmers.

With regard to Europe, we want to work with your administration to find both short-term and long-term solutions, which satisfy legitimate European needs, while allowing for approval of the American products which meet rigorous scientific standards. President Prodi will be essential in reading such an agreement. As you know, no agricultural biotech products have been approved by the EU since April 1998. Even more troubling was a recent statement at a European Council of Environmental Ministers meeting stating that no biotech product would receive approval for two to three years. To resolve this impasse, and resume the orderly and timely functioning of the European regulatory system, we support whatever steps your administration decides are appropriate to meet legitimate European concerns.

Finally, I have taken the liberty of attaching some information on the Monarch butterfly research which we discussed.

Mr. President, thank you again. Please let me know if there is any information that you or any one else in your Administration needs regarding these issues.

Sincerely,

Monarch Butterfly Researchers Urge Caution In Over-interpreting Results; Academic Researchers And Industry Associations Agree Reports On Bt Crop Impact On Monarch Butterflies Overblown

Source: Biotechnology Industry Organization, www.bio.org
Contact: Libby Mikesell of BIO, 202-776-0615
WASHINGTON, June 21,1999

Several academic experts have urged caution when interpreting the results of a preliminary laboratory study at Cornell University on the effect of Bt corn pollen on the Monarch butterfly that was published as a letter in the journal Nature (5/20/99). These university researchers stressed that the monarch study did not represent natural conditions and that extensive environmental research has confirmed the safety of Bt corn on non-target insects, such as the ladybird beetle, honeybee and the green lacewing, in the natural environment.

Dr. John Losey, the Cornell University entomology professor who conducted the research said, "Our study was conducted in the laboratory and, while it raises an important issue, it would be inappropriate to draw any conclusions about the risk to monarch populations in the field based solely on these initial results."

In a response letter published in Nature (6/3/99), Dr. John Beringer, professor at the University of Bristol's School of Biological Science in the United Kingdom and chairman of the U.K. Advisory Committee on Releases to the Environment, wrote, "There is a need for scientific rigour in the presentation of the information to ensure that it is not misrepresented.... preliminary observations should not be over-interpreted."

"We want to make sure that the monarch is protected, and we want to verify the belief of numerous scientists that Bt pollen is not putting the monarchs at significant risk," said Dr. L. Val Giddings, vice president for food and agriculture, Biotechnology Industry Organization (BIO).

Factors in field reduce likelihood of monarch exposure to corn pollen

By design, the Cornell researchers did not match the conditions that would be present in a natural setting. In the laboratory, the caterpillars were given no choice but to feed on one treatment, in this case leaves dusted with corn pollen. In the field, the caterpillars may move about and may avoid ingesting pollen.

Under natural conditions, monarch larvae feed primarily on milkweed. Most researchers consider it likely that most milkweed does not grow close enough to corn fields to be exposed to significant amounts of corn pollen.

Further, the majority of monarch larvae feed on milkweed when corn pollen is not present. Corn plants produce or "shed" pollen for a short period of time (typically most pollen is produced in a given field over a five to 1 0 day period.) Based on known migration behavior, even in those regions in which corn and monarchs co-habitate, only a small portion of the monarch population will be present when corn is shedding pollen.

Even if exposed to corn pollen, monarch caterpillars should have no trouble avoiding small amounts of windblown pollen and most likely would do so, as the Nature study suggests. Milkweed has many large leaves, and it tends to grow in clumps. If upper leaves were coated with pollen, the caterpillars would most likely move to lower, protected leaves or to another plant, according to Dr. Warren Stevens, senior curator of the Missouri Botanical Garden.

As Stevens wrote in the Des Moines Register, "Timing is all important. For any harm to occur, the monarch larvae have to be emerging and feeding at the same time corn is pollinating, a narrow period of seven to 1 0 days. Pollen has to be on a particular leaf that the caterpillar is feeding on. And the caterpillar has to consume the pollen before rain or dew washes it away. The caterpillar also has to keep eating, not spit it out and move to another leaf, as the Cornell study suggests will happen in nature."

For these reasons, it is likely that the vast majority of monarch larvae throughout their range over a growing season are never exposed to corn pollen in nature at all.

Bt Corn Benefits Non-target Insects

The Bt corn crops that are currently on the market were developed to control the European Corn Borer. Prior to the introduction of Bt corn, farmers controlled European Corn Borer with conventional insecticide sprays that are toxic to monarch butterfly larvae and other desirable, non-target species. By reducing the use of these insecticides, Bt corn reduces the potential to harm non-target species, and reduces impacts of agricultural inputs on the environment in general.

"I still think the proven benefits of Bt corn outweigh the potential risks," stated Dr. Losey. "We can't forget that Bt corn and other transgenic crops have a huge potential for reducing pesticide use and increasing yields."

Dr. Chris DiFonzo, Michigan State University Field Crops Entomologist & Pesticide Education Coordinator, said "Bt corn is a much safer method of pest management, and has less detrimental impact on all aspects of the environment -- monarchs included -- than the use of broad-spectrum insecticides."

"When you consider the monarch butterflies in context with the widely recognized benefits of Bt crops, it's clear that trends in agriculture will only help the monarchs and the environment overall," said BIO's Val Giddings. "For example, Bt crops preserve beneficial insects that prey on harmful insect pests, thus limiting the need for additional insecticide sprays. Growers planting Bt crops have dramatically reduced the damage done by harmful pests and have reduced handling and exposure of insecticides on the farm."

"As conservation groups have noted, the primary threat to the monarch butterfly is the loss of crucial winter habitat in southern California and central Mexico," Giddings added. "Other threats come from habitat degradation along butterfly migratory routes, pesticides, and other human activities. It's not an exaggeration to say more monarchs succumb to high-velocity collisions with car windshields than ever encounter corn pollen."

In addition to the extensive number of field studies that have been conducted to determine the effect of Bt crops on beneficial insects, BIO and the American Crop Protection Association are working along with industry partners to address and evaluate these issues further. The available information strongly supports the advantages of Bt crops on beneficial insect population relative to the use of insecticides.

For further information on this subject, contact the following independent experts:

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9-23-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

99 SEP 9 P7:04

August 9, 1999

Loretta
See me for
5-10 min on this
BC

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: **LORETTA UCELLI**

SUBJECT: **CLINTON-GORE ADMINISTRATION ACCOMPLISHMENTS**

Here's the updated version of the Administration's accomplishments. I thought that you would be interested in seeing them.

copied
Ucelli
Podesta

American Families Are Better Off Today Than They Were Six and a Half Years Ago

Clinton-Gore Administration Accomplishments:

ECONOMY: ***The Best American Economy In A Generation***

Nearly 19 Million New Jobs...8 million more than were created under the Reagan Administration in the same amount of time (6 years, 6 months).

Largest Budget Surplus in History... from a $290 billion *deficit* in 1992, to a projected $99 billion *surplus* in 1999 – the largest in history. For the first time in 40 years, the budget will be in surplus for two years in a row.

Lowest Unemployment in 29 Years...down from 7.5% in 1992 to 4.3% today -- its lowest level in 29 years.

Fastest Real-Wage Growth in More than Two Decades...after adjusting for inflation, wages increased almost 2.7% in 1998 -- the fastest real-wage growth in more than two decades. And wages have increased three years in a row.

CHILDREN AND EDUCATION: ***Greatest Investment in Children's Health & Education in 30 Years***

Protecting Families... by allowing workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to care for family members without fear of losing their jobs. Approximately 91 million workers are protected by the Family and Medical Leave Act.

Enacted Single Largest Investment in Health Care for Children since 1965...the $24 billion Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) will provide health care coverage for up to five million children.

$500 Child Tax Credit For 27 Million Families with 45 Million Children...included in the 1997 Balanced Budget Act.

More than 200,000 Additional Kids in Head Start Since 1992... reaching more children with early learning than ever before.

Smaller Classes With Well-Prepared Teachers...won a down payment on the President's new initiative to hire an additional 100,000 well-prepared teachers to reduce class size in the early grades, when children learn to read and master the basics.

Providing Safe After-School Opportunities...for nearly 400,000 school-age children each year.

Increasing Charter Schools from One to More than 1,000...offering parents choice within the public school system.

Making College More Affordable...by increasing Pell Grants from $2,300 in 1993 to $3,125 in 1999, the largest maximum award ever, and offering flexible repayment options and better service through the Direct Lending Program.

The Biggest Single Increase in Higher Education since the G.I. Bill...was enacted in the 1997 Balanced Budget Act. The law included the HOPE Scholarship and other tax deductions, putting college within reach for millions -- the largest overall higher education investment in 30 years.

CRIME: ***Crime Rates Are Down To The Lowest Levels In A Generation***

Violent Crime Down 7 Years in a Row... and the murder rate is down more than 25% since 1993, its lowest point in 30 years.

Putting 100,000 More Police on Our Streets ... this year, ahead of schedule and under budget, the Administration has met its commitment of funding 100,000 police officers for our communities.

400,000 Felons, Fugitives and Stalkers Denied Guns...since the President signed the Brady Bill into law.

Developed Comprehensive Anti-Drug Strategy...including a $195 Million National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. And appointed four-star General Barry McCaffrey as the nation's Drug Czar.

WELFARE: ***Largest Drop In Welfare Rolls In History***

6.5 Million People Have Left Welfare...an over 46% decrease from January 1993 and the largest decline in history. The President signed landmark welfare reform legislation in 1996 requiring work, imposing time limits and dramatically expanding child care spending. And in both 1997 and 1998, the President fought successfully to restore fairness for legal immigrants.

80% Increase in Child Support Collections... as a result of the toughest child support crackdown in history.

ENVIRONMENT: ***Protecting Our Environment For Future Generations***

Cleaned up Nearly Three Times as Many Superfund Sites in Six Years as Previous Administrations Did in 12.

Our Food and Drinking Water Is Safer...because the President fought for and signed the Food Quality Protection Act and the Safe Drinking Water Act.

07/99

A NATION TRANSFORMED

Clinton-Gore Administration Accomplishments: 1993 - 1999

Over the last six and a half years, President Clinton and Vice President Gore have led America in preparing for the 21st Century. The President and Vice President have put our economic house in order while providing tax relief for middle income families, expanding critical investments in the future and continuing American leadership in the world. The accomplishments of the Clinton-Gore Administration are giving Americans the tools to realize their potential, providing opportunity while demanding responsibility and building One America in which all are challenged to serve.

Economy: the Strongest Economy in a Generation

Closing the Book on A Generation of Deficits -- in 1992, the deficit was $290 billion, a record dollar high. This year, the Administration expects the budget *surplus* to be $99 billion, the largest budget surplus in history.

Nearly 19 Million New Jobs -- more than 90 percent of the new jobs have been created in the private sector, the highest percentage in 50 years.

Fastest and Longest Real Wage Growth in Two Decades -- Since 1993, real wages have risen 6.2 percent -- compared to declining 4.3 percent during the previous two administrations. After adjusting for inflation, wages increased almost 2.7 percent in 1998 -- the fastest real wage growth in more than two decades. And wages have increased 3 years in a row -- the longest sustained growth since the early 1970s.

Unemployment Is the Lowest in 29 Years -- down from 7.5 percent in 1992 to 4.3 percent today -- staying below 5 percent for 24 months in a row.

Highest Homeownership Rate in History -- there are 7.8 million more new homeowners since the President took office.

E2|6G

Families and Communities: Strengthening America's Working Families

$500 Per-Child Tax Credit -- 27 million families with 45 million children are receiving the $500 per-child tax credit.

Tax Cuts for Working Families -- 15 million working families receive additional tax relief through the President's expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit.

Protecting Families -- Family and Medical Leave allows workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to care for seriously ill family members, new born or adoptive children, or their own serious health problems without fear of losing their jobs. About 91 million workers are covered by the Family and Medical Leave Act and millions of workers have already benefited from FMLA since its enactment.

Largest Four-Year Drop in Child Poverty Rate Since the '60s -- Under President Clinton, child poverty has declined from 22.7 percent to 19.9 percent -- the biggest four-year drop in nearly 30 years.

Increased the Minimum Wage from $4.25 to $5.15 per hour -- increasing wages for 10 million workers.

Enacted the Workforce Investment Act -- reforming the nation's employment and training system by empowering individuals, streamlining services, enhancing accountability and increasing flexibility.

Signed the Landmark Adoption and Safe Families Act -- this law is helping thousands of children waiting in foster care move more quickly into safe and permanent homes.

Putting Families First -- put in place first-ever plan to protect our children from tobacco. Required the installation of V-chips in all new televisions. Encouraged schools to adopt school uniform policies to deter school violence and promote discipline. Produced guidelines on religious expression in public schools.

Supporting Community Service -- In just five years, AmeriCorps has allowed more than 100,000 young people to serve their communities while earning money for college or skills training.

Building One America -- established the President's Initiative on Race to lead the nation towards becoming One America in the 21st Century. In FY99 budget, won first real increase in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in several years.

***Education*: Largest Investment in Education in 30 Years**

Making 13th & 14th Grades as Universal As High School -- making the first two years of college universally available for nearly six million students with the $1,500 HOPE Scholarship credits.

Increasing College Opportunity with Tuition Tax Credits and Education IRAs -- 20 percent tax credit helps offset tuition costs for college or lifetime learning – more than seven million students will benefit from the lifetime learning tax credit. The expanded IRA allows penalty and tax-free withdrawals for education.

Expanding Work Study and Pell Grants -- this year, nearly one million students will be able to work their way through college because of the President's expansion of the Work Study Program. And in 1999, nearly four million students will receive a Pell Grant of up to $3,125, the largest maximum award ever.

Making College More Affordable -- cut student fees and interest rates on all loans, expanded repayment options including income contingent repayment, and improved service through the Direct Loan Program.

Helping to Create Smaller Classes with Well-Prepared Teachers -- won a down payment on the President's new initiative to hire an additional 100,000 well-prepared teachers, helping school districts reduce class size in the early grades, when children learn to read and master the basic skills. School districts have already started hiring these new teachers for fall 1999.

Teaching Every Child to Read by the 3rd Grade -- more than 1000 colleges have committed Work Study students to tutor children in reading, and thousands of AmeriCorps members and senior volunteers are organizing volunteer reading campaigns. Won $260 million for a new child literacy initiative, consistent with the President's America Reads proposal.

Increasing Title I Funding, Helping Students Most in Need – 11 million low-income students now benefit from higher expectations and a challenging curriculum geared to higher standards.

Providing Safe After-School Opportunities for Nearly 400,000 Each Year -- expanded the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program to keep public schools open longer and provide safe and educational after-school opportunities for nearly 400,000 school-age children in rural and urban communities each year.

Raising Academic Standards with Goals 2000 -- 47 states plus the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico have set higher academic standards for public schools by adopting comprehensive Goals 2000 plans for education reform.

Preparing for the 21st Century by Expanding Access to Education Technology -- created the Technology Literacy Challenge Fund to help connect every school to the Internet by 2000, increase the number of multimedia computers in the classroom and provide technology training for teachers. Increased overall investments in educational technology by thirty-fold, from $23 million in 1993 to $698 million this year. Secured low-cost connections to the Internet for schools, libraries, rural health clinics and hospitals. Increased investment in education research to ensure all children benefit from educational technology.

Supporting Local Education Reform Efforts -- signed into law the Education Flexibility Partnership Act of 1999 (Ed-Flex) to give all states greater flexibility in the use of federal education funds in exchange for greater accountability for helping all students reach high academic standards.

Establishing the GEAR-UP Mentoring Program for Middle School Children -- created a new mentoring initiative to help up to 100,000 low income middle school children prepare for college.

Expanding Choice and Accountability in Public Schools -- supported increase of public charter schools, from one public charter school in the nation in 1993 to more than 1,000 charter schools in 1998, on track toward 3,000 quality charter schools early next century.

Providing Early Education to 835,000 Children with Head Start -- now reaching more kids than at any time since its creation in 1965 and more than 200,000 additional children than in 1992.

Crime and Drugs: Lowest Crime Rates in 25 Years

Violent Crime Rate at Lowest Level since 1973 -- violent crime rate fell 7 percent in 1997 and 21 percent since 1993. The murder rate is down more than 25 percent since 1993, its lowest point in 30 years.

Putting 100,000 More Police on Our Streets – this year, ahead of schedule and under budget, the Administration has met its commitment of funding 100,000 police officers for our communities.

More than 400,000 Felons, Fugitives and Stalkers Denied Guns -- since the President signed the Brady Bill into law. And the historic 1994 Crime Bill banned 19 of the deadliest assault weapons and their copies, keeping assault weapons off our streets.

Developed Comprehensive Anti-Drug Strategy Including a $195 Million National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign -- appointed four-star general as the nation's Drug Czar.

Fighting Hate Crimes -- enacted the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act in 1994. Announced sponsorship of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act during the historic White House Conference on Hate Crimes.

Welfare Reform and Community Empowerment: **Largest Drop in the Welfare Rolls in History**

Lowest Number of People on Welfare in Thirty Years as More Recipients Go to Work -- signed the landmark welfare reform law to require work, impose time limits and dramatically expand child care spending. Since January 1993, nationwide the welfare rolls have fallen by 46 percent, from 14.1 million to 7.6 million -- cut nearly in half since the President took office. The percentage of welfare recipients working has tripled since 1992, an estimated 1.5 million people who were on welfare in 1997 were working in 1998, and all states have met the first overall work requirement under the welfare reform law.

80 Percent Increase in Child Support Collections -- signed into law the toughest child support crackdown in history.

Moving from Welfare to Work -- the Balanced Budget included $3 billion to move long-term welfare recipients and unemployed non-custodial fathers into jobs and provided tax credits for employers.

Helping People Get to Work -- the President's Access to Jobs initiative helps communities design innovative transportation solutions so that families who need to work can get to work.

Helping Families Move from Welfare to Work with New Housing Vouchers -- 50,000 new housing vouchers will help families get or keep a job.

Expanded Investment in Urban and Rural Areas -- by creating 31 Empowerment Zones and more than 100 Enterprise Communities that have created new jobs, new opportunities and stronger communities.

Providing Incentives to Save -- created Individual Development Accounts, providing incentives for low income families to save for a first home, higher education, or to start a new business, effectively completing his 1992 community empowerment agenda.

Health Care: **Increasing Access for Millions of Americans**

Protected Medicare – in the 1997 Balanced Budget, protected, modernized and extended the Medicare trust fund for at least a decade while offering new options for patient choice and preventive care.

Enacted Single Largest Investment in Health Care for Children since 1965 -- the $24 billion Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) will provide health care coverage for up to five million children.

Passed Meaningful Health Insurance Reform -- signed the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act which limits exclusions for pre-existing conditions, makes coverage portable and helps individuals who lose jobs maintain coverage. As many as 25 million people will benefit from this law.

Working to Enact a Strong, Enforceable Patients' Bill of Rights for All Americans – leading by example, the President directed all federal agencies to ensure that their employees and beneficiaries have the benefits and rights guaranteed under the President's proposed Patients' Bill of Rights.

Raised Immunization Rates to All Time High -- 90 percent of toddlers in 1996, and again in 1997, received the most critical doses of each of the routinely recommended vaccines -- surpassing the President's 1993 goal.

Ensuring Safe Food for America's Families -- issued new standards to reduce and prevent contamination of meat, poultry, and seafood; issued a presidential directive to prevent the importation of unsafe foods; signed the Food Quality Protection Act with special safeguards for kids; issued new regulations that improve the safety of fruit and vegetable juices; and created a President's Council on Food Safety to develop a comprehensive food safety strategic plan for federal agencies.

Environment: Cleanest Environment in a Quarter Century

Accelerating Toxic Cleanups and Brownfields Redevelopment -- cleaned up nearly three times as many Superfund sites in six years as the previous administrations did in twelve. Leveraged nearly $1 billion in private sector investment for brownfields redevelopment.

Keeping Our Drinking Water Safe -- proposed and signed legislation to strengthen the Safe Drinking Water Act to ensure that our families have healthy, clean tap water. Required America's 55,000 water utilities to provide regular reports to their customers on the quality of their drinking water.

Reducing the Threat of Global Warming -- negotiated an international treaty to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in an environmentally strong and economically sound way. Secured $1 billion in FY99 for research incentives to reduce greenhouse gas emissions through energy efficiency and clean energy technologies.

Preserving Our Lands -- protected or enhanced nearly 150 million acres of public and private lands, from the red rock canyons of Utah to the Florida Everglades. Reached agreements to protect Yellowstone from mining and save the ancient redwoods of California's Headwaters Forest.

Science and Technology: Leading America into the Next Millennium

Historic Investments in Biomedical Research -- the FY99 budget contained the largest-ever dollar increase in funds for the National Institutes of Health (NIH), including a 14 percent increase in NIH research funding. This expansion will enable scientists to pursue a wide range of cutting edge research from cancer to AIDS. Accelerated the pace of genetic mapping, leading to a more rapid discovery of ways to prevent and treat diseases.

Supporting University Research, Training the Next Generation of Scientists and Engineers -- the FY99 budget contained a 7 percent increase in the National Science Foundation research budget to support science and engineering research across all fields and disciplines.

Ensuring U.S. Leadership in Space Science and Exploration-- increased investments in space science that supported space exploration as well as new discoveries about the creation of the universe.

Strengthening the Economy and National Security with Information Technology -- provided $1 Billion investment to help ensure that America leads the world in information technologies that predict tornadoes, design life-saving drugs, and make air travel safer and more efficient, and maintain our nuclear weapons stockpile without nuclear testing.

Foreign Policy: World's Strongest Force for Peace, Freedom and Prosperity

Promoting Peace and Strengthening Democracy

- **Achieved victory and reversed ethnic cleansing in Kosovo,** by leading the 79-day NATO air campaign in Kosovo that successfully compelled Milosevic to withdraw Serb troops, permit an international security force to enter and allow refugees to return to their homes in safety.
- **Restored momentum to the Middle East peace process,** brokering the Wye River Memorandum and visiting Israel and Gaza.
- **Led efforts that produced Good Friday peace agreement in Northern Ireland,** ending decades of bloodshed.
- **Building a self-sustaining peace in Bosnia** through implementation of the Dayton Peace accords.
- **Restored democracy in Haiti,** ending military dictatorship and stopping refugee flows.
- **Helped settle Peru-Ecuador border dispute and end civil war in Guatemala.**
- **Pressing for human rights, core labor standards, religious freedom, and the elimination of child labor** worldwide.

Combating New Threats

- **Protecting Americans from Weapons of Mass Destruction** by reducing Russian nuclear arsenals, **ratifying the Chemical Weapons Convention,** and **signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.**
- **Combating terrorism** by developing a national counterterrorism strategy and striking terrorist targets in Afghanistan and Sudan. **Addressing threats to our infrastructure** like cyberterrorism and biological and chemical weapons.
- **Containing Saddam Hussein** through diplomacy, economic sanctions and military force.
- **Preventing North Korea from developing nuclear weapons** through deterrence, diplomacy and non-proliferation.
- **Improving military readiness** through increased defense spending.

Strengthening Alliances and Building Partnerships

- **Built a stronger and larger NATO** to ensure a more stable, democratic Europe and a fully-integrated Russia.
- **Deepening security alliances with Japan and South Korea.**
- **Built more constructive relationship with China** through engagement and frank dialogue on human rights, security and trade.
- **Expanding trade relations and strengthening democracy in Asia and Latin America.**
- **Building partnerships with Africa** during historic Presidential trip.

Expanding Prosperity

- **Opening markets abroad** through NAFTA, GATT and 270 other free trade agreements
- **Addressing global economic crisis** by leading international relief efforts and stimulating worldwide growth
- **Leading efforts to establish world finance and trade systems** for 21st century economy that benefits ordinary citizens in all countries.

7/99

Improving the Quality of Life for America's Working Families
Clinton/Gore Administration Accomplishments:

Progress By The Numbers

Jobs & The Economy:

Jobs

~~Nearly~~ 19 million more jobs since 1993. [Bureau of Labor Statistics, 7/2/99]

Unemployment

4.3 percent unemployment -- the lowest peacetime rate since 1957. The unemployment rate has stayed below 5 percent for 24 months in a row. [Bureau of Labor Statistics, 7/2/99]

Income

Typical family income is up $3,517 (8.6 percent) since 1993. Median family income has increased from $41,051 in 1993 to $44,568 in 1997. [Money Income in the United States: 1997, Bureau of the Census, 9/24/98]

Wages

Under President Clinton and Vice President Gore, real wages have risen 6.2 percent compared to *declining* 4.3 percent during the Reagan and Bush years. After adjusting for inflation, wages have increased almost 2.7 percent in 1998 -- the fastest real wage growth in more than two decades and the third year in a row and the longest sustained growth since the early 1970s. [Bureau of Labor Statistics, 7/2/99]

Tax Cuts

15 million working families receive additional tax relief through the President's expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit. In 1997, the EITC lifted 4.3 million out of poverty -- that is more than double the number who were removed from poverty in 1993. Over half of the people removed from poverty by the EITC (2.2 million) were children under the age of 18. [Good News for Low Income Families: Expansions in the EITC and Minimum Wage, CEA, 12/98]

$500 per-child tax credit

27 million families with 45 million children will receive the $500 per-child tax credit. [Treasury Department]

Minimum Wage

10 million Americans received an increase in wages thanks to the President's leadership. [Good News for Low Income Families: Expansions in the EITC and Minimum Wage, CEA, 12/98]

New Businesses

Over 4.1 million new businesses have been created since 1993. [New Employer Firms Business Formation, Small Business Admin. 12/98, 1997 data]

National Debt

There is $25,000 less debt for each family of four because the national debt will be $1.7 trillion lower in fiscal year 1999 than was projected in 1993. [internal calculations based on: FY 2000 Budget Mid-Session Review (Table 1); OMB (1993 internal projection); Bureau of the Census]

Home Ownership

There are more than seven million new homeowners since 1993 -- the home ownership rate is at the highest level ever. [Bureau of the Census, 4/21/99]

Expanding Educational Opportunity: Elementary and Secondary Schools

Teachers — 30,000 new, well-prepared teachers are being hired for fall 1999, the first down payment on the President's seven-year plan to reduce class size by hiring 100,000 teachers. [Education Department, 6/99]

After School Programs — Approximately 400,000 school-age children in rural and urban communities have safe and educational after-school opportunities this year because of the expanded 21st Century Community Learning Centers program. In his FY 2000 budget, the President proposed to increase funding to serve approximately 1.1 million students. [Education Department]

Goals 2000 — 47 states plus the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico have set higher academic standards for public schools by adopting comprehensive Goals 2000 plans for education reform. [Goals 2000: Reforming Education to Improve Student Achievement, Education Department, 4/20/98]

Education Technology — 30 million children and up to 47,000 schools and libraries are being connected to the Internet through the education rate, or E-rate, created by the 1996 Telecommunications Act. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 67]

Title I — 11 million low-income students now benefit from higher expectations and a challenging curriculum geared to higher standards. [Statement of the Secretary of Education before the U.S. Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions, 2/9/99]

Mentoring — Approximately 175,000 middle school students will be prepared for college this year through expanded mentoring efforts as part of GEAR-UP. [Education Department]

Expanding Educational Opportunity: Postsecondary Education and Training

HOPE Scholarships — 5.9 million students are expected to benefit from the $1,500 HOPE Scholarship tuition tax credit. [Education Department, 4/2/99]

Pell Grants — 3.8 million low-income students will receive a Pell Grant award to help them attend college. In the FY99 budget, the President increased the maximum Pell Grant award from $3,000 to $3,125 -- that is the largest maximum award ever. [Department of Education FY 2000 Budget Summary, 2/99]

Direct Loan Program — More than 3.9 million student and parent borrowers have received direct loans since the program began. [Federal Direct Loan Program, Federal Office of Student Financial Assistance, Education Department, 1/31/99]

AmeriCorps — More than 100,000 volunteers have earned money for college by serving their communities and their country in the AmeriCorps program since the inception of the program. [National Service News (issue no. 66), 11/2/98]

Lifetime Learning Tax Credit

7.2 million will benefit from the lifetime learning tax credit, which offers a 20 percent tax credit for the first $5,000 of tuition and fees paid by a student. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 69]

School-To-Work

470,000 high school students, 36,000 schools (K-12), and 136,000 employers, participated in school-to-work programs in 1997. [Progress Measures Survey 1997, National School-to-Work Office, Education Department]

Work Study

Nearly one million students will be able to work their way through college this year because of the President's expansion of the Work Study Program. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 69]

Dislocated Workers

An estimated 689,000 American workers will benefit this year from the dislocated worker program. In his FY2000 budget, President Clinton proposed to increase funding to serve 859,000 workers. [Department of Labor Budget Overview FY 2000, 2/99]

Crime and Public Safety

Declining Crime Rates

There has been a 21 percent drop in violent crime victimizations rate since 1993 -- to the lowest level since 1973 (the year of the survey's inception). The murder rate is down more than 25 percent since 1993, its lowest point in 30 years.[1997 National Crime Victimizations Survey, Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), 12/98; Justice Department Release, 1/99]

Juvenile Arrests Down

The nation has seen a six percent drop in the juvenile violent crime arrest between 1993 and 1997. [FBI's Uniform Crime Reports for the United States 1997, Justice Department]

Community Policing

The President's goal of funding 100,000 more community police officers for our streets was reached in May 1999 -- meeting the pledge ahead of schedule and under budget. [COPS program, 6/12/99]

Brady Bill

Over 400,000 felons, fugitives and stalkers have been stopped from buying guns. ["Presale Handgun Checks, 1997" Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin, 6/15/99]

"Zero-Tolerance" for Guns In Schools

6,093 students were expelled from public schools for bringing a firearm to school in one year under zero tolerance policies. [Final Report on State Implementation of the Gun-Free Schools Act, School Year 1996-97, Department of Education, 5/98]

Domestic Violence Hotline

More than 300,000 calls -- averaging a little more than 8,000 a month -- have been received by the nationwide, 24-hour domestic violence hotline President Clinton established. [Violence Against Women Office, DOJ, 6/99]

Families

Patients' Bill of Rights	85 million people covered by Federal health plans received patient protections -- protections included in the President's Patients' Bill of Rights legislation that Congress has yet to pass -- by executive action taken by President Clinton. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 85]
Health Insurance Reform	As many as 25 million people will benefit from the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 83]
Welfare to Work	6.5 million fewer people are receiving welfare benefits today than in 1993, a 46 percent decrease and the largest decline in the welfare rolls in history. The welfare rolls are the smallest in 30 years. [HHS Administration for Children and Families, 4/99]
Family & Medical Leave	About 91 million workers are covered by the Family and Medical Leave Act -- about 70 percent of the American labor force. Millions of Americans have taken job-protected leave. [Five Years of Success: Report on FMLA, Department of Labor, 8/98 (updated number provided 7/99)]
Children's Health Care	As many as 5 million more children will receive health insurance under President Clinton's Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP). Already 2.5 million uninsured children have enrolled in CHIP. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 85; FY 1999 Budget, p. 69]
Head Start	More than 200,000 additional children are enrolled in Head Start today than in 1992. Head Start now reaches a total of 822,316, and will serve one million children and their families by the year 2002. [Head Start 1998 Fact Sheet; Administration of Children and Families, HHS]
WIC	1.7 million more woman, infants, and children are now served by WIC than in 1993 -- currently reaching 7.4 million participants. [Food and Nutrition Service, USDA, 12/98]
Child Care	Child care funding has increased by 70 percent under the Clinton Administration, helping pay for the care of an additional 1 million children. An average of 1.25 million children were served by states under the child care block grant in FY 1997 -- a 25 percent increase from the estimated 1 million children served in FY 1996. The 1996 welfare law increased child care funding by $4 billion over six years. [Administration for Children and Families Fact Sheet, HHS, 11/12/98]
Immunization	90 percent or more of America's toddlers received the most critical doses of each of the routinely recommended vaccines in 1996 and again in 1997 -- surpassing the President's childhood vaccination goal. [Budget of the United States Government FY 2000, p. 91-92]

Child Poverty

Under President Clinton the child poverty rate has dropped from 22.7 percent in 1993 to 19.9 percent in 1997 -- the biggest four-year drop in the child poverty rate in nearly 30 years. [Poverty in the United States: 1997, Bureau of the Census, 9/98]

Teen Pregnancy

There has been a 13.8 percent decrease in the teenage birth rate -- from 60.7 in 1992 to 52.3 in 1997. [Decline in Teenage Birth Rates, 1991-97: National and State Patterns, CDC, 12/98; Revised 4/99]

Infant Mortality

There has been a 15.2 percent decrease in the infant mortality rate -- to the lowest level in history -- from 8.5 in 1992 to 7.2 in 1997. [America's Children: Key National Indicators of Well-Being, NIH, 7/8/99]

Child Support Collections

There has been a 80 percent increase in child support collections from FY 1992 to FY 1998. [Administration for Children and Families, HHS]

Government That Works Better

Less Regulation

16,000 pages of Federal regulations have been eliminated by President Clinton and Vice President Gore as part of the Vice President's National Performance Review. [Accomplishments fact sheet, National Performance Review]

Smaller Government

There are 365,000 fewer employees in the Federal government workforce than in 1993 -- giving us the smallest Federal workforce since the Kennedy Administration. [Budget of the U.S. Government FY 2000, "Historical Tables" (table 17.1); Budget of the U.S. Government FY 2000, "Analytical Perspectives," (table 10-1) p. 248]

Lower Government Spending

At 19.5 percent, Federal Government spending as a share of the Gross Domestic Product is at its lowest level in 25 years. [FY 2000 Budget Mid-Session Review (Table 1) p. 3; FY 2000 Budget Historical Tables (Table 1.3) p.23-24]

Motor Voter

28 million new voters registered to vote -- and voting was made easier for millions more Americans -- since 1995 because of the National Voter Registration Act. [FEC, 6/99; FEC, 6/97]

Environment

Toxic Waste Sites

448 toxic waste dumps were cleaned up during the first six and one-half years of the Clinton Administration -- nearly three times more than the 155 dumps cleaned up in the previous twelve years. ["Superfund NPL Construction Completions Since 1/20/93 to 6/22/99," EPA]

National Parks

Over 3.2 million acres have been protected as national parks or monuments by President Clinton. The President has also created 13 new national park areas. [Department of Interior]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 29, 1999 ** 9-25-99

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a white paper from Secretary Shalala on the health and safety legacy of your Administration. You can read it at your convenience; Chris Jennings has reviewed it.

Phil Caplan

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This is good - helpful to show other Cabinet members - get one from every Cabinet member before SOTU — Thx

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

MAR 22 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Every American should be healthy and safe. Your Administration has vigorously pursued this fundamental goal. In doing so, the Administration has shown that there is a continuing and central role for government in meeting the basic needs of ordinary Americans. It has redefined this role by understanding the obstacles to meeting its commitments, and reinventing to find the appropriate ways to address persistent and difficult problems. After six years, the Administration has achieved lasting and important improvements in the health and safety of the American people.

Infant mortality is at an all time national low. The nation has achieved record high levels of childhood immunization against preventable diseases, reduced childhood vaccine-preventable diseases to the lowest levels ever recorded and has made great progress in eradicating others. Children, women, the elderly, and racial and ethnic minorities are receiving new and overdue focus in clinical care, outreach, prevention and research. The nation's food supply and blood supply are safer than ever before. Millions more working families and children are securing health insurance. New mechanisms are in place to strengthen the quality of the nation's health care, inform Americans about their health and facilitate involvement in their own care. Science and evidence-based research provide the underpinnings for new policy and practice. Investment in biomedical research and prevention is generating new knowledge at a rapid pace, paving the way to greater health and safety for generations to come.

The enclosed paper, **Legacy: Health and Safety 1993-2001**, reviews our progress in five general areas: access to quality health care; prevention, risk reduction and safety; expanding the frontiers of knowledge; collaboration among scientific research, delivery systems and practice, and consumer involvement; and strengthening stewardship and demanding accountability to protect and benefit consumers. Your commitment to improving the health and safety of all Americans has been critically important to these extraordinary advances.

Donna E. Shalala

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Enclosure

Legacy: Health and Safety 1993-2001

Every American should be healthy and safe. The Clinton Administration has vigorously pursued this fundamental goal. In doing so, this Administration has shown that there is a continuing and central role for government in meeting the basic needs of ordinary Americans. It has redefined this role by understanding the obstacles to meeting its commitments, and reinventing to find the appropriate ways to address persistent and difficult problems. After six years, the Administration has achieved lasting and important improvements in the health and safety of the American people.

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Progress has been marked and measurable. When the Administration took office in the early 1990's, Americans were faring poorly on many indicators of well-being. Thousands of children were dying in infancy. Tobacco use, the most preventable cause of death and disease, contributed to millions of deaths from cancer and heart disease as well as other diseases. Outbreaks of contaminated food emerged, spreading sickness and alarming the public. Millions of Americans lacked access to regular health care either because they had no health insurance or were under-insured. Families were regularly confronted with painful choices -- paying for child care so a parent can stay in the workforce, saving to send a child to college, or obtaining necessary medical care for themselves or their children in times of illness or injury.

To address these problems necessitated confronting existing economic and social realities and the political realities that developed. Progress was made more challenging because of the ongoing transformation and upheaval in the health care market. A recent report by the President's Advisory Commission on Consumer Protection and Quality in the Health Care Industry described the dimensions of the changes in the health care industry this way:

> Four characteristics define the health insurance market today, with implications both for who gets coverage and also for the kinds of coverage and protections in place for those who have insurance coverage: (1) pluralism, with a focus on employer-based coverage for the non-elderly; (2) significant and growing numbers of uninsured Americans; (3) the continuing pressure of costs on employers and consumers; and (4) the shift to managed care and the growth of self-funded plans in the group insurance market. The implications of these characteristics are profound, generating potential tradeoffs among cost control, coverage and access.

The Administration initially chose to deal with a market that was changing rapidly, becoming increasingly complicated and functioning poorly for millions of Americans by proposing a plan for universal health insurance that gave every American a gateway to health care. This effort was based on an assumption that an unfettered market would continue to disadvantage significant groups of Americans across the country. With the blockage of the Health Security Act came critical lessons which informed the Administration's approach to improving health and health care. The public was not ready to accept massive intervention which it perceived would be accompanied by added layers of impenetrable bureaucracy. It was reluctant to entrust to government solutions to major systemic problems that touch the lives of ordinary citizens. Generating large-scale investments in the face of $300 billion dollar budget deficits also proved increasingly problematic.

To achieve progress in this environment required a new, more strategic and evolving approach to government's role and responsibility. Extensive regulation had to be balanced against a need to foster, not stifle innovation. Traditional mandates had to be weighed against the potential paralysis of our efforts due to the opposition by some to any government intervention at all. The Administration's new approach called for strategies that were different from the past, buttressed by strong commitments.

The abiding commitment has been to the American people, to addressing their needs and to achieving better outcomes for them. Promoting scientific inquiry and evidence-based research to find the best remedies has driven the search for new and better ways to reach our goals. A quest for new and effective treatments has been matched by a strong focus on identifying the best methods for preventing or reducing the risk of harm or disease. Public health issues became legitimate arenas of public advocacy, education and program development by government leadership beyond the traditional public health community. As effective practices emerge from rigorous scientific analysis, there has been vigorous and concerted effort to spread them. Finally, there has been fidelity to the notion that interventions in markets should be targeted to protect vulnerable populations, ensure quality, and strengthen the capacity of the consumer to obtain needed care.

In light of these lessons and commitments, the Administration adopted an approach designed around defined, strategic steps. It focused on expanding access to the financing families need to secure health care. It placed priority on improving the benefits and services available to consumers. It demanded heightened accountability for results, which requires the ability to measure and report on progress to achieve desired outcomes. It promoted cooperation with every affected sector and everyone with a stake in the enterprise. These include states and other governmental entities, contractors, public and private health plans, providers, professionals, the public health sector broadly and consumers themselves.

In sum, the new means to achieving the goals are realistic and pragmatic, faithful to the goals of health and safety through coverage, quality and prevention, building progress at a pace appropriate to each aspect of this multifaceted and complicated problem. The Administration found ways to shape an active role for government, make the necessary investments, strengthen the market, and positively touch the lives of virtually every American.

This memorandum concentrates on five general areas which illustrate and incorporate these new approaches and reviews our progress in each: access to quality health care; prevention, risk reduction and safety; expanding the frontiers of knowledge; collaboration among scientific research, delivery systems and practice, and consumer involvement; and strengthening stewardship and demanding accountability to protect and benefit consumers.

I. Access to Quality Health Care

Expanding Health Insurance Coverage

One of the most critical components of the Administration's plan to strengthen the health of Americans involved expanding health insurance to the millions of Americans without it.

In 1993, more than 37 million Americans had no health insurance at all, and another 25 million had inadequate coverage with very high deductibles. Nearly 90 percent of the uninsured were employed. Other families risked losing health insurance if they changed jobs, were priced out of the health insurance market even though they were working, or were prevented from purchasing insurance as a result of specific medical conditions.

The Administration initially delineated a proposal for universal health insurance, the Health Security Act, opening an important national debate about need, health care and health delivery and articulating a goal of universal access to care through universal coverage. With rejection of this systemic approach, the Administration sought creative ways to address, step by step, specific areas of need: security, choice and eligibility. Another important area involved cost control, as the inflationary spiral in health care costs had contributed to making important routes to health care inaccessible.

Improving access to care for other groups stimulated different efforts to link public health financing with private health plans. For many recipients of Medicaid, the federal-state health insurance support for the nation's lowest income individuals, doctors and other critical health care services were not readily available. Using waivers and other administrative tools to demonstrate new approaches, nineteen states contracted with managed care plans, linking an estimated 1.4 million Medicaid recipients to a routine source of preventive and primary care in their community or to other critical benefits. For other low-income individuals making a transition into the workforce, and legal immigrants, the Administration's support for maintaining their eligibility for Medicaid has been critical.

The 1996 Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) strengthened protections for those who are insured through their employer to ensure they do not lose health coverage when they change jobs. The law also secured access to health insurance for individuals purchasing insurance individually rather than in a group health plan, limited the use of exclusions from health insurance as a result of pre-existing medical conditions, and prohibited discrimination against employees and dependents based on their medical conditions. In addition, HIPAA guaranteed access to health insurance for small employers, regardless of the health status of any of its group members and renewability of insurance to all employers regardless of size.

Next, the Administration sought to address the serious gap in insurance coverage for children. In 1993, more than ten million children had no health insurance, placing them in stark jeopardy during these formative years. Uninsured children are three times as likely to have unmet health needs as their insured counterparts, and much less likely to have seen a doctor in the previous year. Some of these children are eligible for but not enrolled in the federal-state health insurance program serving low-income families; for others, their parents' employer either provides no health benefits at all, provides benefits which do not extend to dependents, or provides health insurance which parents forego because it is unaffordable.

The 1997 State Child Health Insurance Program (CHIP), proposed by President Clinton, provides $24 billion in federal resources, matching state funds, to provide health insurance coverage for children in families with too much income to be eligible for Medicaid, but not enough to obtain employer-sponsored health coverage. This is the largest investment in health care for low-income children since Medicaid was created in 1965, and paves the way for millions more children to be connected to a regular source of health care.

By the end of January 1999, 50 states and territories had plans approved that will extend health insurance to uninsured children in their states. States and territories estimate that by October 2000, under existing plans, they will be able to provide health insurance to 2.5 million more children. A recent report sponsored by the Commonwealth Fund estimates that, when combined with Medicaid outreach, the new CHIP program could reach 9 million of the 11.3 million children the report estimates are currently uninsured and eligible for coverage under one of the two programs.

Unlike the under 65-year old population, elderly and disabled Americans in this country have benefitted from a universal health insurance system -- Medicare -- for many years. The program serves 38 million people, the vast majority of whom rely solely on this source of health insurance coverage to pay for medical care. Some have been priced out of the complete Medicare package as a result of their low income, others have had limited access to critical therapeutics, including prescription drugs. With the cohort of older Americans increasing, diagnostic tools and treatments becoming more extensive, and health plans becoming more diverse, it is critical to modernize Medicare to ensure full participation and provide the elderly the range of choices that the health care market has to offer.

Given the size of the beneficiary population and the millions more who will be served by it each year, shifts in Medicare's structure or benefits have far-reaching effects on a huge number of people as well as on a substantial portion of the health care market.

During the past five years, the Administration has made significant advances in modernizing Medicare and improving access to it for the burgeoning elderly population. Medicare Plus Choice opens the Medicare program beyond traditional fee-for-service providers and health maintenance organizations to a wide array of health plans and benefits that serve many other Americans in the private market. Over time, as an expanded set of health plans and benefits become available to Medicare beneficiaries, the elderly will have a set of options that can be tailored more appropriately to a particular beneficiary's needs.

The Administration also targeted subgroups of the elderly who faced special barriers. It is now possible, for example, for approximately 6 million low-income elderly to get special help in paying their Medicare premiums so that they can get the benefits they are due like other senior citizens. Improving medical care for Medicare-eligible military retirees will be achieved, in selected communities, by enabling them to receive comprehensive health care services through military health care facilities.

Even as the Administration has made significant strides in expanding health insurance availability and widening choice of health care options, the private employer-based health insurance system continues to erode. With health care costs increasing again at a higher rate and paring profit margins, managed health plans migrate in and out of some communities, reflecting recurring volatility in local and regional health care markets and undermining the continuity of care for their patients. A continuing challenge involves addressing the increasing number of Americans who lack health insurance. Without the critical interventions during the past five years, however, millions more children and adults would risk losing insurance, not obtaining it in the first place or receiving inadequate care. (See Figure 1)

Creating Patient-Oriented Health Care Systems for Veterans and for the Military

The largest health care system in the nation, Veterans Health Administration (VHA), serves veterans -- individuals who have previously served the nation through the military and have been honorably discharged or have retired from active duty. While more than 25 million Americans are veterans, VHA provides health care to about 3.7 million veterans-- those with service-connected disabilities or illnesses and that much larger proportion of veterans who are low income individuals with no private health insurance, including many who are homeless. This population is generally older and sicker than the broader public, with a significantly higher rate of substance abuse and mental illness.

Before 1995, VHA was rapidly becoming an outdated inefficient system based on acute care – a collage of independent competing medical centers that provided hospital-focused, specialist-based, uncoordinated and episodic treatment for illness. This system was also experiencing many of the same market forces that were causing upheaval in the private health care market. In 1995, the Administration completely reorganized the VHA system to provide the most decent and reliable health care possible, to take advantage of exploding scientific and medical knowledge, and to address the spiraling costs of care. It is now a coordinated interdependent system in which patients are enrolled in primary care and have their care, from preventive to acute, managed by a single caregiver or team. Inter-facility and inter-provider variability in the provision of care is diminishing. More patients are being treated and are receiving a broader array of coordinated services in a greater number of locations.

VHA established 22 integrated health care networks (Veterans Integrated Service Networks, or VISNs) that emphasize ambulatory and primary care. Through this philosophical, management and operational reinvention, VHA closed, merged or consolidated hospitals and other treatment centers, developed new mechanisms for sharing assets between and among VA facilities, implemented patient care service lines, and redirected savings from these changes to vastly

expand ambulatory capacity. Numerous new community-based outpatient clinics were opened using new legislative authorities for leasing, contracting and sharing. Accompanying the restructuring of the system into networks, VHA instituted new systems of resource allocation, performance contracts, measurement and accountability, customer service standards and consumer feedback mechanisms.

The Veterans Health Care Eligibility Reform Act enabled all veterans to apply to receive health care at VA medical facilities nationwide. For the first time, as a result of this new program, enrolled veterans will be able to receive comprehensive benefits in the most appropriate cost-effective settings, within the resources available for the priorities of veterans being enrolled each year.

With a reinvented system and new legislative authority, veterans now have better access to care. Massive changes were accomplished in transforming from the old to the new system. Compared to FY 1994, annual inpatient admissions in FY 1998 decreased 32 percent while ambulatory visits increased by 35 percent. At the same time, 52 percent of hospital beds were closed, as were three acute care and one long-term care hospital. In 1994, less than 20 percent of VHA patients received primary care; by FY 1998, more than 90 percent were expected to be enrolled in primary care. Ambulatory surgeries increased from 35 percent of all surgeries performed in FY 1995 to 70 percent in FY 1998. Associated with this change has been increased surgical productivity and reduced mortality, with no change in the patient risk profile.

In addition to surgical mortality, one-year survival rates for the nine high volume conditions tracked by VHA also suggest the impact of these changes. From the baseline year of 1992 to 1997, the survival rates remained stable for five of the conditions and increased for four conditions: congestive heart failure from 75 percent to 84 percent, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease from 84 percent to 88 percent, pneumonia from 82 percent to 89 percent, and chronic renal failure from 72 to 81 percent.

The Defense Department provides health services to another 8 million eligible active duty service members, their dependents and military retirees. The same kinds of financial, social and technological pressures that affect private health systems were constraining the capacity, benefits and services of this large system. As part of health care reform, the DOD redesigned the military health care system into a managed care system called TRICARE, using inventive ways to enhance access, cost containment and performance. DOD purchased a substantial portion of health care through long term, regional, risk contracts with large health care providers but produces most care in military hospitals and clinics. The department created the Defense Health Program, bringing together into a more cohesive and collaborative entity resources for the three military services' medical operations and enabling them as a result to use resources and technology more efficiently, thereby serving patients more efficiently and effectively. DOD created a true tri-service defense health program using managed care on a regional basis.

Finally, DOD took important steps to bring modern communication and biomedical technology to improve health care during deployment of military personnel and on the battlefield. Pioneering advances have occurred in telemedicine, mobile surgery, air medical evaluation techniques and

other critical technology which is enabling the military to push medical care further forward on the battlefield or provide it to deployed individuals wherever they are.

Consumer Protection and Quality

Access to care is only as good as the quality of the care provided. In an increasingly complex and changing health care market, the Clinton Administration has focused significant attention on strengthening and assuring quality care, protecting all health care consumers, and using the purchasing power of the government to achieve important new benefits, new rights and new choices in health care for millions of Americans.

To ensure that the best professional knowledge is used in the health care system, and to identify the most promising ways to protect health care consumers, the President appointed an Advisory Commission on Consumer Protection and Quality, chaired by the Secretaries of Health and Human Services and Labor. The Commission made pioneering recommendations in a Consumer Bill of Rights and Responsibilities that addressed fundamental practices to enhance the capacity of consumers to secure quality care from health care providers: information disclosure, choice of providers and plans, access to emergency services, participation in treatment decisions, respect and nondiscrimination, confidentiality of health information, complaints and appeals and consumer responsibilities.

The Bill of Rights applies to all health care consumers regardless of the type of health plan in which they are enrolled. The Administration mounted a multi-faceted strategy, using administrative as well as legislative levers, to reach every consumer sector with these protections. First, given that the federal government itself is the largest purchaser of health care in the United States, the President directed the six federal agencies that are health care purchasers to pursue full compliance in their health programs, and to identify obstacles to meeting that goal.

Medicare, Medicaid, and the Indian Health Service, the largest programs affecting over 70 million people, have either already met or exceeded many of the Bill of Rights' recommendations. Where necessary, administrative steps are being used to upgrade standards in these programs. Medicare, for example, covers an estimated 38 million elderly and disabled individuals, about 6.5 million or 17 percent of whom are currently enrolled in managed care. The program is implementing rules which require new patient protections such as access to emergency services when and where the need arises, patient participation in treatment decisions and direct access to qualified specialists to address complex or serious medical conditions. Medicaid, which covers about 40 million individuals, about half of whom are in some managed care arrangement, is adding new protections including access to specialists and an expedited independent appeals process for patients.

The 285 participating health plans that reach nine million federal employees and their dependents, have been directed to institute a series of protections for patients this year. These include access to emergency room services, access to specialists, continuity of care, and disclosure of financial incentives and methods of compensation used to pay physicians. Over 8 million beneficiaries served by the Military Health System and another 3 million veterans will also receive the patient protections laid out in the bill of rights as a result of actions by the Department of Defense and the Veteran's Administration.

Second, the Administration has proposed legislation for a Patients' Bill of Rights, to ensure that consumers in private health plans are similarly protected. Without legislative action, the 125 million Americans covered by 2.5 million private sector health plans governed by the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) will be denied most of the patient protections identified as critical to quality health care by the President's Advisory Commission.

Third, a variety of efforts have also been made to strengthen the capacity of health care plans and providers to develop and report quality data, and to share that information with the public. Use of this information by employers, employees and other purchasers is critical to ensuring a system that is driven by the quality of care and not simply by its cost.

The Quality Commission also made strong recommendations about the need to enhance the measurement and improvement of quality. It suggested that health care quality improvement draw on many of the same principles that have been applied in the Administration's reinvention of government. This evidence-based approach to quality improvement is narrowing the gaps between what we know how to do in medical care and what we actually do for the American public. The Administration's commitment to biomedical research has been matched by a renewed commitment to health services research about what works in the delivery of health care. This commitment was carried out by the Administration's support of evidence-based research, the development of the National Guideline Clearinghouse which will provide a central repository of best health delivery practices, a focus on prevention , and emphasis on research about health outcomes and effectiveness.

In addition to asking Federal agencies to lead the way to consumer protection in health care, the President organized the Quality Interagency Coordination Task Force (QuIC), a collaboration among all the federal health involved in health care, chaired by Secretaries of Health and Human Services and Labor. The purpose of the QuIC is to improve measurement, share best practices and knowledge about how to use information generated by measurement to improve health care quality, to inform patients about the options available to them, and to enhance the health care workforce's ability to provide quality services.

As technological invention has escalated the ability to store, analyze and distribute extraordinary volumes of data, confidentiality of personal health information has become a paramount concern. The Administration responded to this concern with recommendations to the Congress to preserve confidentiality of federal health records, guarantee rights for patients and define responsibilities for record keepers.

Strengthening Americans' Role in Health Care

Respecting the health care needs of America's citizens and strengthening their influence have been principal elements of the Clinton Administration's approach to achieving a healthier nation. At virtually every opportunity, there have been efforts to reach Americans with accurate, accessible and understandable information about health and health care. Emerging knowledge about nutrition, fitness and disease prevention is disseminated widely and in highly visible mediums. Beyond these messages moreover, the information provided makes people's

expectations about choice real, by providing the practical information about how and where to obtain health and medical care, and how to choose among a range of health plans, providers and treatments. The Administration has taken a comprehensive approach, drawing on the reach and resources of every medium, advancing the use of high technology in the service of outreach, and calling upon the organizations and institutions, community networks and professionals of every sort who interact with the public on a daily basis.

The federally-sponsored Consumer Assessment of Health Plans (CAHPS), which can be used by managed care plans, employers and others to get consumers' views of the care they are receiving, illustrates the kind of information generation which can over time affect the basis on which health care purchasing is conducted. Among the first to get the benefit of this information will be Medicare enrollees in managed care plans and enrollees in the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program. Policy in these two programs frequently sets a standard that the private health care system follows.

A massive Medicare education program using print and electronic media, individual counseling, partnering with private organizations including employers, unions, advocacy groups and providers will aid the 38 million Medicare beneficiaries navigate an expanded set of health plan choices as they come to fruition. This tailored information program for beneficiaries and their families will strengthen understanding of the program, break down its complexity, and foster more effective use of the health and medical supports it offers. Such an information program will have lasting impact as senior citizens become more numerous, live longer, and have the ability to age actively and in good health.

In concert with states, there is also an extensive education and outreach initiative to reach families with children who may be eligible for existing or new child health insurance programs. Given the unique opportunity to link millions of currently uninsured children to a regular source of medical care, federal agencies are reaching out to every grantee, advocacy and professional network to send the message of the importance of health care for children. Virtually all states have developed plans and are seeking the resources to expand health insurance for low-income children. In addition, many states, including Connecticut, Vermont, Arkansas and Wisconsin have taken critical steps to remove the stigma of Medicaid so that more families and children who could take advantage of its benefits recognize its value and will enroll.

Using the information highway, scores of new government-generated web sites are enabling consumers to navigate easily the vast array of health and medical information produced by the federal government and its partners. New Internet resources like *Healthfinder.gov,* Medicare.gov, National Women's Health Information Clearinghouse and MEDLINE, which offers the most extensive collection of published medical information in the world, open new doors of knowledge and data for the public, improving their ability to become informed, make responsible choices, and contribute to improving their health and that of their family.

Product labeling offers another way to advance the ability of consumers to affect their own health and behavior. In general, consumers want to know more and more about the products they use, especially products central to their daily health and well-being such as food and drugs. In

addition to changing the ways in which information becomes available, the quantity of information available is being increased substantially. The Internet has accelerated dissemination of an increasing fund of information and the Administration has taken advantage of the new technologies as noted above. Careful and accurate labeling of consumer products offers another approach to enhancing information for public use. Just as with food labeling, over the counter drug labeling will be revised by the Food and Drug Administration to provide more useful information to the consumer. In the future, drugs for use by children will also be made safer by proper labeling, based on newly required studies of safety and appropriate dosage. This information can be used by physicians and health providers to make science-based judgments about appropriate treatments when prescribing drugs for children.

II. Prevention/Risk Reduction/Safety

Many things have the potential to cause harm. Motivated by a commitment to a public health approach, the Administration saw an important role for government in increasing public attention to these factors, applying scientific tools to understand the nature, scope and characteristics of the factors, testing strategies to control and prevent them, and strengthening clinical practice to use the most effective methods to address them. The Administration sought to improve safety and reduce the risk of harm regardless of whether the harm resulted from disease, behavior and lifestyle, environmental hazards or under use of care. Consequently, issues from reducing susceptibility to communicable diseases to early detection of chronic illnesses, from securing the safety of the food supply to preventing hazards and violence at work and at home and to preparedness for global threats, took a central place in the roster of Administration priorities.

Child Immunizations

In 1992, less than sixty percent of all children under age two received the recommended immunizations against vaccine preventable diseases. Low-income children's vaccination rates were considerably lower. Since 1993 the Administration's Childhood Immunization Initiative (CII) has been dedicated to reducing the risk to children of acquiring vaccine preventable infectious diseases. This national initiative focuses on five areas: (1) improving the quality and quantity of immunization services, (2) reducing vaccine costs for parents, (3) increasing community participation, education and partnerships, (4) improving systems for monitoring disease and vaccinations, and (5) improving vaccines and vaccine use.

Of particular note in this effort is the Vaccines for Children Program (VFC) which provides vaccines at not charge to many of the Nation's most vulnerable children. Not only has VFC program made vaccines more available and affordable to these children, but it also promotes continuity of health care and has also improved access to the latest vaccines. This year the rotavirus vaccine was recommended for use in young children. The vaccine works to prevent one of the most severe causes of diarrhea in children. In 1999 this vaccine will be available through VFC program. Prior to the VFC program, these children may not have received timely access to the newest recommended vaccines. Other efforts of the CII include many vigorous and creative public education campaigns conducted by public agencies, private agencies and many public-

private partnerships that have made possible wider acceptance and readier availability of immunizations to millions of children. Now a record high percentage of young children throughout the nation are immunized. For children under the age of two, the most vulnerable age group, the immunization rate for a recommended series has risen to 78 percent, a record high level.

This record has stimulated great strides in preventing specific pediatric illnesses. Measles is disappearing, moving from epidemic status to about 138 cases per year, most of which are imported from outside the U.S. Diseases such as acquired mental retardation, deafness, and often-fatal meningitis, caused by *Haemophilus influenzae* type b, have been substantially reduced. In all, childhood vaccines prevent 12 infectious diseases: polio, measles, diphtheria, mumps, pertussis (whooping cough), rubella (German measles), tetanus, *Haemophilus influenzae* type b, varicella (chicken pox), and hepatitis B. By 1997 over 90 percent of children under age two were immunized against measles, polio, and *Haemophilus influenzae* type b, and over 80 percent were immunized against diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, and hepatitis B. (See Figure 2)

Mammograms and Other Preventive Screening

As we have learned from research about the value of regular screening to identify the presence of disease at an early stage, the Clinton Administration consistently has sought ways to make these life saving approaches available and affordable to the public. To make this possible, coverage is now provided through Medicare for vital preventive benefits that can help prevent future illness or injury.

Breast cancer is the most common non-skin cancer in women, and the second leading cause of cancer deaths for American women. Yet only 61 percent of women ages 51 and over had a mammography in the previous two years, according to a 1994 study by CDC. Based on evidence that screening measures could prevent approximately 15-30 percent of all deaths from breast cancer among women over the age of 40, in 1997 the NIH issued guidance that women age 40 and over should receive mammography screening once every one to two years. Now all Medicare beneficiaries over 40 have access to annual screening mammograms, and women ages 35-39 can obtain a one-time initial, or baseline, mammogram. The FDA also put in place standards that upgrade the quality performance of personnel and equipment at all U.S. facilities for mammography screening.

Changes in Medicare coverage also have made more accessible other critical cancer detection techniques, such as a screening pap smear, pelvic exam and clinical breast exam including mammography. Osteoporosis, for example, afflicts 10 million Americans annually, 80 percent of whom are women. Osteoporosis causes about 1.5 million fractures a year, costing $10 billion in direct medical expenditures. With tests of bone mass density now covered for postmenopausal women, millions of women will have an opportunity to take steps to avoid this debilitating disease and avert many of its painful and costly consequences.

Preventive approaches are not limited to women. Screenings for prostate and colorectal cancers are now more widely covered benefits under Medicare. Approximately 16 million Americans

have diabetes and nearly 798,000 new cases are reported annually. Minorities - especially African-Americans, Native Americans and Hispanics/Latinos - comprise a disproportionate share of those who suffer from diabetes. Under Medicare, critical education and self-management training for diabetes, which will aid individuals in developing the skills and resources generally needed to control the disease, are now more widely available.

Curbing Tobacco Use

Recently-appointed director of the World Health Organization, Dr. Gro Bruntland, calls tobacco use the most preventable disease worldwide. In the U.S., smoking is the largest single cause of morbidity and mortality. Every year more than 400,000 people die from tobacco-related cancer, respiratory illness, heart disease, and other health problems. At the same time, each year another million teenagers become regular smokers.

Research has demonstrated that children experiment with tobacco use at ages 10-13, become addicted at ages 14-16, and once addicted, by age 18 become tobacco industry customers for life. To break this cycle, the Administration set a goal of reducing the smoking rate among young people by 50 percent within seven years, thereby curbing unnecessary disease, disability and death in adulthood.

The insight that tobacco use is a pediatric disease persuaded the Administration to open a new comprehensive campaign in the war against smoking. First, the Administration used its regulatory powers to prohibit young people's access to tobacco and to curtail its visibility and appeal to youth by limiting the industry's marketing tools, such as advertising, billboards, giveaways and sponsorship of events and other products. Second, the proposed rule itself and the flood of public response to it exposed hundreds of thousands of pages of industry documents revealing the depth and duration of the industry's knowledge of tobacco's addictive qualities, and the manufacturing and marketing strategies used by the industry to expand and secure a customer base despite extraordinary compromises to public health.

Third, implementation and enforcement of the Synar rule became a priority. The Synar Amendment requires states to conduct random unannounced inspections of a sample of tobacco vendors to assess their compliance with laws prohibiting tobacco sales to underage children. States failing to meet their goal of reducing violation rates to 20 percent risk losing a percentage of their federal funds for substance abuse prevention and treatment. HHS placed a special Office on Smoking and Health at the CDC, including a clearinghouse to assist states with effective practices, established a public health research program to demonstrate and evaluate state-based programs, and created new strategies to address the effects of secondary smoke and other environmental issues. In 1999, CDC will be providing support to all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and the territories to conduct comprehensive tobacco control programs. Several states programs include counter-advertising, community coalitions, and policies on environmental tobacco.

Strengthening the public health infrastructure as a whole (including federal laboratories and surveillance, as well as state and local capacity to identify, diagnose, and respond) will enhance the nation's capacity to deal with health emergencies of many types. The critical capacity necessary to address all of these issues of emerging infection involves detection of the infection, isolation of the infectious agent, identification and characterization of the microorganism, and linkage to a system of prevention and/or treatment.

Through the leadership of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the U.S. launched in 1994 and updated in 1998 a strategic plan to prevent emerging infectious diseases. The strategic planning documents, developed with the Committee on International Science, Engineering, and Technology (CISET) and a score of federal agencies, provide the framework for specific action initiatives to address, for example, food safety, an influenza pandemic, and bioterrorism. The initial plan spurred Presidential action and congressional appropriations, a resolution and plan by the World Health Organization, a plan for Canada, a Department of Defense plan and an NIH infectious disease research plan. Other indicators of progress include new resources for state health departments, training young professionals to build new leadership, and renewed attention on infectious diseases which had been considered conquered rather than only controlled, and for which we had not imagined new kinds or sources of infectious agents.

In the international sphere, the United States recognized the importance of addressing global health through cooperation with international organizations and as a high priority issue in bilateral relationships. The World Health Organization (WHO) plays a critical role in coordinating establishment of international standards for vaccines, blood products, other biological products, drugs and medical devices and for the data and information that help medical and health professionals assess, diagnose, treat and prevent disease and disability worldwide. Working with other reform-minded countries, the U.S. led the effort to reinvigorate the WHO by searching for and recruiting new leadership, ultimately installing Gro Bruntland, of Norway, as the new WHO Director. In addition, global health is now an issue on the agendas of the European Union and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the U.S. is working closely with the Pan American Health Organization to increase the use of existing and newer vaccines, to strengthen the National Control Authorities and the National Control Laboratories involved in the regulation of vaccines and other biological products, and to increase the research and surveillance activities in the region. Finally, committees to address health through information, technical assistance and other exchanges were established as part of bilateral relationships such as the commissions between the U.S. and Russia and between the U.S. and South Africa. Several other bilateral working groups, including the US/European Union Task Force, the US/INDIA Joint Working Group, and the US/Japan Common Agenda, are pursuing activities to address emerging infectious diseases.

Food Safety

Foodborne illnesses kill approximately 9,000 people annually and make up to 81 million others sick. New, more virulent, more drug-resistant pathogens, life style changes such as eating more meals outside the home, the importation of more foods from around the world, the increased consumption of seafood, and other shifts in food production are creating new challenges for the

nation's food safety system. The inspection system, first established in the 1920s and operated by several different agencies, had become completely outmoded.

To overcome this fragmented, divisive and archaic system of monitoring and protecting the food supply, the Administration advanced a comprehensive new initiative to make sure that the food Americans consume is one of the safest in the world. This concentrated attention to the food safety system has resulted in substantial improvements, from modernizing inspections to creating a high technology early warning system to detect and control outbreaks of foodborne illness.

Not all the improvements in food safety rely on high technology solutions. The Administration also has given renewed visibility to high impact low technology practices, such as hand washing and everyday actions that individuals can take to handle and prepare food safely. Fight Bac!, a consumer education campaign, focuses on four basic principles: CLEAN, SEPARATE, CHILL, and COOK. Mounted by the Partnership for Food Safety Education, a coalition of government, industry and consumer organizations, the campaign is vigorously communicating messages to the broad public to convince them to change unsafe food handling behaviors and to adopt sound, science-based public health practices that ensure food safety.

Both the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) and FDA now use a new highly science-based approach to inspections and enforcement, called Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points (HACCP), which places considerably more responsibility than in the previous system on the commercial food producers or processors. This new basis for inspection and detection has been put into place for seafood, meat and poultry and will be applied as well to juices.

The new system also includes enhanced surveillance capacity through FoodNet, a network of laboratories to do *active* surveillance regarding foodborne illness, and PulseNet, a network of laboratories specializing in genomics and genetic fingerprinting, which will facilitate rapid recognition of outbreaks so they can be investigated and controlled before they spread. PulseNet is expanding its reach and capacity by connecting many state public health laboratories with CDC, and by bringing USDA and FDA laboratories on line. A Food Safety Council, established by the President in 1998, will institutionalize coordination among the nine agencies involved in food safety across the government to ensure that a seamless food safety system is achieved.

One early indicator of progress is the reduction in time between detection, diagnosis and response with regard to certain emerging infections. In 1993, it took weeks to determine the common food source of the outbreak of foodborne illness caused by a deadly strain of bacteria, *E. coli* 0157:H7. Today, it can take PulseNet and its new computer links as little as 48 hours to match strains of bacteria and recognize foodborne illnesses occurring at the same time but in different communities. In the near future, PulseNet will be able to perform these functions not only on *E.coli* 0157:H7 isolates, but also on other bacteria that cause illness through food. This technology and coordination can detect major outbreaks and provide the basis for determining public health actions, including product recalls, ultimately reducing illness and saving lives.

Bioterrorism

The U.S. has increasingly become vulnerable to terrorist attacks with weapons of mass destruction. Biological weapons present some unique challenges, including a silent release in a public space and a prolonged process of identification more likely to occur in context of a health professional, which call for a special response capability.

To address the health consequences of any incident involving use of nuclear, biological or chemical materials, the Administration is developing a strategic plan with four components: enhancing the public health infrastructure with emphasis on the surveillance system; strengthening the medical response capability; creating and maintaining a stockpile of pharmaceuticals and other materials; and enhancing research, design, development and approval of diagnostics, antibiotics/antivirals and vaccines. Implementing this plan will require creating partnerships to enhance the local health and medical system capability to respond effectively, while at the same time improving the federal capability to augment rapidly state and local response resources, including local emergency medical systems.

Promoting Reproductive Health; Preventing Infertility

> "Reproductive health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, in all matters relating to the reproductive system and its processes. Reproductive health therefore implies that people are able to have a satisfying and safe sex life and that they have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when, and how often to do so."

These words represent the resolve of the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development that publicly transformed the world understanding of health and reproduction. No longer are these issues to be viewed only from the perspective of controlling population. Instead, with significant engagement by the U.S., the delegates from around the world crafted a "programme of action" designed to promote reproductive health and to recognize reproduction as a health and human rights issue. As the National Research Council subsequently stated, implicit in this vision of reproductive health are three principles: 1) every sex act should be free of coercion and infection; 2) every pregnancy should be intended; and 3) every birth should be healthy.

These have been defining tenets since the Clinton Administration took office. In one of his earliest actions, the President overturned a previous directive prohibiting women in the military from receiving abortions. There have been consistent efforts to promote choice, enhance reproductive health and take a comprehensive view of women's health.

Stemming sexually transmitted diseases, especially chlamydia and syphilis, is one of the arenas in which progress is most promising as a result of this important shift in framework. Chlamydia, the most common infectious disease reported to the CDC, is the most common preventable cause of potentially fatal tubal pregnancies and involuntary infertility. This sexually transmitted disease can facilitate the spread of HIV, and infant eye infections and newborn pneumonia can result from maternal transmission of chlamydia.

In the past six years, the nation has tackled chlamydia using a reproductive health paradigm, a different strategy than is used to address other STDs. To address jointly the prevention of pregnancy and prevention of STD infection required collaboration across STD prevention and family planning programs at the federal, state and local levels. Federal funding for chlamydia prevention are now shared between these two branches of public health departments, creating more connection across the two programs. Data from the states in which this approach has been mounted indicate dramatic declines in chlamydia positivity in both older women and teenagers attending family planning clinics that were participating in the screening program. A similar effort use chlamydia screening in a managed care setting showed a reduction by 60% of pelvic inflammatory disease (PID) which is the central link to negative health outcomes.

Building on this recognized success, federal resources now cover about 40-50 percent of women in publicly funded family planning clinics in 20 states. However, in the other 20 states, only about 15 percent of women at risk are reached with the screening protocol. The Administration is proposing to expand successful screening and treatment programs for chlamydia.

Another STD, syphilis, is targeted for total elimination in the U.S. Prevention of syphilis is critical to reducing transmission of HIV. Currently, the U.S. is at record low rates of syphilis; 75 percent of counties have eliminated the disease. In the past several years, progress has also been made in bringing down the disparate impact of the disease by race from 60 percent higher among African Americans than whites to 40 percent higher. Nevertheless, just 31 counties produce half of all the new syphilis cases, and the racially disproportionate impact persists. A focused effort to eliminate the disease will involve using the biomedical tools already available and building the public health infrastructure which is necessary to address other persistent and new infectious diseases -- other STDs, AIDS, tuberculosis, bioterrorist threats -- in areas that currently suffer from severe lack of capacity.

Traffic Safety

In the decade preceding the advent of the Administration, considerable progress had been made in improving traffic safety. However, a robust economy stimulates greater mobility and increased use of vehicles. As a result, stagnation in traffic safety markers such as fatality rates, fatalities related to alcohol use, and the use of seat belts essentially meant falling behind with more deaths and injuries -- virtually all preventable.

New leadership at the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) reengineered its approach to traffic safety to place it once again on the public agenda not only of government, but of industry, public health professionals and a wide variety of community stakeholders. Further, it found a range of non-regulatory remedies to promote positive safety practices on the road. As with other public health problems, many of these new solutions relied on reaching out to a broader constituency, and developing partnerships at the state and community level, to share responsibility and ownership of the problem of motor vehicle injuries.

To make the new collaborations effective, NHTSA created constituency-specific networks to focus on discrete problems. The Network of Employers for Traffic Safety (NETS), for example, enables industry to focus on traffic crashes as an internal cost issue. Techniques for Effective Alcohol Management (TEAM) draws together representatives of athletic stadiums and arenas, initially to address alcohol-related motor vehicle injury, and more recently to highlight seat belt use. Engineers from the automobile industry are now linked to a wide spectrum of scientists, health professionals, law enforcement personnel, and crash investigators at seven trauma centers around the country through CIREN (Crash Injury Research and Engineering Network) to improve the knowledge base about injury resulting from vehicle crashes and about the factors contributing to crashes. Through this new information, medical professionals can make better decisions about risk, diagnosis and interventions.

Scientific knowledge became a catalyst for change in other arenas as well. Research findings stimulated renewed interest by law enforcement agencies whose participation was essential. The fact that the majority of felony arrests result from routine traffic stops energized police and other law enforcement personnel to give greater visibility to enforcing use of child safety seats, seat belt usage and other safety measures.

Strengthening the data system which undergirds traffic safety efforts has also proven particularly effective in engaging states in taking actions to address their local problems. NHTSA linked state data to enable states to analyze and assess their own information instead of relying solely on the federal agency to identify the problems. In addition, through CODES (Crash Outcome Data Evaluation System) traffic records are connected with data about hospital discharges emergency medical services.

Finally, NHTSA created the Safe Communities program to elevate traffic safety as a public health issue, catalyze community-based coalitions, and make available the tools communities need to address the problem in a sustained and results oriented way. Other federal agencies such as CDC, intergovernmental organizations such as the National Association of Governor's Highway Safety Representatives, and other public and private organizations became partners with NHTSA to assist localities to identify and take control of the safety issues in their communities. More than 550 communities have opted to be "Safe Communities," and with support from other federal agencies, these coalitions are mobilizing to address other safety issues as well.

The renewed interest in traffic safety at all levels of government and the community is beginning to reap benefits in greater use of safety measures and reduced injuries. In 1997, seat belt use inched up to 69 percent, alcohol-related traffic deaths dropped by two percent, declining to a record low of 38 percent, and the fatality rate from crashes fell slightly to 1.6 percent, also an all time low. With Americans traveling more every year, continued effort along this path will be necessary to meet NHTSA's goals of a 20 percent reduction in traffic fatalities and injuries by the Year 2008.

Improving the Safety and Health of America's Workers

Many serious workplace hazards threaten the health of workers who labor in their midst. Whether through injury or disease, these hazards jeopardize the productivity of the workforce, the well-being of the workers and their families, and the fiscal vitality of the industries involved. Despite progress in reducing workplace deaths between 1980 and 1994, an average of 137 individuals die each day from work-related disease and an additional 16 die from injuries on the job. Millions more are injured or permanently or temporarily disabled. The estimated annual economic burden of disease and injury for occupational disease and injury in 1992 was $171 billion. Yet reducing the risks presented by many of these hazards has proven an arduous task as a result of the polarization of interested sectors, debates over regulation, and tensions about what, if any, degree of risk is acceptable.

The Administration realized that the debates were protracted, resolved little and often resulted in stalemate. Millions of workers remained unprotected. Both public and private sector efforts have faced increasing fiscal constraints brought about by the downsizing trends of the 1990's. It was clear to the Administration that it was necessary to go beyond tradition and the usual approaches to test a different strategy. To address this issue, the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health and its more than 500 partners created the National Occupational Research Agenda (NORA) in 1996 to target and coordinate occupational safety and health research and to leverage resources for research to protect working Americans.

The Agenda identifies 21 priority research areas for the entire occupational safety and health community. In 1998, the largest single infusion of federal funding for extramural occupational health and safety research was achieved. Science and new technology became tools for consensus building around pragmatic solutions rather than the source of debate about relative levels of risk reduction.

Partnership is vital to the Agenda's success. An illustrative example involves a pioneering partnership with the asphalt industry and the associated labor organizations which led to a timely voluntary solution to the problem of workers' exposure to asphalt fumes during paving operations. The partnership turned the traditional approach on its head, seeking to prevent rather than react to the carcinogenic effects of asphalt fumes on workers. Traditional rulemaking in this case would have provoked years of litigation and would have lost time to protect the affected workers. The partnership, by contrast, was able to sidestep a protracted debate and deliver practical controls in the workplace. Through the use of innovative engineering controls, the partners were able to achieve 100 percent of an industry voluntarily agreeing to implement control technology equipment -- which reduces worker fume exposure by about 80 percent – on all new highway pavers.

Over the past five years, successful occupational health and safety research partnerships with private industry and labor, including General Motors, Walmart, United Auto Workers, Browning Ferris Industries, Laborers' Health and Safety Fund of North America, Ford Motor company, and others have laid the groundwork for a new era of protecting America's workforce.

Partnerships have also become the hallmark of efforts to the improve the safety of consumer products. The U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission has, whenever possible, used voluntary and pragmatic approaches to achieving safety for the public in preference to more adversarial regulatory measures.

Recalls of hazardous products are now accomplished, for example, with an innovative process of collaboration with industry. This Fast Track Product Recall Program, which received the 1998 Innovations in American Government Award from the Ford Foundation and Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, achieves recalls three times more quickly than in 1995. In this program, if an industry voluntarily identifies and reports a product problem to the CPSC, and agrees to do recalls within 20 working days, the CPSC agrees not to make a letter of findings that would otherwise be placed in public files about the industry. This new process has minimized adversarial proceedings, increased the rate at which products are returned to the manufacturer, effectively getting unsafe products off the shelf faster and away from consumers. From products such as Hasbro's "Soft Walkin' Wheels" toy to Sunbeam's Gas Grill, fast-track recalls occur in an average of seven to ten days, effectively deterring most hazardous products from ever getting to consumers in the first place.

Regulating product safety has traditionally been time consuming and often contentious. CPSC sought alternatives to regulation as ways to achieve safety while retaining the power to regulate. For example, to overcome the problem of children strangling when the strings at the neck of their outerwear garments caught on playground or other equipment, CPSC asked industry voluntarily to remove the strings and replace them with snaps, buttons or Velcro closures. Industry agreed to do so voluntarily and later adopted a voluntary standard on this issue. Industry solved a different problem, eliminating the loops on venetian blinds cords in which some children were strangling, in a similar cooperative fashion. First, the industry agreed to give away replacement safety tassels free. Subsequently, a new voluntary standard was adopted and industry developed a number of new safer products to eliminate the strangulation hazard. When CPSC told manufacturers of baby walkers that it was considering a mandatory standard to address the thousands of injuries to children resulting from falls down stairs, the industry came up with a variety of new designs. Both the affirmative efforts to collaborate with industry and the continuing authority and willingness to regulate where necessary have produced significant improvements in the safety of consumer products.

Efforts to promote safe products and to reward good practice have also heightened awareness and attention by the public of ways to protect people from harm. In cooperation with Gerber Foods, CPSC developed the "Baby Safety Showers" program, which the First Lady helped launch. This idea has been picked up by hospitals, organizations that work with new mothers, parenting education programs and many others to help educate new parents about safety in infancy. The CPSC Chairman also initiated a Commendation for Substantial Contributions to Product Safety, given periodically to industry, which offers another way to give public attention to positive actions for safety.

Prevention of Family and Interpersonal Violence

Intentional injury between intimates reached very high levels in the early 1990s. In 1993, there were more than one million violent victimizations of women by an intimate. A 1994 study of child abuse and neglect, using a methodology that includes children both reported to child protection agencies as well as children believed to be maltreated but not reported, found that 2.8 million children were abused or neglected. The Administration made a major commitment to the prevention of family and intimate violence.

In the context of a comprehensive effort to address crime, the Administration collaborated with the Congress to gain adoption of the Violence Against Women Act. While efforts to prevent and end sexual violence began as grass-roots, community-based movements more than two decades ago, these landmark provisions of the Crime Act of 1994 provided new legal tools and bolstered funding to address violence against women. The Violence Against Women Act made certain acts federal crimes. It doubled funding for shelters and other critical community-based help for battered women and their children. It also substantially increased funding for rape prevention and education, especially for school-age children. It provided new support to local law enforcement and police for training and special focus on domestic abuse. It enhanced research opportunities, stimulating collaborative investigations across domains and disciplines. It strengthened surveillance and applied to crimes against women public health methods of tracking, testing and evaluating interventions, and spreading effective practices and public health messages. These approaches are making it possible to link more closely surveillance processes and service delivery systems to strengthen the science base for systems that prevent and respond to family violence.

Signs of progress are emerging. The Crime Victimization Survey, administered by the Department of Justice, reports that since 1993, the rate at which women experience violent victimizations at the hands of an intimate has declined. For every 1000 women in the population, the rate dropped from 9.8 violent victimizations in 1993 to 7.5 in 1996. Vigorous implementation of the Violence Against Women Act, knitting together legal protections, social supports and public health approaches at the community level have contributed to a climate in which violence between intimate partners is not condoned.

Escalating reports of abuse and neglect of children propelled the Administration to seek ways to reassert the importance of safety in both policy and practice. Through the Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997, states are given streamlined legal requirements and new financial incentives to facilitate and expedite adoptive or permanent families for maltreated children who have been languishing in foster care. The new law also increases support for preventive and early intervention activities to help vulnerable families stay together safely.

Together, these new laws and the additional resources flowing into communities are establishing for the next century essential frameworks for enhancing family safety.

III. Expanding the Frontiers of Knowledge

Commitment to the continuous development of knowledge has been a canon of the Clinton Administration. Scientific discovery is exploding at an unprecedented pace. Technology, genetics, and information capacity have all contributed to this flourishing and complex enterprise. Finding ways to continue and accelerate these developments and harness them for the public good has required many careful and strategic steps, as well as a deep respect for and understanding of the nonlinear nature of the processes of scientific research and advancement. Rigorous research usually takes not only talent and creativity but time, rarely proceeds without complications or detours, and requires commitment for the long course.

A first and fundamental step taken by the Administration involved recognizing the need to strengthen the intellectual, managerial and financial underpinnings of the government's vast scientific activities. The Administration attracted one of the world's most distinguished scientists to lead the National Institutes of Health, the world's largest biomedical research institution. He, in turn, attracted a number of distinguished biomedical researchers to lead the various Institutes and Centers. In addition, the Administration called annually for significant support for science research, and crafted a 21st Century Research Fund to stabilize high level investment in biomedical, behavioral, and prevention research for the next generation.

Over the past five years, building on the multi-year research activities of a large number of investigators and collaborators, many important discoveries have emerged and several have been swiftly transferred into clinical practice. Significant and durable changes have generated much more active processes for translating basic science into clinical practice and then into broad use. New communication tools are making it possible to give greater visibility to and graphically portray basic science stories. These stories attract public attention, convey vividly the excitement of new scientific discoveries, show the progress that is occurring and give a vision of what is possible. Through stories, the public can become more knowledgeable about personal health, allowing individuals, where possible, to be healthier.

One result is a much more holistic approach to disease, to health and to basic human behavior and functioning. It is possible now, for example, to understand and promote the notion that when diet is changed in certain ways, it is affecting risk factors not just for one disease -- heart disease or cancer or osteoporosis -- but potentially for many of them at the same time. Further, research on any disease frequently confers unanticipated insights into other diseases.

Vaccine Development and Use

The development of safe and effective vaccine has been one of the outstanding accomplishments of biomedical research in the 20th century. The beneficial impact of vaccines has been especially great in improving the health of children. Childhood vaccines, used in national immunization programs, have eradicated one infection (smallpox), eliminated another from the Americas (polio), and dramatically reduced the incidence of many other infectious diseases of children. In the last five years there has been significant progress in vaccine development, led in major part by the National Institutes of Health (NIH). (See above) The FDA and its biologic laboratories in

cooperation with the NIH and the CDC have provided critical contributions fostering the acceleration of new cutting edge technologies by establishing standards and methodologies ensuring the safety of these new product areas.

Several vaccines for use in children are in advanced stages of development. One of these, the vaccine to prevent rotavirus diarrhea has been licensed by FDA for use in the United States in 1998 and has been recommended for routine use in children by the Immunization Practices Advisory Committee. This vaccine prevents the most common cause of dehydrating diarrhea in infants and is widely expected to markedly reduce this problem. An experimental live vaccine, the cold-adapted (ca) influenza virus vaccine is also under development. Based on reports of investigational clinical trials, it is expected to improve significantly the health of children by preventing about 90 percent of the cases of acute influenza infection that occur in children and also reduce the rates of middle ear infection by nearly one third. Vaccines to prevent the serious complications of the food borne infection caused by Escherichia coli O157:H7 and related enterotoxigenic strains are also on the horizon.

Pediatric AIDS

HIV has been one of the leading causes of death in the U.S. between the ages of 1 and 24 years since 1991. Transmission of the virus from HIV-infected pregnant women to their offspring is the major source of new pediatric infections in the U.S. and worldwide. In 1994, an NIH-sponsored study group reported a clinical trial which demonstrated that zidovudine (ZDV or AZT) administered to the mother during pregnancy, labor and delivery and to the infant in the first weeks of life can reduce mother to child transmission of this fatal infection from 25 to 8 percent. A Public Health Service Task Force led by an NIH researcher published recommendations which form the major basis for the use of this drug to prevent perinatally-transmitted pediatric HIV and AIDS. Recent reports from a number of areas around the country indicated that maternal-fetal transmission of HIV has fallen to 5-7 percent as a result of this treatment regimen. Drug development for therapies for HIV is an area which facilitated and broadened the ability of children to access both clinical trials and new therapies.

The recently presented findings of another NIH researcher, based on a comprehensive international study, suggests that elective cesarean delivery can reduce further the transmission rate in ZDV-treated pregnant infected women to only two percent. Furthermore, as a result of NIH-sponsored research and public health service clinical guidance, this nation is also on the way to eradicating mother-to-child transmitted pediatric AIDS, beating the two percent rate of perinatal HIV transmission set as a goal a few years ago by the private Pediatric AIDS Foundation.

Chronic Disease

New knowledge has changed some chronic diseases to acute diseases and these can be treated more effectively. For example, with the discovery that about half to three-quarters of peptic ulcers are a result of an infectious agent, the disease can now be managed through the use of antibiotics. The length and frequency of crises from sickle cell disease, which affects African-Americans disproportionately, have been diminished through the use of hydroxyurea added to penicillin to prevent infection. This treatment has been approved for use by adults but not yet for children.

The first indications have emerged of a decline in the incidence and death rates from cancer. While not yet confirmed, likely contributors to this decline include: a decrease in smoking among adult men and improved screening procedures including mammography and pap smears, which lead to earlier detection and management of the disease, increasing the survival rate. Another likely contributor involves greater sophistication in defining risk, enabling better advice to be proffered on prevention.

Deaths from coronary heart disease continue to decline, reflecting new treatments such as beta blockers. New diagnostic techniques also enable earlier detection, finding heart disease that may have gone unnoticed in the past. On the horizon is making sure that the successful treatments are made widely affordable and available.

IV. Collaboration Among Science Research, Delivery Systems, Prevention, and Consumer Involvement

One of the hallmarks of Clinton era strategies for change has been to maximize collaborations between government and anyone with a real interest in the issue. Complexity has been a major factor inherent in trying to conquer health and safety problems that contain scientific and technological, fiscal, political and social dimensions. The Administration made certain assumptions in the face of these complexities. Foremost among them was that no one sector could devise solutions or take action alone. So the Administration crafted collaborations to bridge scientific research, dissemination of findings, application of findings to new treatments and making the treatments available safely and as quickly as possible. These partnerships drew on both public and private health care delivery systems to put new findings into practice, and involved consumers as teachers as well as beneficiaries. Wherever possible, cooperation included providing information, and developing, testing and marketing prevention strategies.

HIV/AIDS: A Case Study

Nowhere has this collaborative approach been more historic and had greater impact than in the fight to stem HIV/AIDS in the United States. In the 1990s, AIDS diagnoses and deaths dropped markedly in this country. At least 15,000 fewer people died of AIDS in 1997 than in the previous year alone, a 42 percent decline. (See Figure 3) Among the leading causes of death, HIV infection fell from 8th to 14th place between 1996 and 1997. The result is increasing numbers of people who are HIV-infected and still alive and whose quality of life has improved. The number of new cases of HIV infection reported annually in the United States has leveled off to approximately 35,000 to 40,000 per year, far less than in the early years of the epidemic. However, rates of infection in some racial/ethnic minority communities have increased over the years and remain alarmingly high.

This legacy builds on the work, creativity and perseverance of many who came before and has achieved its significant changes through the multiple and layered efforts of many throughout the government, the private sector and by the public. Actions by the President from the outset of the

Administration, dedication of the federal scientific enterprise, public health agencies and many others, and unprecedented investment of resources for treatment and prevention, however, have contributed to deepening and accelerating progress in controlling this disease.

Since the disease was identified in 1981, the past five years stand out for the number, nature and pace of changes that have been made. During the 1980's, HIV was addressed using a rehabilitative, chronic care model, focusing heavily on hospice care and with virtually no resources devoted to treatment. The period of time from diagnosis to death was 12-18 months. From the mid-eighties until 1990, scientists began to be able to describe opportunistic infections. With the ability both to identify and to anticipate infections, practitioners began to apply a therapeutic model, resulting in significant drops in morbidity and to some extent mortality. Still, however, only minimal funds were available for treatment and the period of time from diagnosis to death, while widening, was about 18 to 26 months. The early 1990's brought significant scientific breakthroughs in the development of nucleisides (AZT, DDI, DDC, 3TC, D4T), extending the time from diagnosis to death to about 36 months. In 1991, the Ryan White Act provided for medical treatment and support services that identify and retain people in care.

Adequate funding for these treatment and support services, though, were only realized when the Clinton Administration fought for them. Provided in combination with the nucleicides, these new services extended significantly the amount of time someone could live with HIV/AIDS, lengthening the time from diagnosis to death to four to five years. These shifts were accompanied by consistent presidential attention marked by establishing an AIDS office in the White House, creating a Presidential AIDS Advisory Council and holding a Presidential Summit on AIDS. Funding for AIDS research, treatment and prevention was a priority in every budget submitted by the Administration, resulting in a 266 percent increase in Ryan White CARE Act funds, and a 787 percent increase in assistance for the purchase of AIDS drugs. In addition, the President used his executive powers to heighten focus on ensuring that teenagers get the message that they are not immune to HIV and that employers, including the federal government, have an obligation to provide accurate, sensitive training for employees about HIV/AIDS in the workplace.

The most promising developments emerged in 1995. The use of protease inhibitors in combination with nucleisides was rigorously tested and returned promising findings with unusual speed. These findings provided incentive to place HIV-infected individuals in phase 3 clinical trials enabling them to receive the new treatment regimens. The early 1990's brought significant scientific breakthroughs, including the development of nucleoside analogues, that dramatically improved the duration and quality of life for people infected with HIV. They have also decreased the number of new cases and shifted the mix of who is affected by the disease.

HIV/AIDS has become a disease of major proportions in poor, minority communities. Stemming the disease in these communities by strengthening access to care and treatment, ensuring that the drug combination is available and affordable, and investing in outreach, education and prevention poses critical challenges for the future. In collaboration with minority elected officials, the Administration has enhanced its activities and garnered new funding to address the AIDS crisis in these communities.

Development of a vaccine that can lead to eradication of the disease remains an essential goal. The President, in May 1997, laid a challenge to develop such a vaccine within ten years, and established a comprehensive AIDS vaccine research initiative. After only one year, the Food and Drug Administration authorized the first large-scale trial of an AIDS vaccine in this country.

The Administration is also taking the lessons from the recent U.S. progress in reducing the devastating impact of HIV/AIDS to the developing world which is suffering even more far reaching and catastrophic effects. It is worth illustrating more specifically the nature of these contributions, since they reflect robust and continuing attention, consistent and high level investment, and engagement of every sector of government from the scientific enterprise to the public health infrastructure. They also reflect critical partnerships with social, faith, education, business and community networks, and those who have been directly affected by HIV/AIDS.

This collaboration has yielded significant results in development of knowledge and application of new interventions, ways to position surveillance systems to monitor target populations in the face of emerging infections, and rapid translation of research into medical therapeutics and clinical information for systems of care. Also emerging from the collaboration has been scientific definition of the mechanisms in the replication and distribution of the virus, a description which then enabled drug companies to focus on developing drugs that could block or inhibit the functioning of these mechanisms and not harm the cells of the body.

Development of new effective drugs led to the creation of standards of care for the combined use of protease inhibitors and nucleisides for adults and adolescents, infants, and pregnant women. These guidelines were disseminated and applied in care systems in a timely fashion, protecting thousands of individuals who otherwise would not have received treatments appropriately. Aligning the regulatory approval process for new drugs with emerging scientific findings and dialogue with the affected community fostered understanding that the better established, the earlier in the process and the more open the dialogue, the better quality the product is likely to be. A similar finding arose from involving the affected community in devising services for a continuum of care.

Breast Cancer: A Case Study

As noted earlier, breast cancer is the most common cancer in American women. As reported in the July 1998 issue of the journal Cancer, scientists have found that the recent decline in mortality among all decades of ages of white women between 30 and 79 and black women between 30 and 69 is due to a trend toward progressively earlier diagnosis of breast cancer.

Through investment in treatment and prevention, research, outreach and education, the past five years have generated a significant expansion in the awareness and understanding of breast cancer, identification of alterations in two important genes that are associated with inherited breast cancers, enhanced and higher quality tools for and use of early detection, approval and testing of new drugs and treatment regimens, and greater access to clinical trials. The fight against breast cancer is another arena in which the Administration's model of partnership and collaboration across disciplines, professionals and citizens, and the public and private sector is reaping significant dividends.

Two key collaborations set the framework for these efforts. The first drew together a pioneering effort with public and private sector partners. In late 1993, the Secretary of Health and Human Services launched a process which established the National Action Plan on Breast Cancer. A working group representing government agencies, elected officials, the scientific community, private industry and breast cancer survivors developed and oversees implementation of the plan which focuses on six priorities: 1) information for consumers, practitioners and scientists; 2) expansion of biomedical, epidemiological and behavioral research; 3) establishment of a national biological resources bank for obtaining and storing tissue for research; 4) involvement of consumers in all levels of research, education and services programs; 5) improving access and participation in clinical trials; and 6) assessing the legal, ethical and policy issues connected with hereditary susceptibility to breast cancer.

In 1994, a second collaboration formed, this one to draw together federal government agencies with responsibilities that in some way affect, or could affect, the campaign for earlier and more effective diagnosis, treatment and elimination of this disease. This Federal Coordinating Committee on Breast Cancer was designed to strengthen cooperation across the federal government in order to ensure a coherent, strategic and organized effort to address this disease.

Resources to address breast cancer have grown markedly during the past six years. A significant breast cancer research program, at the Department of Defense, has grown to $650 million in FY 1999. The National Institutes of Health resources dedicated to research on breast cancer will reach $480 million, an 11 percent increase from the previous year alone. Additional funds at HHS are dedicated to early detection, diagnosis, and prevention, including funds to improve access for all women to mammography screening and follow up services. Resources are also derived from Medicare for coverage of mammography screening for all recipients over age 40, as well as from Medicaid and the Indian Health Service.

As evidence grew about the benefits of early detection, these public-private efforts took several steps to improve the knowledge base, make the tools affordable, and encourage women to become aware of and to take advantage of the various methods available. As mentioned above, the President attained expanded Medicare coverage to help pay for screening mammograms for all Medicare beneficiaries age 40 and over. Several targeted campaigns, some featuring the President and the First Lady, have been launched urging older women, African American women and Hispanic American women to obtain regular mammograms and highlighting the new Medicare benefits. Through a CDC program, more than half a million free and low-cost mammography screenings have been provided to uninsured, low-income, elderly, minority and Native American women and the program now reaches every state. Efforts have also been made to ensure that substance abuse and mental health programs providing primary health care services to women also include education on early detection methods and counseling on risks for breast cancer. The most recent data available, based on median of state estimates from the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, show that the percent of women 50+ receiving a mammogram and clinical breast exam in the past two years continues to grow, increasing14% between 1991 and 1997. (See Figure 4)

Access to mammography screening must be accompanied by quality technology and accountability if women are to be reassured that detection efforts will produce accurate results. In keeping with

its general attention to health care quality, the Administration took two important steps to ensure the quality of mammography screening. First, in implementing the Mammography Quality Standards Act of 1992, the FDA issued high standards for the estimated 10,000 accredited mammography facilities throughout the nation as well as for the equipment used and the personnel who administer and interpret the screenings. Second, clinical practice guidelines for mammography were developed and disseminated to mammography providers, health care professionals and consumers. Finally, a variety of efforts are underway to improve mammography technology and quality, including use of new technologies to interpret the screenings. Several agencies, including the Departments of Defense, CIA, NASA and HHS, have also been collaborating with private sector partners to examine ways to apply new imaging technologies to the early detection of breast cancer.

On the treatment front, several promising drugs have been developed to stem advanced stage breast cancer as well as to retard the cancers detected earlier. In 1998, the FDA approved Herceptin, the first genetically-engineered antibody therapy for individuals with advanced stage breast cancer. In 1998, the FDA also approved the use of tamoxifen for reducing breast cancer risk in women at high risk for the disease. A multi-site clinical trial of the drug Taxol is producing promising early findings with regard to the drug's effectiveness, when used in combination with standard chemotherapies, in initial post-surgical treatment of some women with localized, node positive breast cancer. STAR (The Study of Tamoxifen and Raloxifene), a large-scale clinical trial involving 200 institutions across the U.S. and 22,000 high risk post menopausal women, will compare the effectiveness of the drug Raloxifene to the drug Tamoxifen in reducing invasive breast cancer incidence among women who have not been afflicted. Another clinical trial, the Women's Health Initiative, involves 49,000 women in a test of the impact of a low-fat, high fiber diet on breast cancer prevention.

Advances in genetics are also revealing important information about inherited breast cancers. Research sponsored by the National Human Genome Research Institute and the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences has found that alterations in two important genes, BRCA1 and BRCA2, are associated with many inherited breast cancers. NCI has established the Cancer Genetics Network, a national network of centers focused on issues related to inherited predispositions to cancer, including breast cancer, and also a Cooperative Family Registry for Breast Cancer Studies to gather family histories and a range of other family information and specimens in the hope of preventing or delaying inherited breast cancers in individuals with genetic susceptibility. The Administration recognizes the value of enabling the public to understand and become knowledgeable about breast cancer, and that there is an important role for government in both developing the information and making sure it is accessible and widely available.

Given the increased knowledge and breakthroughs in detection and treatment, there are now a record 2 million American women who are breast cancer survivors. Through the National Breast Cancer Action Plan and many other initiatives, cancer survivors are now participating in a wide range of governmental entities that review and make critical decisions about research, education and outreach activities. In addition, the Administration created an Office of Cancer Survivorship, opened at NCI in 1996, to study the economic, psychological and physical status of women who

have survived their cancers. Through these mechanisms, cancer survivors are collaborating with government in finding ways to improve the survival prospects of millions of other women as well as their own.

The partnerships spawned in the past six years across science, government, clinicians, the pharmaceutical industry, and women either afflicted with or survivors of breast cancer have made significant advances in the early diagnosis, the nature of the treatments available, and the likelihood of survival of the breast cancers which affect millions of American women. Government has played an important role in providing empowerment and hope in efforts to conquer a deadly disease.

V. Strengthening Stewardship and Demanding Accountability

Executing our fiduciary responsibilities for benefits and services on which millions of Americans rely has generated a new frontier of accountability. The Administration has taken a broad-based, multifaceted approach to detecting, identifying, and rooting out fraud, waste and abuse. Using new technologies and incentives for identifying illegal acts, government has become more efficient and prudent in managing its funds in the service of the public. Creative partnerships with providers, consumers and enforcement agencies, performance measurement, and increased resources are all elements of the efforts to protect the integrity and quality of the nation's publicly funded health enterprise.

Drug Approval Process

To bring to the public quickly and safely the benefits of advances in science and medicine, the Food and Drug Administration streamlined operations and redesigned its drug approval process. It added several hundred new reviewers, increased its spending on information technology and implemented new review process management initiatives. These changes have helped the agency to reduce the time it takes to get a drug reviewed by nearly half. Similarly, the number of drugs reviewed in a year has increased by approximately half and those applications with the requisite data to support approval get through the system. Similar strides are being made in review of medical devices. The FDA Modernization Act of 1997 will extend this progress by improving regulation of food, medical products and cosmetics. A "new use" initiative issued by the FDA in 1997 will also accelerate the development of new and supplemental uses of medications. By bringing new medical treatments to the public as quickly as possible while holding firm to high scientific standards of review, the health of Americans is demonstrably affected by this improvement in management and accountability.

Fighting Medicare and Medicaid Fraud, Waste and Abuse

The Administration instituted a fundamentally new strategy to root out waste, fraud and abuse in the nation's most expansive and far-reaching health programs -- Medicare and Medicaid -- involving the Inspector General, Health Care Financing Administration and the Administration on Aging in HHS, plus the FBI and the Department of Justice.

Operation Restore Trust, initiated as a five-state pilot in 1995 and expanded nationwide in 1997, reoriented the health fraud-busting apparatus of the government with a new comprehensive approach.

Three areas of the Medicare program were targeted for additional vigilance and specific fraud control measures: home health care, durable medical equipment and nursing home services. In all of these areas, audits were increased, control processes were tightened, law enforcement was strengthened and program structures were reformed. For home health, the segment of Medicare that is growing fastest, a temporary moratorium on bringing in new providers provided time to strengthen the enrollment process. New legislation provides that home health care will be paid on a prospective basis for each episode of care and eligibility standards were augmented to ensure that home health companies are qualified and experienced in service delivery. Similarly, nursing homes now are subject to prospective payment or consolidated billing systems. These will not only ensure that services are obtained at reasonable costs, but also promote a more coordinated and thorough program of care of each nursing home resident. New requirements have been set for suppliers of durable medical equipment and for home health care providers to ensure that they are legitimate and capable contractors. Eligibility for long term hospice care patients will be reviewed more frequently, ensuring appropriateness and adequacy of care provided.

The lessons learned from Operation Restore Trust are now being institutionalized. Stepping up government fraud control activities in health care programs required stable and enhanced resources. The Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) provided a new dedicated Health Care Fraud and Abuse Control account, funded each year through Medicare Part A Trust Fund. These funds are enabling HHS and the Department of Justice to expand investigations, audits, evaluations and inspections related to the delivery and payment of health care; increase training of older persons who can help inform peers about how to remain alert to health care fraud; strengthen enforcement of civil, criminal and administrative statutes addressing health care fraud and abuse; devise and disseminate information for the health care industry about fraud and abuse; and create a national data bank to receive and report final adverse actions against health care providers. These new resources also have supported expansion of the HHS Office of Inspector General's field operations from 26 to 31 states.

Law enforcement is being improved with better coordination of resources and activities of organizations both within the Federal government and the States. New enforcement tools, including stronger penalties and disclosure requirements, were authorized and better methods for identifying, referring, investigating and prosecuting those who would defraud the Federal government of public resources and take from the consumers of health care resources to which they were entitled.

New approaches were also developed to prevent fraud and waste from even getting started or to cut it off at its source. For example, with the cooperation of the health care industry, the Inspector General has developed compliance guidelines for health care providers to give them better tools to reduce their own risk of fraud. Incentives have stimulated the involvement of beneficiaries themselves in the identification and reporting of fraud. A fraud hotline was greatly expanded, made more user friendly and widely publicized to beneficiaries. The Administration has recruited

thousands of volunteer and paid long term care ombudsmen and other service providers in the field of aging and provided training in how to identify and report fraudulent practices in nursing homes and other long term care settings.

Under the Health Care Fraud and Abuse Control Program created under HIPAA, HHS has reported more than $1.2 billion in fines and restitution returned to the Medicare Trust fund during fiscal years 1997 and 1998. During these years, HHS also excluded more than 5,700 individuals and entities from doing business with Medicare, Medicaid, and other federal and state health care programs for engaging in fraud or other professional misconduct -- up from 2,846 in the previous two years. In addition HHS increased convictions by nearly 20 percent in 1997 and another 16 percent in 1998. Since 1993, actions affecting HHS health care programs have saved taxpayers more than $38 billion, and have increased convictions and other successful legal actions by more than 240 percent.

VI. Continuing Challenges

Americans are healthier and their prospects for living longer are greater today than they were just six years ago. The Clinton Administration set out to contribute to a healthier and safer nation, and has succeeded in that goal. Millions more children will be able to enjoy their early years protected from contagious and debilitating childhood diseases or premature death. Millions more families will be connected to a regular source of affordable quality medical care. Children and adults alike will reap the benefits of new medical treatments for chronic illness. The food Americans eat will be the safest in the world.

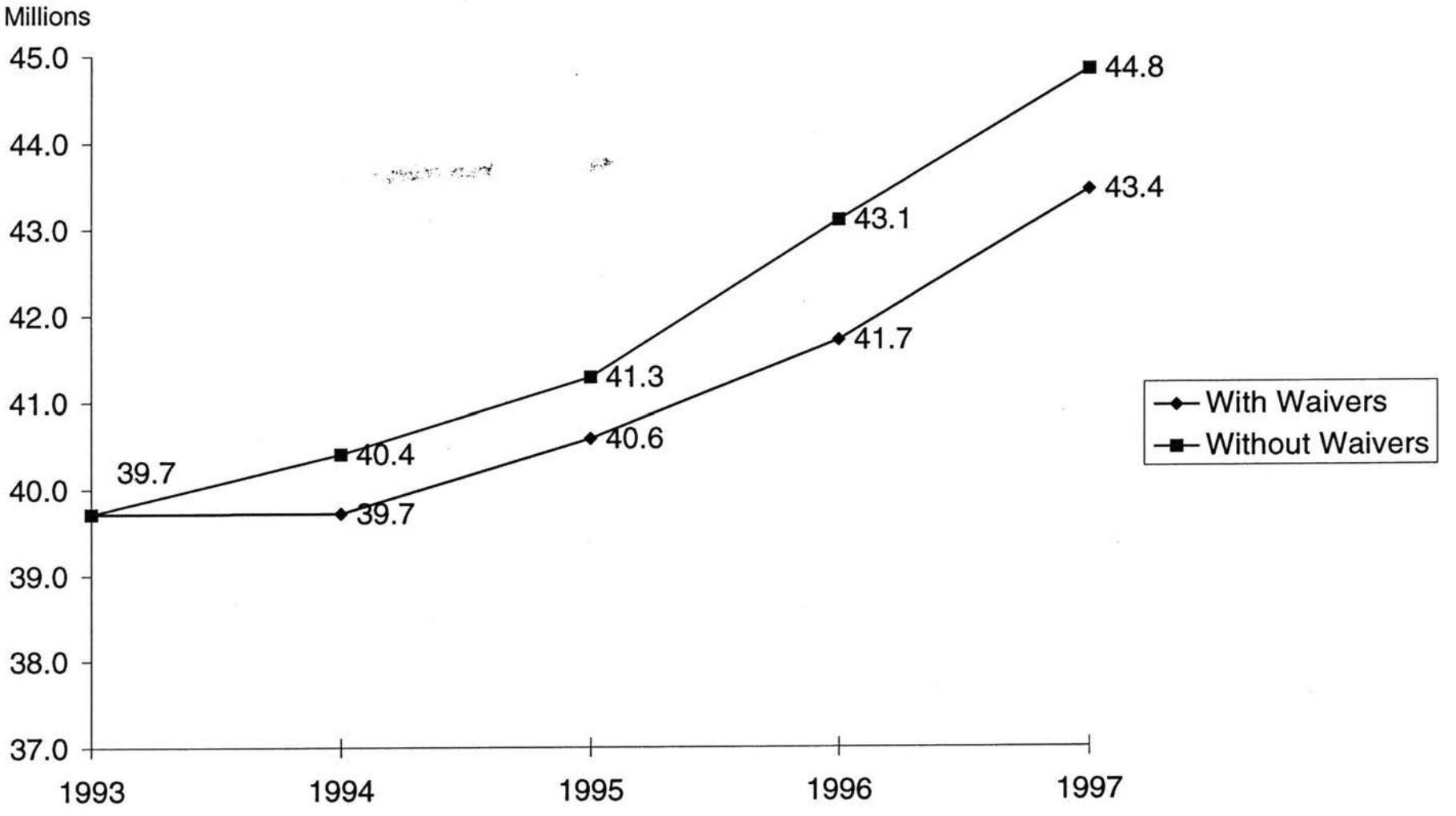
While there have been measurable gains, gaps in bringing good health and safe surroundings to every American remain. Serious challenges - economic, philosophical and ethical - remain about how to get sophisticated care to millions of Americans who may not be wealthy or well informed. We have yet to fully comprehend and surmount all the reasons that far too many people compromise their health by ignoring proven evidence about the importance of nutrition and physical exercise. We do not yet have proven ways to stop young people's abuse of substances -- drugs, alcohol, tobacco -- that can be life-threatening either immediately or later in their adulthood. We have yet to test, and hope never to have to use, comprehensive plans to address global health risks such as pandemic flu or bioterrorist attacks.

In all these instances, however, the Administration has recognized the dangers and the opportunities, expanded and retooled the capacity to understand, identify, track and respond to public health emergencies, tested new strategies and incentives for reaching special groups to prevent unnecessary illness, injury, disability or death and to promote healthful lifestyles and behavior. We have invested in biomedical, behavioral, health services, and prevention research which is producing an extraordinary array of discoveries and will provide the engine for future progress in achieving a healthier and safer nation.

Finally, while the legacy of specific improvements in health and safety positions the nation for making additional improvements into the next century, what may be an even more enduring legacy is the active, pragmatic, nonideological approach to governing that the Clinton Administration

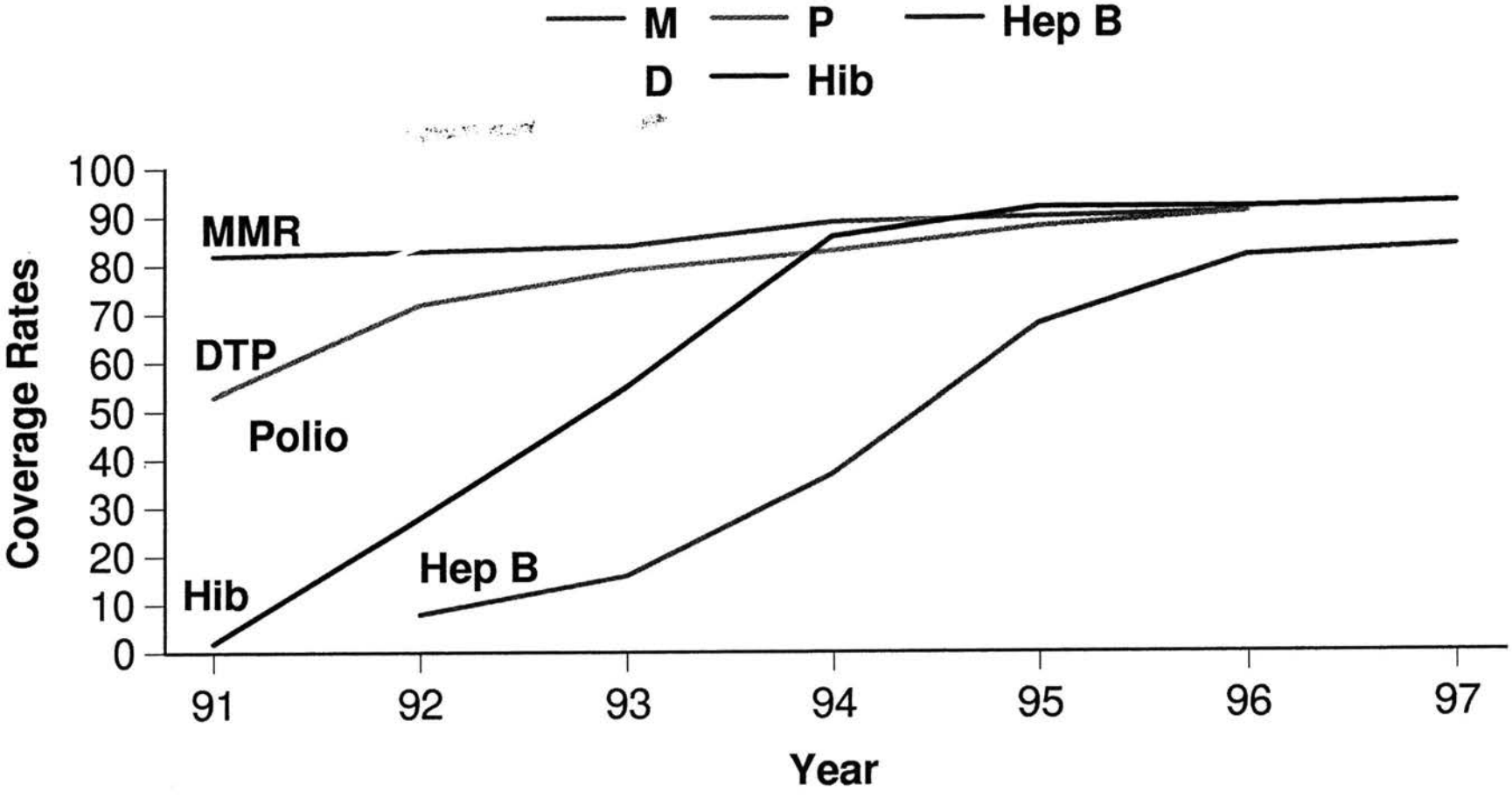
pioneered and used successfully. This legacy underscores the critical role for the federal government to meet people's evolving needs, and the imperative to hold firm in the belief that government matters.

The Effect of 1115 Waivers on the Number of Uninsured



Source: ASPE Calculations of HCFA and Census Bureau Data

Vaccine Specific Coverage Rates Among U.S. 2 Year Olds, 1991 - 1997

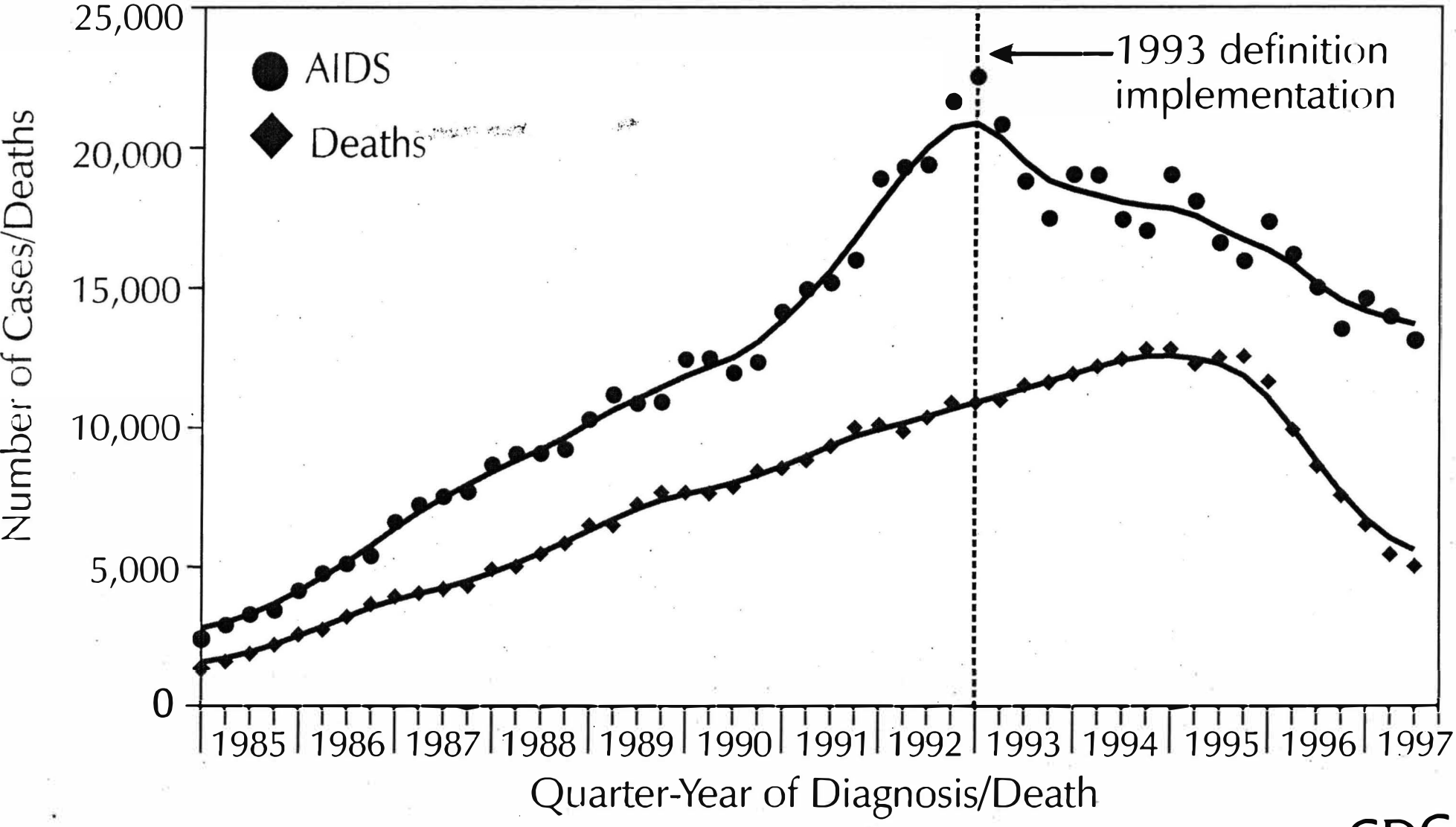


Source: USIS (1967-1985) and NHIS (1991-1993)
National Immunization Survey, 1994-1997

CDC
CENTERS FOR DISEASE CONTROL AND PREVENTION

FIGURE 3

Estimated Incidence of AIDS and Deaths of Persons with AIDS*, 1985 - September 1997, United States



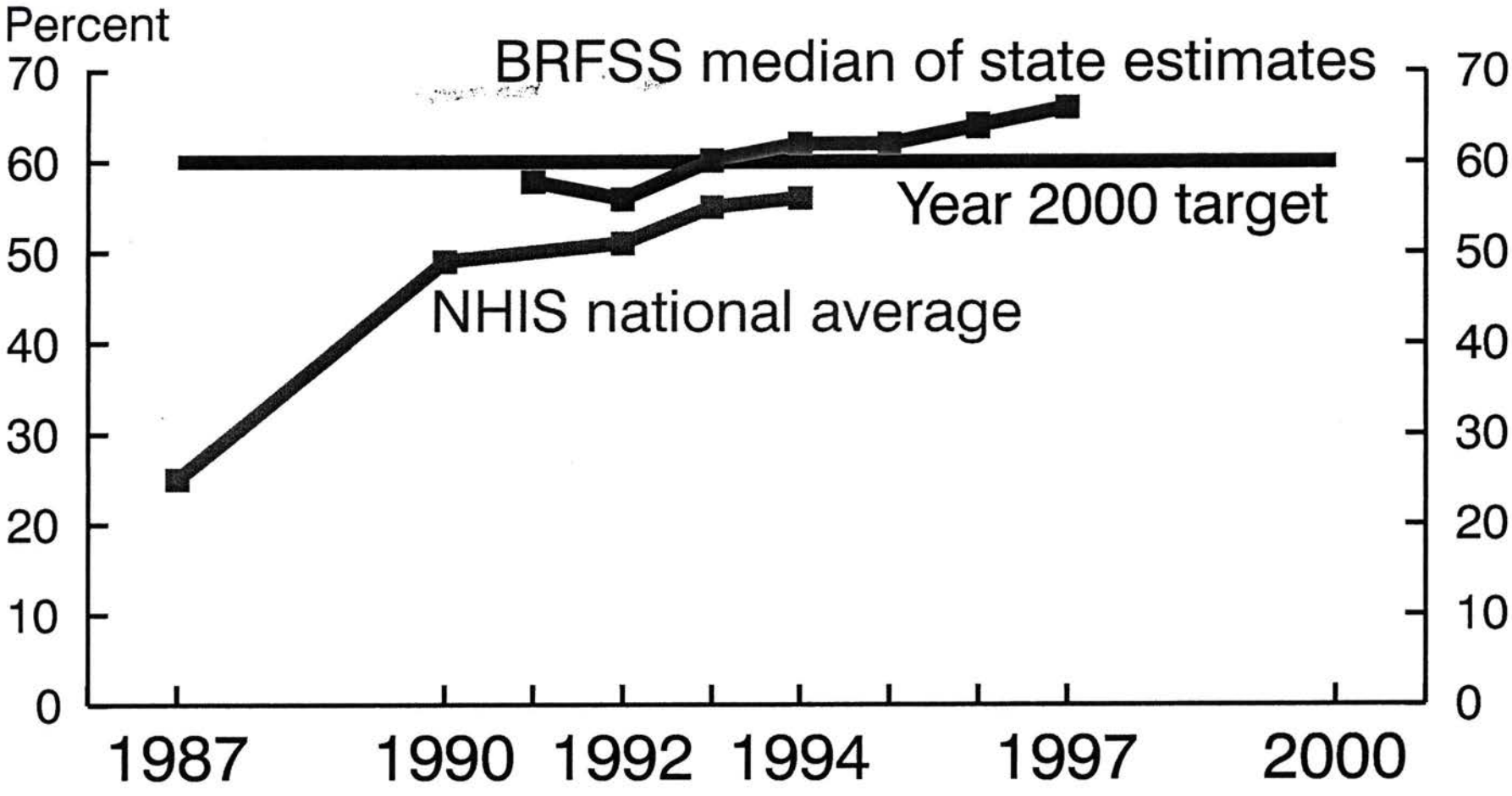
*Adjusted for reporting delays

CDC

FIGURE 4

Mammogram and Clinical Breast Exam in the Past Two Years

Percent of All Women, 50 Years and Over



SOURCE: 1987, 1990, 1992-94 national data from CDC, NCHS, National Health Interview Survey; 1991-97 median state estimates from CDC, NCCDPHP, Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. memo	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	09/21/1999	b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Sean Maloney (Chron File (Sept 99))
OA/Box Number: 14867

FOLDER TITLE:
Thursday, September 23, 1999

2016-0970-F
rs3010

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

9-23-99

MEMORANDUM

TO: SEAN MALONEY
F.R.: MARK SPENGLER
RE: RADIO ADDRESS
DT: SEPTEMBER 21, 1999

My mom is in town next month and I know she would really like to attend a Presidential radio address. Either a recorded address on Friday October 22 or the live address on Saturday October 23 would be great. I'll check in with you in the next few weeks. Thanks for your willingness to help me with this.

Mark Spengler

(b)(6)

Roberta Spengler

MARY M —

WE SHOULD REALLY TRY TO DO THIS FOR MARK IF WE CAN. HE DOES A GREAT JOB AT DNC. PLEASE LET ME KNOW ☺

SEAN

SEND TO MARY MORRISON

FROM DNC (TUE) 9. 21' 99 13:45/ST. 13:43/NO. 4861903333 P 3

'99 SEP 21 PM3:54

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

OFFICE OF GAY & LESBIAN OUTREACH
MARK SPENGLER, DIRECTOR

PHONE: 202-488-5060
FAX: 202-488-5081
spengler@dnc.democrats.org

DATE: **TIME:**

TO: Sean Maloney **PHONE:**
FAX: 202-456-2215

FROM: Mark Spengler

RE:
CC:

Number of pages including cover sheet: 3

Message

1. Caucus Members
2. Radio Address Request

Thanks

THIS MESSAGE IS INTENDED ONLY FOR THE USE OF THE INDIVIDUAL OR ENTITY TO WHICH IT IS ADDRESSED. THIS MESSAGE MAY CONTAIN INFORMATION THAT IS PRIVILEGED, CONFIDENTIAL AND EXEMPT FROM DISCLOSURE UNDER APPLICABLE LAW. IF THE READER OF THIS MESSAGE IS NOT THE INTENDED RECIPIENT, YOU ARE NOTIFIED THAT ANY DISSEMINATION, DISTRIBUTION OR COPYING OF THIS COMMUNICATION IS STRICTLY PROHIBITED. IF YOU HAVE RECEIVED THIS COMMUNICATION IN ERROR, PLEASE NOTIFY US IMMEDIATELY BY TELEPHONE AND RETURN THE ORIGINAL MESSAGE TO US AT THE ADDRESS BELOW VIA THE U.S. POSTAL SERVICE. THANK YOU.

430 South Capitol Street, SE • Washington, DC 20003

FROM DNC
(TUE) 9. 21' 99 13:44/ST. 13:43/NO. 4861903333 P 1

9-23-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 22, 1999

'99 SEP 22 PM 12:22

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT
SARA LATHAM
LAURA DEMEO

SUBJECT: SCHEDULING DECISIONS

CC: JOHN PODESTA
NANCY HERNREICH

copied
Streett
Latham
Demeo
Podesta
Hernreich

ACCEPT:

Date of Event:	Description of Event:
9/23/99	Attend Lane Kirkland Memorial Service Gaston Hall - Georgetown University, Washington, DC Staff Contact: Karen Tramontano **Because the Kirkland Memorial Service speaking program is extremely long, your schedule will not allow you to stay for the entire program. The AFL-CIO preferred this format rather than shortening their program, John Sweeney will announce your departure in a natural break in the program. You will meet with the Kirkland family prior to the service. Following your remarks, you will remain for both Lech Walesa's remarks and a presentation to Mrs. Kirkland by the Polish Ambassador.**
9/23/99	Meeting with PLO Chairman Arafat Oval Office, White House Staff Contact: Sandy Berger
9/29/99	Meeting with the Congressional Hispanic Caucus White House Staff Contact: Larry Stein

9/30/99

Income/Poverty Numbers Message Event or Topper on Possible Press Conference (T)
White House
Staff Contact: Gene Sperling

On September 30, 1999, the 1998 Income and Poverty Numbers will be released by the Census Bureau. Since you have taken office, the typical family income is up $3,517 and poverty has dropped from 15.1% to 13.3%. Given these numbers, the NEC expects family income to rise substantially.

The recommendation from Senior Staff is to do this as a message event or use it as an opening for a possible press conference.

10/6/99

Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Message Event
Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Sandy Berger

October 6th is the beginning of the CTBT Entry Into Force Conference in Vienna. The purpose of this event is to raise the public profile of the CTBT issue and support Senate Democrats who are working towards ratification.

10/12/99

Message Event with the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP)
White House
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

There will be approximately 10,000 pediatricians in town for the AAP's Annual Meeting. They would like you to speak at one of their events at the DC Convention Center.

Rather than speak to the entire group, the Press Office wants to do a two-tiered event; a small meeting with AAP Leadership in the Oval, then remarks to 150 AAP Representatives in Presidential Hall. Doing the event at the White House will allow the Press Office to send Members of the AAP to the stakeout, thus generating better press for the event. Public Liaison has reservations about excluding the rest of the pediatricians.

We will get back to you with a final recommendation regarding speaking to the entire group at the Convention Center or hosting a smaller group at the White House.

10/12/99

Meeting with King Abdullah of Jordan
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Sandy Berger

10/13/99

Meeting with Bill Hybels
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Stephanie Streett

10/14/99

UCONN/Purdue NCAA Champions Event
White House
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

10/15/99

Photo-Op with President's Service Awards Recipients
Indian Treaty Room, White House
Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

The President's Service Awards are the highest honor in volunteering and are presented annually to a small group of volunteers. The 1998 photo session was cancelled because of the Middle East Peace Signing, so this will be a photo-op with both the 1998 and 1999 recipients.

10/15/99

Photo-Op with White House Hispanic Appointees
White House
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

This is the annual photo-op with Hispanic appointees in the White House in honor of Hispanic Heritage Month.

10/20/99

AmeriCorps Anniversary Event
South Lawn, White House
Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

This event will commemorate the 5th Anniversary of AmeriCorps and give you the opportunity to present the first All AmeriCorps Awards.

The First Lady is hosting a luncheon for 100 people in the State Dining Room before the larger event. The list will include elected officials, CEO's, Foundation Presidents, etc. Would you like to attend or have the option to drop-by the lunch?

Attend_____ Drop-by_____ Neither_____

10/21/99

Annual NAPO Top Cops Event
Rose Garden, White House
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

This group will be in Washington, DC for their annual meetings.

10/22/99

White House Conference on Philanthropy
White House
Staff Contact: Ellen Lovell

10/22/99

UNLV Golf Team Photo-Op
White House
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

We have offered October 22nd to the UNLV Golf team for a photo-op. If this date does not work, we will explore other dates in October.

10/22/99

Drop-by Millenium Ball with the First Lady
British Embassy, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Ellen Lovell

PENDING:

Date of Event:	Description of Event:
9/23/99	Drop-by Export-Import Bank 65th Anniversary "Block Party" Vermont Avenue btw. H & I streets (Outside), Washington, DC Staff Contact: Bob Nash **Your schedule is completely full this day with the Veto Event, Shevardnadze meeting, the Lane Kirkland Service, Arafat meeting, the Congressional Picnic and the NDI Dinner. We are inclined to regret this event if you are OK.**
September 28	Drop-by Meeting of the President's Advisory Committee on Trade Policy and Negotiation (ACTPN) Indian Treaty Room, White House Staff Contact: Karen Tramontano **The members of ACTPN will be meeting on September 28th to**

review the APEC Summit and prepare for the WTO Ministerial in Seattle.

Your schedule is already full this day with the Religious Leaders Breakfast, the meeting with PM Ecevit, and the optional drop-by at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian.

9/28/99-9/29/99

Photo-Op with Rhodes & Marshall Scholar Elects
White House

Doug Eakeley called to ask that you bring the Rhodes and Marshall Scholar Elects to the White House for a photo-op while both groups are in Washington, DC on September 28th or possibly on the 29th. Is this something you are interested in pursuing?

Yes_____ **No**_____

September 30

Address the 1999 National Education Summit
Site TBD, Palisades, NY
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

There is a proposed major news announcement on the Census Bureau Income/Poverty Numbers which would either be the message event or the opening for a possible press conference on September 30th.

Secretary Riley will be attending this event. Bruce Reed is exploring other options for you, including an interactive satellite feed. May we regret your attendance in NY and pursue the interactive satellite feed instead, and go forward with the Census Bureau Income/Poverty announcement?

Yes_____ **No**_____

October 4

Drop-by Reception Honoring Dr. James Dunn
Key Bridge Marriott, Arlington, VA
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

There will be a reception and dinner hosted by the Baptist Joint Committee honoring Dr. James Dunn upon his retirement as Executive Director of the Baptist Joint

Committee on October 4th beginning at 6:30pm. Currently you will not be returning from Los Angeles until around 7:45pm on the evening of October 4th. Would you be interested in dropping-by upon your return from LA or regretting because of your very full schedule?

Drop-by Upon Return from LA_____ **Regret**_____

Sept. 30, Oct. 5-6

Accept Leather-Bound Volumes of the Icelandic Sagas from Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson (Ambassador from Iceland)
White House
Staff Contact: Ellen Lovell

I can do in S-Town.

Ambassador Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson has asked to present these Volumes to you directly. Your schedule is very full on the three days they have proposed. As you know, the First Lady will be traveling to Iceland on October 8-10. Ellen Lovell feels that it is fine for the First Lady to receive these Volumes while she is in Iceland.

Accept them here_____ **HRC Accept them in Iceland**_____

October 9-10

I most regret I can't do on the way out. Sad—

Keynote Address at the United States Hispanic Leadership Institute's Annual Conference
Chicago, IL
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste, Mary Beth Cahill, Mickey Ibarra

SS will discuss with you in person since this may affect your Canada schedule. You should know that Maria, Mickey and Minyon feel strongly that you address this Conference.

October 16

VP Nunn go to evening - could do a drop by at reception? Pros/cons

Keynote Address at Anniversary Gala Dinner of National Italian American Foundation
Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

Several months ago, when this date was selected for your High School Reunion at the White House, Senior Staff said that it was not necessary for you to attend the NIAF Dinner this year. However, you should know that Joe Cerrell is putting on the full court press. Currently your Reunion is scheduled to start at 3pm and end around 6:00pm, and the NIAF Dinner is scheduled to start at 7:30pm. We are not suggesting that you should attend the NIAF Dinner, but wanted you to have all the

facts. We also understand that the VP is considering attending the NIAF Dinner.

REGRET:

Date of Event:	Description of Event:
September 22-24	Meeting with Historically Black Colleges & Universities Board of Advisors White House Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill **As you may know, your schedule is extremely full on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th. Mary Beth Cahill hosted a briefing for the HBCU Advisors yesterday, September 21st.**
September 28	Address the Opening Ceremony of the 1999 World Bank/IMF Annual Meetings Marriott Wardman Park Hotel, Washington, DC Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr. **Cabinet Affairs is working on an appropriate surrogate.**
October 4-6	Ceremony to Name New USDA Headquarters Building the "George Washington Carver Center" USDA Facility, Beltsville, MD Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr. **Secretary Glickman will participate in this event.**
October 26	National Dialogue and Live Broadcast on Teaching Tolerance and Diversity AT&T's National Digital Television Center, Littleton, CO Staff Contact: Bruce Reed, Thurgood Marshall, Jr. **Currently you have the day and evening off. Bruce Reed will submit a video request for this event.**

October 26

Event Honoring Chinese American Veterans of WWII and Declaring October 26, 1999 a National Day of Recognition
Smithsonian Museum of Natural History, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

Currently you have the day and evening off. Public Liaison is working with Cabinet Affairs on a surrogate for this event.

PERSONAL:

Date of Event:	Description of Event:
9/22/99	Farewell Party for Ron Klain VP's Ceremonial Office, White House Staff Contact: Lisa Berg **The Vice President's Office is holding a farewell party for Ron Klain today beginning at 4:30pm. We have put this on your schedule as an option.**
9/26/99	Cocktail Party at the Home of Nancy & Miles Rubin 3035 Chain Bridge Road **The Rubins are hosting a cocktail party from 5-7pm at their home. We will list this as an option on your private schedule.**
9/26/99	Attend the Ryder Cup Brookline, Massachusetts **This Sunday is the last round of the Ryder Cup in Brookline, MA. There has been press speculation that you plan to attend given your interest in golf, although we have not received a formal invitation. Other high-level attendees include Prince Andrew, President Bush and his two sons, Michael Jordan and Kevin Costner. May we confirm that you are definitely not attending this event?** **I am not attending** ✓ **I would like to discuss attending** ____

September 1999

*Presidential Calendar

August

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
			1 RON Skaneateles, NY 60th Anniv: Start of WW II	2 RON Skaneateles, NY	3 Tape Radio Address RON Camp David, MD Release of the Employment #s	4 RON Camp David, MD
			South Lawn Closed for Repairs			
			Summer Recess (House & Senate)			
5 RON Camp David, MD	6 *School Modernization Event, Norfolk, VA* Afternoon & Evening Off Labor Day Picnic, Newport News, VA Labor Day	7 *Education Event, Mont. County, MD* Videos San Antonio Spurs Event Evening Off	8 NetAid Satellite Feed *Healthcare Event* Hold 1 Hour Evening Off	9 *Crime Event* Tape Radio Address Depart for Auckland, New Zealand RON AF1 *NOTE: NZ is 16 hours ahead of DC*	10 En Route, Auckland, NZ RON AF1 Rosh Hashanah Begins at Sundown PPI Released (August)	11 Arrival Ceremony, Auckland, NZ Bilat w/ Jiang Zemin of China RON Auckland, NZ Rosh Hashanah
	Summer Recess (House & Senate)					
12 CEO Summit Breakfast America's Cup Team Photo-Op Bilats w/ South Korean Pres. Dae-Jung & Japanese PM Obuchi APEC Conference & Dinner RON Auckland, NZ Rosh Hashanah	13 APEC Leaders Retreat Signing Ceremony w/ Vietnamese PM Van Khai RON Auckland, NZ Anniv: Israel-PLO Signing	14 Depart for Queenstown, NZ Down for Day, Queenstown, NZ RON Queenstown, NZ	15 *Environmental Message Event, Christchurch, NZ* Bilat w/ PM Shipley of New Zealand Gala Dinner Depart for Hickam AFB, Hawaii/ Down for Day Depart for DC RON AF1 CPI Released (August)	16 Arrive WH 8:30 AM RON DC	17 Day & Evening Off 750th Anniv: University College, ...	18 Live Radio Address Congressional Black Caucus Dinner
19 Day & Evening Off Yom Kippur Begins at Sundown	20 Boys & Girls Clubs Photo-Op Girl Scouts Photo-Op Travel to North Carolina Return to DC Congressional Meeting Yom Kippur 54th UN General Assembly Opens...	21 *Address 54th Session of UNGA, NY* Bilat w/ PM Drurinda of Slovakia UNGA Lunch Bilat w/ President Mkapa of Tanzania Bilat w/ President Chavez of Venezuela RON DC BRT Policy Meeting	22 Down Until 3:15PM Drop-by Meeting w/ Russian FM (T) Photo-Op w/ NATO SG Solana *Departure Statement* G2K Stacked Dinners, DC (2)	23 *Statement* Meeting w/ President Shevardnadze of Georgia Lane Kirkland Memorial Service Meeting w/ PLO Chairman Arafat Congressional Picnic NDI Dinner First Day of Fall	24 *Adoption Event* Address DNC Fall Meeting DNC DBC Lunch, DC Tape Radio Address Press Picnic Drop-by Senator Graham Dinner DNC Dinner, DC	25 Hold Day (SS) Evening Off
26 Day & Evening Off	27 *Education Event, New Orleans, LA* Jefferson $ Lunch, New Orleans, LA Official Meeting, New Orleans, LA Jefferson $ Dinner, New Orleans, LA Return to DC RON DC	28 WH Religious Leaders Breakfast Official Working Visit w/ PM Ecevit of Turkey Hold 1 Hour (JL) Evening Off	29 *Arts & Humanities Awards* CHC Meeting Arts & Humanities Dinner	30 *Income/Poverty Numbers Message Event (T)* MIL/PPD Departure Photos (T) Tape Radio Address Hold 1 Hour Down for Day at 2PM GDP Final #s (2nd Qtr '99)		

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October 1999

*Presidential Calendar

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
					1 *Departure Statement - SS Mailing (T)* DSCC Lunch, Las Vegas, NV Official Meeting/Tape Radio Add., NV DNC Reception, Silicon Valley, CA DNC Dinner, Silicon Valley, CA RON Palo Alto, CA Release of the Employment #s	**2** Day Off, Palo Alto, CA A.N.G.L.E. Dinner, Los Angeles, CA DNC Dinner, Los Angeles, CA RON Los Angeles, CA
3 Official Brunch, Los Angeles, CA Sherman $ Lunch, Los Angeles, CA DNC Dinner, Beverly Hills, CA DNC Dessert, Beverly Hills, CA RON LA	**4** *"Roadless" Lands Event, Los Angeles, CA (T)* Return to DC Evening Off	**5** Down Until Noon *Patient's Bill of Rights Event (T)* Outreach Meeting Evening Off	**6** *CTBT Message Event (T)* Mickey Kantor Portrait Unveiling Stupak $ Reception ND Network Dinner	**7** *Healthcare Message Event (DC) (T)* Hold for Travel to NY Official Meeting, NY Rivera $ Reception, NY Empire State Pride Gala, NY RON Ottawa, Canada	**8** Hold for Travel to Ottawa, Canada Tape Radio Address	**9** Day & Evening Off Fall Recess (Senate) Fall Garden Tours Human Rights Campaign Annual D...
10 Day & Evening Off US Hispanic Leadership Institute's ... Fall Garden Tours Fall Recess (Senate)	**11** Day & Evening Off POTUS & FLOTUS Anniversary Columbus Day	**12** *Event w American Acad. of Pediatrics* Meeting w/ King Abdullah of Jordan Videos (T) Millenium Evening	**13** Hold 30 mins. (SS) *Message Event* Hold 1 Hour DLC Annual Convention Gala, DC White House Birthday	**14** Hold for Possible Press Conference UCONN/Purdue NCAA Champions Event Evening Off	**15** Wkng. Visit w/Bondevik of Norway President's Service Awards Photo-Op Photo w/ WH Hispanic Appointees Tape Radio Address Down at 3pm Evening Off PPI Released (September)	**16** High School Reunion Reception, WH NIAF Annual Gala
17 Day & Evening Off	**18** Hold for New Markets Travel	**19** *Message Event* DSCC Dinner, DC DCCC Dinner, DC CPI Released (September)	**20** *AmeriCorps Anniversary Event* Hold 1 Hour Evening Off	**21** *NAPO Top Cops Event* Outreach Meeting (T) Kennedy $ Reception, DC DNC Dinner, DC	**22** WH Conference on Philanthropy UNLV Golf Team Photo-Op Hold 1 Hour (JL) (T) Drop-by Millenium Ball w/ HRC (T) NAPO Top Cops Awards 5th Anniv of AmeriCorps	**23** Live Radio Address VH-1 Concert
24 Day & Evening Off Daylight Savings Time Ends Anniv: Wye Memorandum	**25** *Message Event (DC or Balt.) (T)* DNC Lunch, Baltimore, MD $ Dinner, New York, NY RON DC	**26** Day Off Hold Evening (CPM) FLOTUS B-Day	**27** *Cong. Medal of Honor Ceremony for President Ford* Bonior $ Reception, DC DNC Dinner, DC	**28** Official Working Visit of President Obasanjo of Nigeria Hold 1 Hour (JL) (T) Hold 1 Hour Evening Off	**29** *Message Event* Official Meeting, Atlanta, GA DNC Dinner, Atlanta, GA Tape Radio Address Targeted Adjournment (House & S...	**30** Day & Evening Off
31 Day & Evening Off Halloween						

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November 1999

*Presidential Calendar

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	1 *Message Event (T)* Dallas Stars NHL Champions Event Evening Off	**2** *Message Event (T)* Make-A-Wish Photo-Op (T) Evening Off Election Day	**3** BRT Policy Meeting	**4** Anniv: Rabin Assasination	**5** Tape Radio Address Release of the Employment #s	**6** RON DC Hold for Possible New Markets Travel
7 Day & Evening Off	**8** *Cong. Medal of Honor Ceremony for Little Rock 9, WH* Hold 1 Hour	**9** Down Until 12:00 pm *Message Event (T)* Mtg. w/ President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan (30 min.) DNC Hispanic Dinner, DC	**10** *Message Event (T)* Outreach Meeting (T) NCMB Dinner Bridge Builder Dinner Evening Off PPI Released (October)	**11** Veterans Day Breakfast Arlington Cemetary Veterans Day Event Afternoon & Evening Off Veterans Day	**12** *Message Event (T)* Tape Radio Address Briefing for Foreign Trip (T) Depart for Foreign Trip	**13** State Dinner, Sofia, Bulgaria RON Sofia, Bulgaria Projected Adjournment (Senate)
14 State Visit, Sofia, Bulgaria Depart for Ankara, Turkey State Dinner, Ankara, Turkey RON Ankara, Turkey	**15** State Visit, Ankara Turkey Depart for Istanbul, Turkey RON Istanbul, Turkey	**16** Events TBD, Istanbul, Turkey RON Istanbul, Turkey	**17** Down for Day, Istanbul, Turkey RON Istanbul, Turkey CPI Released (October)	**18** Bilateral Meetings, Istanbul, Turkey OSCE Summit, Istanbul, Turkey RON Istanbul, Turkey	**19** OSCE Summit, Istanbul, Turkey Depart for Florence, Italy RON Florence, Italy	**20** Bilateral Meetings, Florence, Italy Third Way Conference, Florence, Italy
21 Third Way Conference, Florence, Italy Depart for Athens, Greece RON Athens, Greece	**22** State Visit, Athens, Greece State Dinner, Athens, Greece RON Athens, Greece	**23** Events TBD RON City TBD, Greece	**24** Down for Day Depart for Washington, DC Arrive WH (Time TBD) RON DC GDP Preliminary #s (3rd Qtr '99)	**25** Day & Evening Off Thanksgiving	**26** Day & Evening Off	**27** Day & Evening Off
28 Day & Evening Off	**29** *Message Event (T)* Evening Off House Closed for Decorating	**30** *Departure Statement* DCCC Lunch, San Francisco, CA Official Meeting, San Francisco, CA Handgun Control Dinner, LA SW Voter Dinner, LA (T) RON Seattle WTO Ministerial Meeting, Seattle,...				

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December 1999

*Presidential Calendar

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Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
			1 WTO Mtg., Seattle, WA RON DC World AIDS Day	2 Day Off Depart for Philadelphia, PA Rendell $ Dinner, Philadelphia, PA RON DC	3 *Message Event (T)* Tape Radio Address Chanukah Event/ Menorah Lighting (T) Evening Off Release of the Employment #s	4 Day & Evening Off
			WTO Ministerial Meeting, Seattle, WA			
			House Closed for Decorating			
5 Kennedy Center Honors Recep., WH Kennedy Center Honors	6 *Message Event (T)* Congressional Ball	7 *Message Event (T)* Johnson $ Reception DNC Gay & Lesbian Dinner, DC Anniv: Attack on Pearl Harbor	8 Meeting w/ President Kuchma of Ukraine (30 min) Pageant of Peace Tree Lighting Holiday Receptions	9 *Message Event (T)* DNC Gala, DC Ramadan Begins	10 *Message Event (T)* Evening Off PPI Released (November)	11 Day & Evening Off
12 Christmas in Washington Social Aide Photo-ops (T) WH Reception	13 Message Event, Miami, FL Official Meeting, Miami, FL Afternoon Off, Miami, Fl Unity Dinner, Miami, FL	14 Hold 9AM-1PM (Official Mtg. & Lunch) *Message Event (T)* Holiday Receptions CPI Released (November) 200th Anniv: Geo Washington's D...	15 US-EU Summit, DC Holiday Receptions	16 *Message Event (T)* Holiday Receptions	17 *Message Event (T)* Holiday Receptions	18 Live Radio Address Holiday Dinner
19 Holiday Reception	20 *Message Event (T)* Holiday Reception	21 *Message Event (T)* Evening Off Candelight Tours	22 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME GDP Final #s (3rd Qtr '99) First Day of Winter	23 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	24 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME Christmas Eve Call to the Troops	25 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME Christmas
26 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	27 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	28 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	29 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME HOLD FOR TRAVEL	30 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME HOLD FOR TRAVEL	31 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME New Year's Eve Dinner/ Gala New Year's Eve Panama Canal Control Reverts to ...	

January 2000

**Presidential Calendar*

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
						1 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME New Year's Day
2 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	3 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	4 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	5 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	6 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	7 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	8 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME
9 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	10	11	12	13	14	15 MLK Jr.'s B-Day
16	17 MLK Jr. Day Observed	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29 Alfalfa Club Dinner
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February 2000

**Presidential Calendar*

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
		1	2	3 Cong. Prayer Breakfast (Washington Hilton) (T)	4	5 House Democratic Caucus Retreat, Homestead, VA
6 House Democratic Caucus Retreat, Homestead, VA	7 House Democratic Caucus Retreat, Homestead, VA	8	9	10	11	12 Hold Day (SS) Lincoln's B-Day
13	14	15	16	17 PCAST Meeting	18	19
20	21 Washington's B-Day Presidents' Day	22	23	24	25	26
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September 1999

*Hillary Rodham Clinton**

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August S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31		October S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	*1*	*2* HRC $, Syracuse	*3*	*4*
			Fingerlakes Vacation			
			Congressional Recess			
5 Congressional Recess	*6* *Labor Day*	*7* Lala Lunch Photo Shoot (T) Soros Meeting	*8* HRC $, NYC, 6-7 HRC $, NYC, 7-9 Bayshore High School	*9* Astoria Walk Grisham School House Party Burrough Listening Tour (T)	*10* 100 Black Women Forrest Hills Walk	*11* *Rosh Hashanah*
12	*13* Cocktails HRC $, NYC HRC, $, 8-10 (T) Headquarters Visit	*14* HRC $, NYC, 5-7 HRC $, NYC, 7-9	*15* Hispanic Caucus Dinner Mtg. w/ Rossello	*16* HRC $, DC	*17*	*18* CBC Dinner
19	*20* *Yom Kippur*	*21* HRC$ NYC UNGA, NY w/ POTUS Cocktails $ Dinner $	*22* HRC$ Lunch, NYC HRC $, NYC, 6-8 HRC $, NYC, 7-9 Children First Event	*23* HRC Bkft $ Education Event HRC $ Lunch Yonkers NDI Dinner	*24* Adoption Event w/POTUS Rennselear Institute Event w/ Schummer	*25*
26 DSCC Tally $, NYC Share Our Strength (T)	*27* Philly, HRC $ Meeks Meeting School Construction Event (T)	*28* Prayer Bfkt Breast Cancer Dinner Heritage Awards McCarthy $ (T) Trails Event	*29* Arts Dinner	*30* First Ladies Conference, Ottowa Watertown (T)		

October 1999

*Hillary Rodham Clinton**

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
					1 Millennium Communities Satellite Upstate NY ? Adirondacks (T)	*2*
3	*4* Rome/Iceland/Warsaw	*5* Warsaw	*6*	*7* Florence	*8*	*9*
10 Speech, Iceland Rome/Iceland/...	*11* *Columbus Day (Observed)* Clinton Anniversary Down Day	*12* Going Away Party Cafritz Event *Columbus Day* HRC, DC $ Millenium Evening Stamp Event	*13* HRC $ NYC, Bkft (T) HRC $ NYC, Lunch (T) HRC $, 6-8 HRC $, 8-10 (T) Good Housekeeping Event (T)	*14* HRC Bfkt $, NYC HRC Lunch $, NYC (T) HRC $, 6-8 HRC $, 8-10	*15* NY Historians Suffolk County Dinner Westchester County (T)	*16*
17	*18* Hudson Valley (T) HRC $ Rockland County	*19* Hudson Valley (T) HRC $, NYC Westchester	*20* Americorps Event w/POTUS(T) DSCC Tally $	*21* Nt'l Trust 50th Ann. Dinner	*22* Millennium Ball Philanthropy Conference HRC $ (T)	*23* VH-1 Concert (T)
24 *United Nations Day* Chappaqua Halloween Event Nassau County Dinner Rangel DCCC $	*25* NYC $ Theater Event	*26* HRC $ DC Vogue Event (T)	*27* Women's Conference Chicago HRC $, Cocktails HRC $, Dinner	*28* HRC Lunch $ Bonier $, Michigan	*29* NAPIL (T)	*30* HRC $ Charlottesville, VA
31 *DST Ends Halloween*						

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November 1999

*Hillary Rodham Clinton**

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	1 HRC $,DC 6-8p HRC $,DC 8-10p	*2* HRC $ Bkft (T) HRC $ Lunch (T) HRC $, NYC (T)	*3* HRC $ Bkft (T) HRC $ Lunch (T) HRC $, NYC Westchester Fund for Girls	*4* Cocktails $, Vegas California Swing	*5* Lunch $, Los Angeles Cocktails $ Dinner $	*6* Bkft Los Angeles Cocktails $, San Francisco
7	*8* WLF Issues Conference	*9* Hold for Foreign Travel	*10*	*11* *Veterans Day*	*12*	*13*
14	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18* OSCE Turkey	*19* OSCE Turkey	*20* Italy
21 Italy Hold for Foreign Travel	*22*	*23*	*24*	*25* *Thanksgiving Day*	*26*	*27*
28	*29* Wiener $ (T) Engle $(T)	*30* Ackerman (T) 5-7 Council of Black Elected Officials 7:30-9:30 Meeks $ (T)				

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December 1999

*Hillary Rodham Clinton**

November 99

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Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
			1 Dinner $, Boston	2 DSCC Tally Event, Chicago	3 DSCC Tally Event, DC Hanukah Lighting	4 *Hanukkah*
5 Kennedy Center Honors	6 Congressional Ball	7 HRC $ Bkft, NYC (T) HRC $ Cocktails HRC $ Soros Event Miracle Day	8 NY Star Bkft (T) Pageant of Peace	9 NYC, HRC $ (T)	10 Holbrooke Dinner (T) NYC, HRC $ Breakfast	11
12 Dessert Party X'mas in Washington	13 DC, HRC $ Holiday Party	14 Holiday Party	15 Holiday Party	16 Holiday Party	17 Holiday Party	18 Holiday Dinner
19 Holiday Party	20	21	22	23	24	25 *Christmas Day*
26	27	28	29 Hilton Head (T)	30	31 New Year's Eve Gala	

September .

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Aug 1999 S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 Oct 1999 S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31			*1* Note: 50th Anniv, Start of WWII San Antonio Political Dinner(5:30pm) San Antonio Political Reception *School Modernization Message Evt* ~1am arrival back to residence ~Maraniss 1hr on flight POTUS/HRC Vacation Skeneatlas, NY	*2* ~10am Departure for Boston *Oceans Event, Boston, MA* Policy Prep in Boston (2hrs) RON in Chicago ~Labor Mtg in Chicago (1hr) ~Press Intvw (Shipman)	*3* *Address CLUW(Coalition of Labor Union Women) 50th Anniversary in Chicago* Press Time(WSJ [Cummings]on plane) ~10 min Readers Digest Call ~Meeting @ residence 8pm-10pm (CE) ~Sidwell Scrimmage @ St. Anne's Bellfield 4pm	*4* POTUS RON Camp David Talk Magazine Photo Shoot ~11-3pm Taping @ residence
5 Beer & Brats Evt w/ Sweeney, Sioux City, IA Beer & Brats Evt w/ Sweeney, Waterloo, IA Catholic Mass w/ Sweeney Methodist Church Breakfast w/ Sweeney RON: Des Moines, Iowa Waterloo TV ~Press Time (NY Times [Collins])	*6* Activists Evt in Dubuque Des Moines Labor Day Parade Labor Day Picnic in Cedar Rapids POTUS School Modernization Event, Norfolk, VA Press Conference in Des Moines, IA VP RON Los Angeles, CA ~MEG NH/Buffalo, NY Labor Day	*7* ~Anaheim, CA RON Gore 2000 Reception/Gorenet Event POTUS Education Evt, Mont County, MD POTUS San Antonio Spurs Event ~Columbia Law Classes begin ~*Health Care Message Evt* ~Mtgs in CA(AFAM/UFW) ~Sidwell First Day of Classes	*8* *Address American Legion Conference, Anaheim, CA* Fly to DC by 1:1PM Gore 2000 Evt, Anaheim, CA Orange County Dem Evt POTUS Healthcare Evt, DC ~Press Time on flight(Serrano, LATimes) ~MEG in OH(Dayton/Akron/Columbus)	*9* CA Reporters Roundtable CBC Lunch *NEA Event& Briefing* POTUS Crime Message Event ~Menino Mtg on Hill ~MMD Mtg@residence ~Sidwell vs. Allegany HS (5pm) POTUS Departs for Foreign Travel	*10* Press Intvws in NH (45min) *Healthcare/Longterm Care Message Evt, Manchester, NH* ~Lunch with Labor Leaders ~Economic Mtg in Manchester ~MEG in IA ~Walk in Nashua Rosh Hashanah POTUS Hold for Foreign Travel	*11* Note: Sioux City Unity Dinner(MEG) VP Down Day ~MEG in IA (Ames/Spencer/Sioux City)
12 Note:Smithsonian Board of Regents Dinner 7pm Polk County Dems Evt ~Church Service in Des Moines ~Depart for Iowa 8am ~Glover Car Ride ~Harkin Steak Fry ~Meet MEG in Des Moines ~MEG fly back on AFII Rosh Hashanah POTUS Hold for Foreign Travel	*13* Address TN AFL-CIO,Nashville, TN Hispanic Arts Foundation Gala in DC Note: Anniv of Israel-PLO Signing	*14* ESPN Interview Message Event(NFL Back to School) Mtg w/ Mayors Shriver&wallace ~Dellums Mtg ~Hispanic G2K Roll-out Evt ~Hold Evening(after 5pm) ~MEG Lunch in NYC ~MMD Mtg@residence	*15* CongHisCaucus Dinner 2hr Calls (T)/ ASCAP 30 min LB/Ukraine Award Gore 2000 Lunch, DC *Message Event(T)* Note: 1999 Sigma Capital Challenge(8am) ~MEG in Seattle & Portland ~MMD Mtg@residence ~Note: Harvard registration	*16* *CyberStalking(San Diego)* *US Hispanic Chamber of Commerce Conv (San Diego)* EcoDropBy Gore 2000 Dinner in LA VP/MEG/RON/LA ~MEG WA/CA ~Note:Sidwell Back to School Night 6:45pm	*17* Davis Evt in Los Angeles Fresno Davis Evt Gore 2000 Dinner(Davis) POTUS Day/Evening Off ~Brick Layers Drop by ~Gay&lesbian Center Ribbon Cutting, San Fran ~MEG Flys back with VP ~Red Eye back to DC	*18* Natl Stdnt Leadrshp Frm in DC (8am) ~Sidwell @ St. James 2:30pm CongBlckCaucus Dinner
19 VP Down Day	*20* VP Down Day ~Family Dinner ~Note: Harvard Classes Begin Yom Kippur	*21* ~G2KLunch(Nassau County) ~BostonGlobe ~G2KRecp/Dinner Note: BRT Policy Mtg POTUS @UNGA, NY New York/Massachusetts	*22* *AMA Address* Foreign Policy Prep(20min) Gore 2000 Women's Lunch, DC Note: MED Week Invite VP/POTUS Polit Dins (2) ~1hr Calls ~EnviroMtg/AgDropBy ~MMD Mtg@ residence	*23* Gore-Mbeki Com Mtg in NYC(12-4pm) ~Meet/Lunch w/Mbeki *Address US/Africa Invest Conf* ~MEG Political Lunch Chicago, IL POTUS Shevardnadze/ CongPicnic	*24* DNC Breakfast 8-9:30am Videos/2Hrs Calls ~GrahamGroup ~Labor/Women (45m ea) DNC Reception(VP) DNC/DBC Dinner POTUS Adoption Evt & DNC Lunch POTUS Press Picnic Note: DNC Full Committee Mtg in DC & DBC Weekend	*25* Address DNC in AM POTUS Hold Day ~Coos County Dem Dinner in NH ~Depart for NH after Sidwell Game ~MEG in NH ~Sidwell vs. Blue Ridge School 1:30 pm
26 ~Church,Berlin ~Breakfast in Berlin, NH ~G2K Picnic, Keene ~Stamford, CT G2K Dinner ~Labor Mtg on site(CT) POTUS Day/Evening Off	*27* ~G2K Rec/Dinner, DC POTUS New Orleans	*28* ~Meet Turkey PM/ ArmenianPM ~Sheet WrksMtg *Crime Event: Chicago, IL* ~Gorenet/G2K Din, Chicago ~MEG Charlottsville, VA/Raleigh, NC/Atlanta, GA Note: WH Relig Leaders Brkfst POTUS OWV w/ Ecevit of Turkey	*29* ~DNC Middleburg, VA 90min ~MEG Atlanta, GA & Nashville, TN ~NYC Gorenet & Reception ~UNITE(T) POTUS Arts/Humanities Dinner POTUS CHC Mtg(T)	*30* *Canal Event Up-state NY(official)* ~Address CEO Summit ~CEO Breakfast G2K Rec/Gala(8p), NYC	

October 1:

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Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
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3 Note: Nat'lCngrAmerInd(3-8) ~DNC East Reg Conf, ME ~HseParty,Portsmouth ~HseParty,Dover Simchat Torah Maine/New Hampshire/Massachusetts	*4* ~EDLeadersMtg ~Public Radio Show *Education Event, Concord* ~Depart NH 4:30pm Note: Natl Gay&lesbian Task Force Annual Awards Reception	*5* ~NYC Wmn's PolLun(T) ~Radio Call In/LatinoOutreach ~WestchesterDemsEvnt New York	*6* ~NashLun/CarthDin ~Pauline Gore's Birthday Note:League of Conservation Voters Dinner in DC POTUS Outreach Mtg Tennessee	*7* ~G2K Lunch/Meeting, NYC ~G2K Reception, Louisville/Event w/Gov Note: Redbook NY Requested POTUS Hold for Travel to NY POTUS US-His Conf,Chicago(T) New York/Kentucky	*8* VP Down Day ~SpchPrp ~Steward Interyws POTUS Hold for Travel to Ottawa, Canada	*9* ~Sidwell @ Mercersburg 4:30pm IA JJ Din, Des Moines Note: HRC Dinner Note: US-Hispanic Leadership Institute Conf, Chicago, IL Note:Callie's Wedding Iowa
10 *LifeMagazine VP Down Day ~Family Photo(11-4)	*11* ~Arizona Message/G2KLunch ~Las Vegas Message/G2KDin ~MEG In Wisconsin Note: POTUS/FLOTUS Anr(dy)ev off) Note: Sidwell/Harvard No Classes Columbus day Arizona/Nevada	*12* POTUS DNC Lunch, St. Louis, MO(T) ~G2KLun/ G2KRecp/G2K Din, LA ~Los Angeles California	*13* ~AFL-CIO Event(before 2pm) ~Los Angeles/San Fran ~Microsoft ~Seattle Dinner(T) Note: White House Birthday POTUS DLC Annual Convention Gala, DC California/Washington	*14* ~MEG in NH ~VP Fly Back from WA POTUS Evening Off ~DLC Annual Conference, DC Washington	*15* 2hr Calls Gore 2000 Lunch, DC (T) NIAF Reception @residence 5pm VP Norway Mtg ~CSPAN 1hr/Scott Departure ~MEG In Kansas City POTUS Wrking Visit w/ PM Bondevik of Norway	*16* VP Down ~Hold Evening(Berg) ~Sidwell @ Potomac 2pm National Italian American Foundation Dinner in DC Note: Peretz Birthday Party, Boston POTUS High School Renunion Reception, WH
17 Day Time Down Hold for Thelonius Monk, Kennedy Center	*18* 2hr Calls 2 Gore 2000 Dinners,DC POTUS Hold for New Markets Travel New Hampshire (1/2 Day)	*19* Mtg w/ Crown Prince of Morocco ~Albert's Birthday ~Dem Sen Caucus Lunch ~Family Dinner POTUS DCCC Dinner(T) POTUS DSCC Dinner(T)	*20* Mtg w/ Bulgarian PM(T) ~AFSCME/CSEA NYin DC ~DSCC Fall Gala, DC (w/MEG) POTUS Americorps Event	*21* ~North Carolina DNC Dinner ~Note: Harvard Class of 69 Reunion ~Pittsburgh DNC Lunch(T) POTUS DNC Dinner, DC POTUS NAPO TOP COPS POTUS Outreach Mtg North Carolina/Pennsylvania	*22* ***Message Event, DC*** ~2Hr Calls ~NAPO Top Cops in DC ~Note: Harvard Class of 69 Reunion WH Conference on Philanthropy	*23* POTUS VH-1 Concert VP Down Day ~MEG in Maine ~Note: Harvard Class of 69 Reunion ~Sidwell Homecoming vs Fairfield 2:30pm
24 Note: Anniversary Wye Memorandum Note: Daylight Savings Time Ends ~G2K Reception, Chicago ~JordanEvnt, Chicago ~Note: Harvard Class of 69 Reunion Illinois	*25* POTUS $ Dinner, NYC POTUS BaltimoreDNC Lunch ~New Hampshire(T) New Hampshire	*26* POTUS Day & Evening Off ~MEG in NYC ~New Hampshire(T) HRC's Birthday	*27* 2hr Calls ***Message Evt, DC*** POTUS Bonior Reception, DC POTUS DNC Dinner, DC ~Family Dinner	*28* Official Wrking Visit of President Obasanjo of Nigeria POTUS DNC Dinner, DC ~MEG MI (T) Iowa	*29* Note: American Magazine Conference in Boca Raton, FL(29-31) POTUS DNC Dinner Atlanta, GA ~Iowa Travel(T) ~Sidwell @ Bullis 7pm	*30* Note: Hispanic Association of Colleges & Universities Conf in Miami (10/30-11/2) Note: US Spain Business Council Mtg (10/30-31) Note:International Assoc of Chiefs of Police Annual Mtg, Charlotte, NC(30-4) VP Down Day
31 Note: American Magazine Conference in Boca Raton, FL(29-31) VP Down Day ~Halloween Party @ residence(4-6pm)						

November .

Private Block (not for distribution) >...,1999, 10:03 AM]

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	1 Note: Hispanic Association of Colleges & Universities Conf in Miami (10/30-11/2) Note:International Assoc of Chiefs of Police Annual Mtg, Charlotte, NC(30-4) ~POTUS New Markets tour this week ~Sidwell 12PM Dismissal HOLD FOR TRAVEL	*2* Hold for Travel TBD Note: Hispanic Association of Colleges & Universities Conf in Miami (10/30-11/2) Note:International Assoc of Chiefs of Police Annual Mtg, Charlotte, NC(30-4) ~Hold Evening for Phone Calls ~NYCLunch(T) Election Day	*3* 2 hr calls Note: BRT Policy Mtg Note:International Assoc of Chiefs of Police Annual Mtg, Charlotte, NC(30-4) ~Sidwell Parent Peer Group Mtg 7:45pm POTUS Hold for New Markets Travel (T)	*4* Note: Anniversary of Rabin Assasination Note:International Assoc of Chiefs of Police Annual Mtg, Charlotte, NC(30-4) ~G2K Lunch, NYC HOLD FOR TRAVEL	*5* POTUS Hold Day VP Down Day ~Sidwell vs. Maret 3pm	*6* POTUS Hold for New Markets Travel ~Strafford County Dems Dinner in NH HOLD FOR TRAVEL
7 VP DOWN DAY	*8* 2 hr Calls State Visit of Pres. Mbeki of South Africa ~AIDSEvent/Recp ~Sidwell No Classes ~State Lunch/State Dinner	*9* Note:Annual Holy Convocation of Church of God in Christ, Memphis, TN(9-16) POTUS Mtg w/ President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan POTUS/VP Hispanic DNC Gala VP Host Nazarbyav(3hrs plus Lunch) (T)	*10* Note:Annual Holy Convocation of Church of God in Christ, Memphis, TN(9-16) POTUS Outreach Mtg	*11* Note: Atlanta Church Invite Note:Annual Holy Convocation of Church of God in Christ, Memphis, TN(9-16) POTUS VetsBkfst/Arlington Veteran's Day HOLD FOR TRAVEL	*12* Note:Annual Holy Convocation of Church of God in Christ, Memphis, TN(9-16) ~2Hrs Calls ~Harvard No Classes ~Sidwell Football Dinner (6:30-10pm) ~Target Adjourment	*13* Note:Annual Holy Convocation of Church of God in Christ, Memphis, TN(9-16) ~G2KReception, Los Angeles ~NAPABA, Los Angeles POTUS Hold for Foreign Travel (T) HOLD FOR TRAVEL
14 Note:Annual Holy Convocation of Church of God in Christ, Memphis, TN(9-16) ~San Fran Dinner(T) POTUS Hold for Foreign Travel (T) HOLD FOR TRAVEL	*15* ~DNC Seattle (T)	*16* Note:Annual Holy Convocation of Church of God in Christ, Memphis, TN(9-16) ~Sacramento	*17* ~2Hr Calls	*18* ~DNC Boston Lunch (T) ~KGS Event, NYC ~NY Saxaphone Club HOLD FOR TRAVEL	*19* VP DOWN	*20*
21 VP Down Day POTUS Hold for Foreign Travel (T) HOLD FOR TRAVEL	*22* ~Chicago	*23* 2hr Calls ~MANA Gala at Capitol Hilton (MV request) ~Sidwell Fall Sports Banquet 7pm	*24* ~Harvard Break ~Sidwell 12PM Dismissal	*25* Thanksgiving VP DOWN ~Columbia Law No Classes ~Harvard Break ~Sidwell Thanksgiving Break VP Down Day	*26* VP DOWN ~Columbia Law No Classes ~Harvard Break	*27* VP DOWN ~Harvard Break
28 VP DOWN VP Down Day ~Harvard Break ~Sidwell Thanksgiving Break	*29*	*30* 2hr Calls NOTE: WTO in Seattle (30-Dec 3) POTUS DNC Events, Los Angeles, CA POTUS RON Seattle, WA(T) ~Sidwell Parents College Night(7:30pm)				

Oct 1999

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December 1:

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Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Nov 1999 / Jan 2000			*1* Note: IA Farm Bureau Federation Annual Mtg, Des Moines, IA NOTE: WTO in Seattle (30-Dec 3) WTO Ministerial Mtg, United States World AIDS Day HOLD FOR TRAVEL	*2*	*3* ***Message Event, DC*** POTUS Menorah Lighting ~2Hr Calls Hanukkah	*4* HOLD FOR TRAVEL
5 Note: DNC Philadelphia Requested Note: Kennedy Center Honors Hanukkah	*6* ***Message Event, DC*** POTUS WH Congressional Ball ~2Hr Calls	*7* POTUS/VP DC DNC Gala HOLD FOR TRAVEL	*8* Gore-Kuchma Mtgs(4hrs) Note: Pagent of Peace POTUS Mtg w/ Pres Kuchma of Ukraine ~Columbia Last Day of Classes ~POTUS USSS/Military Holiday Party	*9* Note: Ramadan Begins POTUS DNC Gay & Lesbian Dinner ~POTUS Johnson DC HOLD FOR TRAVEL	*10* Note: Florida Dem State Convention(10-12) ~Columbia Exams (10-21)	*11* VP DOWN ~Possible Florida Straw Poll
12 Note: Christmas in Washington ~HolidayParties USSS (1/3p) ~Columbia Exams (10-21)	*13* POTUS Hold for Travel to Miami, FL(T) ~HOLD Evening	*14* POTUS Host Holiday Dinner ~Hold Evening HOLD FOR TRAVEL	*15* POTUS Hol Party POTUS US-EU Summit, DC	*16*	*17* ~2Hrs Calls ~Hold Evening (Holiday Party) ~Press Time	*18* Note: Harvard University Women& Public Policy Program in MA POTUS Host Holiday Dinner ~HolidayParties (2) ~Sidwell Winter Break
19 POTUS Holiday Reception ~Holiday Party ~Sidwell Winter Break ~Columbia Exams (10-21)	*20* POTUS Holiday Reception ~Holiday Party	*21* ~2 Hr Calls ~Holiday Party ~Nazarbayev (3hr)	*22* ~Harvard Winter Break(22-3) First Day of Winter HOLD FOR TRAVEL	*23*	*24*	*25* Christmas
26 VP DOWN ~Harvard Winter Break(22-3)	*27* VP DOWN	*28* VP DOWN	*29* VP DOWN	*30* VP DOWN	*31* POTUS New Year's Eve Dinner/Gala VP DOWN	

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-23-99

8/27/99 - Boston Globe

'Don't ask, don't tell' has become a vicious policy, here's how to fix it

JANET E. HALLEY

We finally have reforms in the implementation of the compromise "don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue" policy meant to settle the issue of gays in the military. But the Clinton administration regulations continue to make the policy worse even than the statute adopted by Congress. Recent events implicitly confirm what critics have said all along: This policy is no compromise. It's outright antigay. Much of that can't be fixed without the cooperation of Congress. But any future president could take the following steps toward fairness without seeking new legislation:

■ Restore "don't ask." This part of the supposed compromise never made it into the statute or the Clinton administration's implementing regulations. It appears only in informal "guidelines," where it is always coupled with a warning that it is unenforceable chit-chat. The new directives don't change that. Commanders can still ask service members whether they are gay whenever they please. "Don't ask" should be mandated and backed up with procedures for its enforcement.

■ Narrow the grounds for discharging people. The statute says that commanders must process service members for discharge if they "tell" or if they engage in bodily contacts that "manifest a propensity" to engage in same-sex erotic acts. But Clinton administration regulations still go way beyond that, requiring commanders to start proceedings against service members who have engaged in conduct that manifests a propensity.

Various military enforcers have decided that this could include having a gay friend, cutting your hair a certain way, or objecting to the "don't ask, don't tell" policy. This is a viciously antigay rule, allowing for arbitrary, even imaginary charges, and the new guidelines do nothing to alter it. The new president should stipulate that proceedings cannot begin without corroborated evidence of specifically sexual contact.

Clinton could do it, but he hasn't.

■ Allow service members to challenge commanders' decisions to initiate discharge proceedings. Clinton administration regulations still allow commanders to decide unilaterally what conduct properly triggers discharge proceedings. If your commander thinks that you've manifested a propensity – bang! – you're in discharge proceedings, and you must be kicked out of the military unless you prove you have no propensity. You have no way of challenging that triggering decision. Commanders can be as arbitrary as they like. This is tyranny, not law. Service members should have standing to challenge every element of the case against them.

■ Reinstate "don't pursue." The new directives purport to limit investigations, but really they just clarify who decides: commanders. Nor is it new to say they can consult top military lawyers. And we know what advice they will get. Navy lawyers have urged commanders to investigate a service member who has merely come out as gay until they find evidence of same-sex acts. In one memo, Air Force lawyers advised that if investigators stumble on evidence implicating other service members, so much the better; commanders should "be creative" about how to run a witch hunt. The Marines' top lawyers have allowed commanders to hold suspected service members for up to 10 days without providing them with access to legal advice. It's time for substantive, not merely procedural, "don't pursue" rules.

■ Stop pretending that the policy is a good one. The Clinton administration has repeatedly misled the public and courts about "don't ask, don't tell." It pretends that the policy punishes service members "not for who they are but for what they do." The new directives hide behind this tired old fig leaf yet again. But homosexual identity – not homosexual acts – really is the crucial issue at every procedural moment.

The Clinton administration has further misled the public by avoiding formal promulgation of its implementing regulations. It has ducked the Administrative Procedure Act's public notice and comment period and its due process rules. Thus the regulations remain unpublished, and few people know what they are or even how to find out. The regulations should undergo the rigors of the Administrative Procedures Act.

President Clinton wanted to end discrimination in the armed forces, but he has instead presided over the institutionalization of antigay animus. Many of the really bad things about "don't ask, don't tell" come not from the congressional statute but from his implementation plan. A new president can undo his mistakes.

Janet E. Halley is the author of "Don't: A Reader's Guide to the Military's Anti-Gay Policy."

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Globalization and the Rule of Law

JEFFREY D. SACHS

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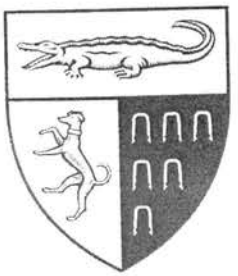
Yale Law School Occasional Papers, Second Series, Number 4



Globalization and the Rule of Law

JEFFREY D. SACHS

Yale Law School Occasional Papers, Second Series, Number 4

Jeffrey D. Sachs is the Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade at Harvard University, and Director of the Harvard Institute for International Development.

These remarks were delivered at Yale Law School on October 16, 1998, during the 1998 Alumni Weekend.

THE GLOBAL CAPITALIST REVOLUTION

We live in revolutionary times, a revolution of global capitalism. Like most revolutions, this one is subject to fits and starts, advances and crises. Indeed we are meeting at a time of crisis. Your honoree tomorrow, Secretary of the Treasury Robert Rubin, the world-respected leader of global finance, has responded to that crisis by calling for a new "Global Architecture." I have to admit that I wince, a bit, at the phrase. It reminds me too much of the discussion between the Doctor, the Architect, and the Economist, who find themselves discussing the relative merits of their respective professions. They each seek Biblical authority for their claims. The Doctor notes that, "Of course, medicine was the first and therefore most important of God's creations. When the Lord took the rib from Adam and made Eve, you had thoracic surgery, right at the start of creation." The Architect replied, "Have you not read the Bible? Much before that event, the Lord created the heavens and the earth out of chaos. Now, when you start with chaos and create order, that is the prime role of the architect. There we were, at the very start of creation." The Economist, of course, leans back in incredulity. "Gentlemen, gentlemen, who do you think created the chaos?!"

What is the nature of the Global Capitalist Revolution? It is the intertwining and intensification of two profound trends: the globalization of society and the diffusion of capitalism. Globalization is an ancient process; long-distance trade and cultural exchanges have occurred and expanded for thousands of years. Technical advances in transport and communications have underpinned the

advance of globalization. Adam Smith, in *The Wealth of Nations*, perspicaciously spoke of the "the discovery of America, and that of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope," as "the two greatest and most important events recorded in the history of mankind." In Smith's theory, borne out by two centuries of experience, many favorable consequences flow from an expansion of the extent of the market, which enables greater specialization; induces innovation; and facilitates the diffusion of technologies.

Since Vasco da Gama circled the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, the process of globalization has continued from one technical advance to the next: ocean-going sailing vessels, railroads, steamships, the telegraph (recently dubbed "the Victorian Internet"), the Suez and Panama canals, automobiles, airplanes, container ships, and most recently the Information Technology revolution, so that now a single fiber optic cable can transmit thousands of volumes of text around the world in less than a second.

There is a second trend, and that is the spread of capitalism as the organizing principle of national economies. Capitalism, I will note, is a distinctive – and from an historical point of view, utterly remarkable – social, political, and above all economic system. It had its infancy in the Indian Ocean in the Middle Ages, its adolescence in Genoa, Venice, Seville, and Lisbon in the Renaissance, and its early adulthood in Amsterdam and especially England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. From there, it has spread throughout the world – fitfully, often violently, with great reversals, but now with revolutionary force in recent years.

One authority in the mid-nineteenth century recognized the historical uniqueness, and utter productive force, of this historically unique system. Perhaps no one admired the sheer productive force of capitalism more than Karl Marx, who together with Friedrich Engels predicted in *The Communist Manifesto* that "The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode

of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into the midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image."

Marx was right; capitalism did triumph, and its triumph was bloody. It also took, surprisingly, some 150 years after Marx's prediction. We have witnessed the most revolutionary advance in capitalism in history, with more than half the world's population abandoning statist economic strategies, and thrusting national economies into international markets, sometimes with unpredictable, and even highly undesirable results. (I should hasten to add that most everything else in *The Communist Manifesto* was sadly off track, especially the thought that capitalism would soon enough plant the seeds of its own destruction through the immiserization of the masses.)

The confluence of globalization and the spread of capitalism is producing a global market society of unique character, still dimly perceived, and with instabilities and challenges unique to our age. The challenge today that I want to speak of is Law in the Age of Global Capitalism. It is in the legal realm that we find many of the deepest weaknesses and greatest hopes for our age. It is in the processes of law, perhaps more than in economic institutions, that the greatest puzzles facing our societies lie. The challenges of creating a rule of law fit for global capitalism involve two levels of mystery: that of law at the level of the nation state, and that of international law fit for our global capitalist society.

To understand the challenge of law, it is appropriate to begin with the historically distinctive character of capitalism itself. Capitalism is a system that is distinctive in three dimensions: economic, cultural, politico-legal. On the economic level, capitalism is remarkable for its drive to define property rights over all inputs and outputs of human production, and to trade those property rights in organized markets. Throughout history, until the rise of capitalism, most human labor was tied to the land, rather than traded in markets; land was inherited and inalienable, or held communally; capital was under the control of political masters. Under capitalism, all became subject to market exchange. This exchange, moreover, was governed by extensive institutional arrangements – patterns of contracts; systems of accounting; legally created fictions like patents and corporations – that gradually emerged over centuries of evolution.

On the cultural level, the changes were equally dramatic. Social mobility destroyed age-old patterns of hierarchy and subservience. Gender differences gradually gave way under market forces.

But transformations in the politico-legal sphere were perhaps even more remarkable than the social transformations. As Max Weber taught us, capitalism rested on a new kind of state and legal order. If the basis of state organization throughout almost all of history was either charisma of the leader, or tradition of the social group, capitalist state organization was predicated on a rational, law-bound state. Indeed the state was to play a central, if paradoxical role in capitalist organization. It had to be strong, strong enough to be the third-party enforcer of the increasingly complex web of contractual obligations that defined the social division of labor. On the other hand, it had to be self-limited, bound by its own laws, abstaining from the temptations to translate raw power and control over coercive instruments into methods of appropriating private property.

This has produced the essential paradox that has commanded Western political and legal speculation for more than two centuries: how to create the strong, but self-limiting state. It was Montesquieu's question, Jefferson's goal, Madison's original handiwork, but in fact the ongoing challenge of the legal order in almost all of the world.

Capitalism is built on a second legal paradox, that of the international order. Since the start of capitalism in Venice and Genoa, but especially since the rise of modern capitalism in the nineteenth century, the capitalist order has depended on international exchange and enforceable international contracts, in a global system of nation states, without an overarching politico-legal authority. At least since Grotius, this has also commanded Western speculation: how to create an international regime of law in a world of sovereign nation states?

These two paradoxes of law—the strong yet law-bound state; and sovereign yet law-bound nations—remain the two greatest conundrums for achieving a stable and prosperous global capitalist society. There is no assured success in meeting these challenges. Theorists have given us answers, but they are not especially convincing. History, on the other hand, gives us many reasons for outright worry.

THE TRANSITION TO CAPITALISM

Consider first the transition to capitalism in an individual national economy. In England, we know that the long transition to capitalism—from the enclosure movement of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to the royal chartered joint-stock companies of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, to the corporate limited-liability industrial enterprises of the nineteenth century—accompanied a similarly long-term process of bringing the state under legal control. While Englishmen always had their rights, they had to win specific concessions from the Glorious Revolution of 1688, to the great reform legislation of the nineteenth century. This has given many political scientists and historians the false idea that capitalism is inherently an evolutionary process, with gradual and hard-won institutional change.

The actual history of capitalism is quite different, however. While capitalist institutions evolved gradually in Western Europe, and especially Holland and Britain, these same institutions were transplanted with often violent and revolutionary force to most other parts of the world. Marx was right; the Chinese walls were battered down, in the Opium Wars of 1841–42; by Commodore Perry's Black Ships in Tokyo Bay in 1854; by the brutal Scramble for Africa among European imperial powers in the 1880s; and by the violent conquest of India culminating in 1857. Imperial rule spread capitalist legal institutions, but typically not representative government, to most of the world by the end of the nineteenth century.

Market systems were often in shotgun marriages to colonial rule. Even when countries retained or won their independence, as in South America in the 1820s, or Siam throughout the nineteenth century, market forces were rarely melded with a law-bound, self-limiting state. The genius of the English and American constitutions could be copied on paper, but rarely lived in practice. Ancient traditions of patrimonial rule continued to flourish in countries lucky enough to keep their independence from colonial domination.

When the Leviathan colonial monster states were withdrawn after World War II, they were often replaced by indigenous Leviathan states constituted by the parties borne of the independence struggle. These states sometimes adopted markets, but they very rarely held the state aloof as a third-party enforcer of

private contracts, or a mere supplier of public goods. The state meddled; it expropriated; it confiscated. In short, it rarely lived within the law.

In the 1980s, these meddling states—Cárdenas's Mexico, Nasser's Egypt, Perón's Argentina, Atatürk's Turkey, and so on—to name the heroic nationalist meddlers—went bankrupt during a worldwide tightening of credit. Bankruptcy similarly overtook the true monster states of the Soviet system. Poland precociously went bankrupt at the end of the 1970s; Hungary during the 1980s; and the Soviet Union in 1991. All of these financially distressed states were forced to retreat as a result of their economic and financial weakness. Capitalist rhetoric and goals spread, together with a newly expanded world economy driven by the amazing advances in communications, transport, and information flows.

But in the 1990s, the paradox of the strong but self-limiting law-bound state remains largely unsolved in the developing world. In many parts of the world, the state is too weak even to meet basic needs—roads, bridges, power, public health facilities—much less to adjudicate private commercial disputes. In other parts of the world, the state is on its feet, but running to impound private property through excessive taxation, corrupt licensing and monopoly arrangements, and the like. Russia, remarkably, has found the worst of both worlds: a state of exquisite day-to-day weakness, unable even to pay the soldiers, and yet one that is monstrously predatory. The Russian paradox is understood by the fact that the Soviet legacy to the new Russian state was a rich horde of natural resources, especially oil and gas, that remained in public-sector hands. Even though the state was weak, it could corruptly privatize its own resources, thereby creating an illegitimate oligarchic class and a bankrupt government at the same time. It is as if the post-communists under Yeltsin saw fit to enact an ironic variant of Pierre Joseph Proudhon's socialist gloss, that "Property is theft."

It is a central question of jurisprudence, economics, and sociology, to understand how to limit the Leviathan, how to create the self-limiting state. The formal answer is constitutionalism, but as the old saw goes, many countries' constitutions are to be found in the periodical section of the library. Another more interesting answer is "constitutionalism plus civil society." In short, create viable constitutional arrangements, but then have them defended by private associational groups. The unions, the church groups, the retiree's federations, the

ACLU, homeowners, and private businesses, individually and in associations, are the daily bulwark against state encroachment. This is a good answer, but still incomplete. Civil society needs organization; organization generally requires resources; resources require wealth. Civil society tends to be strong in rich societies and weak in poor societies. But without the defense of civil society, it is extremely difficult to make a workable capitalist system that can deliver economic growth. The result, in economist's jargon, is a "poverty trap," in which bad government creates poverty; and poverty reinforces bad government.

I had the rare personal experience to serve as a principal economic advisor in both Poland and Russia in the early 1990s. The contrast in reform outcomes, in my view, revolves centrally around the differing roles of law in the two societies. In Poland, the post-communist state was essentially law-bound from the start. Corruption scandals were objects of public attention and discipline. Organized groups, such as the Solidarity Trade Union movement, the Roman Catholic church, and various peasant movements, provided daily discipline on the government. These groups often opposed specific market reforms, and yet they were the key to the success of market reforms—by creating an environment of a law-bound state, in which private market transactions and reliable property rights could be formed.

In Russia, by contrast, such groups did not exist. In a nutshell, they had been extinguished by the unique cruelties and totalitarian aspirations of the Soviet system, not to mention the preceding millennium of Russian patrimonial rule. Civil society was dead, and has not yet come to life. The private sphere emerged after Gorbachev began his reforms—nightclubs, Russian MTV, even some small business—but without the aspiration, tradition, or apparent capacity to act as a control on state abuse. When the Yeltsin administration, under Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, began to distribute oil and gas reserves to political cronies under the guise of a special privatization process (known as the "shares for loans" deal), there were no groups in society with the power, capacity, and interest to blow the whistle.

Daniel Kaufmann of the World Bank has measured one implication of these difference pathways. In Poland, the black market economy is around 15 percent of the total, and is falling over time, as economies in "shadow" activities register

to ensure themselves the prerogatives and powers of legal enterprises. In Russia, by contrast, the black market economy is perhaps 40 percent of the total, and has risen sharply since 1991. The state is too weak to enforce tax collections; and private property is too uncertain to register and operate enterprises in the broad daylight.

Of course, there were other differences of note between the two countries: geography, pre-communist history, cultural myths and references, political iconography. These help to explain the relative buoyancy of private economic activity in Poland compared with Russia, as well as the vast gulf in civic participation between the two countries. But in the end, in my view, the most important difference boils down to one central truth: Poland achieved a law-based and limited state; Russia continues to flounder with a weak and lawless state.

The internal legal order is one of two unsolved legal puzzles of modern capitalism. The second is international law in a world of sovereign nations. How can international trade and long-term contracting—for instance, to defend a foreign investment—be achieved in an international environment without an overarching political authority? Even more basically, how can peace be sustained? Again, theorists have offered some answers. One answer is a dominant power, or in the jargon of political science, a hegemonic power, producing a Pax Britannica or a Pax Americana. A current and more generally applicable approach, of not inconsiderable merit, is the idea that states cooperate in creating a rule-based international environment because cooperation is a positive sum game. The cooperation is enforced by the threat of sanctions from the other states in the event that one state violates international agreements, a so-called trigger-point strategy. In the nineteenth century, statesmen spoke of the balance of power. In the twentieth century, political theorists speak of an international cooperative equilibrium.

Trigger-point strategies may be theoretically sound. In practice, true cooperation is anything but assured. In 1910, the European powers could look out on the world as a marvel to behold: roughly five-sixths of the world's habitable land area was European, or settled by Europeans, or under European colonial rule. The balance of power in Europe had preserved peace among the imperial

powers for most of the preceding century, since the end of the Napoleonic Wars. A famous author of the day, Norman Angell, could write in his 1911 bestseller, *The Illusion of War*, of the inevitability of international peace, since the alternative was unthinkably costly. Of course, the unthinkable occurred, just three years after Angell's book. Twenty years later, a post-World War I concert of nations, still trying to pick up the pieces, collapsed yet again in financial chaos of the Great Depression and the horrific destruction of World War II.

We are now on our third major effort in this century to construct and manage a stable international order. Once again, we are at risk. Not, thank God, because of an imminent risk of global war, but because of grave shortcomings in international institutions—essentially a problem of missing laws on the international level. An extended analogy of domestic and international finance can clarify the problem.

Consider the body of law governing the U.S. banking sector, with similar laws in most of the other advanced market economies. For much of U.S. history, the banking system was subject to periodic financial panics, which ravaged the banks and created serious downturns in economic activity. Such panics hit the U.S. with full force in 1873, 1893, 1907, and 1933. The panics had idiosyncratic causes, but deep commonalities in basic economic processes. In essence, they represented sudden rushed withdrawals of deposits by masses of the population. Typically, an underlying shortfall of the gold supply would combine with some piece of bad economic news, perhaps a crop failure. Depositors would begin to withdraw funds to cover their liquidity needs. A gradual drain of funds from the banking system would then produce worries about the health of particular banks. At that point, some depositors would begin to accelerate their withdrawals.

Suddenly, depositors' attention would shift from fundamental issues—whether the gold supply, or the harvest, or even the health of the bank—to a less fundamental issue, the behavior of the other depositors. From logic and experience, they would know that the bank lacked the funds on hand to satisfy a general rush of deposit withdrawals. Banks after all are in the business of "maturity transformation," borrowing short-term deposits, often sight deposits,

to lend long – counting always on the non-synchronized deposits and withdrawals of individual bank customers to remain liquid. When depositors' attention shifts from the economy itself to the withdrawals of the other depositors, the game is up. The key then becomes to step ahead of the other depositors, since withdrawals will proceed on a first-come, first-served basis until the bank runs out of cash on hand and on short-term credits that it can draw upon from other banks, who soon enough will be subject to the same panic.

For decades, hard-nosed economic observers argued that the periodic failures of banks were well-deserved "cleansing" processes. Bad banks got what they deserved; and if bank failures brought down companies that depended on the particular banks for working capital, those firms too got what they deserved, since they obviously were living dangerously, beyond their means. Such arguments, however, were balanced by other arguments that suggested that bank failures were unnecessary pathologies of maturity-transforming financial intermediaries, and that they should be addressed through special financial therapy. Walter Bagehot, the great and influential editor of *The Economist* magazine in the late nineteenth century, argued in favor of a "lender of last resort," suggesting that the central bank (in Bagehot's specific focus, the Bank of England) should provide an elastic supply of credits to a commercial bank under attack. Others suggested that the central bank's function should be augmented by government-backed deposit insurance, which would protect individual depositors from losses in the event of a bank panic. The existence of such insurance, it was argued, would be enough to forestall a panic from arising, since each depositor would understand that there was no need to rush to the bank even if the other depositors were fleeing.

These two bulwarks became the firewall against bank panics in the United States. Since the enactment of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act in 1934, the U.S. has had no generalized bank panics. The only bank runs have hit very small banks chartered under state laws and not covered by deposit insurance. The same general principle – of heading off individually rational but collectively destructive creditor panics – informs the U.S. Bankruptcy Code, a legal edifice

that is designed to foster collective actions among creditors to maximize the value of the financially distressed enterprises (in Chapter 11), and to foster efficient operation of financially distressed municipalities (in Chapter 9).

Now let us return to the problem of the lawless international economy. During the first half of the 1990s, exuberant U.S., European, and Japanese bankers poured tens of billions of dollars of loans, many of a short-term maturity of less than one year, into the fast-growing economies of East Asia. By mid-1997, the international banks had lent five developing countries in East Asia – Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand – no less than $275 billion in combined loans, of which a remarkable $175 billion was short term. As in typical maturity transformation, the short-term loans were converted by Asia's own banks and corporations mainly into long-term projects, some in real estate, some in export industries, but few in liquid assets.

Up through 1996, the investors and borrowers could judge the situation as "so far, so good." But gradually in 1996, the news turned a bit sour. Credit tightened a bit, as the U.S. economy soared and the dollar strengthened against other currencies. Since the East Asian currencies were tied to the dollar, their currencies strengthened as well. Some projects began to totter, especially in Thailand where over-borrowing had led to a glut of office buildings in downtown Bangkok. In any event, international bank lenders slowed their capital inflows, and in some cases began to demand outflows. As in a run-of-the-mill domestic bank panic, the trickle of outflows accelerated, until, following the devaluation of the Thai currency on July 2, 1997, the outflow turned into a rush. A generalized panic was beginning, but rather than bringing down a bank, or even a national banking system, the panic threatened the economies of the vast Asian region.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we can see how the lacunae of international law played into the hands of financial panic. There was no true lender of last resort available to meet the liquidity withdrawals of increasingly skittish international banks. There was no international deposit insurance in place to keep the depositors' minds focused on the long term, and away from the behavior of the other depositors. There was no bankruptcy law to prevent a "creditor grab race," when tottering banks actually began to fail, thereby accelerating the depositors' rush

to the exits. In short, the legal gaps opened up the system to profound problems of collective action – the very kind of problems addressed through decades of experience in domestic financial legislation and official practice.

In the past year, the panic turned into a rout. Virtually every heavily borrowed developing country has been hit. Only monetary expansion by the Federal Reserve Board stands between the U.S. economy and the financial conflagration abroad. As always in international crises such as this, and as in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the United States, we hear observers claiming that the debtors and creditors are "getting what they deserve," that the cleansing operation is part of the salutary processes of the capitalist system. The International Monetary Fund unwisely deemed the outflow of funds from Asia to be a crisis of "Asian Capitalism," thereby putting the spotlight on alleged weaknesses in Asian society and economic practices – a surefire way to accelerate a panic. We don't have a Crisis of Asian Capitalism, as was so widely proclaimed in Washington. We in fact have a Crisis of Global Capitalism, the problem of living in an international environment that lacks the rudimentary instruments to control financial panic.

In my own view, the solution to this Crisis lies in large part in improving the international legal environment – for example, by creating functional equivalents of bankruptcy law, and perhaps lender of last resort mechanisms, to forestall, or at least mitigate, panics such as these. Just as Chapter 9 of the Bankruptcy Code offers three levels of protection for a financially distressed local government – a timeout on debt servicing, an opportunity for debtor-in-possession financing of working capital needs, and a framework for a grand creditor-debtor bargain to wipe out an overhang of bad debt – so too we need a legal structure for sovereign financial distress in the international environment.

Such a view may appear quixotic, but in fact we have made some remarkable progress in recent years in creating an international legal framework for commercial transactions, despite the absence of an overarching, or hegemonic, power. The establishment and successful operation of the World Trade Organization, for example, involves the codification of a remarkable corpus of international law and practice regarding international trade, international investment,

and even the international treatment of intellectual property rights. These laws are enacted through inter-state treaty obligations. Admittedly they may be difficult to enforce in the event of a major international crisis, but in times of normal politics, they have become meaningful and even enforceable guideposts of behavior.

I should note, in passing, that in addition to international legal reform, other steps in macroeconomic and financial management could also eliminate or reduce the frequency and severity of international financial crises. Such steps include: limits on short-term capital flows, the adoption of flexible rather than pegged exchange rate regimes, and better supervision of financial markets both in the creditor and debtor countries.

A CUSP OF HISTORY

Each generation faces challenges that are unique to its times. Our challenge, I believe, is to make the newly connected global economy function in the interests of the vast world population increasingly tied together in a common economic fate. As I have explained, this must involve a search for solutions to two fundamental, and largely unsolved, legal puzzles: how to foster law-bound states, as states still constitute the core political building blocks of our global society; and how to foster a law-based international environment that is fit for a world economy of ever-expanding cross-border linkages and dependencies.

I want to stress that these challenges will become harder, not easier, in the coming decades. The continuing rise in the global population, from around 5.7 billion today to perhaps 8.5–9.5 billion by the year 2050, combined with a hoped-for significant increase in material well-being, especially for the developing world (which currently has a population of some 4.7 billion, or roughly 85 percent of world population), will put unprecedented stresses on our physical environment. We are, of course, in the search for international laws to govern anthropogenic, or man-made, climate change – which poses profound risks for vast regions of this planet. In two weeks, representatives of more than 100 countries will meet in Buenos Aires to discuss international law on climate change. Earlier meetings have produced important treaty agreements but, alas, these have not yet been ratified by the United States. Nor will legal enactments be

enough for much of the planet. I must add, as a digression, but also a subject for a much longer analysis at another time, that large parts of the world, in most difficult physical environments – such as landlocked countries in Equatorial Africa; or the vast semi-arid expanses of Central Asia; or the landlocked communities of the Andes highlands; or much of the tropics, where infectious vector-borne diseases such as malaria are endemic – will face profound development challenges with or without the improvement of domestic and international legal codes. While it is true that geography is not destiny in economic development, adverse geographical conditions can still impose huge, and so far unsurmounted, hurdles to rapid material progress.

In conclusion, I want to throw the challenge back to you, to my very generous and gracious audience today. The American legal community, especially of a great and illustrious university such as this, and especially of the Yale faculty that is renowned in our country's legal history for its attention to the social responsibilities of law and lawyers, must play a central and vital role in overcoming the twin paradoxes of domestic and international law: the quest to create strong, but law-based polities in the developing world; and the quest to create an international legal framework that emphasizes internationally agreed legal norms rather than the rule of the jungle or still less the resort to inter-state violence. As I am sure you will readily agree, the international economy is far too important to be left to the economists.

I would like to close by mentioning three specific tasks for a great university faculty and its esteemed alumni. The first, if you will permit me, is the need to refocus and increase scholarly attention on the issues of the sociology of law, but now a sociology of law appropriate to the age of global capitalism. Where does national law come from? Do legal transplants work? When do transplants succeed, as in Poland; when do they fail, as so far in Russia? How to instill respect for law, and how to foster the civil society which is one of the only, if not the only, reliable long-term bulwarks against the abuse of state power? These are tough questions. I am proud of a team of scholars led by Katharina Pistor and Phil Wellons for addressing these questions in the Asian context, in a forthcoming study for the Asian Development Bank.

The second task is the internationalization of the legal curriculum and the student body. We need to teach not just American jurisprudence, but also a sound appreciation for alternative legal systems, their evolution, their distinctive character, their interaction with our own legal system. And we need, as much as possible, to open our doors to the thousands of students from abroad that deeply want to taste the life and wisdom of the American legal community and American legal scholarship. Foreign economics graduates of major faculties return to their countries to assume national economic leadership – Yale boasts the resourceful and reform-minded President Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico. Similarly, as I'm sure you could recount in dozens of cases, foreign graduates of our law schools go back to assume leadership positions in the judiciaries and political structures of young and often fragile democracies. The gift of immersion in American legal thinking and practice can be of immeasurable value to their societies, even as U.S.-taught law is put in the appropriate historical and cultural context in the home society.

Third is the direct action that we can take – dare I say economists and lawyers working together – to help promote the ideals of law-based market democracies on the world stage. We must, of course, always balance pride with humility, knowledge of our own society with sensitivity to the cultures and traditions of foreign societies, whenever we embark on a process of aiding the institutional changes in other countries. But we should also not shrink from the challenge. Lawyers and economists working abroad together have a great role to play in projects of judicial reform; judicial training; constitutional design; and many other areas. Our counsel is sought; our counsel can make a difference if given with due care. It is, in the final analysis, our own world and the world of our children that we hope to shape and to make secure for peace and prosperity.

I thank you very much for the high honor to join you on this important weekend, and for your very kind attention.

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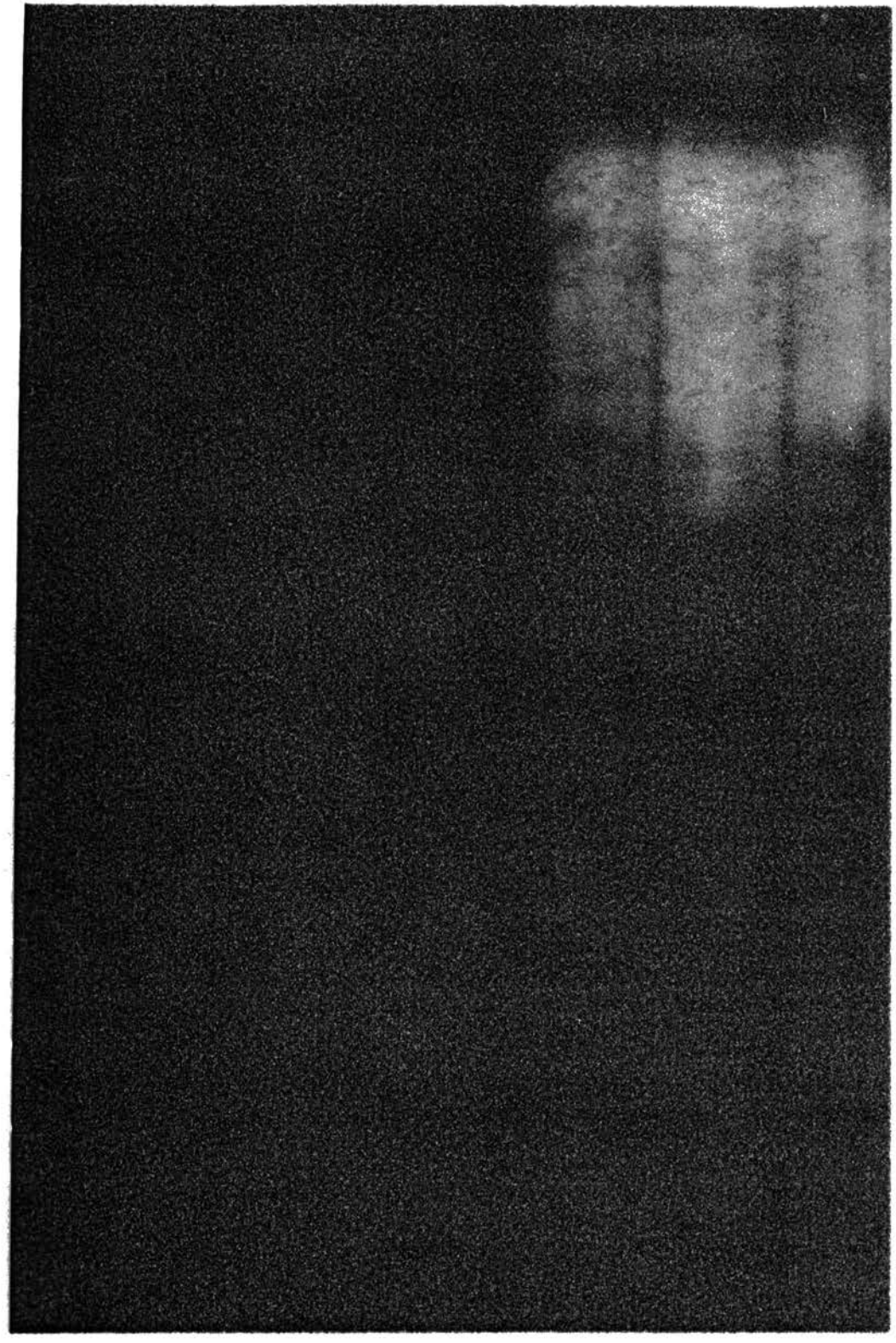


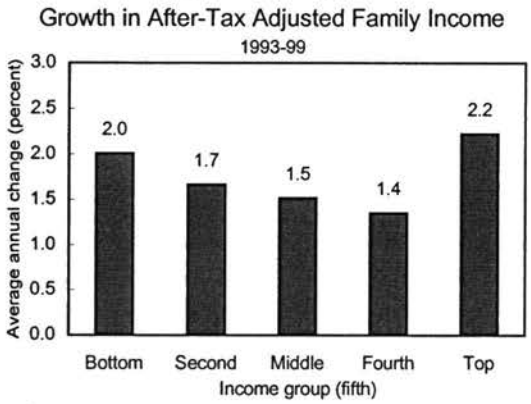
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-99

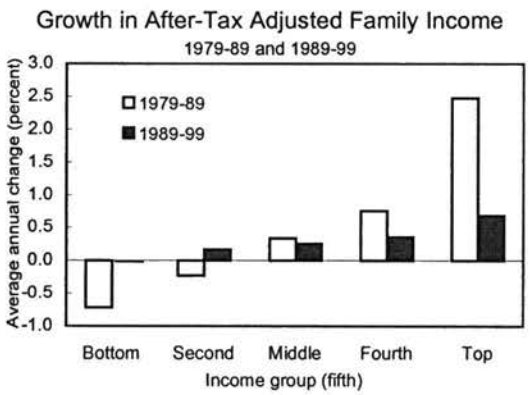
SPECIAL ANALYSIS

The Distribution of Family Income

In the current long economic expansion, labor market outcomes and family incomes have improved for traditionally disadvantaged groups. Income inequality, by contrast, has remained relatively high.

A rising tide... Since the economy began to pick up steam in 1993, growth in after-tax family income (adjusted for family size) has been strongest in the top and bottom fifths of the distribution, but it has also been solid in the middle (see upper chart). The chart is based on Congressional Budget Office calculations in which each family's income is expressed relative to the poverty rate for a family of its size. It includes CBO estimates for 1999.





...but a dragging anchor. While the strong growth in family income at the bottom of the distribution during this expansion is encouraging, overall growth since since 1989 (the last high-employment year in the previous expansion) has been less so. The largest gains in after-tax adjusted family income have come at the top of the distribution, while the income of the bottom fifth of families remained the same (see lower chart).

This pattern is similar to, but not so severe as, the pattern that prevailed in the 1980s. One reason is that changes in Federal taxes in the 1980s aggravated income inequality, while they have ameliorated it in the 1990s. It is also possible that some of the growth in the current expansion represents an improvement in the long-term trend—though we are still far from the 1948-73 trend, when strong productivity and real wage growth contributed to an approximate doubling of average family income and the gains were shared up and down the distribution.

Conclusion. Official Census Bureau statistics on money income and poverty for 1998 are due to be released at the end of this month. While the Census Bureau, unlike the CBO, does not adjust for taxes or family size, its data are likely to reveal the same trends as the CBO estimates: rising incomes in this expansion but not yet to levels substantially above previous peaks at lower income levels. Evidence on whether long-term trends in inequality may have improved is likely to be inconclusive.

9-23-99

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 23, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: **JANET MURGUIA**

SUBJECT: **CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE**

Attached for your review is a letter from Rep. William F. Goodling (R-PA) concerning education reform and the Teacher Empowerment Act.

Poverty
I need to decide
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State into Wisconsin
letter re
② Arab
③ Bosnia

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(Brain)

BILL GOODLING
19TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA

CHAIRMAN:
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3819

August 4, 1999

William J. Clinton
The President of the United States
The White House Office
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20500-0005

Dear Mr. President: Mr. President

This will be a lengthy letter. I hope you will have time to read it, and I hope you will have time to personally respond. I really don't want any response from the Department or from any of your advisors. If you don't have time to do it, please don't have anyone else respond.

I've worked hard to try to help you with your education legacy (just as I did with your predecessor), but I don't understand who the people are that advise the presidents, because in both cases I haven't been very successful. I know it isn't the Secretary, but I don't know who may get your ear on education matters. You constantly put the cart before the horse, and I've tried to get that message across.

When you came up with your testing idea, I tried to make it abundantly clear that you first have to help the 50 percent who have been told a thousand times, every time they have taken a standardized test, a state test, a local test, and a teacher's test, that they aren't doing very well. We didn't have to spend a hundred million dollars to tell that group one more time that they're not doing very well. If we had a hundred million dollars to spend, we had to find a way to help them to do better and then test them.

Then you decided, for some unknown reason, 18 in a classroom is a magic number. Again, you put the cart before the horse. Unless you have quality teachers to go into center city and rural America to fill the teaching jobs created by smaller classes, you've really done nothing to improve the academic standing of the needy children. The most recent grants that you've sent out to foster this notion have no accountability attached to them at all. They didn't have to show you how this class size reduction improved the academic standing of all children. In fact, there wasn't anything to cause them to have teachers in the classroom that can read and write. As you know, Governor Wilson got on this kick before you did (he spent $2 billion), and the result is that there are now more than 30 percent totally unqualified teachers in center city Los Angeles.

THIS STATIONERY PRINTED ON PAPER MADE OF RECYCLED FIBERS

Again, if you look at our Teacher Empowerment Act that we passed in the House, you will see that we are trying to help you, because we give them the opportunity at the local level to help those who have the potential to become good teachers to do just that. We have high accountability standards so that the district (if they are to get a 5 year contract) has to show how every child has improved academically.

I'm not sure where the number 18 came from in the first place. Most of the research that I've seen said that if you can't get down to 13-14 students in a classroom, you probably aren't going to make much of a difference. However, more importantly, if you can't put a quality teacher in that classroom you have accomplished nothing, except to have spent a lot of money foolishly. You're very well aware of the past history of the sisters in parochial schools who had 30-45 students in their classrooms. Those sisters were the best-educated and the most dedicated that one could find, and they were completely in charge of the classroom.

You sent a Reading Excellence Bill (I think you called it "America Reads," but we changed it to Reading Excellence), and it contained nothing that would help you to reach your goal. I asked you if 40 percent of the fourth grade students can't read at the fourth grade level, wouldn't the first thing you would look at be teacher preparation to teach reading? We added that. I then said that the literacy of the parents has a lot to do with the child's ability to learn, and we added a preschool family literacy program so that the parent could be the child's first and most important teacher. Fortunately, rather than veto it, you took credit for it, which was fine with me.

I hope you will look very carefully at our Teacher Bill now, before someone tells you to veto it, and find a way to take credit for it so that we can help those children most in need to succeed in life.

Sincerely,

BILL GOODLING
Member of Congress

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National News Briefs

Clinton Declines Offer To Give Scholarly Talk

By The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 21 — Bowing to protests, the White House announced today that President Clinton had declined an invitation to give the annual Jefferson Lecture, an honor usually given by the National Endowment for the Humanities to one of the nation's leading scholars.

Just one day after it became known that the invitation had been extended, Barry Toiv, a White House spokesman, said, "The White House didn't want the work of the National Endowment for the Humanities to be called into question."

William R. Ferris, the chairman of the endowment and an appointee of the President, said: "We appreciate the White House not wanting the endowment to be called into question."

Parents Plead for Life Of Convicted Killer

BRYAN, Tex., Sept. 21 (AP) — The parents of a man convicted in the beating and dragging death of a black man pleaded with a jury today to spare their son's life.

"I know what you have found him guilty of," Lawrence Brewer Sr. said, sobbing. "It's terrible."

Lawrence Russell Brewer, 32, was convicted on Monday in the death of James Byrd Jr., 49, by chaining him to a pickup truck by his ankles and dragging him for three miles.

"To take his life is more than this family is going to bear," the elder Mr. Brewer said.

The jurors can choose life in prison or death by injection.

Danforth Visits Siege Site

WASHINGTON, Sept. 21 (AP) — The special counsel investigating whether there was an official cover-up in the 1993 siege of the Branch Davidian compound has taken a personal tour of the Texas site and is asking for a meeting with lawyers who have filed a wrongful death lawsuit against the Government.

John C. Danforth, the former Senator from Missouri, flew over the site of the sect's Mount Carmel compound outside Waco on Monday and walked through the ruins.

Call for Disney Boycott

By The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 21 — An American Muslim group announced today that it was asking its members to boycott all products of the Walt Disney Company because of the way a new Israeli pavilion at Disney World characterizes Jerusalem.

The pavilion, which is scheduled to open on Oct. 1, was financed partly by the Israeli Government and discusses the importance of Jerusalem to the nation and to Jews, Christians and Muslims throughout history. Arab groups have complained that the pavilion suggests Jerusalem is the united capital of Israel, while they insist portions of East Jerusalem were seized by Israel in the 1967 war and are being illegally occupied.

In Odd Turn, Democrats Stall Clinton's Nominees

By NEIL A. LEWIS

WASHINGTON, Sept. 21 — The Senate added a new chapter today to the strange and complex history of judicial politics as Republicans tried and failed to end a Democratic effort to block votes on three of President Clinton's nominees to the bench.

Not only were Democrats blocking the nominees of a Democratic President, but White House officials were sympathetic to their strategy.

Underlying the convoluted political maneuvering is a complaint shared by the Senate Democrats and the White House that most of President Clinton's nominees have been languishing in the Senate. At the same time, Senate Democrats and the White House insist, the Republicans are pushing through the nomination of Ted Stewart.

Mr. Stewart is a Utah Republican and friend of Senator Orrin Hatch, also a Utah Republican and chairman of the Judiciary Committee. Mr. Clinton nominated Mr. Stewart last July as a courtesy to Mr. Hatch, hoping that the gesture would encourage the Republicans to move swiftly on other nominees.

It was meant to be a political bargain to get things going, but both sides seem to have taken away a different understanding of the terms of the deal. A result of today's stalemate, several Senators agreed, is the possibility that all judicial nominations will be blocked until after the Presidential election of 2000.

Mr. Hatch has been adamant that Mr. Stewart must be confirmed to a Federal District Court seat in Utah before others are considered. An Administration official said this week that it was unfair that Mr. Stewart, nominated barely two months ago, should get a vote in the Senate while other nominees have waited for years.

The conflict intensified today as the Republicans tried to invoke cloture, a procedure to force a vote on the Stewart nomination and end the threat of a filibuster, an extended debate. The vote, along party lines, was 55 to 44, leaving the Republicans five votes short of the 60 votes needed.

The threat of a filibuster and a cloture vote have rarely occurred in judicial nomination fights. Even during the hotly contested Supreme Court nominations of Robert H. Bork in 1987 and Clarence Thomas in 1991, no filibuster was even contemplated.

After the failed cloture attempt, the Democrats tried and failed to force votes on two nominees they say should be considered before Mr. Stewart. Republicans used their majority to block votes on Marsha L. Berzon and Richard A. Paez to fill seats on the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, based in San Francisco. Judge Paez, a District Court judge, has waited more than four years for a floor vote, setting a record.

Tonight, Senator Hatch accused Democrats of embracing a "blatant double standard" in view of the overall deference Senate Republicans have shown to Mr. Clinton's judicial choices.

Poverty

~~Do~~ won't they give us any judges for Stewart? Can we parlay Stewart + FEC guy into a substantial number?

BS

The New York Times WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1999

9-23-99

Robert
Will this happen
should we be for it?
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the suit would be filed Wednesday.

The tobacco industry has been under intense legal pressure since 1994 when state attorneys general began to file multibillion-dollar claims against the industry to recoup the cost of caring for people with smoking-related diseases through the federal-state Medicaid health insurance program, which pays for the health care of the poor and disabled. Those suits were settled last year for $246 billion, which will be paid by smokers through higher cigarette prices.

The federal suit would pose ``the most serious financial threat the tobacco industry has faced to date," said Matthew Myers, general counsel for the National Campaign For Tobacco Free Kids, a Washington-based nonprofit smoking prevention group. ``In one case, the tobacco industry has more at risk than in all of the cases brought by the states."

Philip Morris spokesman Mike York, an attorney, said: ``From a strictly legal standpoint, the best thing you can objectively say about this lawsuit is that it is utterly political.

``Future historians will judge this as a classic case of the Clinton administration bullying good professional people in the Justice Department to do something that they don't think has a valid basis in fact or law," York said.

Mary Aronson, a Washington-based legal and financial analyst said that ``the financial implications could be phenomenal."

Noting that the federal government potentially has claims under an array of government health care programs including Medicare, which covers some 39 million Americans, a veterans health insurance program and Defense Department health care plans, Aronson said that the claim ``has the potential to dwarf" the big Medicaid suits filed by the states. The filing is likely to ``significantly weaken the tobacco stocks," she said.

The tobacco industry, however, is expected to mount a formidable defense. Legal experts, even advocates of the government lawsuit, said that the industry would be expected to argue that the government has ``unclean hands." They pointed out that the government has aided the tobacco industry through price support programs, devised a health warning system that was meant to inform consumers of the risk of smoking and profited handsomely from cigarette smoking through federal excise taxes.

``There are special problems for the government ... such that they've been subsidizing the industry, regulating it, they've done tobacco research," said John C. Coffee Jr. a law professor at Columbia University. ``It's hard for the government to say that they knew nothing about the addictiveness of smoking. There are probably memos showing the government knew something about it," added Coffee, an expert in mass tort litigation who worked on the Massachusetts lawsuit against the tobacco industry, which was part of the national settlement.

The action represents a near-reversal of the Justice Department's previous reluctance to bring such a lawsuit.

The legal complexities of the tobacco case, the massive document discovery involved and the Justice Department's institutionally conservative approach to bringing lawsuits once appeared to have made department lawyers leery of taking on such a risky project.

Indeed, as recently as 1997, Attorney General Janet Reno voiced skepticism about the legal standing of the government to bring such a suit at a Senate hearing after five Democratic senators sent her a letter urging her to attempt to recoup the cost to the government of treating tobacco-related illnesses.

However, it was not until the failed effort on Capitol Hill last year to enact national tobacco legislation that the department, under heavy pressure from the White House, took another hard look at the viability of filing a lawsuit.

That was about the same time that a long-running criminal investigation of the tobacco industry by the department appeared to be losing steam. Observers once had thought that major cigarette manufacturers would be charged with lying to the government about the health risks of smoking.

The expected federal civil lawsuit probably poses a far greater threat to the cigarette manufacturers than previous lawsuits, not only because of its financial size but because the government likely would seek as part of any settlement far tighter regulation of the industry.

Republicans Make Push for Modest Tax Relief
By Janet Hook
Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON Just when it looked like tax cuts of any kind were dead for the year, congressional Republicans may salvage some modest relief from the wreckage of the $792 billion tax-cut bill that President Clinton is expected to veto this week.

Some Republicans and even some Democrats want to link a smaller package of tax breaks to a popular bill that would raise the minimum wage from the current $5.15 an hour.

On another front, broad bipartisan support exists for extending tax credits for research and development as well as other targeted breaks that otherwise would die with the larger GOP tax bill.

Pressure also is building to fix a quirk in the tax code that could force a million middle-class taxpayers into a higher tax bracket next year.

So while Clinton's long-promised veto effectively will kill the measure that Republicans had touted as their signature achievement, the tax-cut issue is likely to remain in play. Clinton had planned to exercise his veto Wednesday but a hoarse throat caused him to postpone the action, the White House said Tuesday night.

At one time, attention focused on prospects for tax cuts as part of a grand compromise between Congress and Clinton on a range of other budget issues, including Medicare and domestic spending. But with GOP leaders now shunning such a post-veto deal, other Republicans see coupling tax relief with the minimum-wage increase backed by Clinton and congressional Democrats as another way to enact at least part of the tax cuts the party has sought.

To be sure, efforts to link taxes and the minimum wage will meet stiff opposition from conservative Republicans, who vehemently oppose any wage hike. ``I don't believe it is going to take root and grow," said Sen. Larry Craig, R-Idaho.

And any new tax initiative faces procedural obstacles in the Senate, where the measure could tie up the filibuster-prone chamber at a time when GOP leaders are trying to wrap up the year's crucial fiscal business.

But in the House, Republicans may try to overcome such objections and obstacles with a deal that could include the minimum wage and extension of the widely backed research and development tax credit, as well as a few other tax breaks scheduled to expire.

``This place has a way of moving quickly if you get a bipartisan agreement," said Trent Duffy, spokesman for Republicans on the House Ways and Means Committee.

Another idea being floated is to link minimum wage legislation with a cut in inheritance taxes one of the most popular elements of the sweeping tax-cut bill that narrowly passed the House and Senate this summer and a top priority for the small business lobby. Other pieces of the big tax bill that could resurface, GOP sources said, are an increase in the deduction businesses can claim for meals and entertainment and expanded breaks for self-employed people who buy their own health insurance.

The opening salvo in the minimum-wage debate was fired Tuesday, when the Senate took up a bill to make it harder for people to escape their debts by declaring bankruptcy.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., wants to offer an amendment to the bankruptcy bill to increase the minimum wage by $1 to $6.15 an hour over two years. Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., failed Tuesday in a procedural maneuver designed to block Kennedy from offering the amendment. In the wake of that defeat, Lott was expected to shelve the bankruptcy bill for at least a week in hopes of reaching an agreement with Democrats to limit debate and amendments.

When the issue comes to a head, Senate Republicans are preparing an alternative. Although details of that plan are not yet set, Assistant Minority Leader Don Nickles, R-Okla., said that options include tax relief for small business and a proposed change in labor law opposed by unions to make it easier for employers to offer compensatory time off instead of overtime pay.

In the House, a group of 18 moderate Republicans have written to House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert, R-Ill., demanding a House vote on the minimum wage this fall. Hastert has asked a GOP task force to develop a plan for linking a minimum-wage increase to measures that would ``make sure that there is not going to be any job loss and give small businesses the ability to absorb this by cutting taxes,"

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John
We need
to beat as
many of them
as possible -
PS

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said John Feehery, Hastert's spokesman.

Even House Minority Whip David E. Bonior, D-Mich., who plans to file a petition to force floor action on the minimum wage, has endorsed the idea of splicing it to tax breaks for small business.

Even if the tax break-minimum wage linkage fails this year, the effort to renew the tax credit for businesses that increase their investment in research and development may be propelled into law by
a sense of urgency and bipartisan support.

The credit has proved especially lucrative for the high technology industry but it typically has to be renewed by Congress every year. The bill Clinton is ready to veto would have extended and expanded the tax credit, providing $1.6 billion in relief in 2000 alone.

With Clinton's veto, the credit will lapse unless Congress finds another way to renew it. Members of both parties, including House Ways and Means Chairman Bill Archer, R-Texas, said that they do not want the year to end without action renewing that and other expiring tax breaks, including one that encourages businesses to hire former welfare recipients.

Another issue that Archer and members of both parties want to address is the quirk in the tax law that will increase taxes on many middle-class families next year by expanding the reach of the so-called alternative minimum tax.

This tax was established to keep wealthy people from eliminating all their tax liability through the use of credits and loopholes. But a growing number of middle-class taxpayers have come under the tax's reach because it is not indexed for inflation and because more tax breaks have been made available to the middle class, such as the $500 per child tax credit that took effect in 1998.

Last year, Congress tried to ease the problem by exempting the per-child tax credit and other middle-class breaks from being considered in calculating the alternative minimum tax. That exemption expires at the end of this year. If Congress does not act, government analysts said, 1 million more families will have to pay more under the alternative minimum tax, which applies a 26 percent tax to income compared to the 15 percent bracket most middle-income families are in.

House Hears Testimony About Alleged Russian Money Laundering
By Jonathan Peterson
Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON Jumping into the furor over alleged Russian money-laundering, a congressional committee on Tuesday heard testimony ranging from comforting words from the Clinton administration to allegations that international aid money was stolen.

Treasury Secretary Lawrence H. Summers, defending the administration's stance toward Russia as ``hard-headed and prudent," said it was premature to say whether Russian criminals had made off with International Monetary Fund loans that were intended to prop up the national economy.

Based on the evidence it is misleading to suggest that IMF funds were diverted, Summers told the House Banking Committee. The committee plans a series of hearings throughout the fall.

But Richard L. Palmer, a 20-year veteran of the CIA who now runs a private investigative firm specializing in Russia, presented a darker version of events.

``Claims that there is no evidence of the theft of these funds are grossly misleading," he said of a $4.8 billion IMF loan in 1998. ``The IMF is correct in stating that they have no evidence of stolen or misused funds, if only because the Russians did not deliver them evidence to the contrary on a platter."

Palmer, who said he maintains broad contacts in Russia, said the bulk of the $4.8 billion was used by 18 Russian and foreign banks to convert their rubles into dollars shortly before Russia devalued its currency in summer of 1998.

Summers conceded that investigators faced a daunting task in unraveling the path of international aid money after it entered the Russian financial system: ``It is difficult or really impossible to identify what in some sense the ultimate use of a particular dollar is."

Summers said the United States would support future international aid to Russia only if that country implemented a series of safeguards, including an investigative report on the offshore operations of its central bank, and established new controls on the management of central bank cash reserves.

The Clinton administration and members of Congress also are preparing new proposals that would make it harder for foreigners to exploit the U.S. banking system for money-laundering, a process in which criminal profits are made to appear legitimate by passing them through various financial transactions.

Banking Committee Chairman Jim Leach, R-Iowa, unveiled what he called the ``Foreign Money Laundering Deterrence and Anti-Corruption Act." The administration plans on Thursday to release a new set of proposals to combat money-laundering. That package will include efforts to foster international cooperation and requirements that storefront check cashers, brokerage firms and casinos notify authorities of suspicious activities.

Russian officials, who have complained that the scandal is being whipped up to influence U.S. presidential elections next year, watched the hearing closely. President Boris N. Yeltsin said nothing about the issue, but was briefed at his country residence by Nikolai P. Patrushev, director of the Federal Security Service, the successor to the KGB.

Separately, Switzerland's government announced Tuesday that Swiss banks have frozen $16.8 million in accounts suspected to be linked to the Russian case.

And in Washington, World Bank President James Wolfensohn said an investigation found no misuse of its funds in Russia in its 34 projects there and noted a troubling increase in Russia's poverty rate.

For all of the concerns about Russian corruption, he told reporters, ``We need a bit of balance in the assessment."

Environmentalists Brace for Battle Against GOP Over `Riders'
By Art Pine
Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON Environmentalists are bracing for a fierce end-of-session battle with congressional Republicans over a spate of GOP proposals aimed at limiting enforcement of some environmental regulations.

The measures seek to block or curb federal action on a number of environmental matters, from growing pollution by gas-guzzling sport-utility vehicles to increased timber-cutting in national forests without thorough review.

Environmental groups said that about 40 of these provisions now are attached to appropriations bills currently moving through Congress and they predicted that as many as eight more may be added before the session ends.

Moreover, because the bulk of these proposals are ``riders" slipped into the bills quietly at the request of individual lawmakers they have avoided the kind of public spotlight that ordinary legislation gets when it moves through the appropriations process.

Lexi Shultz, attorney for the U.S. Public Interest Research Group, a Washington-based watchdog organization, called such tactics a ``sneak attack" by special-interest lobbies.

Gregory S. Wetstone, Washington lobbyist for the National Resources Defense Council, agreed. ``Under this kind of procedure, there's no chance for public scrutiny," he said. ``In fact, some of these provisions don't actually come to light until they go to the president's desk."

Conservatives, however, are unabashed in defending the GOP's strategy on environmental issues and Republicans' tactic of relying on riders in hopes of accomplishing their goals.

John Feehery, spokesman for House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert, R-Ill., said that most of the controversial provisions are designed to curb federal agencies' abuses of business and ``get some common sense" into environmental regulation.

He defended the use of riders as historically just as much a part of the legislative process as other parliamentary procedures. ``I suspect they're making much ado about nothing," he said of the environmental groups.

This year's batch of riders marks the fifth year that Republicans have used the tactic to restrict enforcement of environmental regulations. Before that, GOP lawmakers had launched direct efforts to try to alter laws such as the Clean Air Act usually without

Richard Banchoff
703 South Lee Street
Alexandria, VA 22314
703-549-3835

9-23-99

September 21, 1999

Dear Bill,

I have been wondering if you have considered some corrective measures regarding the latest attacks on you-- e.g., "Clinton Fatigue" and the "Clinton Factor" (the ever popular "Question the propriety of, or your motivation about, everything" ploy)-- which the media has bought into and is trying to make a permanent part of your legacy. The best time to write history is while you are still making it. If you wait until you are out of office to set the record straight, you take the risk that it will sound like "sour grapes". The strategy of personal destruction that has been employed against you, from the first primary on, is anti-democratic and dangerous. Since you enemies are still using the same tactics, you have an excellent opportunity to expose the methodology behind this runaway, mean-spirited partisanship that has been dominating our politics without it sounding like self-serving revisionism. Although, on a gut level, the public seems to know what has been happening, it would be good for the future of the political process if the media, serious politicians from both parties, and the judiciary could also be persuaded to turn their attention to the serious harm that will be done to our country if these tactics are allowed to succeed.

Best regards.

Podesta

Counselors
our GC classmate
this can't be right can it?

copied
Podesta

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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6466

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'99 SEP 18 PM1:22

September 18, 1999

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER MR for

SUBJECT: Response to Letter from Shimon Peres

Purpose

Respond to a letter from Shimon Peres and thank him for sending his two recent books.

Background

Shimon Peres sent you two of his latest books. In the first, *An Imaginary Voyage*, Peres describes the State of Israel to Theodor Herzl who wrote about the Zionist utopia a hundred years ago. In the second, *For the Future of Israel*, Peres discusses a wide array of issues with an American author, Robert Littell.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter attached at Tab A.

Attachments
Tab A Letter to Shimon Peres
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

Copied
Berger
NSC W/Desk
Podesta

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

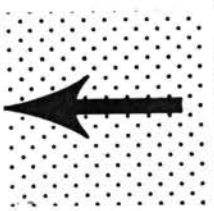
Dear Shimon:

Thank you so much for your letter and for your two books. Who knows -- 100 years from now, perhaps someone will take *you* on an imaginary voyage and show you the new Middle East to which you devoted a lifetime of dreams and hard work.

I am heartened by the Sharm El-Sheikh agreement and hopeful that Israelis and Palestinians at long last will be able to put their conflict to rest. In so doing, they would be completing a journey that you so courageously began and that, I have no doubt, you will continue to lead.

Sincerely,

Bill



The Honorable Shimon Peres
Amot Law House
8 Shaul Hamelech Boulevard
Tel Aviv 64733

0466

Shimon Peres

August 5, 1999

The Hon. Bill Clinton
The President,
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Bill,

I was glad to see you in Rabat, and was very happy to meet Chelsea. She is a lovely young lady who knew what to inherit from her parents.

At this end, things are not simple, but you surely know this better than me.

I have the pleasure of sending you two of my latest books. 150 years ago, a brilliant Jew, Karl Marx, published the *Communist Manifest*. 100 years ago, Theodor Herzl published his Zionist Utopia - *Altneuland*. I decided to invite them both to visit sites they dreamed would constitute a new reality:

I had no difficulty identifying a place for Herzl: The State of Israel. But when I searched for a spot for Karl Marx, to my utter astonishment, I failed to find a country in which the historical materialism had triumphed. Hence, I left Karl Marx in his intellectual cemetery, and took only Herzl on *An Imaginary Voyage*.

The second book, *For the Future of Israel*, is the product of a dialogue with an American author, Robert Littell. He reviews a wide spectrum of subjects from an Israeli viewpoint.

Here, we follow your actions with esteem, and your efforts to advance peace with great faith.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Shimon

Shimon Peres

copied Sperling Podesta

master of St. Anselm's was named State Printer for Washington, D.C., the National Association School Principals.

but benefit America's students. These corporate donations have enabled Johnny and Jane not only to read better, but to write, research and compute better as well. □

Joel Holland

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-23-99

Israel, Syria and the Road to Peace Not Taken

By Itamar Rabinovich

TEL AVIV

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's brief visit to the Middle East this week bears a remarkable resemblance to the visit paid to the region six years ago by her predecessor, Warren Christopher. Like that visit, it is likely to determine the progress of the Israeli-Arab peace process along either the Syrian or Palestinian track for years to come.

In August 1993, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin had to make a crucial decision. He was determined to move the peace process forward. But given the domestic political constraints, Mr. Rabin felt that he could make just one major deal — either with the Syrians or with the Palestinians. By the end of July 1993, the Oslo accords were ready for signing. He needed to know whether an alternative "Syrian option" was also available.

> Another Secretary of State, same delicate question.

Because he did not have an effective direct channel to President Hafez al-Assad of Syria, Mr. Rabin authorized Mr. Christopher on Aug. 3, 1993, to present this hypothetical situation: If Mr. Assad insisted on full Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, was he ready to offer a peace and security package in return that met Mr. Rabin's criteria? If Mr. Assad was willing to meet these conditions, Mr. Rabin gave the Secretary of State the authority to express his hypothetical and conditional acceptance of a withdrawal.

Mr. Rabin was disappointed by the Syrian President's response. He chose to sign the Oslo accords with the Palestinians and put the Syrian negotiations on a back burner. A Syrian-Israeli peace was never accomplished under Mr. Rabin, who was assassinated in 1995, nor under his successor, Shimon Peres, even though Mr. Peres came to believe that it would be wise to concentrate efforts on pursuing peace with Syria.

Israeli-Syrian negotiations finally collapsed in late February and early March of 1996, against the backdrop of a series of bus bombings that undermined the peace process and Mr. Peres's election campaign.

Efforts to revive negotiations have since been bedeviled by Syria's insistence that they be resumed, in the words of Syrian officials, "at the point at which they had been interrupted."

This is not a mere technicality. Syrian officials argue that in August 1993, Israel had made an actual commitment — not just a hypothetical one — to withdraw to the borders that existed before June 4, 1967. They thus insist that the renewal of the negotiations be predicated on an Israeli acceptance of Syria's demand for such a withdrawal.

Like Yitzhak Rabin, Prime Minister Ehud Barak prefers to make his first major move toward peace with Syria. But whatever Mr. Barak's concept of the final shape of a settlement might be, he cannot and will not accept Mr. Assad's demand for an explicit commitment to withdrawal as a precondition to negotiations.

This is a tantalizing moment. Anyone familiar with the issues assumes that an Israeli-Syrian negotiation, once resumed, would probably be successful. But thus far, no one has been able to find a solution to the procedural obstacle.

Secretary Albright's brief shuttle between Jerusalem and Damascus will focus on this issue, which so far has been dealt with discreetly. Much depends on her success. A breakthrough could open the way to Syrian-Israeli negotiations and an agreement that could galvanize and transform the peace process. Failure could force Prime Minister Barak to change his priorities and seek a final status agreement with the Palestinians now rather than later. □

Itamar Rabinovich, president of Tel Aviv University, was Israel's Ambassador to the United States and chief negotiator with Syria.

Why Genetically Altered Food Won't Conquer Hunger