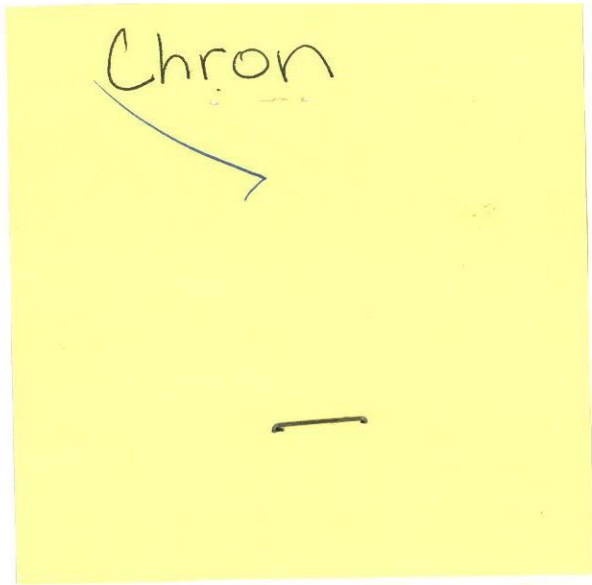
Chron

jgill @ penfield-gill.com
11/25/97 06:39:00 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Nancy V. Hernreich

cc:

'97 DEC 2 PM12:

Subject: Association for Computing's U.S. Public Policy Committee

Bety & Nancy,

Here is an important letter that was probably sent via regular mail. Just in case the President has not seen it yet, I am sending you an electronic copy. I happen to concur with the contents of the letter.

Happy Thanksgiving and be healthy and safe!

Best regards,

Jock

Subject: IP: letter from USACM (I a
this letter djf)
Date: Tue, 25 Nov 1997 13:28:
From: David Farber <farber@cis
To: ip-sub-1@majordomo.pob

12/2/97
Send to Burkhardt —
Yes ✓
No ____

November 25, 1997

President William J. Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

C.

Dear President Clinton:

The Association for Computing's U.S. Public Policy Committee believes that the "No Electronic Theft Act" (H.R. 2265), which is now before you, does not adequately reflect the nature of the new digital environment and will have a negative impact on the rich scientific communications that have developed on the Internet in many fields, including computer science. For this reason, we are asking you to veto the legislation. We agree that copyright holders have a legitimate need to protect their intellectual property. However, we are concerned that the bill was rushed through both Houses of Congress without careful consideration of its unintended consequences.

jgill @ penfield-gill.com
11/25/97 06:39:00 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Nancy V. Hernreich

cc:

Subject: Association for Computing's U.S. Public Policy Committee

'97 DEC 2 PM12:

Bety & Nancy,

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Happy Thanksgiving and be healthy and safe!

Best regards,

Jock

Subject: IP: letter from USACM (I am a member and a co-drafter of this letter djf)
Date: Tue, 25 Nov 1997 13:28:53 -0500
From: David Farber <farber@cis.upenn.edu>
To: ip-sub-1@majordomo.pobox.com

November 25, 1997

President William J. Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

The Association for Computing's U.S. Public Policy Committee believes that the "No Electronic Theft Act" (H.R. 2265), which is now before you, does not adequately reflect the nature of the new digital environment and will have a negative impact on the rich scientific communications that have developed on the Internet in many fields, including computer science. For this reason, we are asking you to veto the
legislation. We agree that copyright holders have a legitimate need to protect their intellectual property. However, we are concerned that the
bill was rushed through both Houses of Congress without careful consideration of its unintended consequences.

We are concerned the Bill may:

* Restrict scientists and other professionals from making their research available on the Internet for use by colleagues and students. Most scientists do not own the copyright on their own materials. Instead, that copyright ownership is retained by the scientific journal which peer-reviews and publishes the research. Under the No Electronic Theft Act, an author who posts their research on the Internet, and whose documents are frequently read on-line, could be subject to criminal prosecution. If the bill becomes law, scientists may have to choose between having their work peer-reviewed or making it widely available.

* Criminalize the transfer of information that is currently protected under the U.S. 'fair use' doctrine. Copyright law is derived from the U.S. Constitution and is intended to advance "science and the useful arts." The fair-use doctrine protects reading and nonprofit copying and thus allows scientists and educators to openly exchange information. H.R. 2265 does not explicitly protect the "fair use" priviledge which makes this open exchange of scientific information possible.

* Chill free speech in universities and research labs. The terminology used in the Bill, including "willingly" and "for profit," are not defined; it is unclear what the parameters of a criminally prosecutable copyright infringement are. As a result, it is likely that many institutions will mandate that all copyrighted documents be removed from the net to avoid having to defend copyright infringement prosecutions.

We hope that you will veto this measure and ask you staff to work with Congress during the next session to develop more sensible legislation.

Sincerely,

Dr. Barbara Simons Chair,
U.S. Public Policy Committee
Association For Computing

The Association for Computing (ACM) is the largest and oldest professional
association of computer scientists in the United States. ACM's U.S. Public
Policy Committee (USACM) facilitates communication between computer scientists and policy makers on issues of concern to the computing

community.

cc: Vice President Albert Gore, Jr.
Ira Magaziner, Senior Adviser to President
Brian Kahin, Office of Science Technology and Public Policy.
Henry J. Hyde, Chair, House Judiciary Committee
John Conyers, Jr., Ranking Member, House Judiciary Committee
Howard Coble, Chair, Courts and Intellectual Property Subcommittee,
House Judiciary Committee
Orrin G. Hatch, Chair, Senate Judiciary Committee
Patrick J. Leahy, Ranking Member, Senate Judiciary Committee
John Ashcroft, Chair, Constitution, Federalism and Property Rights
Subcommittee, Senate Judiciary Committee
Mike DeWine, Chair, Antitrust, Business Rights and Competition
Subcommittee, Senate Judiciary Comittee
Representative Virgil H. Goode
Representative Barney Frank, House Judiciary Committee
Representative Christopher Cannon, House Judiciary Committee
Representative William Delahunt, House Judiciary Committee
Representative Elton Gallegly, House Judiciary Committee
Representative Bob Clement

/\ /\/\/\/

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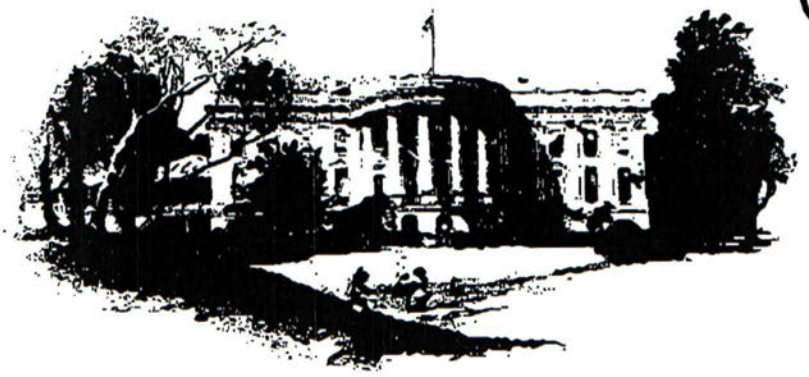
Jock Gill
jgill@penfield-gill.com
www.penfield-gill.com



Correspondence
Please Do
Thanks
Bob Se

THE WHITE HOUSE

'97 DEC 2 PM6:43

THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE OFFICE

Phone: 202-456-2957 • Fax: 202-395-4198

12-2-97

Date: 12/2

To: Nancy / Rebecca

From: Eugenie

Fax Number: 66703

Number of Pages Including Cover: 3

Is Burkhardt for reply after you have seen?

Yes ✓ No —

B.

Comments: Pls. advise. Request is from Representative, but don't necessarily think is appropriate for me to do! Thanks.

TO: EUGENIE FAX# 202-395-4198

FROM: MARY ANNE DATE: 12-2-97

RE: LETTER OF RECOGNITION

Ernest Cunningham, who is one of our state representatives and a key supporter, asked me to see if a letter could be written to Ms. Opal Schwantz in recognition of her accomplishments under adverse circumstances as explained in the accompanying letter. She retired from her career in nursing on November 26 and they had a ceremony for her. Ernest, however, would just like for her to get some recognition from the POTUS because what she has accomplished is in keeping with what the POTUS advocates about working hard and doing our best to live up to our God-given potential.

If you could take care of this Ernest and I would both be grateful.

THANKS!!

DEC-02 97 13:49 FROM: 2023954198435 10:66/03 PAGE:06

REPRESENTATIVE
Ernest Cunningham

727 Columbia Street
Helena, AR 72342-2813

Phone:
870-572-6106 Business
870-338-0868 Residence
870-572-9106 Fax

DISTRICT 98

Counties:
Part of Arkansas County
Part of Lee County
Part of Monroe County
Part of Phillips County
Part of Prairie County

COMMITTEES

Revenue and Taxation, Chairman

Insurance and Commerce

Rules

Joint Budget

SUBCOMMITTEES

Financial Institutions

STATE OF ARKANSAS

House of Representatives

December 1, 1997

Ms. Mary Ann Salmon

VIA FACSIMILE (501) 375-0512

Dear Mary Ann:

This letter is intended to officially express my sincere interest and support of Ms. Opal Schwantz in receiving some sort of recognition of service from the Office of President Clinton.

As I have previously indicated, I wholeheartedly believe that Ms. Schwantz is a wonderful choice for this award. She is a perfect example of a determined, diligent single mother striving to become the best parent she could be to her children.

In 1976, Ms. Schwantz was left widowed with 12 children. Remarkably, she was able to put herself through college and earn a degree in nursing in 1979. Later, she helped many elderly and needy patients throughout the area by working as a home health care nurse. Having known her for some time, I have had the honor of witnessing how she has touched the lives of many in our community in a warm and positive manner. She retired from nursing on November 26, 1997.

Again, I truly believe Ms. Opal Schwantz is quite deserving of this recognition for her sacrifice and determination in becoming an excellent and devoted nurse and mother. Should you have questions regarding this letter, please do not hesitate to contact me. Ms. Schwantz resides at 8736 Highway 49, Poplar Grove, Arkansas, 72374. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Ernest Cunningham

Ernest Cunningham
State Representative

Former Speaker

T. M. O'Connell, II

11/28/97

Dear Mr. President,

My partner, Lynda Davis and her husband Tony Blankley have been following the procedures for adopting a Russian orphan. That process is now in jeopardy for them and many like them from restrictions, to be voted by the Duma on Wednesday. anything that you can do to help would give thousands of Russian children a chance of a better life. Lynda has put together a package of information

Thanks Tony P.S. You could have at least confirmed to Trip that Hugh to work

12/2/97

Send to Burkhardt –

Yes ✓

No _____

C

Three Swallows Farm

November 28, 1997

The Honorable Charles S. Robb
Room 154 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-4603

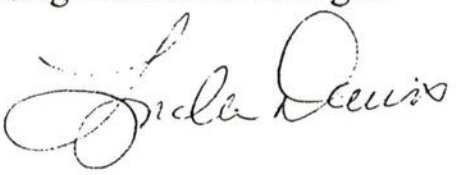
Dear Senator Robb,

Recently you supported landmark legislation to improve the future for thousands of American children stranded in limbo in orphanages or foster homes. I am writing you to ask you to extend the same compassion and interest to children in Russia waiting adoption by American families.

As older, biological parents of two healthy boys, my husband and I believed that we could extend our family and offer a needy child a loving and secure home. Given our age, foreign adoption was the course to pursue. After a lengthy process we finally identified our "new daughter" Anastasia with the hope of bring her home from St. Petersburg in early February. We have recently been informed that her adoption may be blocked forever by pending legislation in the Duma which would reverse current law and eliminate American's access to Russian children.

We ask you to join with other Members of Congress to help resolve this issue in a positive fashion for us and the 4,000-6,000 American families, who are also in some stage of the Russian adoption process. I hope you will take a minute to read the attached explanation of the circumstances and that you will assist us in our efforts to work with the Russian Duma to ensure that orphaned children in need continue to have access to a brighter future.

Thank you for your time and attention to this very important matter. We can't bear the thought of being without our little girl.

Sincerely, Lynda Davis 

9310 Georgetown Pike, Great Falls, VA 22066
phone (703) 759-6560 fax (703) 759-0579

BACKGROUND

- According to Reuters about 533,100 children are in orphanages or baby homes in Russia
- At least one third of these children are currently eligible for adoption under Russian and U.S. adoption/immigration laws
- Americans adopt approximately 63% of all Russian children
- Over 3,800 Russian children were adopted by Americans in FY'97 making Russian the lead country for American adoptions
- Prior to 1991, there were no Russian or former Soviet Union children adopted by American families
- Approximately 11,182 Russian children are now living safely and securely in American homes as "goodwill ambassadors"

CURRENT SITUATION

- Last month NCA received information that the Duma was considering a proposed change to current law (enclosed) which would effectively shut off adoptions of Russian children by American families
- Specifically, the law would prohibit adoptions from any country without an national central registry and would eliminate the involvement of any American or Russian agencies in the adoption process
- As America has a decentralized, state-based adoption agency system, albeit with federal immigration requirement for FBI and INS approvals, the U.S. would be precluded from signing a bilateral agreement with Russian - this fact is well know by the relevant Duma Committee(s).
- The public rationale given for this proposed legislative change by the Duma Committee on Women's and Children's Issues (Chaired by Ms. Aparina) is a legitimate concern for the procedures needed to ensure the safety of adopted children following two recent, highly publicized tragic accidents in which one Russian child was killed in Texas and two children were allegedly abused by their American adopting families.

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- The actual motivation for the proposed legislative change, however seems to be as much an effort to exert authority and to strongly demonstrate a "nationalistic" position with regard to U.S./Russian relations.
- Following the publication of this pending legislation, the NCA and its adoption agency members working in Russia held meetings with the State Department expressing their concerns for the negative consequence this legislation would have on American families and Russian children.
- This same NCA group held a briefing for Members of the House last month.
- Members of the House subsequently sent a letter to the Duma Speaker expressing their concern over this legislation (enclosed)
- A similar letter addressing Duma concern was also sent by Senators Kennedy, Leahy and Ford (enclosed).
- Another letter (enclosed) is circulating among a larger group of Senators (Coverdell, Lott, Mack, Grassley, Abrahams, Craig, Specter) with yet another emphasis on the negative consequences of this legislation.
- The NCA group has initiated a letter writing campaign from current and hopeful adoptive families to Members of the House and Senate (enclosed) and to President Clinton and President Yeltsin asking them to stop this legislation and to keep Russian adoptions open to Americans.
- NCA is drafting a letter to the Duma to propose that it act as a clearing house and accountability resource to ensure that any legitimate concerns over child safety and security are addressed.
- Larisa Mason, a Russian born American citizen is the Director of the International Assistance Group, a licensed U.S. agency specializing in American adoptions of Russian children
- Larisa speaks Russian fluently and is personally familiar with the key Duma and National Council Members on committees with jurisdiction over Russian adoption laws
- As late as early this week, Larisa had a conversation in Moscow with the Duma Committee indicated that they intended to bring the pending legislation to a vote in the first week of December and they expected passage and subsequent quick passage by National Council. The goal being to make this change effective as soon as possible.

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ACTION REQUESTED

- Larisa Mason has been in Moscow for over three weeks and has meet personally with all the relevant players including Duma Speaker Seleznev who has expressed personal support for the continuation of adoptions by Americans but who is under extreme pressure by the Communist majority to accept the proposed legislative restrictions.
- Speaker Seleznev has received communications from Members of Congress expressing support for continued American adoptions of Russian children.
- PLEASE consider signing something similar to the enclosed draft letter to Speaker Seleznev and sending it to him by next week.

Please let me know if there is any additional information I can provide for you. My day phone number is (202) 638-5333. I know Bill Pierce of the National Council on Adoption (202) 328-1200 and Larisa Mason of the International Assistance Group (412) 781-6470 would also be more that delighted to talk to you or your staff.

Thank you so very much!

9310 Georgetown Pike, Great Falls, VA 22066
phone (703) 759-6560 fax (703) 759-0579

DRAFT LETTER FROM SPEAKER GINGRICH TO DUMA SPEAKER SELEZNEV

The Honorable Gennadi Seleznev
Speaker of the Duma

Via Fax # 7-095-292-3249

Dear Speaker Seleznev,

- personal salutation -

I have received numerous letters from American citizens expressing their heartfelt concern for legislation pending in the Duma Committee on Women's and Children's Issues which would have the effect of eliminating American adoptions of Russian children. Understandably, thousands of potential adoptive American families are gravely disturbed by this possibility as it would eliminate their expectation to parent and love a needy Russian child.

There are currently over 11,000 Russian children living safely and securely in American homes. Unfortunately over the past year, there have been two tragic and highly publicized incidents where the lives of three of these children were endangered. This is a tragic and unacceptable occurrence which cannot be tollerated but it should not over shadow the successful placement of all the special needs children who are in happy, loving families serving as "ambassadors of goodwill" between our two countries.

It is my understanding that the on-profit Council of Adoption will be offering to address the legitimate concerns of the Duma Committee by instituting a procedure to provide for a centralized system with established services for record keeping, post placement reporting and agency reviews and sanctions. I would urge you and the Duma Committee members to delay any final action on the proposed legislative changes until this offer can be thoroughly reviewed and discussed with American representatives who, like you and the other Duma members, have the concern for the children's future safety and well being as their highest priority.

Thank you for your consideration of this very important matter and the issues being raised by Member of the Congress and private American citizens.

Sincerely,

Charles S. Robb
United States Senate

9310 Georgetown Pike, Great Falls, VA 22066
phone (703) 759-6560 fax (703) 759-0579

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

The Honorable Gennadi Seleznev
Speaker of the Duma

Via Fax # 7-095-292-3249

Dear Speaker Seleznev,

It has come to our attention that the Duma may consider changes to the international adoption law which would have the consequence of specifically limiting, or even eliminating, the opportunity for Russian children to be adopted by American families. Several aspects of this potential change in current policy concern us. We would like to take this opportunity to provide you with information and reassurance in the hope of assisting you in your deliberations and the production of mutually positive legislation.

First, we would like to stress the rigors of the legal adoption process in America and emphasize the important role American adoption agencies play in that process. Any American family who wishes to adopt must first be screened by a licensed adoption agency or social worker. Each adoption agency must meet specific professional criteria set forth by their state government in order to qualify for a license to perform this function. Licensed adoption agencies must maintain the state's mandated legal and ethical standards through annual reviews to assure compliance and competency.

Before an American family is approved for a foreign adoption, the licensed adoption agency must conduct a thorough legal, medical, social, and economic background investigation before making a determination that they are qualified to adopt. Next, the United States government, through the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), must review the complete records of the family wishing to adopt, and verify the certification of the licensed adoption agency through which the family is adopting. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) also conducts a fingerprint check on the potential adoptive parents.

This extensive process of state and federal checks is intended to insure that families wishing to adopt have been thoroughly screened and are qualified and well prepared to meet the responsibility.

Second, we would like to share the very positive feelings towards Russia that are held by the many American families who have already successfully adopted from Russia. The special experience of these families are shared with their friends, neighbors and colleagues. This positive attitude is most importantly transmitted to the adopted children themselves, who will become a generation of ambassadors of good will here in the United States.

It is in the spirit of good will between our two countries that we respectfully request that no changes be made to your laws on international adoption which would disrupt the current cooperative, legal process which has successfully place the best interest of the children as the highest goal by recognizing the genuine commitment made by American families willing to open their hearts and homes to them.

Sincerely,

Edward M. Kennedy
United States Senate

Wendell H. Ford
United States Senate

Patrick J. Leahy
United States Senate

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

October 28, 1997

Honorable Gennadi Seleznev
Speaker of the Duma

Via Fax #:7-095-292-3249

Dear Speaker Seleznev:

We have recently learned that members of the Duma are considering legislation which would have the practical effect of prohibiting American couples from adopting children now in Russian orphanages. We wish to express our support as federal legislators for American international adoption programs. Further, we wish to affirm that the full weight of the United States system protects the children of these programs.

Annually, couples from the United states adopt roughly 3,000 of the 500,000 children in Russian orphanages. While we fully recognize and appreciate the preference in your current law that gives Russian couples a priority to adopt Russian-born children, it is our hope that you will not prevent a portion of these children who will not be adopted by Russian couples from becoming part of loving families in the United States.

Both our countries are signatories to the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child which affirms the right of every orphaned child, wherever born, to be raised in a family unit. We share the strong belief that every child deserves a family.

It is our hope that no law will be passed which will have the effect of preventing American couples from adopting Russian orphans. If the Duma has concerns about some of the foreign adoption agencies and the couples they represent, then the Russian Federation is free to impose rigorous standards on these agencies and certify the ones allowed to operate in Russia. Any law which has the practical effect of preventing American couples from adopting could only harm those children who need families to love and care for them.

Thank you for your leadership in support of children's welfare. We appreciate your prompt consideration of this matter.

Cordially,

Tom Lantos

Tom Lantos

John E. Porter

James L. Oberstar

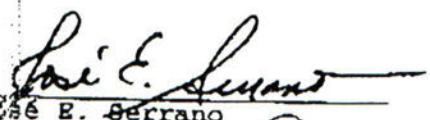
James L. Oberstar

Tom Bliley

Tom Bliley

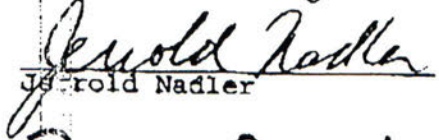
PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

William D. Delahunt

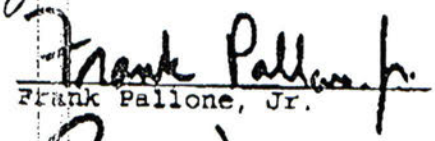


José E. Serrano

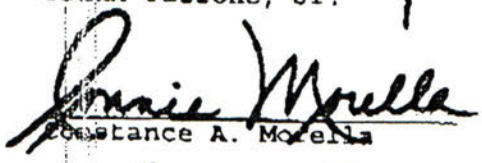
Deborah Pryce



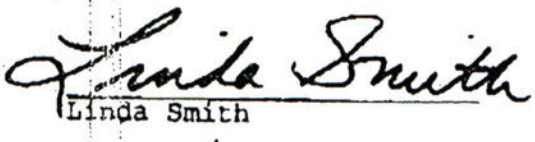
Jerrold Nadler



Frank Pallone, Jr.



Constance A. Morella



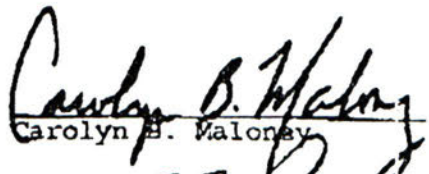
Linda Smith

James P. McGovern

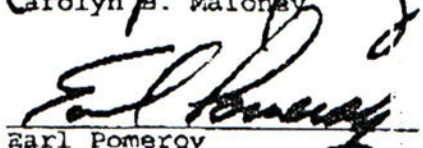
Richard Burr

Kay Granger

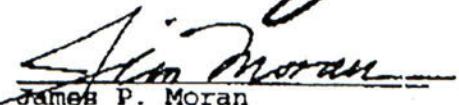
Ann Emerson



Carolyn B. Maloney



Earl Pomeroy

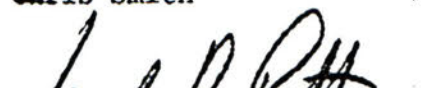


James P. Moran

Dan Burton

James C. Greenwood

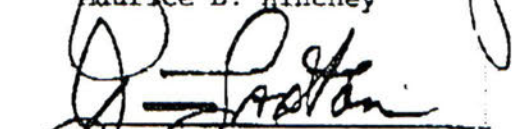
Chris Smith



Joseph R. Pitts

Filner

Maurice D. Hinchey



Jim Saxton

Thomas E. Petri

Jerry F. Costello

Michael R. McNulty

Peter A. DeFazio

Lane Evans

Colleen C. Peterson

John F. Tierney

Bob Franks

Louise McIntosh Slaughter

Todd Tiahrt

cc: Honorable Alevtina Aparina
Chief of Committee on Women, Family, and Youth Issues
Honorable Anatoli Lukyanov
Chairman, Committee on Legal Affairs
Honorable Viktor Ilukhin
Chairman, Security Committee
Honorable Vladimir Lukin
Chairman, International Issues

FEDERAL LAW AMENDMENTS
CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL ADOPTION
IN RUSSIA

NOV 24, 1997

Submitted by the
State Duma Deputies,
Members of the
State Duma Committee
of Women, Family and
Youth Affairs

Draft

FEDERAL LAW
On Amendment of Civil Procedure Code of Russia

Article 1. Amend articles of Civil Procedure Code of Russia (Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Gazette 1964 N24 art. 407; 1965 N 31, art. 1291; 1966 N32, art. 773; 1968 N 7, art. 252; 1973 N 51 art.1114; 1974 N 51 art. 1346; 1977 N 24, art.586; 1980 N32, art.987; 1981 N 23 art. 800; N 37 art. 1264; N 46 art.1555; 1984 N 3, art. 106; 1985 N 5, art. 163; N9, art. 305; 1986 N 14, art. 413; N 48 art. 1397; 1987 N 9, art. 250; 1988 N 1, art.1; N 6 art. 137; 1989 N 16, art. 398; Gazette of Russia People's Deputies' Congress and of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, 1991 N 15, art. 191; Gazette of Russia People's Deputies' Congress and of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, 1992 N 15, art.768; N 27, art. 1560; N 30, art. 1794; N 34, art. 1966; 1993 N 17 art. 593; N 22 art. 787; Russian Federation Laws Collection 1995, N 18, art. 1596; N 49, art. 4696, 1996 N 1, art. 19, 1997 N 35, art. 4134) with the following:

Draft

FEDERAL LAW
On Amendment of RSFSR Criminal Code

Article 1. Amend RSFSR Criminal Code (Russian Federation Law Collection 1996, N 25, art. 2954)with the following:

1. Clause 1 of article 152 be written in the following edition:

"Purchase or selling of a minor or conclusion ofother deals on a minor in the form of transferring him/her and possesing him/her is punished by limitation of freedom for up to three years or imprisonment up to five years."

2. Article 154 be written in the following edition:

"Illegal actions including illegal mediation for adoption, placing children under legal custody (foster homes), in adoptive families for raising, committed repeatedly or for mercenary ends are punished by correctional labour for up to 12 months or by an arrest up to 6 months."

Submitted by the State Duma Deputies,
Members of the State Duma Committee of Women, Family and Youth Affairs

Draft

FEDERAL LAW
On Amendment of RSFSR Law "On Russian Federation Citizenship"

Article 1. Clause 1 of article 29 of Russian Federation Law "On Russian Federation Citizenship" (People's Deputies' Congress and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation Gazette 1992 N 6, art. 243; 1993 N 29, art. 1112; Russian Federation Laws Collection 1995 N 7, art. 496) be written in the following edition:

"1. A child, citizen of the Russian Federation,who is adopted by non-RF citizens, remains citizen of the Russian Federation".

Article 2. This Federal Law becomes valid in law on the day it has been published officially.

Siganture

Submitted by the State Duma Deputies
Members of the State Duma Committee of Women,
Family and Youth Affairs

Draft

FEDERAL LAW
On Amendment of the Family Code of Russia

Article 1. In order to increase the state control over adoptions, providing the rights and lawful interests of the children during the adoption process and adopted children the Family Code of Russia (Russian Federation Laws Collection 1996 N 1, art. 16) be amended by the following:

1. In art. 121 clause 1 part 3 is to be excluded.

2. In art. 122: clause 3 be amended by a new part 3 as follows:

"the information about the orphans who have been registered in the central data bank on orphans is given to persons on the basis of their personal application with documents proving their possibility to be adoptive parents, guardians, foster parents enclosed."

Consider part 3 to be part 4 and write it in the following edition:

"The order of centralized registration of orphans, giving of the

information about the centrally registered children as well as the order o
the state control over the centralized registration is determined by the
Russian Federation Government."

In clause 4 the words "Heads of the institutions, mentioned in
clause 2 of this article as well as the officials of the Executive Power
bodies of the Russian Federation Subjects and Guardianship and Care
Bodies" be changed for the words: "heads of the institutions and the
officials of the Bodies mentioned in clauses 2 and 3 of this article."

3. Part 1 of clause 1 article 123 be amended by:
"free of charge".

4. Amend the Code with article 123-1 as follows:

"Article 123-1.02 On inadmissibility mediator's
o2activity on finding and placing
o2orphans.oO

Mediation by juridio2ooOal and physical persons on finding and
placing orphans for raising into families of Russian Federation or foreign
citizens and persons without legal nationality is forbiden in the territo-
ry of the Russian Federation.

Representation of the interests of foreign citizens and persons
without legal nationality wishing to adopt minor citizens of the Russian
Federation is allowed in the RF territory only if the conditions and
order of its realization is in accordance with the international
agreement between the Russian Federation and the state whose citizens are
the people whishing to adopt the child (as the persons without legal
nationality are concerned - the state of which they are permanent
residents)

5. In art. 124
clause 1 be amended with the words: "with obligatory fulfilment of
the requirements of clause 1 art. 123 of this Code as well as
considering the possibility of providing for the children's physical,
psychic, moral and spiritual development."

part 1 clause 3 be amended with the words:"and only after signing
of a bilateral agreement on in-terstate co-operation in the sphere of
adoption, signed by the Russian Federation and the state whose citizens
wish to adopt the children, citizens of the RF (when persons without
citizenship adopt - with the state of which the persons are permanent
residents)."

part 2 clause 3 be amended with the sentence:
"The day of centralized registration of the children is
considered the day when the information about the orphans appears in the
Executive Power Body mentioned in part 1 clause 3 art. 122 of this Code."

6. Article 125: part 2 clause 1 be amended:" and the prosecutor
as well"; be amended with a new clause 2 as follows:
"2. For establishing adoption of a child, preliminary personal
communication of the futura adoptive parents with him is obligatory, as
well as conclusion of a guardianship and care body on validity of this
very adoption and meeting the child's interests excluding the cases
when the child is adopted by its step-parent or its close relatives.
The order of placing children for adoption including the order of
futher controll over the living and education conditions of the adopted
children in the adoptive parents' family is determined by the
Russian Federation Government."

7. Clause 1 art. 127 be amended by clause 7 as follows:
"other lawful types of earnings, as well as persons without permanent
lace or residence (home)"

8. Clause 3 art. 129 be written in the following adition:
"3. The parents may give their consent for the child being adopted
a specific person (when the child is adopted by a step-parent or
e child's close relatives) or without mentioning a specific person. The

parents' consent for adoption may be given only after the child has been born."

9. article 141 be amended with clause 3 as follows:

"3. The court has the right to cancel the adoption if it is found out that it was established with violation of the legal conditions of adoption or was based on fake documents as well as if the adoption was fictitious".

10. In art.165: in part 2 clause 1 the words: "124-126 and 129-132" be changed for the words: "124-129 part 1-4 article 130, articles 131-133"; clause 1 be amended with a new part 3 as follows:

"Adoption of children - RF citizens in the territory of the Russian Federation by foreign citizens and persons without citizenship, married to the RF citizens, is established in the order, determined by this Code for the RF citizens";

part 3 be considered part 4; amend part 3 with a new clause 3 as follows:

"3. The control over the living conditions of the children - citizens of the RF, adopted by foreign citizens and persons without citizenship, out of the Russian Federation is carried out by the corresponding Consular institutions of the RF in which the mentioned children are registered up to their becoming 18 years of age.

The order of controlling the living and education conditions of the children - RF citizens by Concular institutions of the Russian Federation as well as the order of registration of these children by Consular institutions is determined by the Russian Federation Government."

clause 3 be considered as clause 4.

Article 2. This Federal Law becomes valid in law thirty days after it has been published officially.

The order of adoption of the children - RF citizens by foreign citizens or persons without citizenship only if a bilateral agreemnet on international co-operation in the sphere of adoption is signed, according to part 1 clause 3 article 124 of the Family Code of Russia, becomes valid in law on September 1, 1999.

Siganture

1. Article 263-1 be amended with a second part as follows:

"Foreign citizens and persons without citizens-hip apply fo adoption of a child, who is a Russian Federation citizen, to the Area Regional, Municipal Courts, to Courts of the Autonomous Region o District of the Russian Federation, being in the territory of th corresponding region, town, autonomous region or district, in which th adoptee lives/lived."

2. Article 263-2:

In part 2 clause 7 "1,2,4,5 and 6" be changed for numbers "1-6":

Part 2 clause 7 after the words: "about their living conditions and the possibility to be adoptive parents" be amended with the words: "with documents proving these circumstances enclosed."

3. Part 2 clause 7 art. 263-3 be amended with the words: "with mentioning specific measures taken by the corresponding institutions according to art. 122 of the Family Code of Russia for placing the child into a family".

4. Part 2 art. 263-4 be amended with the following sentence: "when a child is adopted by foreign citizens or people without legal nationality the adoptee's close relatives must be present at the court hearing establishing the adoption".

Article 2. This Federal Law becomes valid in law thirty days after it has been published officially.

Signature

Submitted by the State Duma Deputies, Members of the State Duma Committee of Women, Family and Youth Affairs

Draft

FEDERAL LAW
On Amendment of RSFSR Code on Administrative Law Violations

Article 1. Amend RSFSR Code on Administrative Law Violations (RSFSR Supreme Soviet Gazette 1984 N27 art. 910; Russian Federation Laws Collection 1995, N 11, art. 939) with the following:

1. Article 193-1 be written in the following edition:

"THe Heads of the institutions where orphans live as well as the officials of the Federal Body of Executive Power which is responsible for centralized registration of orphans, Bodies of Executive Power of the Russian Federation Subjects and Local Government Bodies, who violate the regulations or terms of submitting information about the underage children who need to be adopted, placed under the legal custody (foster homes) or into families for raising, or give deliberately false information or produce any other actions preventing children from being adopted, put under the legal custody (foster homes), to families for raising are subject to a fine in the amount of 30 through 100 minimal salaries."

Article 2. This Federal Law becomes valid in law thirty days after it has been published officially.

Siganture

Submitted by the State Duma Deputies, Members of the State Duma Committee of Women, Family and Youth Affairs

TO: President William Clinton

FROM: Gregory and Kathleen Watson
1816 Renee Drive
Library, PA 15129
412-348-4368

DATE: 11/24/97

RE: Adoptions and the **NEGATIVE** Media of America

We are writing to you to ask for your help. In March of 1996, we adopted an eighteen month old boy from Russia. Peter, our son, has been the joy of our hearts everyday since then and we thank the Lord for the present that he has given us with that boy. The reason that we went to Russia for an adoption is because the rules within our own country are much too strict and yet there are not any laws regarding the permanence of the adoption after it is finalized.

Recently there have been a wave of stories, both in print media and television, concerning Russian adoptions. For every eight stories published, seven of them are negative. Of the thousands of Russian adoptions that have occurred in the last several years, a few of the adoptions have resulted in behavioral and learning problems in the children. The parents of these children have taken it upon themselves to become the "Consumer Protection Agency" for all prospective parents and they are willing to talk to any media person that will listen. They claim that all that they are attempting to accomplish is to inform people about the potential problems yet what they are accomplishing is to **LABEL** our son, and every other child that has been adopted from Russia. Our children are being discriminated and will have to face life with the label of behavioral or learning problems.

So, our first request, although we suspect that you will tell us that there is nothing that you can do, is to ask you to do anything possible to get the media to back off on these stories. They are all like sharks smelling blood. Since one media told a story involving Russian adoptions, they all feel that they have to tell a story. I realize that they will quote First Amendment rights, but what of the rights of these children that they are hurting? Yes, some of these children have problems. But what percentage? The stories are being reported as if all of the Russian children have these problems. We know of several cases locally that the children were "labeled" as problem children, without ever being tested. The only test that the children passed was that they were born in Russia and were adopted by American parents.

Our second request is possibly more feasible for someone in your position. It is our understanding that there is legislation pending in the Russian Duma which would effectively eliminate adoptions between Russia and The United States. This legislation is being considered because of the negative press that is being reported in America and finding its way back to Russia. There are currently over 500,000 children in Russian institutions. These children are between the ages of birth and fifteen years old. At the age of sixteen, these children are forced into the streets, where they face the possibilities of slave labor, drugs, prostitution, and death. We are asking that you do everything within your power to negotiate this issue with the Russian Government. We are asking that you do everything within your power to address any concerns that the Russian Government has about the welfare of these children.

Peter has been the joy of our lives since the day we first saw him. We just wish that the media would look at our son prior to publishing their stories. He is not the exception, he is the majority. We would do it over again immediately, and would go for a second, if we could swing it financially. When we think of what life might have been like for Peter, if he had stayed in Russia, we consider him lucky. But then we see him and realize that we are the lucky ones.

November 22, 1997

President William Clinton

Dear President Clinton:

We are writing to ask your intervention in an urgent matter regarding impending Russian legislation which would prohibit the international adoption of children from the Russian orphanage system.

At present time in the United States, there are thousands of couples who are trying to create families through adoption. At the same time, there are over 500,000 children in the Russian orphanage system. Our own family is one of many who have been joyfully created through international adoption. We adopted our son, Sergei, at 14 months of age from an orphanage in St. Petersburg, Russia, in 1993. Today, Sergei is a bright, sensitive, playful and articulate 5 year old. We cannot imagine life without him!

It distresses us to hear that the Russian government is considering the passage of a bill to stop the international adoption of its children in orphanages. It is our understanding that if this bill passes, adoptions would be prohibited until September, 1999. At that time, adoptions would only be allowed with countries who have signed an "intercountry agreement," which the United States does not generally do.

We strongly believe that the negative (in fact, caustic) publicity in our country's newspapers, magazines and television news coverage regarding these Russian children has played a key role in influencing the Russian government to consider this legislation. Our country's free press has thus played a role in potentially keeping these children held hostage and unavailable for adoption. Likewise, this possibility is a blow to infertile couples who await children in their lives. Our children have been wrongly labeled as "problem children" by simple-minded persons who do not understand that children without the nutritional and environmental advantages of a home may indeed have developmental delays. These delays can be overcome with good parenting and professional interventions as necessary. In fact, developmental delays also routinely occur within our own country's population of children who are

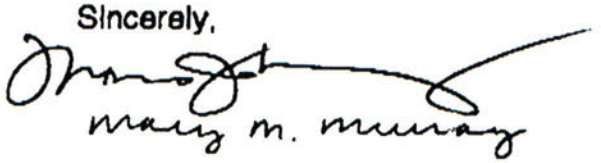
11-24-1997 10:53 412 362 1951 SHADYSIDE NURSING & REHAB P.02

born here.

We are urging you to intervene in this situation by making our legislature and government aware of this harmful situation, and by personally contacting Russian officials immediately about stopping the passage of this bill. In the event this bill does pass, we urge you to ask our government to sign the intercountry agreement. Many homeless children and childless couples are depending on your help.

If we can provide any personal assistance with our testimonial of our successful adoption experience, please feel free to contact us. We are only one of many couples who have been blessed by international adoption through Russia.

Sincerely,



Mary and Tom Murray

128 Pinoak Lane
Imperial , PA 15126
Phone number: (412)695-8378

11-24-1997 10:54 412 362 1951 SHADYSIDE NURSING & REHAB P.03

TO: First Lady Hillery Clinton

FROM: Gregory and Kathleen Watson
1816 Renee Drive
Library, PA 15129
412-348-4368

DATE: 11/24/97

RE: Adoptions and the **NEGATIVE** Media of America

We are writing to you to ask for your help. In March of 1996, we adopted an eighteen month old boy from Russia. Peter, our son, has been the joy of our hearts everyday since then and we thank the Lord for the present that he has given us with that boy. The reason that we went to Russia for an adoption is because the rules within our own country are much too strict and yet there are not any laws regarding the permanence of the adoption after it is finalized.

Recently there have been a wave of stories, both in print media and television, concerning Russian adoptions. For every eight stories published, seven of them are negative. Of the thousands of Russian adoptions that have occurred in the last several years, a few of the adoptions have resulted in behavioral and learning problems in the children. The parents of these children have taken it upon themselves to become the "Consumer Protection Agency" for all prospective parents and they are willing to talk to any media person that will listen. They claim that all that they are attempting to accomplish is to inform people about the potential problems yet what they are accomplishing is to LABEL our son, and every other child that has been adopted from Russia. Our children are being discriminated and will have to face life with the label of behavioral or learning problems.

So, our first request, although we suspect that you will tell us that there is nothing that you can do, is to ask you to do anything possible to get the media to back off on these stories. They are all like sharks smelling blood. Since one media told a story involving Russian adoptions, they all feel that they have to tell a story. I realize that they will quote First Amendment rights, but what of the rights of these children that they are hurting? Yes, some of these children have problems. But what percentage? The stories are being reported as if all of the Russian children have these problems. We know of several cases locally that the children were "labeled" as problem children, without ever being tested. The only test that the children passed was that they were born in Russia and were adopted by American parents.

Our second request is possibly more feasible for someone in your position. It is our understanding that there is legislation pending in the Russian Duma which would effectively eliminate adoptions between Russia and The United States. This legislation is being considered because of the negative press that is being reported in America and finding its way back to Russia. There are currently over 500,000 children in Russian institutions. These children are between the ages of birth and fifteen years old. At the age of sixteen, these children are forced into the streets, where they face the possibilities of slave labor, drugs, prostitution, and death. We are asking that you do everything within your power to negotiate this issue with the Russian Government. We are asking that you do everything within your power to address any concerns that the Russian Government has about the welfare of these children.

Peter has been the joy of our lives since the day we first saw him. We just wish that the media would look at our son prior to publishing their stories. He is not the exception, he is the majority. We would do it over again immediately, and would go for a second, if we could swing it financially. When we think of what life might have been like for Peter, if he had stayed in Russia, we consider him lucky. But then we see him and realize that we are the lucky ones.

November 22, 1997

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

I am writing to ask your intervention in an urgent matter regarding impending Russian legislation which would prohibit the international adoption of children from the Russian orphanage system. I am also writing to you as one mother to another, who are both committed to helping children.

At present time in the United States, there are thousands of couples who are trying to create families through adoption. At the same time, there are over 500,000 children in the Russian orphanage system. Our own family is one of many who have been joyfully created through international adoption. My husband and I adopted our son, Sergei, at 14 months of age from an orphanage in St. Petersburg, Russia, in 1993. Today, Sergei is a bright, sensitive, playful and articulate 5 year old. We cannot imagine life without him!

It distresses us to hear that the Russian government is considering the passage of a bill to stop the international adoption of its children in orphanages. It is our understanding that if this bill passes, adoptions would be prohibited until September, 1999. At that time, adoptions would only be allowed with countries who have signed an "intercountry agreement," which the United States does not generally do.

We strongly believe that the negative (in fact, caustic) publicity in our country's newspapers, magazines and television news coverage regarding these Russian children has played a key role in influencing the Russian government to consider this legislation. Our country's free press has thus played a role in potentially keeping these children held hostage and unavailable for adoption. Likewise, this possibility is a blow to infertile couples who await children in their lives. Our children have been wrongly labeled as "problem children" by simple-minded persons who do not understand that children without the nutritional and environmental advantages of a

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home may indeed have developmental delays. These delays can be overcome with good parenting and professional interventions as necessary. In fact, developmental delays also routinely occur within our own country's population of children who are born here.

I am asking that you intervene in this situation by making our legislature and government aware of this harmful situation, and by urging our government to contact Russian officials immediately about stopping the passage of this bill. In the event this bill does pass, I urge you to ask our government to sign the intercountry agreement. Many homeless children and childless couples are depending on your help.

If my husband and I can provide any personal assistance with our testimonial of our successful adoption experience, please feel free to contact us. We are only one of many couples who have been blessed by international adoption through Russia.

Sincerely,

Mary M. Murray

Mary Murray
128 Pinoak Lane
Imperial, PA 15126
Phone number: (412)695-8378

Charles & Tara Trimper
1011 Stewart Lane
Glen Burnie, MD 21060

November 23, 1997

President Clinton
President
United States of American

Dear President Clinton:

I have recently been made aware that legislation is pending in the Russian Duma which would eliminate adoptions for an indefinite period. This is very disheartening for me for the following reasons I have listed below.

On November 26, 1993, my husband and I left the United States to go to St. Petersburg Russia to adopt a 1 year old baby boy. My son just recently turned 5 years old and is doing exceptionally well considering his health when we left Russia. At the time of adoption, he was 1 year old and weighed 12 lbs. and could not sit, crawl or chew something as simple as one Cheerio without choking. The night that we arrived back in the states his pediatrician met us at her office to check him over. He had severe ear infections, an upper respiratory infection, malnourished and dehydrated. If we hadn't adopted him, and he remained in the orphanage I am almost certain that he would not be alive today to celebrate his 5th Birthday . But instead, is a healthy normal 5 year old little boy that wakes up and goes to school everyday with his friends. Something he wouldn't have been able to do in Russia.

This is the time of year that we should all be thankful, and I am very thankful that we were able to adopt our son and bring him into our loving home. If it weren't for international adoptions, my husband and I would not have a child to love and care for.

I take this issue very personal and ask that the government is involved as much as possible with negations with the Russian government to resolve any concerns about the welfare of these children.

Sincerely,

Tara & Charles Trimper

2400 E. Springwood Dr.
Glenshaw, PA 15116

November 24, 1997

Dear President Clinton,

I am writing about a subject that is near and dear to my heart: my 5 year old adopted son, Nikolai, from Russia. There is current legislation pending in the Russian Duma that could eliminate adoptions for long periods of time, or possibly forever.
I am writing to you out of love that is so strong, and also for the future families who hope to adopt in Russia. Negative press about some developmental difficulties in some of the children are apparently leading the Russians to reconsider their adoption procedures. The positive family stories that many of us in Pittsburgh alone can attest to are not being publicized. We need your help to get our government involved in discussions with the Russian government to address the concerns they may have about the childrens' welfare.
I shudder to think of the future of my blue-eyed, blonde child had he remained in the orphanage system. At age four, he would have been sent out of the "baby home" to an orphanage for older children, where as a handsome boy, his fate would have become indescribable. I think of this prospect daily, and feel very lucky to have "rescued" him.
Please help us inform the Russian people and their government that we are giving these children the very best of life, and that there are many families out there waiting for their chance to adopt.

Sincerely,

Sue L. Scott

CC: Gingrich, Specter, Santorum, LOTT

Robert & Frances Dawson
46 Westwood Drive
E. Rochester, NY 14445
(716) 383-1474

FAX TO: President William J. Clinton

FAX #: (202) 456-6220

COPY TO: House Speaker Newt Gingrich, Trent Lott & Congresswoman Louise Slaughter

RE: Pending Legislation of Russian Duma Regarding Adoption

Dear President Clinton:

On Monday, November 10, 1997 we welcomed into our family Sarah, a beautiful eight month old baby girl, born in St. Petersburg, Russia. She has light brown hair and huge blue grey eyes. She is a complete delight to our entire family, including her big brother, 14 year old Brad. In the two short weeks we have had her in our care she has blossomed. From a child who only wanted to lay on her back, she now loves to totter on her stocky little legs as we hold her hands and is discovering an entirely new vantage from sitting up with assistance. She has such a ready smile she takes our breath away.

Even though she was beautifully cared for at baby home #13 in St. Petersburg, Russia, as a parent you are well aware that there is no substitute for the one on one interaction only a family can give. It is because of this that I write today.

The Duma has issued draft legislation to halt all further such adoptions and our heart is breaking for those children still awaiting families. It seems that our ever present media, always in search of a "good" story has focused on the obscure adoptions gone awry. This understandably has angered and embarrassed the Russian government and through this legislation they propose to eliminate the possibility of future negative stories. Please do not condemn hundreds, if not thousands, of children awaiting loving families to a life of institutionalization. Help illuminate to the Russian government the vast majority of adoptive families who are loving and caring. Express to them how deeply indebted to the Russian people we feel for the gift of our daughter. While Sarah will be raised as an American, we embrace her rich Russian heritage and hope one day to see her return to the country of her birth in celebration of the opportunity given to her for a full, loving and successful life.

Sarah has given us the opportunity to complete our family and dreams, someday, we hope she will say the same about her American family. On a final note, I would like to point out that we are not taking children away from Russian homes, Sarah and all other Russian born children, are available for adoption in their own country exclusively for four months. There was not a home for Sarah in Russia so we gave her a home she would not otherwise have. I beg of you to get involved to make sure all other children awaiting families can have the same positive outcome.

Sincerely, Robert & Frances Dawson

November 23, `1997

Dear President Clinton,

My husband and I recently adopted our son from St. Petersburg, Russia. He was one year old on November 3rd, 1997 and we were lucky enough to celebrate that day with him, as we all flew home on October 21st 1997. He is so precious and we are so blessed.

He loves to play, laugh and talks baby talk. He is a good eater and an all around happy boy. The pediatrician says he's small for his age but healthy. Therefore I can only quote the saying "Wonderful things come in small packages".

We have heard the talk of the possibility on no longer allowing adoptions or eliminatig them for an extended period of time to U.S. parents and we would be deeply saddened if this were truly so. Other couples such as ourselves would not be allowed to feel such joy as us. We can only hope this is a rumor as our son Trenton may need a brother or sister in the future. We would appreciate your involvement in the negotiations to keep this avenue open, these children our in desperate need of loving homes.

Sincerely,

Gayle, Pete & Trenton Nicioli

Gayle, Pete and Trenton Nicioli
3805 Timbers Edge,
Glenview, IL. 60025
Phone and fax: (847) 390-8146

04/10/1998 03:13 8473908146 PETE NICIOLI PAGE 03

November 27, 1997

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC

1258 Fox Chapel Road
Pittsburgh, PA 15238
(412) 963-1838

Dear President Clinton:

We have become aware that the Russian Duma is considering legislation which would effectively eliminate foreign adoption. As I understand it, this legislation, if passed, would be a clear and blatant violation of the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child, to which both the United States and Russia are signatories. Specifically, this convention affirms the right of every orphaned child, wherever born, to be raised in a family unit.

Beyond that, having adopted a child from Russia and having seen their institutional system first hand, I am deeply concerned. Even if the very small percentage of the over 500,000 children currently housed in orphanages who would otherwise be allowed to be adopted under current law are denied the opportunity my daughter has had to blossom and thrive, it would be a crime against humanity.

Obviously, this is very important to the thousands of us who have adopted from abroad, not only for ourselves but for the thousands of other American couples and thousands of Russian children who might not otherwise know the joys of becoming families

Therefore, in the name of humanity and the rights of children, I implore you to use the full weight of the United States government and exert whatever leverage you may have with the Russian government not to permit the enactment of this legislation.

Sincerely,

John R. Bentz

John. R. Bentz
Pittsburgh, PA

November 22, 1997
53 Benson Street
Milford, CT 06460
(203) 877-4007

President Bill Clinton
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.
Fax No.: (202) 456-6220

Re: **Russian Adoptions**

Dear President Clinton:

I write to you today regarding a matter of great urgency to me of an international humanitarian issue.

As you may be aware, the Russian government has recently intimated that it would soon revise its laws regarding international adoption. Recent developments in Moscow would indicate that a law having the effect of a total moratorium on international adoptions is imminent.

My husband and I who have been unable to have a child of our own, are in the process of adopting a baby girl from Russia. We have already met all of the rigorous and stringent legal requirments to establish our qualifications and preparedness to meet the responsibility of parenthood. The law will take effect next month thereby prohibiting us from completing our adoption plans. We are heart broken.

[illegible] Russian government to stop the proposed moratorium and address any concerns they may have about the welfare of these children.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Barbara W Blackwell

Barbara W. Blackwell

URGENT. PLEASE DELIVER IMMEDIATELY.

To: President William J. Clinton
Fax #: 202-456-6220

From: Daniel Shade, M.D.
Kathleen Geary Shade
Fax No. 215-509-6771

Date: November 23, 1997

Re: Please take immediate action to resolve the drastic measures pending in Russia re. American adoptions!

Total Pages: 2

3820 Sharp Street
Philadelphia, PA 19127

November 23, 1997

Dear President Clinton:

We have been informed that, with little notice or publicity, the lower house of the Russian Parliament has drafted legislation that will effectively eliminate all American adoptions of Russian orphans for at least two years. It is likely that, if this legislation is passed, these adoptions will never be permitted again.

The reason for the legislation is clear: the stream of articles and editorials written by the U.S. Press about the *extremely rare* cases in which Russian children with serious emotional problems have been adopted, then injured or killed by their American parents.. These articles blame the children and have been re-published in Russia. A false message- that Russian children are abused, then blamed, when they are adopted by U.S. citizens - has reached the Russian population and they are outraged.

President Clinton, we are unable to have children and have met all of the rigorous, stringent legal requirements to be permitted to adopt a child from Russia. We have endured detailed, lengthy evaluations to establish our ability to meet the responsibilities of parenthood, and we have spent thousands of dollars and countless hours throughout this process. We have complied with these requirements and waited patiently because we desperately want a child. To be informed that our chance is being taken away due to unfair politics and biased journalism is very tough to digest.

You can make a difference for us and for the thousands of other American citizens in our position. Please intervene to the fullest extent possible with the Russian government to assure them that Russian children adopted by American parents are well cared for and loved, and that the drastic measures they are attempting to implement are not necessary.

Please contact us at 215-509-6799 should you require additional information or to speak with us personally about his matter. Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Daniel A. Shade, M.D.

Kathleen Geary Shade

Kathleen Geary Shade

November 22, 1997

Dear President Clinton,

I am an adoptive parent of two children who were born in Eastern Europe. My daughter, Irina, was born in Russia and she is a joy to me and my family. She has an exuberance for life that is unmatched in any child that I observed and I know that she has a strong sense of survival. However, she will simply be a forgotten "statistic" as one of "the lucky ones" who were able to find a "forever family" if the recent Russian legislation is passed. I am certain you are aware that the Russian Duma is seeking to effectively ban all international adoptions for at least two years, if not permanently. There are over 500,000 orphans who are barely surviving in Russia at this moment. Those children will have no chance for a family or a home, two necessities that no child should be without.

I am requesting your intervention into this dire situation which involves, not only the 500,000 children in Russia, but the many childless couples in the U.S. who dream of adopting a child who needs a home and a family. I know that you and Mrs. Clinton are child advocates who are concerned for children all over the world. This is your opportunity to exert the influence of the U.S. government for the good and the future of ½ million innocent children. Please intervene on behalf of them. I don't want my little Irina to be considered "one of the lucky ones", because truly, we, as adoptive parents are the only real "lucky ones".

Sincerely,

Mary H Graber
242 S. Home Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15202
(412)766-6248

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Chapman
127 Brookwood Road
Venetia, Pa 15367
Home Phone 412-941-2598
Email GChap87407@aol.com

November 22, 1997

President Clinton
White House
Washington, DC
Fax # 202-456-6220

President Clinton,

We are writing because we have just been notified of certain legislation that is pending in the Russian Duma. Mr. President, we are proud parents of a 15 month, beautiful, healthy son, Andrei, adopted from St. Petersburg, Russia. If this legislation passes, the future of other children, like our son, will be diminished.

As a father, we're sure you can understand the importance of a loving, nurturing home to a child. These children in jeopardy will never play peek-a-boo with a special blanket before bedtime. They will never have the chance to snuggle into a loving lap to hear a favorite story. Other couples, like ourselves, will never hear the innocent laugh of a child when tickled.

International Assistance Group, of Pittsburgh, PA. has placed over 400 children in loving nurturing homes. Please help this to continue. We will provide any type of information you would need to show President Yeltsin these children are well loved and taken good care of. Please help us stop this legislation, send these letters and information to President Yeltsin.

Sincerely,

Cynthia A. Chapman

Robert Gene Chapman

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Chapman

DATE: November 24, 1997

To: President Clinton

FAX #: 202-456-6220

From: Carol Sanzalone

Fax#: 609-397-0724

Note: This letter is concerning the issue of adoption of Russian children in the United States. Please forward my letter directly any additional person who may be appropriate.

thank you-

Total # of pages including cover page: 4

Sent

6:00 am

11/24

Dear President Clinton,

I am writing this letter while sitting in my kitchen at 4:00 in the morning. Please excuse the informal way in which you are receiving my correspondence.

I have been aware of the negative press concerning Russian adoptions. I understand that legislation is due to be presented for a vote on December 1st to the lower house of the Russian parliament, the Duma, which would effectively eliminate all adoptions for a minimum of almost two years and probably for good. This is a direct result of the barrage of negative publicity that has found its way into the Russian media from our press. Because of this alarming situation, I found it necessary to write to you at this time and ask for your help.

In September of 1995, my husband and I travelled to Moscow to bring home our daughter who was 2½ years old at that time. She is now a citizen of the United States and will be 5 on December 17th. Lilia is a beautiful and loving child who is bright and full of

energy. She has made many friends and positively impressed everyone with whom she comes in contact. She is a very family oriented child who is proud of her Russian heritage while at the same time happy to be part of an American family.

As a parent by adoption, I have approached my role as a challenge to discover my daughters strengths and help her to deal with any weaknesses without having any information about her birth family. She has been a wonderful puzzle and it is our job as parents to make the pieces fit and work together.

Having come to parenting after a long career in arts education and Graphic Design, I know first hand the consequences of a negative image. I dread the impact on my daughter that could result from this negative stereotyping. We have been very open with her, in a positive way, about where she was born. She will quickly tell you where she is from because this is something of which she is proud, as are we.

Having stayed in close contact with the four other families with whom we have travelled to Moscow, we know first hand how these children have grown and thrived in their new homes. Please do all you can to help families in the United States who are waiting to bring home children they have already identified as well as those who are in the process. this country would certainly not be as strong as it is if it were not for its multi-cultural heritage that has allowed its people to work together in a positive open-minded effort when a problem needs to be solved.

thank you for your time and your assistance.

Sincerely,
Carol Sanzalone

Carol Sanzalone
4 Chimney Hill Dr.
Lambertville, NJ
08530-2628

609-397-2975

Nuclear Age Peace Foundation

November 19, 1997
'97 DEC 2 PM5:23

Frank K. Kelly
Senior Vice President

Dear President Clinton –

I was honored and pleased to get your recent letter. I enclose my response.

May the Lord of love and wisdom continue to bless you, Hillary, and Chelsea!

Cordially,
12-2-97 Frank Kelly

Enclosures

Send to Burkhart
Yes ✓
No ___

We were deeply saddened by the death of Walter Capps. He had a great mind. It is appropri him. We hope you'll come.

Several is what could be done to improv ered quickly:

1) More women – long those who

After I urged her to run, she will be a great Representative in her own right.

1187 Coast Village Road, Suite 123 Santa Barbara CA 93108-2794 • 805-965-3443 • fax 805-568-0466
e-mail: wagingpeace@napf.org • web site: http://www.wagingpeace.org

Nuclear Age Peace Foundation

November 19, 1997
'97 DEC 2 PM5:23

Frank K. Kelly
Senior Vice President

Dear President Clinton –

I was honored and pleased to get your recent letter. I enclose my response.

May the Lord of love and wisdom continue to bless you, Hillary, and Chelsea!

Cordially, Frank Kelly

Enclosures

We were all shocked here by the death of Walter Capps. He had a great soul as well as a great mind. It is appropriate for Lois to succeed him. We hope you'll come and speak for her.

Several months ago, I asked Lois what could be done to improve the Congress. She answered quickly: "More women should be in it."

After Walter's death, I was among those who urged her to run. She will be a great Representative in her own right.

1187 Coast Village Road, Suite 123 Santa Barbara CA 93108-2794 • 805-965-3443 • fax 805-568-0466
e-mail: wagingpeace@napf.org • web site: http://www.wagingpeace.org

Frank K. Kelly
34 East Padre Street
Santa Barbara, California 93105

November 19, 1997

Dear President Clinton:

Thank you for your recent letter explaining your land mine decision. I realize that you have many sources of information, and I'm sure you made that decision after much consideration of all the factors involved. In your years in the White House, you have demonstrated your good judgment on many occasions.

It occurred to me that you might be interested in reading a letter of mine published in the News-Press about our mutual friend, Walter Capps, whose sudden death was a terrific blow to many of us. Walter and I were friends for 35 years. We were both active in the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and worked on many projects together.

I know that Walter had a profound admiration for you. He deeply appreciated the help you gave him in the 1996 campaign. He told me about some of the conversations he had with you -- particularly about Henri Nouwen's book entitled "With Burning Hearts." I've read several of Nouwen's books and consider him to be one of the finest writers on spiritual topics in our time.

Mr.President, let me thank you again for the dedicated service you are giving to our country and the world. You remind me of Harry Truman, for whom I worked as a speech writer in the 1948 election. We will soon be celebrating the 50th anniversary of Truman's triumph. I've written a book about him, emphasizing the impact he has had on millions of people as a man who cared about the whole human family. I know that you have the same kind of devotion to the highest values of humanity.

Under separate cover, I'm sending you a copy of my book, which is entitled Harry Truman and the Human Family. I realize that you are tremendously busy, but I hope you'll find time to read it. I would deeply appreciate your comments on it.

Cordially,

Frank K. Kelly

Frank K. Kelly

ROSELYNE C. SWIG

November 6, 1997

'97 DEC 2 AM 11:0

sent inner-ofc mail

Staff Sec.

n Clinton

10

joyed the opportunity of serving you and
The Art in Embassies Program since July,
t you formally accept my resignation as

for having appointed me and for giving
in such a meaningful role. The Art in
s an extraordinary opportunity to
enhance the mission of U.S. foreign relations throughout the world. It is unique and highly respected by both our foreign hosts as well as by those individuals and institutions that have the opportunity to participate as lenders of artwork to the Program. These unique partnerships continue enhancing our foreign relations mission abroad.

These past several years, the staff
our major responsibilities, tra
country to broaden the Progr
highlight it's standards of qua
inclusiveness. The Art in Emb
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particular roles.

For me, the Director's ro
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creating dialogue through perso
emphasizing the pervasiveness
enrich individual lives.

My life has been profoun
to our country, and I am ever gra

12-2-97
Send to Burkhardt
Yes ✓
No

C.

3710 Washington

San Francisco

California 94118

415 752-2122

Fax 415 387-8525

ROSELYNE C. SWIG

November 6, 1997

'97 DEC 2 AM11:0

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President,

I have very much enjoyed the opportunity of serving you and our country as Director of The Art in Embassies Program since July, 1994. At this time, I ask that you formally accept my resignation as that Program' s Director.

I want to thank you for having appointed me and for giving me the privilege of serving in such a meaningful role. The Art in Embassies Program provides an extraordinary opportunity to enhance the mission of U.S. foreign relations throughout the world. It is unique and highly respected by both our foreign hosts as well as by those individuals and institutions that have the opportunity to participate as lenders of artwork to the Program. These unique partnerships continue enhancing our foreign relations mission abroad.

These past several years, the staff and I have incorporated into our major responsibilities, traveling throughout the regions of our country to broaden the Program' s base of lender resources and highlight it's standards of quality, service, diversity, and inclusiveness. The Art in Embassies Program staff is very strong, unified and committed to the Program's goals as well as to their particular roles.

For me, the Director's role and Program' s mission brought together many of my own personal values and areas of interest in politics, foreign diplomacy, building bridges of understanding, creating dialogue through personal communication, and emphasizing the pervasiveness of the arts and their abiding power to enrich individual lives.

My life has been profoundly enriched by this unique service to our country, and I am ever grateful.

3710 Washington

San Francisco

California 94118

415 752-2122

Fax 415 387-8525

I would like very much to have the opportunity to serve once again in your administration and I hope that you will see your way clear to call upon me in another leadership capacity. I am always happy to make myself available to you and the First Lady.

Once again, I have been honored with this opportunity to serve.

Sincerely,

Cissie

Roselyne C. Swig

THE OXFORD SOCIETY

OF WASHINGTON, D.C.

'97 DEC 2 PM2:59

Rochelle Aschheim
Joint Honorary Secretary

P.O. Box 3758
Washington, D.C. 20007
Telephone (202) 337-6777

November 28, 1997

The President and the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President, Dear Mrs.

12/2/97

Thinking of you and wishing y
season approaches.

Send to Burkhardt

Yes ___

no ___

Won't you come almost "next d
7 December, and have sherry
with your Oxford tutor, Alan
Oxford. Alan Ryan is worthy
remember all of his life your

You make so many people happy
more to your Christmas happir
coming to Washington, D.C. fr
community of this region on

With loyalty, respect and hea

Yours appreciatively,

Rochelle

Enclosures:
Copy of invitation for 7 December (first copy mailed on 10 November)
Copy of Alan Ryan's New York Times article about Sir Isaiah Berlin
Christmas card with Blackwell's bookmark
Christmas/Oxford article by Jan Morris

THE OXFORD SOCIETY

OF WASHINGTON, D.C.

'97 DEC 2 PM2:59

Rochelle Aschheim
Joint Honorary Secretary

P.O. Box 3758
Washington, D.C. 20007
Telephone (202) 337-6777

November 28, 1997

The President and the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President, Dear Mrs. Clinton,

Thinking of you and wishing you great joy as the holiday season approaches.

Won't you come almost "next door" to the Willard on Sunday, 7 December, and have sherry (and if you can, afternoon tea) with your Oxford tutor, Alan Ryan, Warden of New College, Oxford. Alan Ryan is worthy of your attendance and would remember all of his life your act of special kindness.

You make so many people happy at Christmas. Please add one more to your Christmas happiness list, Alan Ryan, who is coming to Washington, D.C. from Oxford to address the Oxford community of this region on 7 December.

With loyalty, respect and heartfelt gratitude, I am

Yours appreciatively,

Rochelle

Enclosures:
- Copy of invitation for 7 December (first copy mailed on 10 November)
- Copy of Alan Ryan's New York Times article about Sir Isaiah Berlin
- Christmas card with Blackwell's bookmark
- Christmas/Oxford article by Jan Morris

THE OXFORD SOCIETY
OF WASHINGTON D.C.

Dr. Joseph Aschheim
(St. Antony's, Linacre, and Wolfson Colleges, Oxford)
Honorary Secretary

The Rt. Hon. Lord Jenkins of Hillhead
Chancellor of Oxford University
President of the Oxford Society

Oxford University's association in the nation's capital warmly invites you to a Sherry Reception and Afternoon Tea

with guests of honour and speakers

Alan James Ryan, MA, D.Litt., FBA (Balliol College, Oxford)
Warden of New College, Oxford
Formerly Professor of Politics at Princeton University
and
His Excellency John Wood, MA (Balliol College, Oxford)
Ambassador of New Zealand to the United States

on Sunday, December 7, 1997

at the **Willard Inter-Continental Hotel**
1401 Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest
Washington, D.C.

Sherry Reception from 2:30 p.m. to 3:30 p.m.
Seated and Served Afternoon Tea Meal begins at 3:30 p.m.

The Warden of New College will address us at the Afternoon Tea

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The charge for the Sherry Reception and Afternoon Tea is $30.00 per person which includes a sherry and mineral water bar and a very special and delicious three-course (seated and served) Afternoon Tea Meal.

As at all Oxford Society of Washington, D.C. events, spouses/special friends of Oxford University are very welcome. Reservations are required. No reservations will be available at the door. No tickets will be mailed. You will be recognized by the Midshipmen at the door where your name tags will await you. Please send the enclosed reservation card, together with your remittance ($30.00 per person), including the names of your guests, as early as possible (to be received no later than December 2). Checks should be made payable to the Oxford Society of Washington, D.C. A response envelope is also enclosed addressed to Dr. Joseph Aschheim, the Oxford Society of Washington, D.C., P.O. Box 3758, Washington, D.C. 20007.

The Warden of New College is travelling to Washington, D.C. especially to be with Oxonians of the nation's capital region at the Sherry Reception and Afternoon Tea on Sunday, December 7, 1997. The honour of your presence will be appreciated to extend to the Warden of New College and to the Ambassador of New Zealand the warm and memorable welcome that Oxford's great community here can so uniquely provide. With gratitude and kindest wishes to every member of Oxford University's family in Washington, D.C., Maryland, and Virginia.

Please see biographies on next page

"This outpost of Oxford University in the nation's capital"
The Rt. Hon. Sir Patrick Nairne

Biographies

Alan James Ryan was elected Warden of **New College,** Oxford in 1996, returning to Oxford from Princeton University where he was Professor of Politics from 1988 to 1996. He was born in London during the first air raid of the blitz to working class parents. His father's life was changed by the war as his major encouraged his father to go back to education and his father became an accountant instead of a clerk. Alan Ryan won a scholarship to Christ's Hospital, Horsham, England where his history teacher suggested he give up reading motoring magazines in favour of John Stuart Mill. Soon PPE was the obvious choice of subject. "The school had not sent a scholar to **Balliol** for over thirty years, so that became the aim, which happily I achieved," Alan Ryan has said. He went on to **Balliol** College, Oxford in 1959. He received first class honours in PPE in 1962. As a Fellow of **New College,** he was Lecturer in Politics in the University of Oxford from 1969 to 1978 and Reader in Politics until 1987. In addition to having been Professor of Politics at Princeton University, he has been Mellon Visiting Professor at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, as well as visiting professor and invited lecturer at a long list of universities around the world. The Warden has broadcast on topics in political philosophy and current affairs for the BBC. His most recent book was described in the *Literary Review* as the best book on philosophy in the past ten years. His forthcoming book, to be published in 1998 by Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, is entitled, *Liberal Anxieties and Liberal Education.*

Elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1986, he is a brilliant and honoured scholar and prolific author whose list of books include now-classics in the field of political thought. But with a wonderful sense of humour and modesty, the Warden says he is best known as one of the Oxford tutors President Clinton should have been taught by. The Warden's visit on 7 December promises to be lively and fascinating.

His Excellency John Wood, Ambassador of New Zealand to the United States, attended Canterbury University in New Zealand and received first class honours upon being granted the MA degree in 1965. He went on to attend **Balliol** College, Oxford and received his Oxford degree with honours in 1968. Upon his return to New Zealand, in 1969 he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has served in the Treasury of New Zealand, at the New Zealand Embassy in Tokyo, as Adviser to the Prime Minister of New Zealand, and as Consul General in the New Zealand Embassy in Bonn, Germany. Ambassador Wood became Head of the European Division and subsequently, Head of the Economic Division in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Thereafter he served as Minister and Deputy Chief of Mission at the New Zealand Embassy in Washington, D.C. In 1987 he was appointed Ambassador to Iran with concurrent accreditation to Pakistan and Turkey.

In 1994 John Wood became Ambassador of New Zealand to the United States, serving his country with distinction and great heart. Ms. Rose Newell, Ambassador Wood's wife, will accompany him to the Reception and Afternoon Tea on 7 December.

The names and addresses and Oxford College or other Oxford affiliation of new arrivals to add to the University of Oxford database would always be appreciated. This information can be sent to the Oxford Society of Washington, D.C., P.O. Box 3758, Washington, D.C. 20007.

AN APPRECIATION

Memories of a Captivating Conversationalist

By ALAN RYAN

There will be innumerable tributes to Isaiah Berlin. Some will recall the wartime dispatches that he sent back from Washington, some will praise him as an enemy of totalitarianism, others remember his passion for opera.

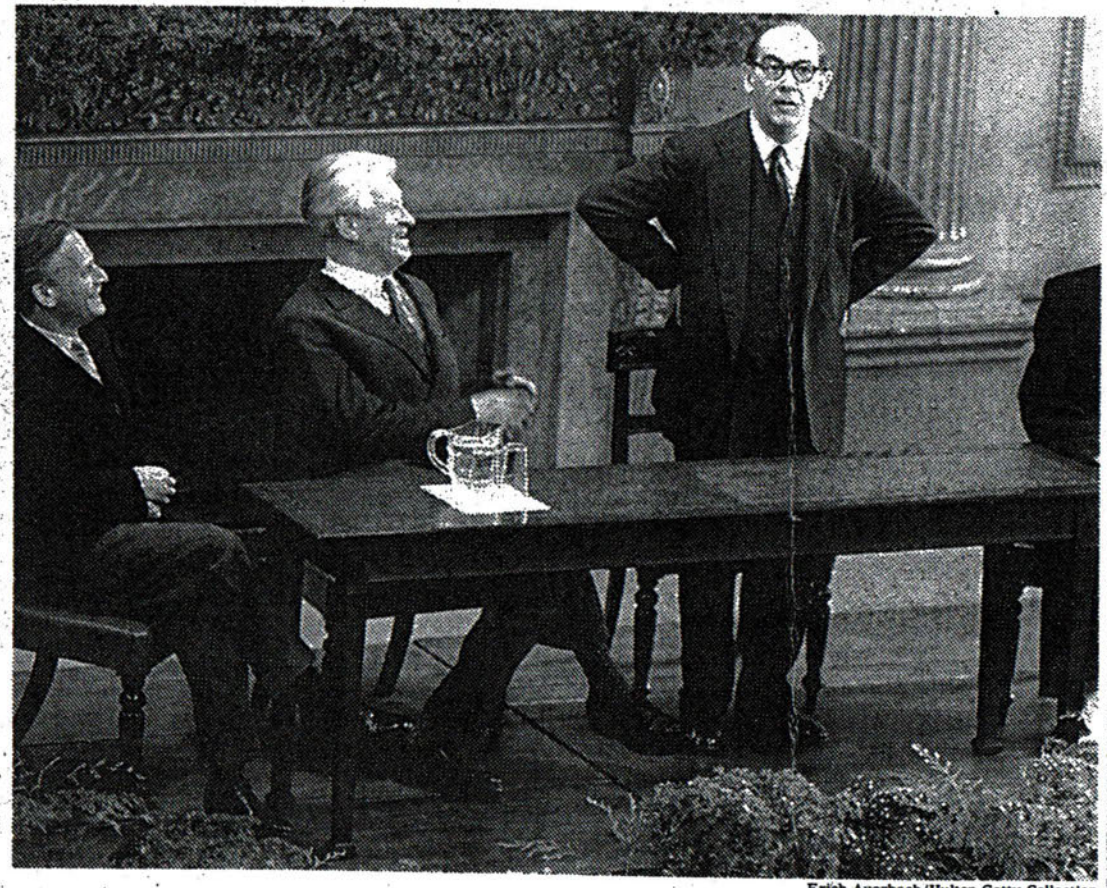
But what will stick in the minds of anyone who was lucky enough to know him, and to listen to him, and what his books and essays give only a pale idea of, was his gift for conversation. That might sound like faint praise; but Isaiah Berlin's gifts as a conversationalist did not merely spill over into his work as a historian of ideas and a political thinker. They also created an entirely new and original way of thinking in these fields, and inspired literally thousands of students to engage with writers and subjects they would otherwise never have encountered or would have dismissed as something to be left in the archives. In Oxford in the 1950's and 60's, Isaiah Berlin lectured to 300 and 400 students three times a week, and they emerged dazzled, intoxicated with his thoughts and bubbling with their own.

His talent as a lecturer was to let his hearers in on what sounded very much like conversations that he was having with the immortal dead: with Machiavelli about the nature of glory and the impossibility of a virtuous man exercising power, with Charles Fourier about the chances of establishing communities in which every human instinct would be satisfied in harmony with every other human instinct, and above all with the Russians whose vivid, agonized responses to the backwardness and barbarism of early 19th-century Russia drove them toward revolution, or inspired them with doubts about the possibility of political progress. Belinsky, Herzen and Turgenev were brought not only to life but into the room.

It is not surprising that the collection of essays — "Personal Impressions" — that brings together addresses given at memorial services, obituaries and personal reminiscences of figures ranging from Winston Churchill and Chaim Weizman at one end of the spectrum to academic colleagues from All Souls college at Oxford at the other, should have struck many readers as just about the best thing he ever wrote — and inspired in others a terrible desire to know what he would have said about them if the occasion had arisen.

But the truth was that his historical essays, too, were essentially personal impressions. Who before Isaiah Berlin had thought to notice the odd conjunction of Benjamin Disraeli and Karl Marx, two Jews who were contemporaries in Victorian London, and to wonder what they would have had to say to each other? The answer is "rather a lot," of course, because Disraeli had understood how conservatives could lure the working class away from socialism, and Marx knew it.

What struck anyone hearing Isaiah Berlin talking on the subject, however, was the uncanny sense that at any moment we would ourselves be introduced into this conversation, that we would be expected to say something interesting, and to stand the consequences. Those who experienced this as students or younger colleagues of Isaiah Berlin were torn between pleasure at being thought capable of joining in and a deep conviction that they would never have such effect on anyone we ourselves might teach. But the lasting sensation is simple gratitude at being invited to join a conversation that spanned centuries, continents, languages and subjects. Let us hope the Elysian Fields are full of such talk.



Erich Auerbach/Hulton-Getty Collection

Sir Isaiah Berlin, standing, at Oxford University in the late 1950's. He died on Wednesday at 88.

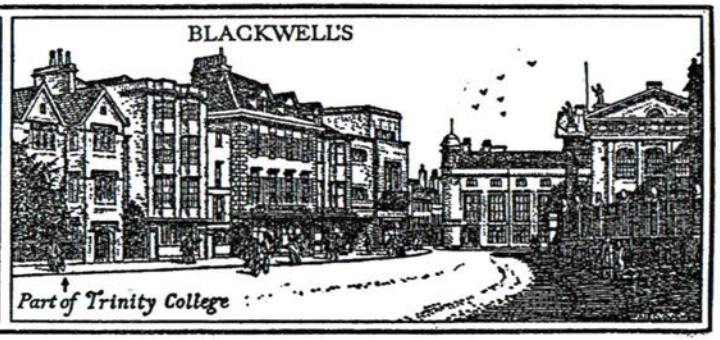
Alan Ryan, Warden at New College, Oxford, edited "The Idea of Freedom: Essays in Honor of Isaiah Berlin" (Oxford University Press, 1979).

A remembrance of Oxford
to wish you all the joys of this festive season
and
a very Happy New Year

Joseph and Rochelle Aschheim
The Oxford Society of Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. President, Mrs. Clinton & Chelsea

B·H·
BLACKWELL
Ltd
48 to 51
Broad Street
OXFORD



With respect and kindest wishes for
a Merry Christmas. Loyally yours,
Joseph & Rochelle

For members of Oxford's glorious family in the nations capital region.

A Child's Christmas in Oxford

Remembering the treats of holidays past

With appreciation
Joseph & Rochelle

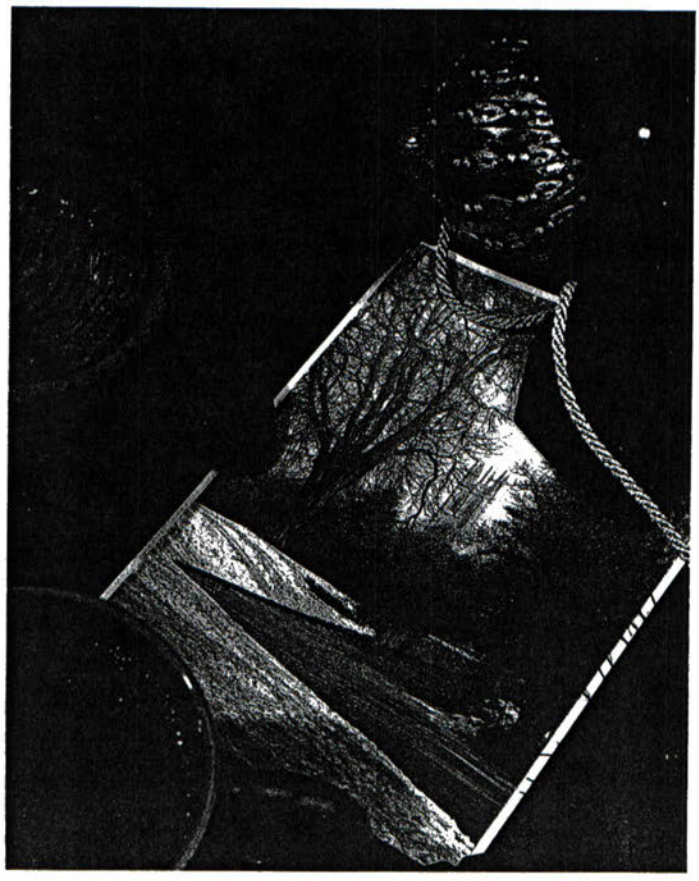
By Jan Morris

IT IS A GENTLE December evening in the gentle time of pre-World War II England. Across the snow-covered quadrangle of an Oxford college a gaggle of children, quaintly dressed in black academic gowns and mortarboards, excitedly walks through the gathering dark, burbling loudly. Lights shine festively in the houses that line the quadrangle, and cast their beams across the snow. The towers and spires of the ancient university stand elaborately fretted against the sky; across the city a peal of bells is sounding. There is a smell of hot chestnuts in the street, and ribald laughter somewhere—from a pub, perhaps.

I am one of those children. We are the choristers of the Christ Church college chapel, which happens also to be the cathedral of Oxford, and we are obliged to stay at the choir boarding school over Christmas, in order to sing at the festival services on Christmas Day.

Everyone is terribly sorry for us, but we don't mind a bit: Every evening before Christmas, somebody or other gives us a party to cheer us up, and it is to one of these that you see us jostling our way, kicking bits of snow about or sometimes throwing it at one another, in the scene of my Christmas recollection.

The most memorable parties, for my tastes, were those given us by elderly bachelor canons of the cathedral chapter, who were mostly University professors, too. These eminent and scholarly gentlemen inhabited the houses around the quadrangle, and I can remember still the happy anticipation with which we huddled around one front door or another and tugged its big iron bellpull for admission.



The canons were not used to children, but they soon got used to us. They gave us small Japanese toys made of tin, and suitable books; and I remember one kind old theologian distributing among us his collection of stamps. The canons gave us foods and drinks that they had been told were proper for the entertainment of the young. There was fizzy lemonade in big glass pitchers. There were mince pies still hot from the oven, and wobbly pink jellies. There was dangerously rich Christmas fruitcake. There were iced biscuits with pictures of animals on them. "Eat up, children," I can hear dry scholarly voices urging us. "It's all got to be eaten. We don't want to waste any." And at the culmination of the evening, the lights would be dimmed, a sudden silence would fall, and in would come the motherly housekeeper—carrying high and carefully the flaming plum pudding with its sprig of holly on the top.

I have to say, though, that when it came to the comestibles, the canons' hospitality was outclassed by the pre-Christmas evening we always enjoyed with the gentlemen of the choir. We all gathered in the choir practice room. This party offered us two gourmet thrills that even the treats of the best canon's housekeeper could not rival: beer and meringues, both made on the spot by the college's own brewers and cooks.

The beer was not for us children, naturally, but the altos, tenors and basses were much more at ease with us than were those dear old scholars, and probably most of us managed, between our lemonades, to get the dregs of a glass of beer. Even if we failed, the high malty smell of the liquor animated the evening for all of us—I can catch the smell now, even as I write, just as it was on those Christmas evenings long ago.

As for the meringues, there have been in my experience no meringues like them ever, anywhere in the world, nor ever will be. They were made in the sixteenth-century college kitchens, down a winding stone staircase off the quadrangle. Not only were they miracles of cream and crumble, feather-light and sweet beyond a dentist's nightmares, but they also were brought up to us on big wooden trays, balanced upon the heads of stalwart college porters as they had been (I daresay) since the times of our founder, King Henry VIII.

Magical evenings! Magical victuals!

And what, you may ask, about the celebrations on Christmas Day itself? I can remember nothing about them whatever. We sang hymns, anthems, psalms and carols all day long, and with luck we caught the train home in the evening.

PHOTOGRAPHY BY JEFF SARPA; OXFORD PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRIS ANDREWS; OXFORD PICTURE LIBRARY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-1-97

or Hispanic; almost two-thirds reported that their own actions -- such as threatening the police or resisting arrest -- may have provoked the police action. According to the survey, persons in their twenties are most likely to have contacts with police, while the elderly (aged 60 and older) are least likely. Males are slightly more likely than females to have police contacts (23 percent of males vs. 19 percent of females), and whites are somewhat more likely than blacks or Hispanics (22 percent of whites vs. 16 percent of blacks and 15 percent of Hispanics). Only teenagers and Hispanics reported that police officers initiated the contacts more often than they did.

4. Welfare -- U.S. Conference of Mayors Report: The U.S. Conference of Mayors released a 34-city survey on Friday regarding implementation of the welfare law. The survey found that states have failed to consult appropriately with cities about welfare reform. The survey also concluded that although local private sector employers are willing to hire welfare recipients, many cities do not have enough low-skill jobs to meet the welfare law's work requirements. This finding rests on cities' unsubstantiated estimates of the number of low-skill jobs available and the number of city residents applying for them; it also conflicts with several other recent studies, including one by former OMB Program Associate Director Isabelle Sawhill. In any event, our new $3 billion welfare-to-work program will give cities additional resources to hire or place welfare recipients.

5. Race -- Attached Materials: We are attaching to this memo a recent article by William Julius Wilson on strategies for achieving racial equality. In a recent memo, we quoted this article's thesis that the best way to make racial progress today is to focus on "issues and programs that concern families of all racial and ethnic groups, so that individuals in these groups can honestly perceive mutual interests and join in a multiracial coalition to move America forward." As you know, we believe that you should make this insight central to the Race Initiative and the President's Report that will conclude it. We thought you would like to read the entire article. We are also attaching a recent article by Harvard professor Orlando Patterson, who largely agrees with Wilson's views.

Larry

Mathews
from DPC
weekly report

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-2-97

Washington Child Development Council

November 30, 1997

Councilmember Harry Thomas (Ward 5)
Judiciary Square - 441 4th Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Harry,

I understand members of the Council will be meeting with the President this week. Given President Clinton's interest in early childhood education, we have a golden opportunity to highlight the increased need for child care with the President and request his support. Child care is clearly a priority for the Clinton White House, in the last year they've held two conferences on this vital service. Gaining White House support as outlined in *THE 12 STEP PLAN TO PROMOTE QUALITY CHILD CARE FOR ALL CHILDREN IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA* could prove invaluable (please review 12 STEP Plan attached). The President and Mrs. Clinton should be encouraged to make our nation's capital a model for quality child care services.

I was honored to have attended the White House Conference on Early Childhood Development and Learning: What New Research on the Brain Tells Us About Our Youngest Children. I am enclosing a copy of a special issue of NEWSWEEK, that was released at the White House Conference which specifically focuses on research emphasizing the critical brain development in young children. I am also honored to be the D.C. co-chair of I AM YOUR CHILD campaign, sponsored by the Rob Reiner Foundation and enclosing a copy of the video, *I AM YOUR CHILD*, focusing on the importance of early childhood development. It is essential that all children have access to quality child care services especially in the early years. "The first years last forever" and together we can make a positive difference for young children and their families.

In the District we have major challenges, challenges we can overcome by working together. I am sure you are aware of the recent article that appeared in *The Washington Post* (10/6/97), "Most D.C. Day Care Centers Have Expired Licenses". The fact that the most precious, vulnerable and youngest citizens living in the shadow of the White House and U.S. Capitol are subjected to such inequity is unacceptable. Therefore I am also forwarding you a memo the Washington Child Development Council (WCDC) sent to the Financial Control Board regarding welfare reform and child care. The report done by MAXIMUS is extremely misleading and will prove detrimental to the successful implementation of welfare reform and jeopardize the quality of the child care delivery system in the District. With 52% of the 106,000 children living in the District receiving welfare assistance we cannot afford less than adequate solutions. Encouraging both local and federal cooperation will move us forward in ensuring the development of a strong quality child care infrastructure.

12/3
To Dan Burkhardt
for Reply

For Our Children,

Bobbi Blok
Executive Director, WCDC

2121 Decatur Place, N.W. · Washington, D.C. 20008 · (202) 387-0002 · FAX (202) 332-2834

12 STEP PLAN TO PROMOTE QUALITY CHILD CARE FOR ALL DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CHILDREN

1) **Improve the management of the child care licensing**: expedite issuance of licenses to those programs that meet licensing standards yet still have lapsed licenses and take appropriate action to correct outstanding violations in other programs in order to meet licensing standards by increasing the number of monitors, provide adequate training and support services, provide consistent oversight, ensure licensing regulations are clearly understood, conduct an immediate assessment of all child care facilities and transfer the licensing division to the Office of Early Childhood Development to ensure coordination.

2) **Up-date licensing standards**: amendments to child care licensing standards have been pending for eighteen years.

3) **Establish a new sliding fee scale for parents**: the current scale penalizes two parent households and has not kept up with inflation for over six years; the proposed fee scale does not address the financial concerns of families with special needs children.

4) **Establish reimbursement rates for subsidized child care that are on par to the market rate**: presently the rates for subsidies are as much as 60% below the market rate.

5) **Earmark money from the D.C. Economic Recovery Act for early childhood development and child care**: The White House should establish quality child care as a priority by working with the Congress and local officials by earmarking dollars generated from the D.C. Recovery Act to early childhood development.

6) **Establish a Blue Ribbon D.C. Task Force on Early Childhood Development**: including officials from the Mayor's Office, the Chief Financial Officer's Office, the Control Board, the Council of the District of Columbia, Federal Agencies (e.g. Health & Human Services, Early Childhood Experts operating Military Child Care Services) and the community to address the need for sufficient funding for child care services: recommendations should be made in a timely fashion to ensure inclusion in the FY'99 budget as well as ensuring that all federal funds for early childhood and child care services are maximized.

7) **Implement the child care recommendations outlined in the Welfare Reform Task Force**: action relating to family child care homes especially relating to fees should be waived immediately; many homes remain underground (unlicensed) because of the District fees charged ($125 including an MCI Arena tax); no surrounding jurisdictions require licensing fees.

8) **Ensure adequate staffing for pre-k and kindergarten classrooms in the public schools:** presently there the child/staff ratio in the public schools is not meeting licensing standards (1/10 for four year olds and 1/15 for five year olds) in fact it's twice as high and does not meet the recommended ratios addressed in the Carnegie Report: Years of Promise.

9) **Establish schoolage licensing standards and provide schoolage programs in every elementary school in the city**: presently there are no licensing regulations for schoolage children and less than half the schools have provided space for supervised before and after school programs.

10) **Promote quality training and technical assistance to child care and early childhood programs**: licensed programs should be encouraged to meet accreditation standards and programs designed to highlight the importance of professionalism in the early childhood field should be supported.

11) **Utilize the talents and expertise in our nation's capital to improve the quality of child care and early childhood development**: The President needs to set the tone and generate community pride and commitment, the private and public sectors need to become actively involved and support child care both programmatically and financially; encouraging organizations such as the World Bank, the Red Cross, Fannie Mae, national associations and institutions (e.g. National Academy of Sciences and Brookings Institution), foundations, universities and hospitals, federal agencies (HHS and the military) as well as national and international corporate offices could prove invaluable.

12) **Promote parent education and involvement**: parents need support and assistance in ensuring quality early childhood development programs for their children; they need to understand the importance of being an advocate for their young children.

Washington Child Development Council

November 7, 1997

TO: Dr. Andrew Brimmer, Chairman
D.C. Financial Control Board
1 Thomas Circle (Suite 900)
Washington, D.C. 20005
Fax: (202)504-3431

Mr. Edward Singletary, Chairman
Department of Human Services Committee
for the D.C. Financial Control Board

FROM: Bobbi Blok, Executive Director
Washington Child Development Council

SUBJECT: Maximus Report - Review of Welfare Reform Implications for D.C. Child Care

I have had the opportunity to review the Maximus Report focusing on welfare reform and the District of Columbia's child care program. In fact, I was interviewed by Maximus in the development of the report and I was pleased that some of the issues I discussed were addressed. Yet to be quite honest their overview, findings and recommendations raise serious concern. I therefore felt it would be most helpful for you for me to clearly outline critical areas that require more discussion and review. I will first address points that were dealt with responsively and then address those points that were possibly misleading and inappropriate. It is paramount that the delivery of child care services is implemented in the most effective means to enable parents to be fully productive tax-payers in our nation's capital.

There are four points that the Washington Child Development Council (WCDC) would support: 1) Providing child care assistance to TANF applicants to job search; 2) Promote the expansion and support for family child care homes; 3) Encourage completion of the child care market rate survey and 4) Ensure sufficient staff for OECD. There are seven points WCDC believes erroneous and require more research particularly relating to: 1) Child care subsidies for TANF recipients; 2) Child care subsidies for low income working families, 3) Estimates on number of persons needing child care and the projected cost; 4) Assertions regarding child care waiting lists; 5) Removal of child care intake from child care centers and placing that function at welfare sites; 6) Collection of parent fees and establish a Provider Development Fund; and 7) Establishing a Working Parent Assistant Fund similar to Montgomery County. There are two other points that were discussed in the report that require further clarification: 1) Head Start wrap around programs and 2) Relationship between the Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs and the Office of Early Childhood Development.

PROVIDING CHILD CARE ASSISTANCE to TANF APPLICANTS to JOB SEARCH:

WCDC strongly supports this concept. There are a number of TANF recipients who would be willing to look for work yet are unable to proceed because of child care needs. WCDC believe the most efficient and cost effective means of providing child care to TANF recipients is by establishing drop-in child care at designated sites. There are three reasons such a format would prove useful. First, by limiting the sites you can keep track of utilization and ensure that a parent is not simply taking advantage of child care and not seriously searching for a job. Procedures could be implemented to monitor the progress in the job search. Second, drop-in care is a recognized form of child care service. A number of law firms and accountant companies have used this service as back-up care for their employees. Third, developing a drop-in child care model for TANF recipients to enable them to job search would definitely be an innovative approach in the city; utilizing centers and family child care homes as possible sites could be explored.

PROMOTE the EXPANSION and SUPPORT for FAMILY CHILD CARE HOMES:

WCDC is pleased that the family child care home issues highlighted in the REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR WELFARE REFORM IN D.C. submitted by the Mayor's Interagency Policy Council and the Citizens Advisory Committee was incorporated in the Maximus document. The recommended language included in the Interagency & Advisory Report is as follows: "Modify current licensure requirements for family child care homes to eliminate incentives for providers to "go underground." This may involve reduction or elimination of licensing and certificate fees. It includes modification of licensure requirements to meet community demand for service (e.g., school-age care), and to bring requirements within the means of providers without sacrificing the safety of the children." There has been particular concern regarding the fees charged to family child care homes ($50 for license plus $50 for Certificate of Occupancy and now $25 for MCI Arena Fee attached). This is a definite deterrent to homes being licensed especially women who are moving off welfare.

ENCOURAGE COMPLETION of the CHILD CARE MARKET RATE SURVEY:

The Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments (COG) Abstract: Child Care Needs in the Washington Metropolitan Region estimates that the District government's reimbursement rate is 13% to 39% below 1993 market rates depending on the age of the child. In the past four years costs have increased including minimum wage salaries. In a report completed last year by WCDC, CHILD CARE IS EVERYBODY's BUSINESS - THE TRUE COST OF CARE IN D.C., financial comparisons were made regionally as well as programmatically (see charts attached). Because the reimbursement rates for child care have been basically frozen for almost a decade a number of programs refuse to take subsidized children. This unfortunately limits access to TANF recipients. Setting more realistic reimbursement rates will provide greater accessibility and ensure that programs funded by the city can meet all licensing requirements.

ENSURE SUFFICIENT STAFF for the OFFICE OF EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT:

WCDC recognizes that there are staff shortages in OECD. It is therefore appropriate to address the personnel concerns and allow the necessary staff hirings. It is also important to realize that necessary action should be taken to ensure that the city draw down all possible federal dollars and the personnel cap doesn't limit OECD from hiring grant positions.

CHILD CARE SUBSIDIES for TANF RECIPIENTS:

The Maximus recommendation that TANF recipients need to work only part-time to minimize child care costs is totally unacceptable (pg. 29). Such a suggestions is contrary to the concept of promoting self-sufficiency. Even if WCDC was not opposed to limiting TANF recipients to part-time work; the fact that Maximus presumed that there would be a 50% cost savings was erroneous. Part-time care is usually more costly in terms of administration and coordination therefore centers usually only reduce the rate by 25% to 30%. Instituting part-time care also ignores the developmental needs of the young children. The child care programs provide nutritional meals; possibly the only meals the children will receive. Early childhood programs are a means for economic mobility for the parent as well as school readiness for the child.

CHILD CARE SUBSIDIES FOR LOW INCOME WORKING FAMILIES:

Subsidized child care keeps low income D.C. families working. Without the necessary child care many families would be back on welfare. Even the Maximus findings estimate that 85% of the low income working families receiving subsidized child care had been on public assistance (pg. 63). Maximus included in its state review Wisconsin, a state considered a leader in designing a welfare to work model. Wisconsin has committed additional dollars to child care to ensure that low income families don't fall victim to the TANF push. In an article in *The Washington Post* (12/13/96), "Wisconsin Moves to Cover Welfare's Day-Care Costs - Landmark Reform Program Gets $25 million Injection" Governor Tommy Thompson stated "that every mother who moves from welfare into the workforce will have affordable quality child care. ...beginning immediately, the state will spend $20 million on the new funds on the working poor to help ensure that they aren't squeezed out as welfare recipients are required to work." Without providing a child care safety net for working poor the city will be simply establishing a revolving door welfare to work to welfare again.

ESTIMATES on NUMBER of PERSONS NEEDING CHILD CARE and PROJECTED COST:

WCDC concurs with Maximus's calculations on the number of TANF children needing child care approximately 7,674 (pg. 21) yet when you compare that need to the present caseload of approximately 6,800 (pg. 13) there is a 874 gap not including the 2,936 low income families presently receiving care. Based on these figures WCDC estimates that there will be a minimum of 10,110 children needing subsidized care in 1998. At the present time Head Start is filled to capacity it is therefore impossible to assume that any of these children could be transferred to Head Start, though some TANF clients may already be enrolled in Head Start. The issue of Head Start wrap around programs and cost savings will be discussed in greater detail in another section. WCDC strongly disputes Maximus' financial projections since they are based on a "part-time limitation" and utilization of Head Start. The report also ignores the impact of the market rate study. In WCDC's publication THE TRUE COST OF CARE it was estimated that an additional $18 million dollars was necessary to meet the increased demand. The federal Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Reconciliation Act enables each state to transfer a total of 30% of its TANF Block Grant for child care. The District's total equals approximately $92 million which means a maximum of approximately $27 million federal funds could be utilized for child care services. WCDC understands that only $2 million of the TANF dollars are earmarked for child care which reflects 2% of the block grant which is woefully inadequate. The District government needs to make a stronger commitment to ensure a financially stable child care infrastructure. In the proposed 12 STEP PLAN TO PROMOTE QUALITY CHILD CARE FOR ALL DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CHILDREN (see attached) a number of steps relate to funding concerns. WCDC would therefore urge the necessary accounting to ensure that sufficient funds are made available to successfully implement welfare reform.

ASSERTION REGARDING CHILD CARE WAITING LIST:

Maximus states that there is no waiting list for child care subsidy assistance (pg. 37). There is no centralized list kept by the city. Yet in a survey done by WCDC last year there were approximately 2,000 children on child care waiting lists across the city. It is extremely difficult to find vacancies for infants even for parents with financial means to pay top dollar. A number of parents put their child's name on the waiting list even before the child is born in hopes of getting a space. It should also be noted that child care space for children under the age of two years old is at such a premium that a number of centers charge an application fee to put a child's name on the waiting list.

REMOVAL of CHILD CARE INTAKE FROM CHILD CARE CENTERS and PLACING that FUNCTION at WELFARE SITES:

The Maximus recommendation to remove child care intake from child care centers and placing that function at welfare sites (pg.86) reflects a lack of understanding and a historical knowledge of the child care system in the District. Over twenty years ago intake was done at welfare sites - the monies were not utilized for child care and diverted to personnel costs. In an effort to ensure that the monies for child care went directly to subsidies the D.C. Council enacted the Day Care Policy Act that provided for child care intake to occur at approved child care sites. With the establishment of alternative child care payments IMA took responsibility for processing child care intake for their ARC (A Real Chance) clients. The IMA processing resulted in overpayments, underpayments, no payments and constant delays in reimbursements. The Maximus recommendation does not even address the need for recertification every six months; requiring parents to return to the welfare site is not "client friendly" and reinforces the welfare mentality. An effective welfare reform system is designed to encourage independence and avoid welfare dependence. Locating intake at welfare sites could also present greater barriers to at risk low income working parents trying to access child care services. Centralizing intake at OECD would be overwhelming, as stated in the report OECD does not have sufficient staff resources to enter data from all of the center based intake forms (pg. 44). It would therefore be impossible for them to complete the entire intake process in a timely fashion. Presently there are 58 child care centers that assist with the intake process; even with additional OECD staff the back-log would be enormous. Easy access and simple recertification procedures are essential in implementing a child care delivery system supportive of welfare reform. The neighborhood concept of utilizing child care sites is a "client friendly" model that should be continued.

COLLECTION OF PARENT FEES and ESTABLISH PROVIDER DEVELOPMENT FUND:

It is obvious that this Maximus recommendation (pg. 112) did not take into account the reports prepared by the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Development (MACECD) focusing on parent fees. The MACECD Government Affairs and the Data Subcommittees came to the conclusion that the administrative cost of collecting the fees would exceed the actual benefits. Equity is important - and the bottomline is that child care programs need to be reimbursed at an equitable rate. WCDC would strongly urge the Control Board to take into consideration the data compiled by MACECD. With the start of welfare reform the actual amount of funds generated from parent fees has been dwindling therefore instituting a new collection system when there is even fewer fees to collect seems futile.

ESTABLISH a WORKING PARENT ASSISTANT FUND SIMILAR to MONTGOMERY COUNTY:

WCDC believes that the Maximus statement that the Working Parents' Assistance Trust Fund is the best known effort in providing private sector support for nonTANF families (pg. 64) is totally outrageous. In 1995 the waiting list for the Working Parents' Assistance (WPA) program was more than 2,000 children. As a result the WPA Trust Fund was created so business, foundations, and private donors could add to the pool of funding for child care subsidies. In the last two years only $57,000 has been raised and only eight families have received child care subsidy from the WPA Trust Fund. Of course that is eight more families that might not have been able to access child care yet the program falls far short of the actual need. The waiting list is closed 45% of the year; it's capped at 600 names - the demand obviously exceeds available resources. In talking with the Director of the Trust Fund, Judy Sokal, WCDC got a clear picture on the difficulties of raising funds from the private sector. Ms. Sokol's efforts should indeed be commended since she is working on a volunteer basis. Yet to assume such a system can address the need of the 2,936 D.C. low income working families is bogus. To quote Ms. Sokal "The private sector will never cover the full cost. Where do these consultants think the money is coming from?" That's a good question. Two years ago when the city threatened to cut 2,000 child care spaces for low income working families only one foundation was willing to assist. The donation was a "one-time-only" grant to help subsidize approximately 200 families. Fortunately, the federal government earmarked additional funds for District child care and no family eligible for subsidy lost their child care. The limited private sector support and the need for a federal infusion of child care resources are issues that are highlighted in the 12 STEP PLAN TO PROMOTE QUALITY CHILD CARE. The children and families would be better served if we all worked together to implement the 12 STEPS rather than duplicate the WPA Trust Fund.

HEAD START WRAP AROUND PROGRAMS:

Further clarification on the implementation of the Head Start wrap around program is necessary. First, the actual number of Head Start children that are on TANF and whose parents are working needs to be determined. Second, the funds that are necessary is unclear. Maximus states the need for $2.8 million (pg. 30) to initiate this program yet then states that $1.3 million in TANF grant funds (pg. 50) will be transferred for this proposed use. There are approximately 2,900 children in Head Start and 10% to 15% are already participating in a wrap around program. The cost for a part day (4 to 6 hours) and part year Head Start program (180 days) is approximately $28.00 per day per child. WCDC estimates that Maximus is assuming that a wrap around program can be accomplished with simply adding an additional $5.38 a day per child ($2.8 million divided by 2,000 children divided by 260 days). In discussing this proposal with local Head Start programs WCDC believes that Maximus's count is wrong and the projected amount is insufficient.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEPARTMENT OF CONSUMER & REGULATORY AFFAIRS and the OFFICE OF EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT:

The article that appeared in *The Washington Post* (10/6/97) "Most D.C. Day-Care Centers Have Expired Licenses; Safety Concerns Threaten a Linchpin of Welfare Law's Success" illustrated the need for better coordination between DCRA and OECD. Yet the issuance of licensing was not addressed in the Maximus report. WCDC understands that the licensing concerns are addressed in the KPMG Peat Marwick report. Ensuring that there is cross referencing and networking could prove most useful in the consulting and bureaucratic process. WCDC believes that the problems discussed are a result of both financial and administrative shortcomings.

A major reason for there to be long delays in processing child care licenses is undue paperwork. For example, a new health form was developed - there was no consensus on the design of the form yet in the middle of the year all child care programs were required to have the new forms. Programs that had not even been sent the new forms were required to replace all the previously up-dated health forms. WCDC strongly believes in supporting immunizations and health screening for young children. Yet requiring five signatures on a one page health form (see attached) is daunting and forms were considered incomplete if not all the signatures were present. One signature on the part of a physician or a physician's representative should be sufficient. The need for additional DCRA licensing staff and OECD monitors is undeniable yet the need for current licensing regulations is also paramount. Amendments to the licensing regulations have been pending for more than eighteen years. The fact that subsidized child care rates have been stagnant for almost a decade is unfortunately reflected in the level of service provided. Our children deserve better. Implementing a child care delivery system is a complex undertaking and cannot be done in isolation.

I hope you have found these comments useful. I will be attending a national child care conference next week and will be back in D.C. on November 24th. When I return I'd be more than happy to coordinate a meeting with you and your staff along with the child care community. Thank you for consideration and concern.

Attachments:

12 STEP PLAN TO PROMOTE QUALITY CHILD CARE
FOR ALL DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CHILDREN

TRUE COST OF CARE - Financial Charts

Licensing Child Care Health Form

cc: Control Board Members and Staff
D.C. Councilmembers
Jearline Williams, Director of DHS
David Watts, Director of DCRA

12 STEP PLAN TO PROMOTE QUALITY CHILD CARE FOR ALL DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CHILDREN

1) **Improve the management of the child care licensing:** expedite issuance of licenses to those programs that meet licensing standards yet still have lapsed licenses and take appropriate action to correct outstanding violations in other programs in order to meet licensing standards by increasing the number of monitors, provide adequate training and support services, provide consistent oversight, ensure licensing regulations are clearly understood, conduct an immediate assessment of all child care facilities and transfer the licensing division to the Office of Early Childhood Development to ensure coordination.

2) **Up-date licensing standards:** amendments to child care licensing standards have been pending for eighteen years.

3) **Establish a new sliding fee scale for parents:** the current scale penalizes two parent households and has not kept up with inflation for over six years; the proposed fee scale does not address the financial concerns of families with special needs children.

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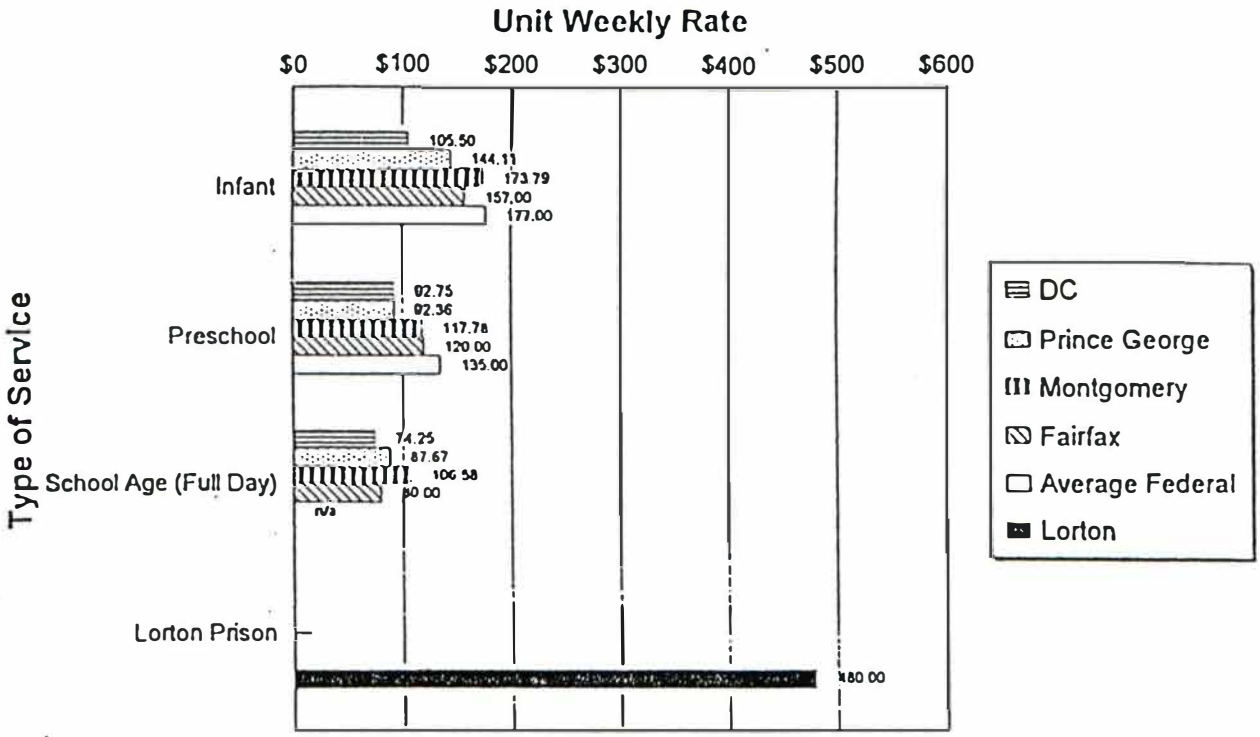
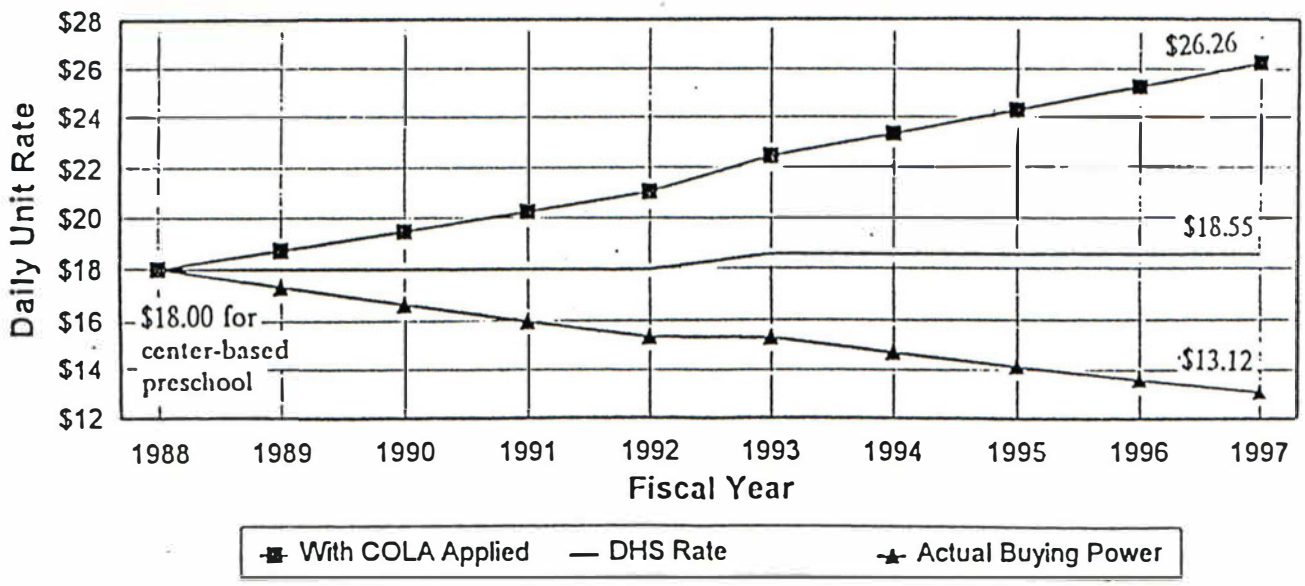
CENTER BASED CHILD CARE

Weekly Reimbursement Rates in Metropolitan Area



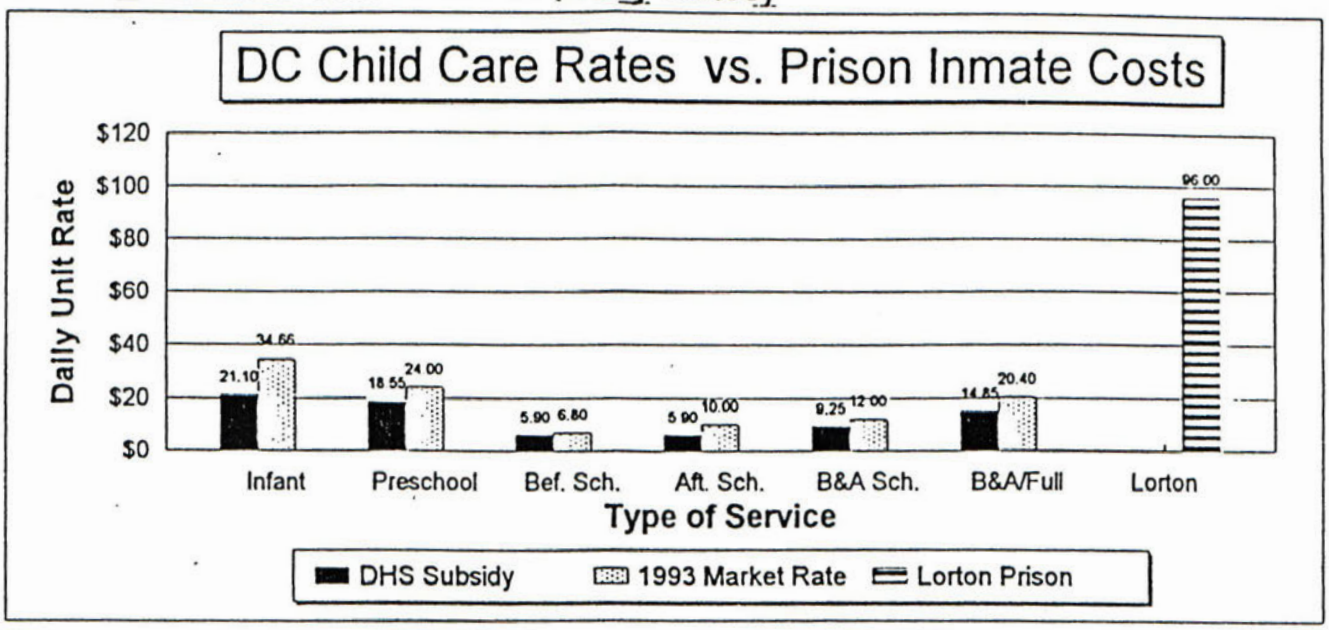
DHS Rate vs. Inflation-Adjusted Rates



Note: Inflation Rate = 4% Per Year.

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
With COLA Applied	$18.00	$18.72	$19.47	$20.25	$21.06	$22.45	$23.35	$24.28	$25.25	$26.26
DHS Rate	$18.00	$18.00	$18.00	$18.00	$18.00	$18.55	$18.55	$18.55	$18.55	$18.55
Actual Buying Power	$18.00	$17.31	$16.64	$16.00	$15.39	$15.34	$14.75	$14.19	$13.64	$13.12

CENTER BASED CHILD CARE (Daily Rates)



FAMILY CHILD CARE (Daily Rates)

Costs	DHS Subsidy	1993 Market Rate
Infant (6 wks to 2 yrs)	$14.50	$20.00
Preschool (2 to 5 yrs)	$12.35	$17.33
Before School Only (4 to 13 yrs)	$6.00	$6.66
After School Only (4 to 13 yrs)	$6.00	$9.33
Before & After School (4 to 13 yrs)	$6.00	$12.00
Before & After School - Full Day	$12.00	$20.00

SPECIAL THANKS:

The information and data that is outlined in *CHILD CARE IS EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS: The True Cost of Care in the District of Columbia* demonstrates the vital importance of working together in a grassroots collaborative effort. Child care staff and parents from both family child care homes and centers helped in the development of this publication. The Washington Child Development Council (WCDC) is especially thankful for the thoughtful and productive comments from the following people: McKinley Crudup and Wanda Scott from Allen AME Church Child Development Center, Brenda Strong Nixon and Sheldon Jones from Associates for Renewal in Education (ARE), Debbie Hall from Big Mama's Child Development Center, Judi Farber from Bright Beginnings sponsored by the Junior League, Rudy Hutchison from Catholic Charities Model Cities Center, Beatrice Otero and Adalia Torres from Calvary Bilingual Multicultural Learning Center, Leslie Johnson and Ruth Rucker from the Edward C. Mazique Parent Child Center, Pam Simon from Just Us Kids, Minnie Wood from Matthews Memorial Child Development Center and President of the Washington Association of Child Care Centers (WACCC), Delorese M. Hodges from Mt. Joy Baptist Church Child Development Center, Travis Hardmon and Christine Bufford from the National Child Day Care Association (NCDCA), Mattie Edwards from Northwest Child Development Center and President of Washington, D.C. Association for the Education of Young Children (WDCAEYC), Anne Kipp from St. Alban's Child Development Center, Jim Clay from School for Friends, Francis Rollins and Flossie Giler from Southeast Child Development Center, Bill Hughey from the United Planning Organization, Christine Kaucher from the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments (COG), Beverly Roberson Jackson from Zero to Three and Chairperson of the Mayor's Advisory Commission on Early Childhood Development, and Richard Ferlauto and Tracey Arvin from the Center for Policy Alternatives. The graphics would not be possible without the assistance of Christine Kaucher from COG and Sheldon Jones from ARE.

WCDC

2121 Decatur Place, N.W. · Washington, D.C. 20008 · (202) 387-0002 · FAX (202) 332-2834

HEALTH CERTIFICATE FOR CHILD

Part 1: Student's Demographic Data

Please print information clearly and completely.

Student's Last Name _____ First Name _____ Middle Name _____ Date of Birth _____ Gender F☐ M☐

Name of Parent/Guardian _____ Home/Work Telephone _____ Street Address _____

School or Child Care Facility _____ City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

Part 2: Student's Disease History and Physical Examination

(1) Check box next to applicable diseases; (2) write date of diseases on line

Scarlet fever ☐ _____ Whooping Cough (pertussis) ☐ _____ German measles (rubella) ☐ _____ Measles ☐ _____ Mumps ☐ _____

Allergies, recent exposure to communicable diseases, correctable defects _____

have examined this student in person; and, in my opinion, he/she is in satisfactory physical condition. There is no evidence of disease in a communicable form at this time. The above history of disease was obtained.

Signature of Physician _____ Name of Physician _____

Date of Examination _____ Address/Phone _____

Part 3: Immunization Information and Disease History

Write month, day & year of each immunization given (past or present) Ex: 01/01/93

Diphtheria-Tetanus-Pertussis(<7yr) Circle Vaccine Type Given	DTP/DTaP 1 / /	DTP/DTaP 2 / /	DTP/DTaP 3 / /	DTP/DTaP 4 / /	DTP/DTaP 5 / /
Tetanus-Diphtheria (DT<7 yrs; must have P exemption) (Adult Td ≥7 yrs) Circle Type Given	DT/Td 1 / /	DT/Td 2 / /	DT/Td 3 / /	DT/Td 4 / /	DT/Td 5 / /
Polio Circle Vaccine Type Given	OPV/IPV 1 / /	OPV/IPV 2 / /	OPV/IPV 3 / /	OPV/IPV 4 / /	OPV/IPV / /
Measles-Mumps-Rubella (MMR) after 1st birthday	1 / /	2 / /	*Measles* 1 / / 2 / /	*Mumps* 1 / / 2 / /	*Rubella* 1 / / 2 / /
Haemophilus influenzae type b (Hib) vaccine manufacturer _____	1 / /	2 / /	3 / /	4 / /	
Hepatitis B (Hep B)	1 / /	2 / /	3 / /		
Varicella(chickenpox) Vaccine after 1st birthday	1 / / 2 / /	**Student's History of Chickenpox Disease** May be completed by parent or physician. Leave blank if student has NOT had chickenpox. *I certify that, to the best of my knowledge, this student has had the chickenpox disease (date of chickenpox* _____ *).* Signature _____ Date _____ Relationship to student (please circle one): Parent / Guardian / Physician			

Signature of Certifying Physician/Rep _____ Name of Physician/Rep _____

Date _____ Address/Phone _____

MEDICAL EXEMPTION FROM IMMUNIZATION: *I hereby certify that (name of student)* _____ *was not immunized against (disease)* _____ *because (reason)* _____.

Signature of Physician _____ Name of Physician _____

Date _____ Date Exemption Expires _____ Address/Phone _____

RELIGIOUS EXEMPTION: A signed, notarized statement by parent/guardian must accompany this form for any religious exemption.
ALL EXEMPTIONS MUST BE APPROVED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH.

Part 4: Student's Tuberculosis Screening Information

Tuberculosis Screening Test PPD☐ Tine☐ Date / / Result _____ Chest X-Ray☐ Date: / / Result: _____

Signature of Certifying Physician/Rep. _____ Name of Physician/Rep. _____

Date _____ Address/Phone _____

Part 5: Lead Screening Information for Students under 6 Years of Age

Most recent lead test: Date: / / Collection Method: Venipuncture☐ Fingerstick☐ Result: _____

If elevated (10 ug/dl or above), action/current status: _____

Signature of Certifying Physician _____ Name of Physician _____

Date _____ Address/Phone _____

revised 5/19/97

ORIGINAL - CHILD CARE FACILITY

...ndors' Flight ...ows Program's ...reat Success'

Associated Press

VERMILION CLIFFS, Ariz.—The scene was so remarkable that even a seasoned condor watcher like Mark Vekasy almost was moved to tears.

Eleven California condors, almost one-tenth of the species' entire surviving population, were soaring together in the blue sky above northern Arizona's dramatic, red sandstone canyons, riding thermals on wings stretching nearly 10 feet across.

"They were in a real tight group just circling around. It doesn't happen very often," said Vekasy, part of a team of biologists who track the birds from sunup to sundown. "It's a pretty neat sight."

It has been a little more than a year since juvenile condors bred in captivity were brought to this sparsely populated region straddling the Arizona-Utah line, part of the campaign to save North America's largest and rarest bird from extinction.

To the delight of tourists and river rafters, the black-feathered giants with bald, dull-orange heads occasionally float across the Grand Canyon, which begins 30 miles to the south.

"I think it's been a great success story," said Robert Mesta, condor program coordinator for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. "They're doing all the right things."

Thirty-four condors now are living in the wild—19 in California and 15 in Arizona. The wild and captive populations together total just 132. Five more are to be released along California's Big Sur coast next weekend.

The initial success of the Arizona condors has raised hopes of one day establishing a breeding population of 150 birds in remote northern Arizona. Such a goal was unthinkable in 1987, when the species had dwindled to seven birds in the wild in California. No condors had been seen in Arizona since 1924.

The condors' success has been all the more remarkable given that they are all less than 2 years old, mere adolescents learning to survive without the training or discipline of parents.

"They roughhouse together, kind of push each other around," said biologist Shawn Farry with the Peregrine Fund, a conservation group assisting federal and state agencies with the reintroduction. "If you had to equate their behavior, they do seem more like a dog. They'll play with sticks, play with feathers. They're an intelligent bird, very playful and investigative."

THE PRESIDENT AS SEEN

12-1-97

Ex-Army Agents Discuss 1968 Monitoring of King

Associated Press

MEMPHIS, Nov. 30—Army intelligence agents monitored the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s public appearances in Memphis in the days before his 1968 murder, said retired agents speaking publicly for the first time. The agents said they had no foreknowledge of the assassination.

They also said conspiracy theorists have misinterpreted and twisted the purpose of their Memphis mission. They watched for outbreaks of violence during the city's volatile garbage workers' strike, the agents said, and the information collected was used to decide whether to send armed troops to Memphis.

"We were never given any mission to keep King under surveillance. Never," said retired Col. Edward McBride, who oversaw the 111th Military Intelligence Group's Memphis operations from Fort McPherson in Atlanta.

Newly declassified reports show that at least four agents were in Memphis on April 4, 1968, when King was shot by a sniper while standing on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel.

Overall, the 111th sent as many as 10 undercover agents to Memphis after a March 28, 1968, riot that erupted during a protest march King led in support of striking workers, according to reports obtained by the Commercial Appeal newspaper under the Freedom of Information Act.

Some of the 111th's Memphis visits in March and April 1968 coincided with King's arrivals and departures, the documents show.

"We [took note] when he was in Memphis in his public moves. We knew he was speaking at [Mason Temple the evening of April 3], we knew he was going to march in the parade," said Jimmie Locke, who led the Memphis operation and was in Memphis when King was shot.

"We weren't particularly concerned except that he might be the catalyst for an event of some kind," Locke said in an interview at his home in San Antonio.

James Earl Ray pleaded guilty to King's murder in 1969 but recanted days later and has spent the past 29 years seeking a new trial. His efforts, and those of his lawyer William Pepper, have given new life to conspiracy theories about the assassination.

King's family this year endorsed claims that the Army had stalked the civil rights leader and played a role in his murder. But the former agents said they did not watch King's hotel, bug his room or follow him. Nor did they see any Special Forces troops, the armed guerrilla warfare soldiers popularly known as Green Berets that had been rumored to have been in Memphis at the time.

"That's the most ridiculous thing I ever heard," McBride said.

Rather, the agents said, they simply monitored public gatherings, using civilians and sources in the Memphis Police Department and FBI to report when King and other activists attended rallies.

Senate hearings in 1971 explored abuses in an Army domestic surveillance program established under President Lyndon B. Johnson after major riots in Los Angeles in 1965 and Newark and Detroit in 1967. The program, designed to provide the Pentagon with "early warning" of civil disturbances that might require federal troops, involved sending Army agents to observe anti-war demonstrations, civil rights rallies and other political gatherings.

Powell Backs Lee for Civil Rights Post, Despite GOP Stance

Associated Press

Retired Gen. Colin L. Powell took issue yesterday with his Republican Party's opposition to President Clinton's nominee to be assistant attorney general for civil rights, saying Bill Lann Lee should be confirmed.

Powell said that Lee "certainly has the qualifications for the job, and if I was in the Senate, I would vote for him."

Lee's confirmation has effectively died in the Senate Judiciary Committee, where all but one Republican on the panel—Pennsylvania Sen. Arlen Specter—oppose Lee on the grounds that the California-based civil rights advocate supports quotas as a means of advancing affirmative action programs for minorities.

Powell, who has long differed with many in the GOP over the need for affirmative action, said it was "one of the tools available to us to right the wrongs of the past."

"Take a look at the reality of life for African Americans living in this country," Powell said on CNN's "Late Edition." "Don't tell me we are on a level playing field."

But Judiciary Committee Chairman Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) said on NBC's "Meet the Press" that while "it's no fun to scuttle Bill Lann Lee," the nominee "was not committed to the enforcement of the law as the law is written."

Republicans say that while Lee agreed in his Senate testimony that quotas for minorities are illegal, as a lawyer for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund he advocated consent decrees that forced companies, under threat of lawsuits, to hire more minority workers.

Confirmation of Lee "wouldn't be fair to the enforcement of civil rights in this country, because I think Bill Lann Lee would spend most of the time up before the committees justifying his actions," Hatch said on "Fox News Sunday."

White House aides are debating whether to recommend that Clinton make a "recess appointment," assigning Lee to the post while Congress is not in session and without Senate approval. Under that method, Lee could keep the job until Congress finishes its business at the end of 1998.

But Hatch warned that such a move could have serious repercussions for relations between the GOP-led Congress and the White House.

"This will be the first time in history that a president has ignored the will of a senatorial committee on confirmations. ... And frankly, I think it's a very inadvisable thing to do."

The Washington Post
MONDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1997

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-2-97

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 2, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PHIL CAPLAN
SEAN MALONEY

SUBJECT: S. 738 -- Amtrak Reform and Accountability Act of 1997

Today, in an Oval Office ceremony, you are scheduled to sign S. 738, the most comprehensive Amtrak restructuring legislation since the early 1980's, culminating three years of Administration efforts in this area. The bill reflects a number of carefully crafted compromises and has received wide support from Governors, affected states and the Amtrak board. A signing statement will be issued on your behalf.

Overview. This bill (1) authorizes FY98-02 Amtrak appropriations; (2) extends to Amtrak $2.3B in previously enacted tax benefits that were contingent upon S. 738's passage; (3) repeals statutory prohibitions on Amtrak's contracting out certain work; (4) repeals certain statutory protections and severance benefits for Amtrak employees; (5) establishes per passenger accident liability caps; (6) repeals certain route structure restrictions; (7) requires you to appoint a new Amtrak board of directors; (8) establishes an Amtrak Reform Council to examine Amtrak's fiscal health; and (9) revokes Amtrak's status as a government corporation and requires the repurchase and liquidation of certain stock.

Major Provisions:

- **Appropriations Authorizations** -- authorizes $1.138B for FY98 (enacted appropriations were $793M); $1.058B for FY99; $1.023B for FY00; $989M for FY01; and $955M for FY02; requires Amtrak to prepare a financial plan to operate within funding levels; states that after FY03, "Amtrak shall operate without Federal operating grant funds appropriated for its benefit;"
- **Tax Benefits** -- extends to Amtrak $2.3B in previously enacted tax benefits;
- **Contracting Out** -- repeals current prohibition on contracting out work in situations where Amtrak jobs could be lost; relegates the issue to Amtrak's labor negotiations;
- **Labor Protection** -- repeals current six-years'-severance-pay requirement for displaced workers; relegates issue to expedited negotiation;
- **Liability Limits** -- caps at $200M per accident claims against Amtrak;
- **Route Structure** -- repeals current statutorily mandated route system;
- **Board of Directors** -- requires replacement of Amtrak's current 9-member board with a new 7-member "Reform Board;" members appointed by you to 5-year terms following Senate confirmation; 6 of 7 may not be federal employees; none may be rail labor or management reps;

- **Reform Council** -- creates 11-member Reform Council, including DOT Secretary and other members appointed by you and the Congress; would include rail labor and management reps; requires Council to examine Amtrak's fiscal performance and make recommendations for improvements; Council must report within 2 years to you, DOT and the Congress if Amtrak will not meet its financial goals or will require Federal operating grants 5 years after S. 738's signing; upon such a finding Council must submit a plan for restructuring the intercity rail system and for liquidating Amtrak;
- **Corporate Stock Status** -- requires Amtrak to redeem its common stock for fair market value by October 1, 2002; DOT would continue to hold preferred stock, which would no longer confer voting rights nor bankruptcy priority.

The bill passed the House by voice vote and the Senate by unanimous consent.

WHITE HOUSE GIFT REGISTER

GIFT INTENDED FOR

President [✓] Both/All [ ]

First Lady [ ] Chelsea [ ]

DONOR INFORMATION

Name: Alvin Brown

Address: U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development,
451 7th Street, SW, Wash DC 20410 Phone: 202-401-6440
ROOM 10226 202-708-2046

PRESENTATION

Date: 11/28/97 Event:

Handed to President [ ] Other Method [ ]

Gift Description: Hardcover Book by Bernard C. Watson PhD.
(autographed) entitled Colored, Negro Black: Chasing the American
Dreath

Send Gift and Register to OEOB, Room 457 x7133

POTUS has book

Dan -

Reply for book -- just say "hope
to see you soon" re: his request
for meeting. BC ltr
Phil
12/3

Office of the Secretary
U.S. Department of Housing and
Urban Development

ALVIN BROWN
Director, Special Actions Office
202. 827-1399

451 7th St., S.W.
Room 10226
Washington, DC 20410

Tel (202) 708-2046
Fax (202) 401-6725

Dear, Beeg thanks for everything and
I love and to Seely you
in the future — I will Call you next week
God Bless

Al

Director, Office of Special Actions
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410-0001

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It was a pleasure to see you again at the White House during the Veterans Affairs Breakfast on November 11. Too much time has passed since I last had the opportunity to speak with you. I get excited and slightly nervous when I see you. What I was truly trying to say to you at the Breakfast was that if possible, I would love the opportunity to have a brief meeting with you to discuss some of the current projects I am working on for Secretary Andrew Cuomo in support of your agenda.

This is my first time writing to you since you became President, and I have so much to share with you. I would consider it a great honor to do some traveling with you as you move forward in promoting your agenda - expanding economic opportunities, strengthening families and communities, and improving race relations.

As I close, I would like to bring to your attention that back in 1992 at the National Urban League Conference in San Francisco, California, Dr. Bernard Watson, the former Vice Chair of the National Urban League gave you a much warranted endorsement. Enclosed please find an autographed original of Dr. Watson's latest book, "Colored, Negro, Black: Chasing the American Dream." It is my gift to you.

Mr. President, you and your family will always be in my prayers. There are no words to express my appreciation to you. I look forward to having the opportunity to meet with you in the near future. God Bless.

Sincerely,

Alvin Brown

Alvin Brown

Enclosure

P.S. Bill, I hope and pray that you will have the opportunity to meet with me during the Holidays. I really miss being around you. and I want you to know I love YOU with all my Heart.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410-0001

OFFICE OF SPECIAL ACTIONS

Dear Mr. Clinton:

I would like to give to you contact numbers for me at anytime:

Home: 1127 Buchanan Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20011
202 829-1399

Office: HUD
451 7th Street, S.W.
Washington, DC 20410
202 708-2236 main
202 401-6440 private

Sincerely,

Alvin Brown

P.S. Bill, I hope you enjoy the book. Keep the Faith. God Bless
Love ya

11/28/97

Dear Betty, I pray that this note finds you in the best of health. The letter I am sending to your attention for the President is very important to me. As you and love Bill very much and there are no words that I can express my love for Him. Betty, It is my Prayer that I will have the Chance to meet with the the President in the very near future during the Holiday Days. May GOD continue to Bless you and your Family.

Love

Alan

Director, Office of Special Actions
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

We have a major study in 10 days you will love. K. O'Connor

WHERE

KATHLEEN O'CONNOR
Founder/Executive Director

Women for Healthcare Education, Reform and Equity
105 – 14th Avenue, Suite 3-A
Seattle, WA 98122
206.325.7928
FAX 206.325.8221
EMAIL- oconnor@med.com
WEB SITE
http://www.med.com/where

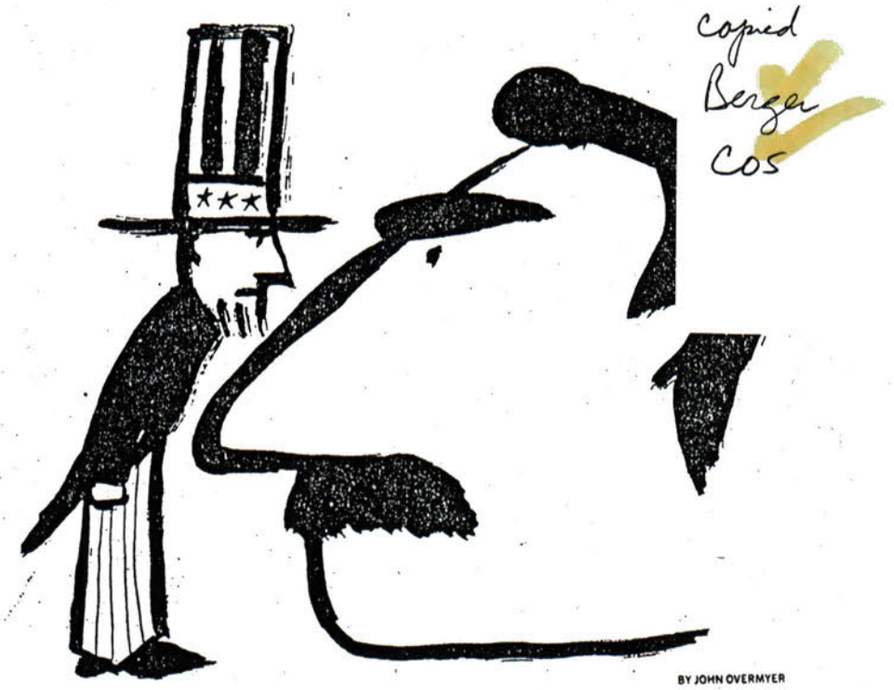
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-2-97

Sandy
Interesting piece
RS

copied
Berger
COS

Robert Satloff

Target Saddam Hussein



BY JOHN OVERMYER

From Paris to Cairo, from Moscow to Riyadh, virtually all of America's Gulf War allies have refused to support the idea of military force to compel Saddam Hussein's compliance with U.N. resolutions. Is this because:

(a) They do not want to be associated with an adventure that may tarnish their ability to cash in on the commercial appeal of Iraq's vast oil resources?

(b) They know from experience that the Clinton administration is likely to opt for a limited strike that might cause some marginal damage but won't seriously threaten Saddam's regime?

(c) They believe that acting against Saddam in the absence of progress in the Arab-Israeli peace process would be morally inconsistent and politically costly?

If you chose (c), go directly to the White House. As President Clinton said the other day in discussing the difficulties in building "a community of shared values" in confronting Saddam, "we will never, ever do that until there is peace between Israel and her neighbors." The absence of peace, he said, "undermines our ability to seek a unified solution."

Sadly, this line of thinking is wrong. Blaming the peace process impasse (diplo-speak for blaming Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu) for the weakening of the anti-Saddam coalition sidesteps the crass greed that motivates some, such as the French and the Russians, while it avoids facing up to America's own inadequacies that have turned off many others in the Arab world. One thing is certain—for both Western and Arab allies—the state of the peace process has almost never been a determinant of their willingness to follow America's lead vis-a-vis Iraq.

As far as the former are concerned, the French and Russians stopped being coalition members in any meaningful sense at the very height of the Oslo process. It was in June 1993, three months before the Yitzhak Rabin-Yasser Arafat handshake on the White House lawn, that the U.N. Security Council last found Iraq in "material breach" of U.N. resolutions. Not once, during the halcyon days of the peace process—from September 1993 to the Rabin assassination two years later—did the French or Russians support any stiffening of U.N. spine on Iraq.

The Arab coalition partners have also been straying for quite some time. Some examples:

- Soon after the Gulf War, the United States asked the Saudis to provide Jordan with oil at cut-rate prices to match Saddam's offer and thereby free King Hussein to take a more active anti-Saddam posture. In spite of Jordan's emerging peace with Israel, the Saudis refused because they wanted to punish King Hussein for his wartime sympathies with Iraq.
- In 1995, when Saddam's son-in-law defected to Amman, U.S. officials toured Egypt and the gulf to seek support for an emboldened Iraqi opposition effort. Again, the Arab allies refused the U.S. request, largely because of inter-Arab jealousies and the fear that Washington's muscle was not truly behind the idea.
- Just last year, shortly after Netanyahu's election in Israel but before the Jerusalem tunnel episode—i.e., during his brief honeymoon period with peace partners Egypt and Jordan—the United States launched a cruise missile strike on Iraq in response to Saddam's invasion of the Kurdish-held city of Irbil. Virtually all our old Gulf War allies criticized the attack.

Perhaps the best example of the lack of linkage between the peace process and the gulf dates to the original Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990. At the time, there was no peace process, the uncompromising Yitzhak Shamir was Israel's prime minister, and no Israeli leader—Labor or Likud—would even contemplate shaking hands with Yasser Arafat. Nevertheless, all but a few Arab leaders supported the U.S.-led coalition.

If Washington is truly interested in building a coalition against Saddam, then it shouldn't obfuscate the central issue—the fate of Saddam Hussein—by mixing it with Arab-Israeli politics. With the Europeans, America still has a chance to win the day. After all, these ever-pragmatic allies may come to recognize the fact that Saddam himself is the main obstacle to exploiting the riches of Iraq. But the Arab complaint against the administration's diminishing resolve is more serious.

When the president first took office, his senior aides routinely dismissed Saddam as irredeemable, and the administration supported initiatives to indict Saddam as a war criminal, to back the Iraqi opposition movement and to fund at least two covert operations (in Jordan and northern Iraq) targeted against Saddam himself. All that is history. Today, the principal source of pressure against Saddam is the sanctions regime and the related U.N. inspection system, both of which rely on the lowest-common-denominator decision-making of international consensus.

Arab members of the Gulf War coalition—many of whom remain attractive targets for Saddam's ambitions—read the writing on the wall. With the United Nations as the only arrow in the anti-Saddam quiver, no wonder that countries like Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are covering their bets by distancing themselves from U.S. policy.

For Arab leaders, the peace process stalemate is, at best, an excuse. The truth is that many aren't buying U.S. policy because it only treats the symptoms of the gulf crisis (the U.N. inspection team, sanctions, the coalition) rather than the cause (Saddam Hussein himself). If the administration decided to pursue a new policy using all available political, military, economic and clandestine means to compel Saddam's compliance or precipitate his demise—whichever came first—most Arab leaders would fall in line and do their part.

But instead of rethinking policy, the administration is trying to shift the blame. In practice, this throws the spotlight onto Netanyahu and the need for Israeli concessions as the key to kickstarting a stalled negotiation with the Palestinians.

This is not to suggest that the president—who has rightly earned the title of the most Israel-friendly chief executive in history—should relegate the peace process to the back burner. It remains a vitally important issue, and America retains an intense interest in preventing its collapse. But 20 years after Anwar Sadat's journey to Jerusalem, one must remember that the peace process takes time. Confronting Saddam Hussein—whose access to weapons of mass destruction was characterized by President Clinton as posing a threat to "all the children of the world"—can't wait.

The writer is executive director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

The Washington Post
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1997

Sid Bl HRC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-2-97

Fyl-B

These Progressives Think It Is All Right To Use the 'L' Word

* * *

World-Wide Liberal Confab Has Seminars, Souvenirs— And Very Few Americans

A1

By LAWRENCE INGRASSIA
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

OXFORD, England – David Samudio Jr. would like to make one thing perfectly clear. He *wants* to be called a liberal. And he has traveled here so that his political party can officially be certified as such.

So have Joseph Garcia of Gibraltar, Alvydas Medalinkas of Lithuania and Sorin Botez of Romania.

"In Panama, liberal is not a dirty word," explains Mr. Samudio, after presenting Partido Liberal Nacional's credentials at the 50th Anniversary gathering of Liberal International, the world union of liberal parties.

While U.S. politicians from President Clinton on down have craftily distanced themselves from any association with the "L" word, the members of Liberal International happily trumpet their leanings.

The Ties That Bind

More than 400 dyed-in-the-wool liberals attended this weekend's festivities, among them the prime ministers of Andorra and Slovenia, the president of Nicaragua and the foreign minister of Iceland. They packed seminars to discuss such topics as the work of 19th-century German liberal Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, as well as "Peace Keeping and Peace Enforcement," "Liberalism and Communitarianism" and "Primary Education as a Human Right." They pored over brochures from Amnesty International and Anti-Slavery International. They earnestly debated the fine points of their new manifesto, "Liberalism in the 21st Century."

And between sessions in the stately Victorian-era Town Hall, they snapped up $50 souvenir silk scarves and $34 neckties printed with the words "pluralism," "tolerance" and "pursuit of happiness" – the better to show beliefs "down your shirt front rather than on your sleeve," as the sales pitch noted.

In all, liberal politicians from 85 parties showed up, more than double the number in 1990. Americans, however, were in short supply: Only five attended.

Rachelle Valladares, chairwoman of Democrats Abroad U.K., who lives in London, was one of the lone Americans. "Unfortunately, if you say [in America] that you're a liberal, goodness knows you've lost the election before it starts," she says, noting how many erstwhile liberals, in search of a vote-winning label, have taken to calling themselves "progressives." "It makes me ill that you have to use a euphemism."

Politically Pejorative

Indeed, in the U.S., the word "liberal" has successfully (nefariously, Democrats say) been attached to other words by conservatives to conjure up negative images: liberal agenda, liberal bias and bleeding-heart liberal. It has become synonymous with the tax-and-spend welfare state.

It is a pejorative for good reason, contends Adam Meyerson, a vice president of the Heritage Foundation, a conservative U.S. think tank. "Forty years of liberalism has given us the collapse of the family, an epidemic of child abuse, more black men in jail than in college and a school system that leaves 40% of third graders unable to read," he says.

Ridiculous, retorts David Barash, author of "The L Word: An Unapologetic, Thoroughly Biased, Long-Overdue Explication and Celebration of Liberalism." He contends, "It's a shame that the word has

Please Turn to Page A14, Column 1

Continued From First Page

been trashed. Liberal programs gave America child labor laws, the 40-hour workweek, environmental protections, a safer workplace and a progressive income tax."

This contentiousness is of curiosity and confusion to liberals outside the U.S. Not that liberals are wildly popular elsewhere. While liberal parties are partners in about 20 coalition governments world-wide, the only major country where they are in power today is Canada. The heyday of British liberals, now known as Liberal Democrats, was a century ago when William Gladstone served four times as prime minister. Even after their best election showing in six decades, they remain the United Kingdom's third party.

Ironically, given their reputation in the U.S., liberals didn't start as leftists and still aren't in many countries. Classical 19th-century liberalism promoted civil liberties, free trade, market economics and limitations on central-government power. But in the 20th century, liberals embraced the need for an expanded role of government in looking after the social welfare of citizens.

Swinging Lefties?

So why have liberals outside the U.S. remained socially acceptable, even while being as liberal as American liberals on many issues? One answer: All politics is local, to quote a famous (and liberal) American politician, former Speaker of the House Thomas "Tip" O'Neill. Liberal parties in many countries are considered moderate centrists, or even right-of-center, because there often are socialist or even former communist parties well to their left. Indeed, in Canada the ruling Liberal Party has moved to sharply scale back the welfare state.

"The problem in America is that they put you in a pigeonhole. If you're a liberal, you are for open sex and welfare for all," says Mr. Samudio of Panama. In his country, liberals are considered centrists, with an agenda backing both a balanced budget and reduced powers for central government, as well as social programs to help the needy.

All definitions and differences aside, an American liberal, er, progressive, would have felt at home at the annual liberal congress. The group's new manifesto opposes nationalist and racist ideologies, poverty and ignorance, the widening gap between rich and poor, environmental degradation in an overcrowded world, political corruption and violence against women, among other things. It favors equal access to education, equality of women and men, and opportunities for employment.

'Like Mother's Milk'

"Sounds like mother's milk and apple pie," notes Razeen Sally, lecturer in international relations at the London School of Economics, who has studied liberals in Europe. Frits Bolkestein, a Dutch politician who is Liberal International's president, counters that many liberal ideas have been adopted by countries around the world over the past century. (Founded in 1947, when communism and totalitarianism were growing threats, Liberal International brought together parties committed to capitalism and democracy.) Still, even he concedes, "The manifesto is bland. It could be more outspoken and sharper in tone."

At the weekend confab, the biggest dispute over the manifesto, just as in the U.S., centered on the role of government. German delegates, arguing for stronger wording in a clause on what government should and shouldn't do, proposed an amendment stating: "Liberals recognize that the capacity of government is limited, that 'big' government and the growth of state expenditure are themselves serious threats to a free society." In a close vote, delegates adopted it.

And just as in the U.S., some Liberal International liberals didn't like this much. "It's too conservative," laments Alessandro Pilotti, of the Federation of Liberal Italians. In support of his point, he quoted another liberal who declared at another political gathering of liberals: "We believe in only the government we need, but we insist on all the government we need."

That liberal was Mario Cuomo, the former governor of New York, at the 1984 U.S. Democratic convention.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1997

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-2-97

Trade mission to India carries political baggage

By Tom Squitieri
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — The largest trade mission in Commerce Department history leaves for India on Friday to promote U.S. business expertise in power generation, telecommunications, environmental technologies and transportation.

But the trip may be overshadowed by U.S. domestic politics.

Some Democratic political contributors are scheduled to be on the trip, making this the first time big donors have participated on a trade mission since Commerce Secretary William Daley took office this year.

That has triggered new criticism of trade missions, already under scrutiny by Congress and the Justice Department for possible favoritism given to political supporters.

"This comes as no surprise," said Larry Klayman, head of Judicial Watch, a conservative legal watchdog organization. "It was only a matter of time before Bill Daley, who comes from the king of political patronage families, would take major Democratic donors on a trade mission."

Judicial Watch has several lawsuits pending against the Commerce Department related to trade missions and other agency activities when the department was headed by Ron Brown, who died in a plane crash last year.

Ashley Williams, a spokeswoman for the House Governmental Reform and Oversight Committee, said the panel will look at past and present trade missions as part of its campaign fund-raising inquiry.

Commerce officials dismissed suggestions that contributions influenced who's going to India.

"That is absolutely not true," Commerce spokeswoman Maria Cardona said. "This goes through a thorough application process. Affiliation with any political party is not something we even look at. Secretary Daley has no role in the selection process."

Thirty-three business executives will join Daley on the week-long India trip.

The old record was 30, set on Brown's 1994 trade mission to Russia. The India trip will be Daley's third trade mission since he took office in January.

"As one of Asia's most significant emerging markets, India offers U.S. companies and workers enormous opportunities for future export growth and job creation," Daley said in a press release.

No business women will be going to India. There were also no women on Daley's first trade mission, to South America last spring. When Daley went to Canada in August, two women were among the 16 participants.

"The selection panel received no applications from women that met the appropriate criteria for this trade mission," Cardona said.

Some participants on the India trip have given thousands of dollars to the Democrats. Some also gave to Republicans. None are major contributors to Republicans only.

Wayne Rogers, president of Synergics Group in Annapolis, Md., is among the big Democratic donors. He has contributed more than $200,000 to Democratic candidates and party organizations since March 1995, either directly or through his company.

In 1994, Rogers landed a seat on a trade mission to Pakistan led by Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary. Before that trip, Synergics had "little tangible results" getting projects in Pakistan, Rogers told a House subcommittee in June.

But with help from O'Leary and other U.S. officials, Synergics won a $750 million contract in Kashmir. It was the biggest contract in the company's history and one of the largest private contracts awarded on an Energy Department trip.

Before going to Pakistan, Rogers had given only $200 to the Democrats. After the trip he donated regularly, according to Federal Election Commission reports.

"This is supporting people that believe the same things as you do and have a shared vision of the future," Rogers said in a telephone interview.

As a party contributor, Rogers attended two White House coffees. He also hosted about 30 people at his Annapolis home at a private lunch featuring Vice President Gore. The Oct. 14, 1996, event raised about $300,000 for the Democratic National Committee (DNC).

Last month, Rogers attended a DNC fund-raiser on Amelia Island, Florida. He and 49 others paid $50,000 to spend two days talking with President Clinton and other Democrats. At one point, Rogers played golf with the president.

Rogers said his support of Democrats is not related to getting a slot on the Pakistan trade mission in 1994 or the upcoming one to India.

"If anything, it has hurt me," Rogers said. "In this environment, if you are a political supporter it is more difficult (to get on a trip). There is double scrutiny on anyone who is a political supporter."

Other major donors going on the trip include Safi Qureshey, chairman emeritus of AST Research Inc. in Tustin, Calif. He and his wife contributed $21,572 from 1995 to 1997. Their money went to both parties, including Sen. Chris Dodd, the former DNC chairman, and two conservative Republican congressmen from California.

Another is William Steere, chairman and CEO of Pfizer Inc., who contributed a total of $36,000 from 1995 to 1997 to Democrats, Republicans and his company's political action committee.

33 BUSINESS LEADERS ON A MISSION

The 33 U.S. business executives scheduled to accompany Commerce Secretary William Daley on a seven-day trade mission to India beginning Friday.

Sanjiv Ahuja, president and CEO, Bell Communications Research Inc., Morristown, N.J.

Raj Anand, president and CEO, Southern States Inc., Hampton, Ga.

Dana Beyeler, vice president/marketing, National Forge Co., Irvine, Pa.

Asim Bose, president, Alutec Inc., Carlsbad, Calif.

Lalit Chordia, chairman, Penn Worldwide Inc., Pittsburgh.

R. Michael Gadbaw, vice president and senior counsel, General Electric, Washington, D.C.

L.P. Gupta, president, Gupta Permold Corp., Pittsburgh.

Steve Hamilton, vice president, Principle International Inc., Des Moines.

Armine Haoul, chairman, Diva Communications Inc., Oakland.

Edgar Hotard, president, Praxair Inc., Danbury, Conn.

Richard Huber, president and CEO, Aetna Inc., Hartford, Conn.

Peter Janson, president and CEO, ABB Inc., Norwalk, Conn.

Andrew Jordan, senior vice president, PanAmSat Corp., Greenwich, Conn.

Mohinder Kumra, CEO, EGS Inc., Dearborn, Mich.

Ashi Malik, president, Qualimatrix Inc., Emeryville, Calif.

William Marohn, vice chairman, Whirlpool Corp., Benton Harbor, Mich.

Mark Miller, president and CEO, Cogentrix Energy Inc., Charlotte, N.C.

R. Boyd Montgomery, vice president, Unocal Corp., Franksville, Wis.

Venkatesh Mysore, vice president, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York.

Armand Pacher, senior vice president, Prudential Insurance Co., Newark, N.J.

Nalina Pillai, CEO, Intech Global Resources Inc., Houston.

David Pokraka, president and CEO, Riggers Manufacturing Co., Franksville, Wis.

Safi Qureshey, chairman emeritus, AST Research Inc., Tustin, Calif.

T.R. Reddy, president, Powerline Inc., Augusta, Ga.

Wayne Rogers, president, Synergics Group, Annapolis, Md.

J. Stuart Ryan, vice president, AES Corp., Arlington, Va.

James Salisbury, chief financial officer, DryVac Environmental Inc., Rio Vista, Calif.

Michael Samuel, president, Nobel Systems Inc., San Bernardino.

Mohan Shah, chairman, Appletree Group, New York.

Jack Shaw, chairman and CEO, Hughes Network Systems Inc., Germantown, Md.

William Steere, chairman and CEO, Pfizer Inc., New York.

Theodore Thornton, director of international sales, 2nd Source Cellular, Pittsburgh.

Ron Wambolt, president, Fluke International Corp., Everett, Wash.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce

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POLITICS & POLICY

Winning Politics for the Late '90s: a Tennessee Lesson

By JOHN HARWOOD
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ERWIN, Tenn. – All across America, politicians are home this holiday season wondering how to make voters happy next Election Day. They could do worse than to drive here and discover state Rep. Zane Whitson's secret.

The clues—small, sturdy, green-and-white rectangular signs – are scattered alongside U.S. Highway 23 as it snakes through the Appalachian Mountains. But watch carefully lest you blink and miss some.

The secret is bridges. Not building them—naming them.

In a stretch of just 25 miles, in fact, Mr. Whitson has named some 33 bridges after local luminaries in his home base of Unicoi County. And each bridge, even the little ones less than 10 yards long over little creeks, has left a trail of grateful friends and family members.

"It's a great honor to have a bridge named after yourself," says W.A. Wilson, a local school-board member and old high-school football teammate of Mr. Whitson's. He's not the only one in the family, either. "There's Dad's bridge right there," Mr. Wilson says, pointing down the mountainside from his porch to the "W.A. Wilson Sr. Memorial Bridge" over North Indian Creek, dedicated to his late father.

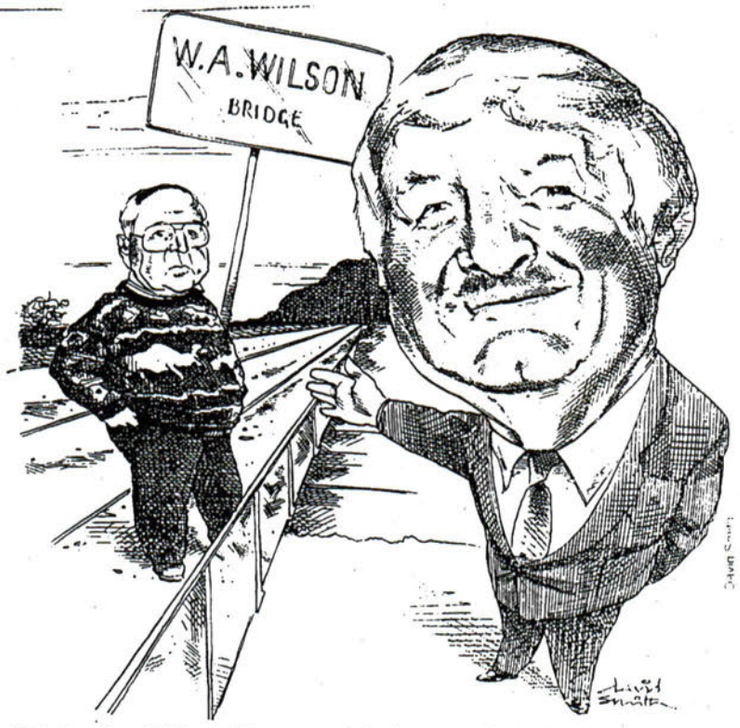
"Zane does a lot for us up here," adds local businessman Joe Hendren. The bridge over South Indian Creek, just two miles down the road from the junior Mr. Wilson's, is named for his late father Earle, who operated movie theaters in the area during the Depression.

Politics in the late 1990s is about small steps. President Clinton stumbled in 1994 over his massive health-overhaul plan; he sailed to re-election in 1996 promoting school uniforms and extending cellular telephones to neighborhood watch groups. Republican Jim Gilmore won the Virginia governorship last month by promising to repeal the state's personal-property tax on automobiles. Democrat Jim McGreevey almost won the same job in New Jersey by pledging to cut auto-insurance rates. And Republicans want to make a statement by having Washington's National Airport renamed after Ronald Reagan.

Mr. Whitson has been perfecting this form of politics through most of his 20 years in the legislature. It's not that he neglects the big things here in the hilly eastern tip of Tennessee, where government initiatives such as the New Deal-era Tennessee Valley Authority have been vital in combating rural poverty. Mr. Whitson, who doubles as economic development director for Unicoi County, helped convince the state to make the area more accessible by building the last 15-mile, $170 million stretch of the highway that runs south from Johnson City to the North Carolina state line.

The Decorative Touch

What sets him apart from his peers, however, is how he has decorated his prize. Though any lawmaker can ask the Legislature to name a bridge after a constituent, Mr. Whitson's unrelenting labors have made U.S. 23 the most densely memorialized stretch of concrete in Tennessee, according to state Transportation Department officials in Nashville. Ken Kobetsky, chief engineer at the American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials, says he has never heard of anything like it in 35 years in the business.



State Rep. Zane Whitson of Tennessee, right, has named 33 bridges after local leaders, including one for his former high school football teammate W.A. Wilson.

Mr. Whitson kicked off the effort in 1984. He won passage of legislation naming two bridges after Marvin Bailey, a local youth killed in a traffic accident, and Bill M. Jones, an old friend and locally prominent journalist. "It's a point of pride" for honorees and their families, Mr. Whitson explains.

But those gestures, in turn, generated more requests. In 1987, he named bridges after two more accident victims and the late founder of the local rescue squad. Then he bestowed the same honor on some local war heroes. "It just snowballs," Mr. Whitson says.

In 1996, the last stretch of highway was dedicated. Heeding complaints from environmentalists, the Transportation Department included bridges over even the tiniest rivulets, and a couple of bear crossings as well. For Mr. Whitson, that spelled opportunity.

Effects at Election Time

The result was House Bill 3429, which named 18 different bridges after local residents or their ancestors. At a cost to taxpayers of $100 apiece, signs were erected for Mr. Wilson, for Lee Vance, retired editor of the Erwin Record, and for late county executive Howard Garland, once Mr. Whitson's elementary-school teacher. There were bridge dedications for Mr. Whitson's fellow Republicans – the area has backed the GOP ever since it sided with the Union during the Civil War—and for the late Mr. Hendren, known locally as "Mr. Democrat." Mr. Whitson named the "Ralph Masters Bridge" after the area's late game warden and, to be evenhanded, added the "Shell E. Masters Bridge" to honor an unrelated family. Amid a surfeit of requests from military families and their descendants, he included a catchall "Veterans Bridge" as well.

"It probably, quite candidly, doesn't hurt at election time," says State Sen. Tommy Haun, who happily steered Mr. Whitson's proposal through the Senate.

Certainly not with Jack Snider, a vice president at nearby King College and formerly football trainer for the beloved University of Tennessee Volunteers. "I feel very grateful," says Mr. Snider, who recalls that he "did a double take" after first seeing his bridge late one night and circled back to make sure that "it was a reality."

The distinctiveness of the local highway isn't lost on residents here. Historical Society member Hilda Padgett says there was talk of producing a book, "The Bridges of Unicoi County," but it was dropped when Mr. Whitson reported having little information about some of the people he had named bridges after. Mr. Whitson, for his part, notes that it hasn't all been a political Sunday drive. Supply never caught up with demand, he says, and "I don't have any more bridges."

The bridge-naming gambit, in fact, can become downright hazardous. After one west Tennessee lawmaker redesignated a previously named bridge to honor his own parents a few years back, the new sign was repeatedly vandalized. It's unclear whether the issue contributed to the lawmaker's subsequent election defeat, but Mr. Whitson emphasizes, "None of these bridges [in Unicoi County] are named for me or my family."

On the other hand, the whole business has left at least some east Tennesseans underwhelmed. "I haven't noticed" all the little bridge signs, insists retired U.S. Rep. James H. Quillen, who helped procure federal funds for the highway while representing the area in Congress for some 34 years. He has, however, noticed the large one proclaiming the entire road the "James H. Quillen Parkway."

In all of Tennessee, Mr. Quillen points out, "There's no Interstate named after anyone, except that one for me."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1997

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monuments in Egypt, Africa and China.

The Getty Center is so difficult to describe that in anticipation of its opening, the trust hired a communications specialist to rename its various entities to create a concise way of characterizing the center: "A museum, five institutes and a grant program."

But the new complex is even more than that: It is a unique package of art, architecture, real estate and scholarly enterprise—housed in the costliest

Please see GETTY, A9

...was not sure the Cabinet action amounted to a decision at all. "It's clear they want to talk with us and with the Arab states [about further redeployments], but at some point, they have to make a presentation to the Palestinians," he said.

Netanyahu's aides, however, presented the vote—16 ministers approved the proposal and two

. Defenses rism Urged

ote more resources to ats, committee says.

ordination of intelligence-hering, the National Defense nel says in a report due for ease today.

The panel proposes setting up a omeland Defense Command" der the National Guard that ld guide the military's response these issues and help organize patchwork overlapping ponsibilities of various military civilian agencies.

Without a quick change in the tagon's focus, in a decade "the tary might be superbly pre-ed to fight the [Iraqi] Republi-Guard, but very ill-prepared the these very real kinds of llenges," one panel member,

Please see PENTAGON, A7

GOP Politics Stalls Judicial Nominations

By DAVID G. SAVAGE
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The quiz topic is "judicial activism," the disease that Senate Republicans say has infected the federal courts.

Choose which of the following judges have been pilloried for being activists:

1. U.S. District Judge Thelton Henderson of San Francisco, who briefly struck down Proposition 209, the voter initiative forbidding affirmative action by state and local agencies.

2. U.S. District Judge Michael Hogan of Eugene, Ore., who struck down that state's voter initiative allowing assisted suicide for the terminally ill.

Please see JUDGES, A6

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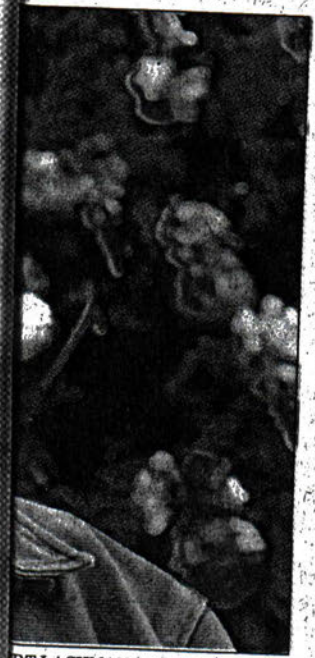

RT LACHMAN / Los Angeles Times

family-run business.

Raise Campaign Cash Back Home, Democrats Are Told

■ **Politics:** Party strategy is designed to make up for loss of PAC funds. It would also ease reliance on labor money.

By JANET HOOK
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—When Brian Baird needed more money this fall for his congressional election campaign, he turned to a gimmick typically used to raise funds for schools and churches. Baird, a Democrat, auctioned off a hodgepodge of donated items: a loaf of homemade bread, an afternoon of kayaking, the use of a horse arena for a kid's birthday party.

The result? Another $10,000 for Baird's campaign for an open House seat in Washington state.

That may seem like pocket change in an era of million-dollar congressional campaigns. But it

strategies devised by Democratic officials at a time when interest groups in Washington, D.C., are sending more of their contributions to Republicans.

Looking ahead to the 1998 midterm elections, the Democratic National Committee has lifted some of the restrictions it imposed on its fund-raising less than a year ago. Centrist Democrats, groping for an alternative to the party's heavy reliance on labor money, are cultivating a new breed of donors among high-tech entrepreneurs. And the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee is urging House candidates to do more fund-raising back home rather than schmoozing with political action

JUDGES: Clinton Nominees Left in Limbo

Continued from A1

3. U.S. District Judge Harold Baer Jr. of New York, a Clinton appointee who last year threw out drug evidence on the grounds that police had illegally searched a car.

4. U.S. District Judge John Sprizzo of New York, a Ronald Reagan appointee who earlier this year threw out the charges against two men who repeatedly blocked the entrance to an abortion clinic on the grounds they acted out of conscience-driven belief.

The answer is Nos. 1 and 3.

After his decision in the Proposition 209 case, Henderson was held up to ridicule as the "most glaring example" of a judicial activist by, among others, Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) and Sen. John Ashcroft (R-Mo.), who chaired Senate hearings last summer on the problem of judicial activism.

Baer was threatened with impeachment for his decision in the drug case. He also figured briefly in the 1996 election campaign as a target for attacks on President Clinton. Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole announced a judicial "hall of shame" with Baer first on the list.

By contrast, Hogan and Sprizzo, whose decisions have pleased conservatives, have scarcely been mentioned.

After taking control of the Senate in 1995, the Republicans pledged to screen new judges for signs of potential "activism." This new filtering process has caught up scores of Clinton's nominees, and it has led to unprecedented delays in filling judgeships.

In the past two years, only 56 of Clinton's nominees have been confirmed by the Senate—compared with 122 judges confirmed by the Democrat-controlled Senate in the final two years of George Bush's presidency.

As a result, about 10% of the federal judgeships are vacant. So while none of Clinton's nominees has been voted down, a great many have lingered in limbo.

The courts in California and the West Coast have felt the impact. The U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals is supposed to have 28 members, but now has only 18.

UC Berkeley law professor William A. Fletcher, nominated to the 9th Circuit in April 1995, has yet to come to a vote in the Senate. The same is true for 9th Circuit nominees Richard A. Paez of Los Angeles and Margaret McKeown of Washington state, who have been awaiting a final vote since early in 1996. Los Angeles attorney Margaret M. Morrow, nominated for a district judgeship, has been in limbo since May of 1996.

No wonder then that more than a few legal experts say the Republicans' talk about judicial activism has more to do with politics than principle.

"This has become totally political," said Bruce Fein, a conservative and former Reagan administration attorney who testified during the Senate hearings on activism. "Judicial activism has become just an epithet for criticizing decisions you don't like."

While the definitions vary, most lawyers refer to an activist decision as a judicial ruling that invalidates a law passed by the people or their elected representatives.

By that standard, Henderson's decision striking down Prop. 209 would qualify, as would Hogan's decision in Oregon. Both were overturned, however, by three-judge panels of the 9th Circuit Court.

In recent years, the conservative-led Supreme Court has knocked down its share of laws, but without drawing much criticism for its activism.

For example, the justices in 1989 invalidated a Richmond, Va., ordinance that set aside 30% of its city contract dollars for minority-owned firms. Two years ago, the court overturned decisions by state lawmakers in Georgia, North Carolina and Texas to draw a few electoral districts with black majorities.

In June, the conservative majority, on a 5-4 vote, struck down part of the Brady Act requiring background checks on new buyers of handguns. All these might have been labeled "activist" decisions, but they have escaped the ridicule heaped upon judges whose decisions please liberals.

Vanderbilt University law professor Barry Friedman, who has studied the history of popular attacks on federal court decisions, said at the hearing that attacks "on the judiciary are invariably political. By political, I mean to say that no matter what members of Congress or the executive branch has said about why they are threatening judicial independence, they are doing it because they do not like the way judges are deciding cases."

For example, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt proposed to expand the membership of the Supreme Court in 1937, he said he was concerned its aging jurists were overworked. It was obvious to all, however, that he was in truth angry about their rulings striking down his New Deal laws.

Friedman, in his testimony, noted one point of curiosity: "Why all the fuss now" about liberal judicial activism, given that a single federal judge such as Henderson cannot ultimately strike down laws? Such decisions are inevitably appealed to the Supreme Court, which regardless of one's views, is "certainly not a radical-liberal one," he said.

The recurring dispute has divided the Supreme Court for most of this century.

In the 1920s and '30s, the high court had a conservative majority that wielded its power in an activist manner. It struck down a series of state and federal laws that restricted child labor, established minimum wages or fixed maximum work hours on the grounds that the Constitution did not allow the government to interfere in the private workplace.

The dissenting liberals, notably Justices Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis D. Brandeis, espoused a policy of judicial restraint.

After 1937, a liberal majority took control and adopted a hands-off approach to matters of business and labor. From then on, the high court upheld FDR's far-reaching laws regulating the economy. The conservatives, now in dissent, moaned, "As for the Constitution, it is gone."

From roughly 1950 to 1980, liberal jurists such as Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices William J. Brennan and Thurgood Marshall formed an activist majority, striking down Southern segregation laws, ordering cross-town busing for school desegregation, throwing out the laws forbidding abortion, abolishing official prayers in the public schools and, for a brief time, invalidating the death penalty. Conservatives argued for restraint.

Now, with the liberal activists routed, conservatives who preach judicial restraint control the Supreme Court. They are led by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justice Antonin Scalia, but even the court's two Democratic appointees, Justices Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen G. Breyer, came to the high court with reputations for caution and restraint.

The dispute over assisted suicide in the last court term illustrates the point.

Judge Stephen Reinhardt of Los Angeles, an old-fashioned liberal who is not shy about wielding judicial power, had written an opinion for the 9th Circuit striking down the state laws that make it a crime to give a lethal medication to a terminally ill person who wishes to die.

His decision relied on the high court's precedents on abortion. If the Constitution protects the privacy right to make such a personal decision, how could a dying person be denied the same right?

But all nine justices voted to overturn Reinhardt's decision, not because they opposed the notion of assisted suicide as such, but because they believed that this legal decision should be made by the people and their lawmakers, not by federal judges. It was a triumph for judicial restraint.

For Fein, the outcome reinforces his view that now is not the time to fret about rampant judicial activism.

"Under Reagan and Bush, we basically won," he said. "We re-created the courts into a far more moderate, even conservative institution. This is an odd moment to proclaim we have a calamity on our hands, an epidemic of judicial activism!"

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-2-97

Washington Child Development Council

November 30, 1997

Councilmember Harry Thomas (Ward 5)
Judiciary Square - 441 4th Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Harry,

I understand members of the Council will be meeting with the President this week. Given President Clinton's interest in early childhood education, we have a golden opportunity to highlight the increased need for child care with the President and request his support. Child care is clearly a priority for the Clinton White House, in the last year they've held two conferences on this vital service. Gaining White House support as outlined in *THE 12 STEP PLAN TO PROMOTE QUALITY CHILD CARE FOR ALL CHILDREN IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA* could prove invaluable (please review 12 STEP Plan attached). The President and Mrs. Clinton should be encouraged to make our nation's capital a model for quality child care services.

I was honored to have attended the White House Conference on Early Childhood Development and Learning: What New Research on the Brain Tells Us About Our Youngest Children. I am enclosing a copy of a special issue of NEWSWEEK, that was released at the White House Conference which specifically focuses on research emphasizing the critical brain development in young children. I am also honored to be the D.C. co-chair of I AM YOUR CHILD campaign, sponsored by the Rob Reiner Foundation and enclosing a copy of the video, *I AM YOUR CHILD*, focusing on the importance of early childhood development. It is essential that all children have access to quality child care services especially in the early years. "The first years last forever" and together we can make a positive difference for young children and their families.

In the District we have major challenges, challenges we can overcome by working together. I am sure you are aware of the recent article that appeared in *The Washington Post* (10/6/97), "Most D.C. Day Care Centers Have Expired Licenses". The fact that the most precious, vulnerable and youngest citizens living in the shadow of the White House and U.S. Capitol are subjected to such inequity is unacceptable. Therefore I am also forwarding you a memo the Washington Child Development Council (WCDC) sent to the Financial Control Board regarding welfare reform and child care. The report done by MAXIMUS is extremely misleading and will prove detrimental to the successful implementation of welfare reform and jeopardize the quality of the child care delivery system in the District. With 52% of the 106,000 children living in the District receiving welfare assistance we cannot afford less than adequate solutions. Encouraging both local and federal cooperation will move us forward in ensuring the development of a strong quality child care infrastructure.

For Our Children,

Bobbi Blok
Executive Director, WCDC

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2121 Decatur Place, N.W. · Washington, D.C. 20008 · (202) 387-0002 · FAX (202) 332-2834

12 STEP PLAN TO PROMOTE QUALITY CHILD CARE FOR ALL DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CHILDREN

1) **Improve the management of the child care licensing**: expedite issuance of licenses to those programs that meet licensing standards yet still have lapsed licenses and take appropriate action to correct outstanding violations in other programs in order to meet licensing standards by increasing the number of monitors, provide adequate training and support services, provide consistent oversight, ensure licensing regulations are clearly understood, conduct an immediate assessment of all child care facilities and transfer the licensing division to the Office of Early Childhood Development to ensure coordination.

2) **Up-date licensing standards**: amendments to child care licensing standards have been pending for eighteen years.

3) **Establish a new sliding fee scale for parents**: the current scale penalizes two parent households and has not kept up with inflation for over six years; the proposed fee scale does not address the financial concerns of families with special needs children.

4) **Establish reimbursement rates for subsidized child care that are on par to the market rate**: presently the rates for subsidies are as much as 60% below the market rate.

5) **Earmark money from the D.C. Economic Recovery Act for early childhood development and child care**: The White House should establish quality child care as a priority by working with the Congress and local officials by earmarking dollars generated from the D.C. Recovery Act to early childhood development.

6) **Establish a Blue Ribbon D.C. Task Force on Early Childhood Development**: including officials from the Mayor's Office, the Chief Financial Officer's Office, the Control Board, the Council of the District of Columbia, Federal Agencies (e.g. Health & Human Services, Early Childhood Experts operating Military Child Care Services) and the community to address the need for sufficient funding for child care services: recommendations should be made in a timely fashion to ensure inclusion in the FY'99 budget as well as ensuring that all federal funds for early childhood and child care services are maximized.

7) **Implement the child care recommendations outlined in the Welfare Reform Task Force**: action relating to family child care homes especially relating to fees should be waived immediately; many homes remain underground (unlicensed) because of the District fees charged ($125 including an MCI Arena tax); no surrounding jurisdictions require licensing fees.

8) **Ensure adequate staffing for pre-k and kindergarten classrooms in the public schools:** presently there the child/staff ratio in the public schools is not meeting licensing standards (1/10 for four year olds and 1/15 for five year olds) in fact it's twice as high and does not meet the recommended ratios addressed in the Carnegie Report: Years of Promise.

9) **Establish schoolage licensing standards and provide schoolage programs in every elementary school in the city**: presently there are no licensing regulations for schoolage children and less than half the schools have provided space for supervised before and after school programs.

10) **Promote quality training and technical assistance to child care and early childhood programs**: licensed programs should be encouraged to meet accreditation standards and programs designed to highlight the importance of professionalism in the early childhood field should be supported.

11) **Utilize the talents and expertise in our nation's capital to improve the quality of child care and early childhood development**: The President needs to set the tone and generate community pride and commitment, the private and public sectors need to become actively involved and support child care both programmatically and financially; encouraging organizations such as the World Bank, the Red Cross, Fannie Mae, national associations and institutions (e.g. National Academy of Sciences and Brookings Institution), foundations, universities and hospitals, federal agencies (HHS and the military) as well as national and international corporate offices could prove invaluable.

12) **Promote parent education and involvement**: parents need support and assistance in ensuring quality early childhood development programs for their children; they need to understand the importance of being an advocate for their young children.

Washington Child Development Council

November 7, 1997

TO: Dr. Andrew Brimmer, Chairman
D.C. Financial Control Board
1 Thomas Circle (Suite 900)
Washington, D.C. 20005
Fax: (202)504-3431

Mr. Edward Singletary, Chairman
Department of Human Services Committee
for the D.C. Financial Control Board

FROM: Bobbi Blok, Executive Director
Washington Child Development Council

SUBJECT: Maximus Report - Review of Welfare Reform Implications for D.C. Child Care

I have had the opportunity to review the Maximus Report focusing on welfare reform and the District of Columbia's child care program. In fact, I was interviewed by Maximus in the development of the report and I was pleased that some of the issues I discussed were addressed. Yet to be quite honest their overview, findings and recommendations raise serious concern. I therefore felt it would be most helpful for you for me to clearly outline critical areas that require more discussion and review. I will first address points that were dealt with responsively and then address those points that were possibly misleading and inappropriate. It is paramount that the delivery of child care services is implemented in the most effective means to enable parents to be fully productive tax-payers in our nation's capital.

There are four points that the Washington Child Development Council (WCDC) would support: 1) Providing child care assistance to TANF applicants to job search; 2) Promote the expansion and support for family child care homes; 3) Encourage completion of the child care market rate survey and 4) Ensure sufficient staff for OECD. There are seven points WCDC believes erroneous and require more research particularly relating to: 1) Child care subsidies for TANF recipients; 2) Child care subsidies for low income working families, 3) Estimates on number of persons needing child care and the projected cost; 4) Assertions regarding child care waiting lists; 5) Removal of child care intake from child care centers and placing that function at welfare sites; 6) Collection of parent fees and establish a Provider Development Fund; and 7) Establishing a Working Parent Assistant Fund similar to Montgomery County. There are two other points that were discussed in the report that require further clarification: 1) Head Start wrap around programs and 2) Relationship between the Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs and the Office of Early Childhood Development.

PROVIDING CHILD CARE ASSISTANCE to TANF APPLICANTS to JOB SEARCH:

WCDC strongly supports this concept. There are a number of TANF recipients who would be willing to look for work yet are unable to proceed because of child care needs. WCDC believe the most efficient and cost effective means of providing child care to TANF recipients is by establishing drop-in child care at designated sites. There are three reasons such a format would prove useful. First, by limiting the sites you can keep track of utilization and ensure that a parent is not simply taking advantage of child care and not seriously searching for a job. Procedures could be implemented to monitor the progress in the job search. Second, drop-in care is a recognized form of child care service. A number of law firms and accountant companies have used this service as back-up care for their employees. Third, developing a drop-in child care model for TANF recipients to enable them to job search would definitely be an innovative approach in the city; utilizing centers and family child care homes as possible sites could be explored.

PROMOTE the EXPANSION and SUPPORT for FAMILY CHILD CARE HOMES:

WCDC is pleased that the family child care home issues highlighted in the REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR WELFARE REFORM IN D.C. submitted by the Mayor's Interagency Policy Council and the Citizens Advisory Committee was incorporated in the Maximus document. The recommended language included in the Interagency & Advisory Report is as follows: "Modify current licensure requirements for family child care homes to eliminate incentives for providers to "go underground." This may involve reduction or elimination of licensing and certificate fees. It includes modification of licensure requirements to meet community demand for service (e.g., school-age care), and to bring requirements within the means of providers without sacrificing the safety of the children." There has been particular concern regarding the fees charged to family child care homes ($50 for license plus $50 for Certificate of Occupancy and now $25 for MCI Arena Fee attached). This is a definite deterrent to homes being licensed especially women who are moving off welfare.

ENCOURAGE COMPLETION of the CHILD CARE MARKET RATE SURVEY:

The Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments (COG) Abstract: Child Care Needs in the Washington Metropolitan Region estimates that the District government's reimbursement rate is 13% to 39% below 1993 market rates depending on the age of the child. In the past four years costs have increased including minimum wage salaries. In a report completed last year by WCDC, CHILD CARE IS EVERYBODY's BUSINESS - THE TRUE COST OF CARE IN D.C., financial comparisons were made regionally as well as programmatically (see charts attached). Because the reimbursement rates for child care have been basically frozen for almost a decade a number of programs refuse to take subsidized children. This unfortunately limits access to TANF recipients. Setting more realistic reimbursement rates will provide greater accessibility and ensure that programs funded by the city can meet all licensing requirements.

ENSURE SUFFICIENT STAFF for the OFFICE OF EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT:

WCDC recognizes that there are staff shortages in OECD. It is therefore appropriate to address the personnel concerns and allow the necessary staff hirings. It is also important to realize that necessary action should be taken to ensure that the city draw down all possible federal dollars and the personnel cap doesn't limit OECD from hiring grant positions.

CHILD CARE SUBSIDIES for TANF RECIPIENTS:

The Maximus recommendation that TANF recipients need to work only part-time to minimize child care costs is totally unacceptable (pg. 29). Such a suggestions is contrary to the concept of promoting self-sufficiency. Even if WCDC was not opposed to limiting TANF recipients to part-time work; the fact that Maximus presumed that there would be a 50% cost savings was erroneous. Part-time care is usually more costly in terms of administration and coordination therefore centers usually only reduce the rate by 25% to 30%. Instituting part-time care also ignores the developmental needs of the young children. The child care programs provide nutritional meals; possibly the only meals the children will receive. Early childhood programs are a means for economic mobility for the parent as well as school readiness for the child.

CHILD CARE SUBSIDIES FOR LOW INCOME WORKING FAMILIES:

Subsidized child care keeps low income D.C. families working. Without the necessary child care many families would be back on welfare. Even the Maximus findings estimate that 85% of the low income working families receiving subsidized child care had been on public assistance (pg. 63). Maximus included in its state review Wisconsin, a state considered a leader in designing a welfare to work model. Wisconsin has committed additional dollars to child care to ensure that low income families don't fall victim to the TANF push. In an article in *The Washington Post* (12/13/96), "Wisconsin Moves to Cover Welfare's Day-Care Costs - Landmark Reform Program Gets $25 million Injection" Governor Tommy Thompson stated "that every mother who moves from welfare into the workforce will have affordable quality child care. ...beginning immediately, the state will spend $20 million on the new funds on the working poor to help ensure that they aren't squeezed out as welfare recipients are required to work." Without providing a child care safety net for working poor the city will be simply establishing a revolving door welfare to work to welfare again.

ESTIMATES on NUMBER of PERSONS NEEDING CHILD CARE and PROJECTED COST:

WCDC concurs with Maximus's calculations on the number of TANF children needing child care approximately 7,674 (pg. 21) yet when you compare that need to the present caseload of approximately 6,800 (pg. 13) there is a 874 gap not including the 2,936 low income families presently receiving care. Based on these figures WCDC estimates that there will be a minimum of 10,110 children needing subsidized care in 1998. At the present time Head Start is filled to capacity it is therefore impossible to assume that any of these children could be transferred to Head Start, though some TANF clients may already be enrolled in Head Start. The issue of Head Start wrap around programs and cost savings will be discussed in greater detail in another section. WCDC strongly disputes Maximus' financial projections since they are based on a "part-time limitation" and utilization of Head Start. The report also ignores the impact of the market rate study. In WCDC's publication THE TRUE COST OF CARE it was estimated that an additional $18 million dollars was necessary to meet the increased demand. The federal Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Reconciliation Act enables each state to transfer a total of 30% of its TANF Block Grant for child care. The District's total equals approximately $92 million which means a maximum of approximately $27 million federal funds could be utilized for child care services. WCDC understands that only $2 million of the TANF dollars are earmarked for child care which reflects 2% of the block grant which is woefully inadequate. The District government needs to make a stronger commitment to ensure a financially stable child care infrastructure. In the proposed 12 STEP PLAN TO PROMOTE QUALITY CHILD CARE FOR ALL DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CHILDREN (see attached) a number of steps relate to funding concerns. WCDC would therefore urge the necessary accounting to ensure that sufficient funds are made available to successfully implement welfare reform.

ASSERTION REGARDING CHILD CARE WAITING LIST:

Maximus states that there is no waiting list for child care subsidy assistance (pg. 37). There is no centralized list kept by the city. Yet in a survey done by WCDC last year there were approximately 2,000 children on child care waiting lists across the city. It is extremely difficult to find vacancies for infants even for parents with financial means to pay top dollar. A number of parents put their child's name on the waiting list even before the child is born in hopes of getting a space. It should also be noted that child care space for children under the age of two years old is at such a premium that a number of centers charge an application fee to put a child's name on the waiting list.

REMOVAL of CHILD CARE INTAKE FROM CHILD CARE CENTERS and PLACING that FUNCTION at WELFARE SITES:

The Maximus recommendation to remove child care intake from child care centers and placing that function at welfare sites (pg.86) reflects a lack of understanding and a historical knowledge of the child care system in the District. Over twenty years ago intake was done at welfare sites - the monies were not utilized for child care and diverted to personnel costs. In an effort to ensure that the monies for child care went directly to subsidies the D.C. Council enacted the Day Care Policy Act that provided for child care intake to occur at approved child care sites. With the establishment of alternative child care payments IMA took responsibility for processing child care intake for their ARC (A Real Chance) clients. The IMA processing resulted in overpayments, underpayments, no payments and constant delays in reimbursements. The Maximus recommendation does not even address the need for recertification every six months; requiring parents to return to the welfare site is not "client friendly" and reinforces the welfare mentality. An effective welfare reform system is designed to encourage independence and avoid welfare dependence. Locating intake at welfare sites could also present greater barriers to at risk low income working parents trying to access child care services. Centralizing intake at OECD would be overwhelming, as stated in the report OECD does not have sufficient staff resources to enter data from all of the center based intake forms (pg. 44). It would therefore be impossible for them to complete the entire intake process in a timely fashion. Presently there are 58 child care centers that assist with the intake process; even with additional OECD staff the back-log would be enormous. Easy access and simple recertification procedures are essential in implementing a child care delivery system supportive of welfare reform. The neighborhood concept of utilizing child care sites is a "client friendly" model that should be continued.

COLLECTION OF PARENT FEES and ESTABLISH PROVIDER DEVELOPMENT FUND:

It is obvious that this Maximus recommendation (pg. 112) did not take into account the reports prepared by the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Development (MACECD) focusing on parent fees. The MACECD Government Affairs and the Data Subcommittees came to the conclusion that the administrative cost of collecting the fees would exceed the actual benefits. Equity is important - and the bottomline is that child care programs need to be reimbursed at an equitable rate. WCDC would strongly urge the Control Board to take into consideration the data compiled by MACECD. With the start of welfare reform the actual amount of funds generated from parent fees has been dwindling therefore instituting a new collection system when there is even fewer fees to collect seems futile.

ESTABLISH a WORKING PARENT ASSISTANT FUND SIMILAR to MONTGOMERY COUNTY:

WCDC believes that the Maximus statement that the Working Parents' Assistance Trust Fund is the best known effort in providing private sector support for nonTANF families (pg. 64) is totally outrageous. In 1995 the waiting list for the Working Parents' Assistance (WPA) program was more than 2,000 children. As a result the WPA Trust Fund was created so business, foundations, and private donors could add to the pool of funding for child care subsidies. In the last two years only $57,000 has been raised and only eight families have received child care subsidy from the WPA Trust Fund. Of course that is eight more families that might not have been able to access child care yet the program falls far short of the actual need. The waiting list is closed 45% of the year; it's capped at 600 names - the demand obviously exceeds available resources. In talking with the Director of the Trust Fund, Judy Sokal, WCDC got a clear picture on the difficulties of raising funds from the private sector. Ms. Sokol's efforts should indeed be commended since she is working on a volunteer basis. Yet to assume such a system can address the need of the 2,936 D.C. low income working families is bogus. To quote Ms. Sokal "The private sector will never cover the full cost. Where do these consultants think the money is coming from?" That's a good question. Two years ago when the city threatened to cut 2,000 child care spaces for low income working families only one foundation was willing to assist. The donation was a "one-time-only" grant to help subsidize approximately 200 families. Fortunately, the federal government earmarked additional funds for District child care and no family eligible for subsidy lost their child care. The limited private sector support and the need for a federal infusion of child care resources are issues that are highlighted in the 12 STEP PLAN TO PROMOTE QUALITY CHILD CARE. The children and families would be better served if we all worked together to implement the 12 STEPS rather than duplicate the WPA Trust Fund.

HEAD START WRAP AROUND PROGRAMS:

Further clarification on the implementation of the Head Start wrap around program is necessary. First, the actual number of Head Start children that are on TANF and whose parents are working needs to be determined. Second, the funds that are necessary is unclear. Maximus states the need for $2.8 million (pg. 30) to initiate this program yet then states that $1.3 million in TANF grant funds (pg. 50) will be transferred for this proposed use. There are approximately 2,900 children in Head Start and 10% to 15% are already participating in a wrap around program. The cost for a part day (4 to 6 hours) and part year Head Start program (180 days) is approximately $28.00 per day per child. WCDC estimates that Maximus is assuming that a wrap around program can be accomplished with simply adding an additional $5.38 a day per child ($2.8 million divided by 2,000 children divided by 260 days). In discussing this proposal with local Head Start programs WCDC believes that Maximus's count is wrong and the projected amount is insufficient.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEPARTMENT OF CONSUMER & REGULATORY AFFAIRS and the OFFICE OF EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT:

The article that appeared in *The Washington Post* (10/6/97) "Most D.C. Day-Care Centers Have Expired Licenses; Safety Concerns Threaten a Linchpin of Welfare Law's Success" illustrated the need for better coordination between DCRA and OECD. Yet the issuance of licensing was not addressed in the Maximus report. WCDC understands that the licensing concerns are addressed in the KPMG Peat Marwick report. Ensuring that there is cross referencing and networking could prove most useful in the consulting and bureaucratic process. WCDC believes that the problems discussed are a result of both financial and administrative shortcomings.

A major reason for there to be long delays in processing child care licenses is undue paperwork. For example, a new health form was developed - there was no consensus on the design of the form yet in the middle of the year all child care programs were required to have the new forms. Programs that had not even been sent the new forms were required to replace all the previously up-dated health forms. WCDC strongly believes in supporting immunizations and health screening for young children. Yet requiring five signatures on a one page health form (see attached) is daunting and forms were considered incomplete if not all the signatures were present. One signature on the part of a physician or a physician's representative should be sufficient. The need for additional DCRA licensing staff and OECD monitors is undeniable yet the need for current licensing regulations is also paramount. Amendments to the licensing regulations have been pending for more than eighteen years. The fact that subsidized child care rates have been stagnant for almost a decade is unfortunately reflected in the level of service provided. Our children deserve better. Implementing a child care delivery system is a complex undertaking and cannot be done in isolation.

I hope you have found these comments useful. I will be attending a national child care conference next week and will be back in D.C. on November 24th. When I return I'd be more than happy to coordinate a meeting with you and your staff along with the child care community. Thank you for consideration and concern.

Attachments:

12 STEP PLAN TO PROMOTE QUALITY CHILD CARE
FOR ALL DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CHILDREN

TRUE COST OF CARE - Financial Charts

Licensing Child Care Health Form

cc: Control Board Members and Staff
D.C. Councilmembers
Jearline Williams, Director of DHS
David Watts, Director of DCRA

12 STEP PLAN TO PROMOTE QUALITY CHILD CARE FOR ALL DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CHILDREN

1) **Improve the management of the child care licensing:** expedite issuance of licenses to those programs that meet licensing standards yet still have lapsed licenses and take appropriate action to correct outstanding violations in other programs in order to meet licensing standards by increasing the number of monitors, provide adequate training and support services, provide consistent oversight, ensure licensing regulations are clearly understood, conduct an immediate assessment of all child care facilities and transfer the licensing division to the Office of Early Childhood Development to ensure coordination.

2) **Up-date licensing standards:** amendments to child care licensing standards have been pending for eighteen years.

3) **Establish a new sliding fee scale for parents:** the current scale penalizes two parent households and has not kept up with inflation for over six years; the proposed fee scale does not address the financial concerns of families with special needs children.

4) **Establish reimbursement rates for subsidized child care that are on par to the market rate:** presently the rates for subsidies are as much as 60% below the market rate.

5) **Earmark money from the D.C. Economic Recovery Act for early childhood development and child care:** The White House should establish quality child care as a priority by working with the Congress and local officials by earmarking dollars generated from the D.C. Recovery Act to early childhood development.

6) **Establish a Blue Ribbon D.C. Task Force on Early Childhood Development:** including officials from the Mayor's Office, the Chief Financial Officer's Office, the Control Board, the Council of the District of Columbia, Federal Agencies (e.g. Health & Human Services, Early Childhood Experts operating Military Child Care Services) and the community to address the need for sufficient funding for child care services: recommendations should be made in a timely fashion to ensure inclusion in the FY'99 budget as well as ensuring that all federal funds for early childhood and child care services are maximized.

7) **Implement the child care recommendations outlined in the Welfare Reform Task Force:** action relating to family child care homes especially relating to fees should be waived immediately; many homes remain underground (unlicensed) because of the District fees charged ($125 including an MCI Arena tax); no surrounding jurisdictions require licensing fees.

8) **Ensure adequate staffing for pre-k and kindergarten classrooms in the public schools:** presently there the child/staff ratio in the public schools is not meeting licensing standards (1/10 for four year olds and 1/15 for five year olds) in fact it's twice as high and does not meet the recommended ratios addressed in the Carnegie Report: Years of Promise.

9) **Establish schoolage licensing standards and provide schoolage programs in every elementary school in the city:** presently there are no licensing regulations for schoolage children and less than half the schools have provided space for supervised before and after school programs.

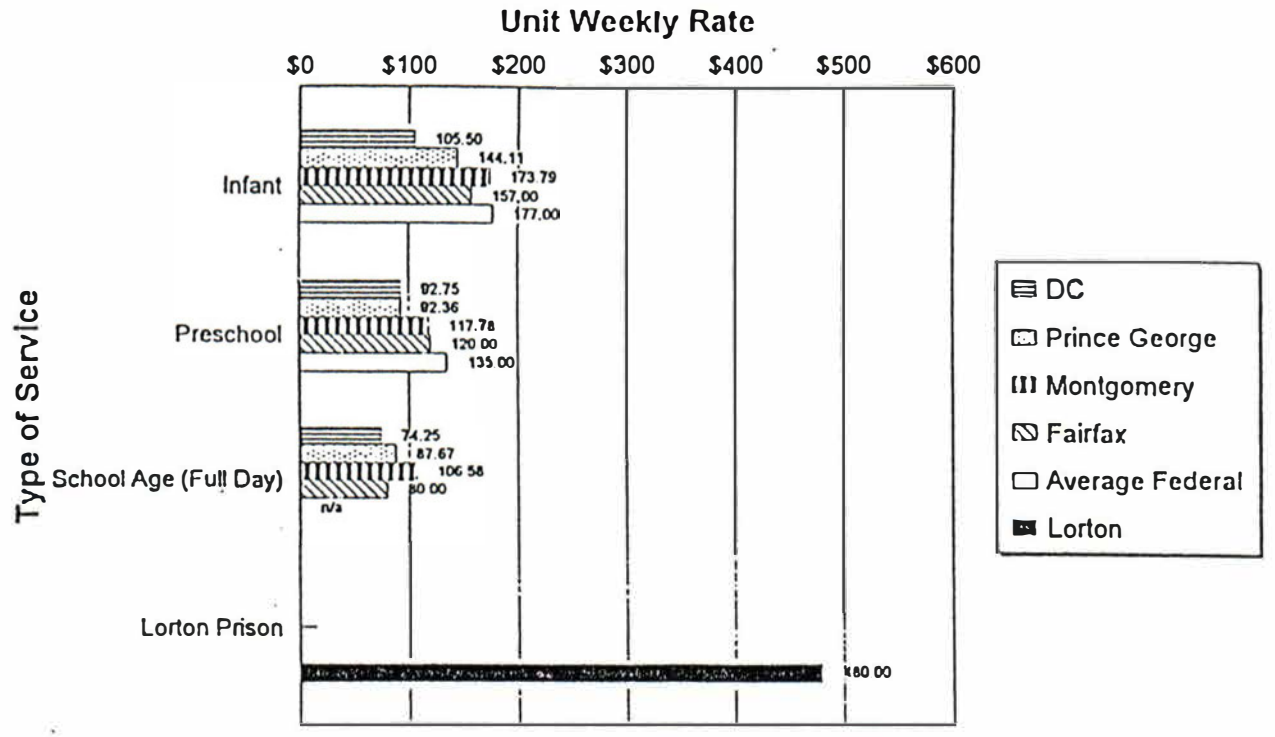
10) **Promote quality training and technical assistance to child care and early childhood programs:** licensed programs should be encouraged to meet accreditation standards and programs designed to highlight the importance of professionalism in the early childhood field should be supported.

11) **Utilize the talents and expertise in our nation's capital to improve the quality of child care and early childhood development:** The President needs to set the tone and generate community pride and commitment, the private and public sectors need to become actively involved and support child care both programmatically and financially; encouraging organizations such as the World Bank, the Red Cross, Fannie Mae, national associations and institutions (e.g. National Academy of Sciences and Brookings Institution), foundations, universities and hospitals, federal agencies (HHS and the military) as well as national and international corporate offices could prove invaluable.

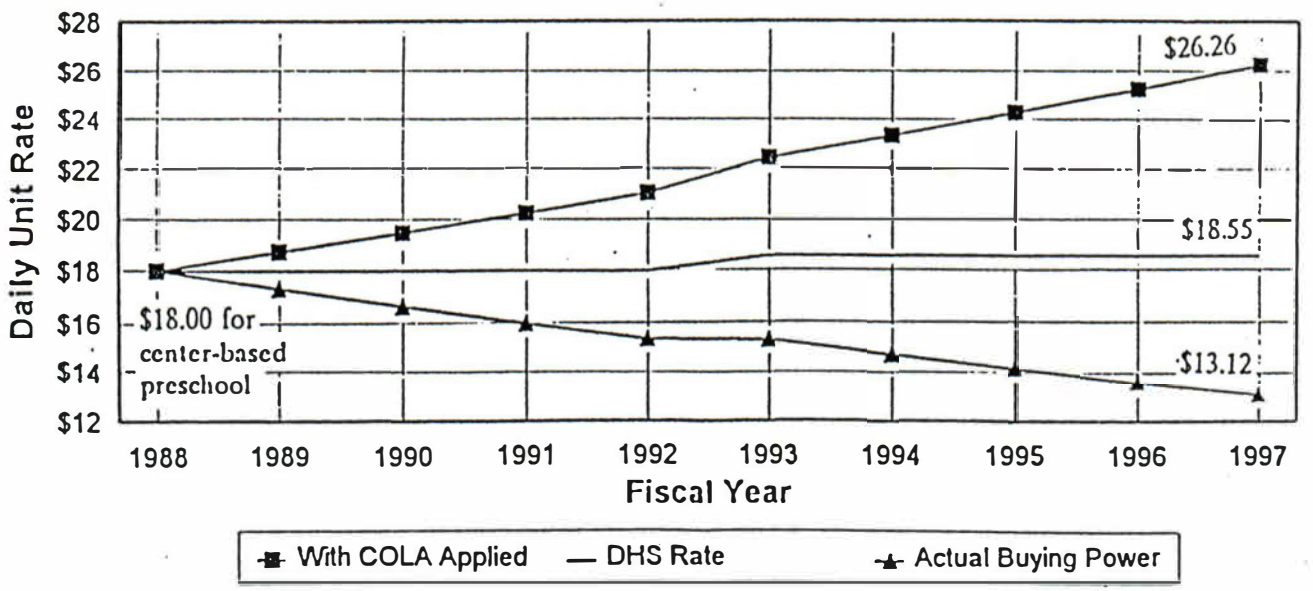
12) **Promote parent education and involvement:** parents need support and assistance in ensuring quality early childhood development programs for their children; they need to understand the importance of being an advocate for their young children.

CENTER BASED CHILD CARE

Weekly Reimbursement Rates in Metropolitan Area



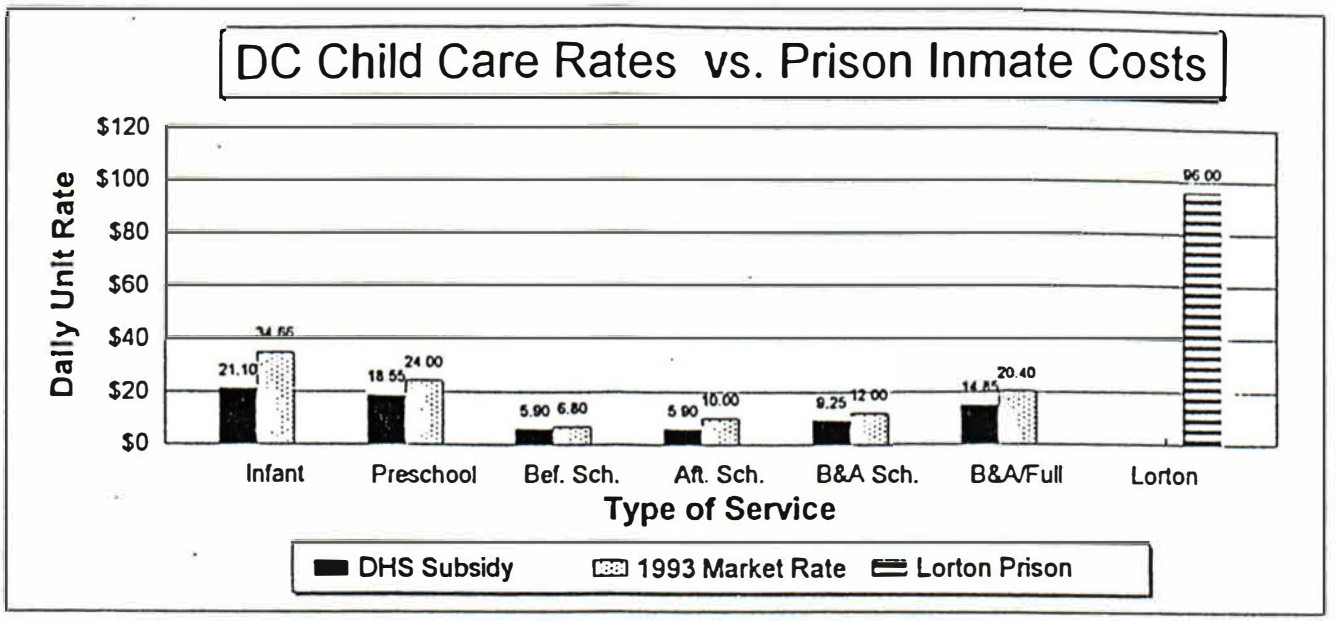
DHS Rate vs. Inflation-Adjusted Rates



Note: Inflation Rate = 4% Per Year.

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
With COLA Applied	$18.00	$18.72	$19.47	$20.25	$21.06	$22.45	$23.35	$24.28	$25.25	$26.26
DHS Rate	$18.00	$18.00	$18.00	$18.00	$18.00	$18.55	$18.55	$18.55	$18.55	$18.55
Actual Buying Power	$18.00	$17.31	$16.64	$16.00	$15.39	$15.34	$14.75	$14.19	$13.64	$13.12

CENTER BASED CHILD CARE (Daily Rates)



FAMILY CHILD CARE (Daily Rates)

Costs	DHS Subsidy	1993 Market Rate
Infant (6 wks to 2 yrs)	$14.50	$20.00
Preschool (2 to 5 yrs)	$12.35	$17.33
Before School Only (4 to 13 yrs)	$6.00	$6.66
After School Only (4 to 13 yrs)	$6.00	$9.33
Before & After School (4 to 13 yrs)	$6.00	$12.00
Before & After School - Full Day	$12.00	$20.00

SPECIAL THANKS:

The information and data that is outlined in *CHILD CARE IS EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS: The True Cost of Care in the District of Columbia* demonstrates the vital importance of working together in a grassroots collaborative effort. Child care staff and parents from both family child care homes and centers helped in the development of this publication. The Washington Child Development Council (WCDC) is especially thankful for the thoughtful and productive comments from the following people: McKinley Crudup and Wanda Scott from Allen AME Church Child Development Center, Brenda Strong Nixon and Sheldon Jones from Associates for Renewal in Education (ARE), Debbie Hall from Big Mama's Child Development Center, Judi Farber from Bright Beginnings sponsored by the Junior League, Rudy Hutchison from Catholic Charities Model Cities Center, Beatrice Otero and Adalia Torres from Calvary Bilingual Multicultural Learning Center, Leslie Johnson and Ruth Rucker from the Edward C. Mazique Parent Child Center, Pam Simon from Just Us Kids, Minnie Wood from Matthews Memorial Child Development Center and President of the Washington Association of Child Care Centers (WACCC), Delorese M. Hodges from Mt. Joy Baptist Church Child Development Center, Travis Hardmon and Christine Bufford from the National Child Day Care Association (NCDCA), Mattie Edwards from Northwest Child Development Center and President of Washington, D.C. Association for the Education of Young Children (WDCAEYC), Anne Kipp from St. Alban's Child Development Center, Jim Clay from School for Friends, Francis Rollins and Flossie Giler from Southeast Child Development Center, Bill Hughey from the United Planning Organization, Christine Kaucher from the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments (COG), Beverly Roberson Jackson from Zero to Three and Chairperson of the Mayor's Advisory Commission on Early Childhood Development, and Richard Ferlauto and Tracey Arvin from the Center for Policy Alternatives. The graphics would not be possible without the assistance of Christine Kaucher from COG and Sheldon Jones from ARE.

WCDC

2121 Decatur Place, N.W. · Washington, D.C. 20008 · (202) 387-0002 · FAX (202) 332-2834

HEALTH CERTIFICATE FOR CHILD

Part 1: Student's Demographic Data

Please print information clearly and completely.

Student's Last Name | First Name | Middle Name | Date of Birth | F☐ M☐ Gender

Name of Parent/Guardian | Home/Work Telephone | Street Address

School or Child Care Facility | City | State | Zip Code

Part 2: Student's Disease History and Physical Examination

(1) Check box next to applicable diseases; (2) write date of diseases on line

Scarlet fever ☐ _____ Whooping Cough (pertussis) ☐ _____ German measles (rubella) ☐ _____ Measles ☐ _____ Mumps ☐ _____

Allergies, recent exposure to communicable diseases, correctable defects _____

I have examined this student in person; and, in my opinion, he/she is in satisfactory physical condition. There is no evidence of disease in a communicable form at this time. The above history of disease was obtained.

Signature of Physician _____ Name of Physician _____

Date of Examination _____ Address/Phone _____

Part 3: Immunization Information and Disease History

Write month, day & year of each immunization given (past or present) Ex: 01/01/93

Diphtheria-Tetanus-Pertussis(<7yr) Circle Vaccine Type Given	DTP/DTaP 1 ___/___/___	DTP/DTaP 2 ___/___/___	DTP/DTaP 3 ___/___/___	DTP/DTaP 4 ___/___/___	DTP/DTaP 5 ___/___/___
Tetanus-Diphtheria (DT<7 yrs; must have P exemption) (Adult Td ≥7 yrs) Circle Type Given	DT/Td 1 ___/___/___	DT/Td 2 ___/___/___	DT/Td 3 ___/___/___	DT/Td 4 ___/___/___	DT/Td 5 ___/___/___
Polio Circle Vaccine Type Given	OPV/IPV 1 ___/___/___	OPV/IPV 2 ___/___/___	OPV/IPV 3 ___/___/___	OPV/IPV 4 ___/___/___	OPV/IPV ___/___/___
Measles-Mumps-Rubella (MMR) after 1st birthday	1 ___/___/___	2 ___/___/___	*Measles* 1 ___/___/___ 2 ___/___/___	*Mumps* 1 ___/___/___ 2 ___/___/___	*Rubella* 1 ___/___/___ 2 ___/___/___
Haemophilus influenzae type b (Hib) vaccine manufacturer _____	1 ___/___/___	2 ___/___/___	3 ___/___/___	4 ___/___/___	
Hepatitis B (Hep B)	1 ___/___/___	2 ___/___/___	3 ___/___/___		
Varicella(chickenpox) Vaccine after 1st birthday	1 ___/___/___	**Student's History of Chickenpox Disease** May be completed by parent or physician. Leave blank if student has NOT had chickenpox. *I certify that, to the best of my knowledge, this student has had the chickenpox disease (date of chickenpox* _____). Signature _____ Date _____ Relationship to student (please circle one): Parent / Guardian / Physician			
	2 ___/___/___				

Signature of Certifying Physician/Rep _____ Name of Physician/Rep _____

Date _____ Address/Phone _____

MEDICAL EXEMPTION FROM IMMUNIZATION: *I hereby certify that (name of student)* _____ *was not immunized against (disease)* _____ *because (reason)* _____

Signature of Physician _____ Name of Physician _____

Date _____ Date Exemption Expires _____ Address/Phone _____

RELIGIOUS EXEMPTION: A signed, notarized statement by parent/guardian must accompany this form for any religious exemption.
ALL EXEMPTIONS MUST BE APPROVED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH.

Part 4: Student's Tuberculosis Screening Information

Tuberculosis Screening Test ☐PPD ☐Tine Date ___/___/___ Result _____ Chest X-Ray☐ Date: ___/___/___ Result: _____

Signature of Certifying Physician/Rep. _____ Name of Physician/Rep. _____

Date _____ Address/Phone _____

Part 5: Lead Screening Information for Students under 6 Years of Age

Most recent lead test: Date: ___/___/___ Collection Method: Venipuncture☐ Fingerstick☐ Result: _____

If elevated (10 ug/dl or above), action/current status: _____

Signature of Certifying Physician _____ Name of Physician _____

Date _____ Address/Phone _____

revised 5/19/97

ORIGINAL - CHILD CARE FACILITY

Gift Unit

Share Poole Letters

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mamie Ruth Abernathy
702 Sixth Street
Hot Springs, Arkansas 71913

Dear Mamie Ruth:

Thanks so much for the copies of *The Record* and the book of historical information on Hot Springs. You must be proud of your fine work on both of these publications.

I love the photos from the coffee honoring Carolyn and Mrs. Yeldell! They're wonderful -- especially the one with Mother. You are so thoughtful to send them to me.

Hillary and I send our best wishes to you for the holidays.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

702 Sixth St.
Hot Springs, AR 71913
November 24, 1997

68
Thanks

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500-2000

Dear President Clinton:

I am pleased to send to you, with my compliments, a copy of the 1997 edition of The Record, annual publication of the Garland County Historical Society. The article I wrote about our Hot Springs High School graduates is in this edition. I'm sure there are countless others, but I had to call a halt somewhere, because this began in 1996 and carried over to June 1997. I have started a file of other news articles already which can be used at a later date. This is an endless story. I think these brief success stories of our graduates speak well for our Hot Springs School District of the past. I believe I know whereof I speak, because someone from our family was either attending or teaching in Jones School for 64 consecutive years, 1920-1984. My involvement in the whole community helped me to know so many, also.

I have also enclosed a complimentary copy of a booklet of historical information I have compiled, and which will be sold at our Museum of Hot Springs, where I am a volunteer. We have visitors from time to time asking for information about Hot Springs' past, or a brochure of some sort. Mrs. Ken Wheatley III asked if I would do this, and I declined at first, but re-considered. I felt the time-line style was better suited to the visitors' interests, or even locals', than the prose style. We are going to have the official introduction of the booklet and signing party on December 12.

There are some snapshots for your collection which I have had for some time, and they need a new home. When Second Baptist Church celebrated their 75th Anniversary in 1978, Carolyn Staley presented a lovely concert, which I remember was attended by you and Mrs. Clinton. On the next morning some of us gave a coffee honoring Carolyn and Mrs. Yeldell. Your mother was among our guests, and I thought you should have these snapshots of her and your friends, the Yeldells. Dr. Yeldell preached on Wednesday evening and a reception for him and Mrs. Yeldell followed. I was a freshman in Ouachita at the same time with W.L. in 1936.

Thanks again for helping make a memorable day for Hot Springs High School Alumni with your visit to the Ultimate Reunion. We are hoping the Cultural Campus will be developed successfully.

With best wishes to you and Mrs. Clinton,

Mamie Ruth

Mamie Ruth Abernathy

copied
HRC

cc: Dick to
Ctrn to
HRC

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 2, 1997

Dear Tina

I was glad to have the chance to talk with you today — Rich was a good man and I'm grateful for all his fine work for me and my administration as well as his work for education. And I'm so glad he worked the recent trips to Latin America and Canada.

I do hope you and your kids can visit the White House in the spring. Hillary and I will keep you in our thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Tina Eoff
2412 Maple Ridge
Little Rock, Arkansas 72211

Rick

Tina Eoff
2412 Maple Ridge
Little Rock AR
72211

MR. B. RICHARD EOFF, age 50, died Nov. 27, 1997 at Baptist Memorial Hospital in Little Rock, Ark. He was a Uniserv Director for the Arkansas Education Association and a member of the White House Advance Staff for President Bill Clinton. Mr. Eoff was born in Blytheville, Ark. He was the son of the late Ben T. Eoff and Edith Eoff Crim and John Crim.

Mr. Eoff leaves his wife, Tina Eoff; two daughters, Christina Michele Eoff and Heather Rae Eoff; a sister, Cathy R. Eoff.

He was a member of Immanuel Baptist Church in Little Rock, Ark. Funeral services will be held at 10:30 a.m. today, Nov. 29, 1997 at Cobb Funeral Home in Blytheville, Ark. with Rev. Roland Chappell officiating. Burial will be in Elmwood Cemetery. The family will receive visitors from 6-8 p.m.

Memorials may be made to the Eoff Scholarship Fund in care of the Arkansas Education Association, 1500 W. Fourth St., Little Rock, Ark. 75501-1064, phone 501-375-4611.

WARREN DAVIS BRAINARD, DVM, of Little Rock, died on Thursday, 27 November, 1997. Dr. Brainard was born in Lincoln, Nev. on 7 November, 1919. He attended Lincoln Public Schools, Nebraska Wesleyan University and the University of Nebraska.

He enlisted in the Naval Flight Training Program at Pensacola, graduated as a Naval Aviator and was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps in 1942. Dr. Brainard was sent to the Pacific with the First Marine Aircraft Wing as a pilot in a dive bomber squadron. He participated in aerial combat throughout numerous campaigns from Guadalcanal and other air bases in the South Pacific.

After his military service, Dr. Brainard received his premedical training at Colorado A & M and received his DVM from the University of Missouri in the their first graduating class of Veterinary Medicine

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-2-97

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F.T.C. DROPS PLAN TO EASE STANDARD OF 'MADE IN U.S.A.'

OLD MEANING IS UPHELD

Move to Let Foreign Contents Account for Up to 25% of Cost Bows to Protests

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By ROBERT D. HERSHEY Jr.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 1 — The Federal Trade Commission retreated from fierce opposition today and declared that products labeled "Made in U.S.A." must in fact be just that, with only "negligible" foreign content.

The commission voted 4 to 0 to preserve a standard a half-century old that required a product to be "all or virtually all" made in the United States to be labeled as such, a standard often interpreted to mean 98 percent of a good's value.

By its vote, taken last week and announced today, the commission abandoned its proposal to relax the standard so that goods with as little as 75 percent of their manufacturing costs could have borne the coveted label. Big businesses that import a lot of components or goods would have benefited at the expense of smaller companies that rely mainly on domestic sources in making their products.

"When consumers see a 'Made in U.S.A.' label, they expect and want it to mean just that," Jodie Bernstein, director of the agency's Bureau of Consumer Protection, said today. She acknowledged that the commission had reversed course after "overwhelming" opposition from organized labor, state officials, more than 200 members of Congress and a sizable chunk of American business.

The announcement today will mean little or no change in prices for American consumers and, since the commission voted to keep a policy already on the books, no change in what qualifies for a "Made in U.S.A." label.

Had the proposed change been adopted, for instance, a bicycle assembled in the United States but with a significant number of parts made overseas could have been labeled American-made so long as United States costs made up 75 percent of the overall costs.

The commission could not estimate how much commerce would have been affected had the standard been relaxed to 75 percent.

Among the kinds of businesses that pushed for keeping the current standard were tool makers, manufacturers of precision instruments, tile makers and food companies. The automobile, textile, wool and fur industries are subject to their own statutory requirements and are not covered by the decision.

The vote announced today was a huge victory for organized labor, which had argued that loosening the labeling standard would have encouraged American companies to build even more factories overseas, where workers generally earn less than Americans, and thus further erode wages and living standards in

Continued on Page D6

Continued From Page A1

the United States.

As it turned out, since many small American businesses also wanted to keep the old standard, the trade commission proposal united many unions and businesses in opposition.

The standard preserved today applies to all products advertised or sold in the United States except for those covered by specific legislation. Clothing manufactured abroad, for example, is generally covered by the Textile Act and will still bear the label of the country where it is made.

The proposal that the commission scuttled was put forward in May. Under the proposal, manufacturers would have been given far more leniency and could have labeled a product "Made in U.S.A." if it was "substantially all" made here. "Substantially all" was defined as 75 percent of the overall cost of making a product.

The proposed guidelines were detailed in 16 pages of regulations and examples covering goods ranging from computer software to toasters. And, to avoid false advertising, the 75 percent threshold would have been insufficient for a "Made in U.S.A." label if final assembly took place in another country.

Officials at the trade commission said the White House had exerted no pressure before the vote. But President Clinton could hardly have been unaware of the mounting opposition to changing the standard. A White House spokesman said today that there would be no comment.

The standard, while rarely enforced, involved issues like truth in labeling, the power of unions and, to some, old-fashioned American patriotism. The idea of changing it grew out of a recognition of America's place in an increasingly global marketplace, and a growing sophistication among consumers, who realize that fewer and fewer goods are made within a single country.

In reflecting on the fierce opposition that led to the commission's about-face, Ms. Bernstein said she was "surprised at the almost unanimous views" of the public that were heard and magnified on Capitol Hill. As a result, many lawmakers in both parties opposed the change, and there was strong support for a resolution to urge the commission to reverse it.

In Ms. Bernstein's view, the commission proposal may have suffered by being linked to the recent debate over President Clinton's request for legislation granting him the authority to negotiate international trade treaties that could be approved or disapproved, but not amended, by Congress.

That issue, like the one decided today by the trade commission, was argued against the backdrop of the United States trying to compete in the global market. The President said he needed such "fast track" authority for his country to keep up, but in the end he withdrew the legislation rather than face almost certain defeat in Congress, whose members had heard from constituents worried that "fast track" would lead to shabby deals with countries where workers were paid little and environmental standards were lax or nonexistent.

One of the rare prosecutions involving the half-century-old standard took place in 1994, when the commission accused New Balance Athletic Shoes Inc. of deceptive advertising and labeling because it portrayed footwear as American made when outer soles came from China.

The Boston company counterattacked with a vigorous lobbying campaign that ultimately led to the decision by the commission to review its policy over a two-year period during which there was a moratorium on enforcement. Much of the support for the proposal to cut the minimum American content to 75 percent came largely from the shoe, leather and parts of the hand-tool industries.

Americans want a label to mean what it says, the F.T.C. says as it backs down.

Many companies were in effect neutral, torn between a desire to use or sell lower-priced goods with foreign content and the benefit of marketing under the U.S.A. label.

Senator Spencer Abraham, Republican of Michigan, who had introduced a resolution to oppose the change, called the commission's reversal "a victory for American workers and consumers."

Senator Ernest F. Hollings, a South Carolina Democrat, also hailed the decision. "Polluting the 'Made in U.S.A.' label with non-American product makes about as much sense as calling polyester a natural fiber," he said.

The New York Times
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-2-97

U.S. Proposal on Pension Funds Is Faulted

Labor Dept. Seeks End to Disclosure of Assets in Annual Reports

By DAVID CAY JOHNSTON

Retirement advocates warned yesterday that a Labor Department plan could seriously erode the ability of workers to make sure that their pension funds were being handled properly.

Large pension funds must annually disclose what stocks, bonds and other assets they hold. Under the Labor Department plan these holdings would no longer be disclosed in the annual reports, known as Form 5500's.

The annual disclosures are critical to making sure workers collect promised benefits, said Karen Ferguson, executive director of the Pension Rights Center, a nonprofit advocacy group in Washington. Workers, unions and reporters have used the disclosures to bring to light misuse of pension funds, she said.

"This list of investments is where you find the problems because your company's pension plan has invested most of its money in a failing company owned by your boss's brother-in-law," Ms. Ferguson said.

Ending the annual disclosures would also increase the risks of workers who are in defined contribution plans, who now bear all the investment risks even though they may not directly control their retirement money, said Vicki Gottlich, a lawyer with the National Senior Citizens Law Center in Washington.

In a traditional, or defined benefit, pension the Government guarantees at least partial payment of benefits if the plan fails, Ms. Gottlich said, "but if you are in a defined contribution plan you have no protection at all and now you would not have disclosure," which could raise red flags.

The American Association of Retired Persons is "concerned about the fact that they would be knocking out a lot of information," said David Certner, a pension specialist. "There are hundreds of thousands of pension plans, which the Labor Department, with its limited resources, obviously cannot monitor. Indeed, the pension law was meant to be self-enforcing, with individuals having a role to play in monitoring their pension plan."

The annual disclosures have been under attack by some large pension plan sponsors as a waste of resources.

"For a plan with $20 billion in assets the filing is the Manhattan phone book," said Alan Lebowitz, Deputy Assistant Secretary for pensions at the Labor Department. "The truth is it has not been useful to us."

He said participants would still receive an annual summary giving total assets in a plan, which is sufficient to alert them if assets are being dissipated.

Pension plans would have to make their list of investments available on request by the Labor Department, Mr. Lebowitz said. Workers would also be entitled to examine the documents and, if they feared reprisals, could have the Labor Department obtain them on their behalf, Mr. Lebowitz said.

Lynn D. Dudley, a vice president of the Association of Private Pension and Welfare Plans, said it favored simplifying the disclosure statements, but supported disclosures that helped participants monitor the plans.

The Labor Department said it would accept comments on its proposed rule through tomorrow.

The New York Times
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1997

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Index Shows Activity Cools For Factories

Still Vibrant, but Not At Inflationary Pace

By Bloomberg News

WASHINGTON, Dec. 1 — A closely watched gauge of manufacturing cooled in November, reflecting slowdowns in new orders and production that suggested factory activity peaked earlier in the year.

The gauge, the National Association of Purchasing Management's factory index, declined to 54.4 last month from 56 in October, the association said today.

The index, one of the freshest barometers of the economy's performance, has fallen in three of the last four months after reaching a two-and-a-half-year high in July.

Still, index readings of 50 or above mean factory output continues to expand. Moreover, a separate Commerce Department report today showed that construction spending increased in October for the fourth consecutive month, climbing one-tenth of a percent, to a record $605.5 billion.

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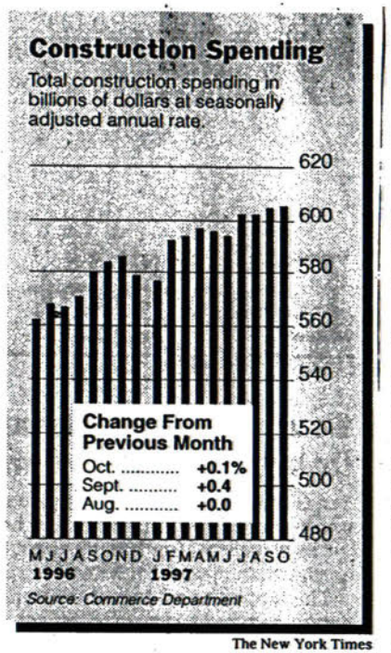

The New York Times

"The economy is still very, very strong," said Norbert Ore, chairman of the N.A.P.M. survey committee and an executive at the Sonoco Products Company, a packaging manufacturer in Hartsville, S.C. "Our members continue to be very optimistic," though the economic crisis in Asia is causing businesses to rethink their 1998 prospects, he said.

The purchasing managers' report contributed to a strong rally in the financial markets because it signaled that the economy remained vibrant but not growing at an inflationary pace. The Dow Jones industrial average rose nearly 190 points, or 2.43 percent, to 8,013, its first finish above 8,000 since the big drop in October. Yields on the Treasury's 30-year bond, an indicator of interest rate trends and inflation fears, fell to 6.04 percent.

Components of the purchasing report "are consistent with the view that activity is slowing," said Marilyn Schaja, an economist at Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette in New York.

The price-index component fell to 51.9 in November from 55.9 during October. The orders index decreased to 54.5 from 59. The production index fell to 58.6 from 60. These indexes do not measure how much factories produced or to what extent prices rose or fell. Instead, they gauge the number of manufacturers surveyed that reported increased production or paid more for raw materials.

With the economic crisis in Asia damping demand for United States exports, overall growth in the current fourth quarter — as measured by the gross domestic product — is expected to fall short of the third quarter's 3.3 percent gain.

"There's caution about the economic outlook," said Astrid Adolfson, an economist at MCM Moneywatch in New York. However, "the economy isn't quite softer yet," she said.

Asia's economic problems could put a damper on the United States because "a lot of companies that had big contracts for infrastructure projects just aren't going to get those sales," said Cynthia Latta, an economist at DRI/McGraw-Hill in Lexington, Mass.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 2, 1997

MR. PRESIDENT:

12-2-97

Attached for your signature is S. 476, which accelerates the establishment of Boys and Girls Club facilities across the country. ***Last day for action is today.***

Background. A bill you signed into law in October 1996 included authorization for the Justice Department to award $20 million annually in grants to the Boys and Girls Club of America. The money is to be used to establish an additional 1000 local Boys and Girls Clubs in public housing projects and other distressed areas by 2001.

S. 476. The bill streamlines the grant application process to ensure that at least 2,500 Clubs are established by the year 2000 -- there were 1800 Clubs in 1996. The bill also modifies the 1996 law's statement of purpose by urging that the Clubs should be established "where needed." Such language, together with other technical amendments in the bill, will facilitate the establishment of Clubs in rural areas and on Indian reservations.

The bill passed the Senate by unanimous consent and the House by voice vote. It has received all necessary clearances, including from Justice.

Phil Caplan

Phil

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one of them.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1997

MR. PRESIDENT:

The attached memo is in preparation for your climate change meeting tomorrow. The purpose of the meeting is to get guidance from you that Stu Eizenstat and the negotiating team will need on several key points in the Kyoto negotiations. Stu won't be at the meeting, since he is in London on the Nazi gold issue. But we will relay your views to him. I will be departing for Kyoto Tuesday morning, incidentally, and expect to be in regular contact with Stu.

Todd Stern

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 30, 1997

'97 NOV 30 PM3:

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GENE SPERLING
KATHLEEN MCGINTY
DANIEL TARULLO
JAMES STEINBERG
TODD STERN

SUBJECT: Kyoto -- Negotiating Guidance

As the climate change negotiations begin in Kyoto, we wanted to update you on the current state of play and identify issues on which your chief negotiators need bottom-line guidance. On a variety of issues, significant differences remain between us and other major players, such as the EU and G-77. An agreement at Kyoto is still possible, but it will require key countries to make significant concessions from their stated positions.

Of the many issues to be resolved at Kyoto, four are likely to require decisions from you: emissions targets, joint implementation with developing countries, overall developing country commitments and a national security exemption. On each of these, Stu Eizenstat will need to know where your bottom line is -- the point to which you could move from a current U.S. position, but beyond which you would consider an agreement unacceptable.

This exercise inevitably raises the question of what would happen in the event we refuse to support an agreement we deem unacceptable. The best case would be to negotiate some form of standstill agreement, in which countries would lock in the progress to date and commit to continued prompt negotiations on the remaining issues. This is the "process outcome" our negotiators would seek, but a more problematic result, with the U.S. relatively isolated and portrayed as the bad guy, is possible as well.

Targets

Among industrialized nations, the most significant outstanding issue is the level of the binding target. Key proposals on the table are as follows: EU --15 percent below 1990 levels by 2010; Japan -- 0-5 percent below 1990 levels by 2010, based on a formula that would produce different targets for different Annex I countries within this 0-5 percent range; U.S. -- 1990 levels by

12-2-97

2008-2012; Canada -- 1990 levels by 2010; Australia -- significantly above 1990 levels by 2010. When discrepancies in accounting methods are taken into account (e.g., the treatment of carbon "sinks" or the number of gases covered), we believe our target is somewhat closer to those of the EU and Japan than has been widely reported.

As you know that the EU has been able to be so aggressively green on its target only because of its "bubble". (The bubble allows different countries to have different targets -- the emissions of several EU countries would actually grow compared to 1990 -- so long as the EU as an aggregate reduced by 15 percent. In essence, the entire EU gets the benefit of the special circumstances that have produced significant emissions reductions in the U.K. and Germany.) However, opposition to the bubble is widespread. In order to get the bubble, the EU may well have to give on other points (including, for example, a differentiated regime in which countries without a bubble might get targets somewhat higher than the EU).

To reach a deal at Kyoto containing enough of the key elements of the U.S. proposal (joint implementation, developing country participation), a U.S. target below 1990 levels of greenhouse gas emissions may well be necessary. EU leaders are demanding a reduction below 1990 levels, as are many leaders in the developing world. A "reduction target" -- even a small one -- would allow these leaders to argue more effectively that Kyoto reflects real progress since Rio, where nations agreed to reach 1990 levels by 2000.

Optical reductions. There may be acceptable ways of recharacterizing the U.S. target that would show a reduction but not require greater effort on our part. Your advisors are actively exploring such options now. One such optical change to our target -- agreeing to defer inclusion of certain carbon "sinks" until methodologies improve -- would put us one or two percentage points below 1990 levels without any increased effort, though there could be downsides in such exclusion. In addition, the Japanese have proposed a technical change in the way three of the six covered greenhouse gases are accounted for. EPA is analyzing whether this change is appropriate and how large an optical reduction it could produce (probably no more than one to two percentage points).

Real reductions. You will likely need to decide whether, if it became necessary in the final endgame to get an overall deal, you would be prepared to reduce our target not just in optical terms but in real terms. Such a reduction could in theory come either in a first budget period (2008-2012) or a second budget period (2013-2017), though the EU and developing countries will press much harder for a reduction in the first period.

> ***A. First budget period:*** The potential real reduction in the first period could be in the 1 to 5 percent range. Any reductions below the target you have already proposed would undoubtedly intensify the criticism by much of industry and many on the Hill. The problem is exacerbated by recent projections from the Department of Energy suggesting that carbon emissions will be 5 percent higher in 2010 on a business-as-usual path than previously thought. However, such

12-2-97

reductions may be necessary to close a deal at Kyoto with other key elements of our package.

B. Second budget period. It is possible that reductions in the second budget period -- presumably 5 percent or more below 1990 levels by 2013-2017 -- could also be helpful. Given the longer time horizon and the likelihood that such a target would be revisited before the second budget period begins, this could be more palatable to constituencies at home. However, other nations seem intent on reductions in the *first* period; it is unclear how much leverage a 5 percent reduction in the second period, or even a 10-15 percent reduction, would provide. Furthermore, committing now to specific reductions in a second budget period could remove leverage in future rounds of negotiations involving developing countries, and we could be criticized for agreeing to two targets before developing countries agree to any.

Joint Implementation

Your recent efforts to gain support for joint implementation have helped to provide momentum for its acceptance, and have sent a strong message to potential supporters that this remains a U.S. priority. Nevertheless, most key developing countries continue to oppose JI, and it remains very vulnerable. The current negotiating text is inconsistent with the U.S. position: it would allow joint implementation only among industrialized countries or with developing countries that voluntarily take on binding commitments under Article 10 (see below), and would postpone any decision on joint implementation with developing countries until after the completion of an ongoing pilot project, in 2000.

We are still working quietly with Brazil on a compromise proposal. However, the prospects for success are unclear.

In addition, you should know that many countries are seeking percentage limits on the use of joint implementation (for example, by limiting credits to 5 percent of a country's 1990 baseline). We have allowed our negotiators to consider qualitative rather than quantitative limits (e.g., "JI credits would be *supplemental* to domestic measures").

Joint implementation remains critically important to those moderate businesses which have been at least tentatively supportive of your plan, such as BP and several major utilities. The importance of JI is further underscored by the difficulty we are having in negotiating developing country commitments (see below). In the absence of strong commitments from developing countries, participation through mechanisms such as joint implementation becomes especially important. In addition, joint implementation and emissions trading are among the key devices that allow us to argue that the overall cost of reaching your climate change goals will be affordable -- well below the $100-200/ton costs that opponents claim.

12-2-97

The questions for decision are (a) whether we must have joint implementation with developing countries for credit in the treaty; and (b) whether you would, at the limit, accept a quantitative restriction on JI.

Developing country commitments and the two-step process

In your climate change speech on October 22, you said that the "United States will not assume binding obligations unless key developing nations meaningfully participate in this effort." This hinted at, but did not explicitly detail, a "two-step" approach to the developing country issue. Under such an approach, we would reach agreement at Kyoto but not seek to ratify the agreement without further developing country commitments.

You should be aware that Senator Byrd (whose resolution, passed 95-0 by the Senate this summer, lays down a strong marker on this issue) wrote you this week to reject the two-step approach:

> "I believe it would be unwise for the U.S. to be a signatory to any treaty that would not be approved by the Senate on its own merits. Those who are concerned about the consequences of climate change should consider that agreeing to only half a loaf --that binds only the Annex I industrialized nations to emissions limitations --will subject a protocol to intense domestic criticism as premature, unbalanced, and inequitable. Further, I believe it would make binding commitments by the developing world less likely as crucial negotiating leverage would have been lost."

Senator Byrd's views notwithstanding, the reality is that there is no prospect for developing countries to sign on to their own binding targets at Kyoto. In fact, the prospects for the strong Kyoto Mandate that our negotiators were once hoping for -- in which developing countries would agree *now* to commence future negotiations over binding targets within some period of time -- are close to nil.

It thus looks increasingly likely that the most we could realistically achieve in Kyoto is an opt-in mechanism (Article 10), under which any developing country could voluntarily accept its own binding target in the months or years ahead, plus a general statement concerning a follow-on process of future negotiations, in all likelihood without any specific reference to binding commitments. At its weakest, this reference to a follow-on process could take the form of a "review of commitments" for the world as a whole, a provision the EU would accept. Such a review could lead to, but would not guarantee, a new negotiation over developing country commitments.

Neither the opt-in mechanism itself, nor a general reference to a follow-on process, would represent "meaningful participation" by developing countries. Those devices are means to the end, not the end in themselves. Consequently, we would need to emphasize that we

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-2-97

would not expect to submit the treaty for ratification until a critical mass of developing countries were participating meaningfully. The reception of such an approach on the Hill and among business would likely be mixed -- but would likely improve a good deal if we had succeeded in getting joint implementation with developing countries.

The issue for decision is whether the two-step approach in this form -- with the Article 10 opt-in plus a general reference to a follow-on process -- is acceptable or falls below your bottom line.

Military/national security exemption

During the past several months, the Department of Defense has expressed several concerns about the climate treaty. DoD is concerned about the impact of emissions restrictions on U.S. military readiness, on basing negotiations with our allies, and on surge operations (e.g., Desert Storm/ Desert Shield and peacekeeping missions such as Bosnia). DoD accepts that its facilities, including buildings and non-tactical vehicles (about 42 percent of its total emissions), should be subject to greenhouse gas limits to the same extent as non-military facilities.

To address these concerns, we have shaped a package under which military operations and training (which account for roughly 0.7% of U.S. emissions) would be held harmless in any domestic emissions trading program. DoD's facilities would be covered by such a program. We have also pursued several issues under the climate treaty, including authority for the United States to take emissions from our military bases overseas into our national totals (which, due to downsizing, would likely make our targets easier to reach). This provision would address concerns about basing negotiations, and now appears achievable at Kyoto.

An outstanding issue, however, relates to surge operations. Our negotiators originally explored a treaty provision exempting emissions from surge operations, but it now appears unlikely that this can be achieved at Kyoto. We are currently exploring a number of weaker procedural devices, including a decision of the parties on this issue and a statement by the chair. Last week, DoD wrote the White House to state that a decision of the parties at Kyoto would address its concerns but that, absent such a decision, the U.S. should not join an agreement. In the event our negotiators are unable to obtain a decision of the parties or other means of addressing this issue, you will need to decide whether to proceed with the treaty nevertheless.

You should know that this issue -- the impact of the climate treaty on the military -- has received growing attention on the Hill and among industry groups opposed to the treaty.

PHIL —

THIS IS A PERSONAL THANK YOU FROM RICHARD BEN-VENISTE, WHO REPRESENTED THE PRESIDENT AT THE UNVEILING OF THE HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL IN THESSALONIKI GREECE.

THE ORIGINAL IS IN THE ENVELOPE. PHOTOCOPY ATTACHED.

—PAUL BEGALA

The President
The White House
Washington, DC

Dan—

We should do a response - BC sig.

Phil

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Thessaloniki, Greece
November 23, 1997

Introductory Remarks of Richard Ben-Veniste

Mr. President, Ministers, Dignitaries, and Members of the U.S. Congressional Delegation: Senator Sarbanes, Representatives Gilman, Waxman and Filner; and Representatives of the Jewish Community of Thessaloniki:

My name is Richard Ben-Veniste. In 1906, my grandfather, Jacques, and his brother, Samuel, left this city to start a new life in America. Traveling on the same ship were his future wife and her mother, also from Thessaloniki.

As a very small child, all I knew of the world-wide conflagration that was World War II was that my father was away from home for three years serving with the United States Army, in Holland, Belgium, France and Germany. As I grew in years and began to comprehend the blessings of freedom and opportunity America provided my family, I thought often of those who had remained in Greece to face the unspeakable inhumanity of the Nazi invaders. Few survived the death camps of Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Incredibly, among the survivors was my grandfather's nephew, whose family escaped capture only because their Greek neighbors were willing to take heroic risks to their own safety by hiding them.

So it is with deep appreciation, as we approach our American holiday of Thanksgiving, that nearly a century after my grandparents' journey from this great and historic city, I am privileged to convey to you the following message from the President of the United States:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 19, 1997

Warm greetings to President Stephanopoulos and all the distinguished guests gathered to pay tribute to those members of Thessaloniki's Jewish community who perished during the Holocaust. I can think of no more appropriate memorial than the monument unveiled on this occasion by President Stephanopoulos.

The Jewish community of Thessaloniki has been a vital part of the city's life for centuries and has made profound contributions to its rich heritage. Men and women of this great community fought bravely alongside other Greeks during the Second World War. But, tragically, tens of thousands of them were deported to Nazi death camps, never to be heard from again. Now, with awe and humililty, we honor their memory and spirit.

I commend the Greek Government, the Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece, and the Jewish community of Thessaloniki for their vision and dedication in erecting this powerful monument. It stands not only as a reminder of past evil, but also as an inspiration for future good. May the young who see it learn the sad lessons of history and all who visit it reaffirm the importance of every human life. And may all of us honor our solemn obligation to keep alive forever the memory of those Jews from Thessaloniki and the millions of other innocent victims of the Holocaust who died across Europe.

On behalf of the American people, Hillary and I offer our prayers for the families of all those who perished and the hope that our children will inherit a world where the tragedy of the Holocaust can never happen again.

Bill Clinton

RICHARD BEN-VENISTE
1615 L STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

November 25, 1997

The President
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

I want to express my deep appreciation to you and Hillary for allowing me to present your message to President Stephanopolous and the assembled ministers and dignitaries at the unveiling ceremony for the Holocaust Memorial in Thessaloniki on November 23, 1997. For me to return to the city from which my grandparents emigrated as your representative on such a rich and symbolic occasion was an emotional experience I will treasure all my life.

After reading your message, I presented the signed original to Mr. Andreas Sefiha, head of the Jewish Community of Thessaloniki, for inclusion in the archives of the newly inaugurated Jewish Museum. I am pleased to report that your message was very well received and added measurably to the significance and solemnity of the occasion. I include a copy of the brief introductory remarks I made.

Donna joins me in wishing you and Hillary a very happy Thanksgiving.

With best wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

Richard Ben-Veniste

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-2-97

Cover
For Secretary
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Sperling

Tight but Quirky Job Market As the New York Area Revives

A1

By KIRK JOHNSON

STAMFORD, Conn. — A phenomenon absent from the New York regional economy for nearly a decade, and almost unthinkable through the grim recession years of the early 1990's, has suddenly re-emerged here: a shortage of workers.

From low-wage day laborers in Bridgeport, Conn., to computer programmers on Long Island and in New Jersey, to retail clerks and paralegals here in Stamford, the industries and areas affected are diverse. The shortage is especially acute in the suburbs, particularly here in Fairfield County, where unemployment has fallen to 2.7 percent in and around Stamford and Danbury.

At the Stamford Town Center mall, wages have jumped sharply, with clerks now making about $7.50 an hour, or 13 percent more than last year, and the "Now Hiring" sign at Filene's is almost as big as the store's name on the mall entrance. Shaw's Supermarkets has begun a shuttle service, taking new workers from inner-city Bridgeport and New Haven to its stores in the suburbs. Other employers here have begun recruiting in places as far away as South Africa, Poland and Russia.

In many corners of the nation, like Raleigh, N.C., and Des Moines, where unemployment has been low for years, stories like this perhaps no longer qualify as news. But that is not the case in the New York region. Not since the late 1980's, when the last boom economy reached its peak, has the region even remotely glimpsed "full employment" — which economists generally say occurs when most people who want a job can find one.

But in many important ways this job market is not at all like that of the 1980's boom, or like any of the other job booms that are occurring elsewhere in the country. In the New York region, the labor shortages are spotty and scattered, concentrated in pockets by industry and geography and skill level. Corporate downsizing — though on a smaller and more subdued scale than a few years ago — is also continuing as companies shed management jobs. That is creating an environment of winners and losers, and of anxiety amid prosperity.

The large numbers of residents of the region leaving welfare for work has also created labor ripples. Fast food outlets, for example, report few shortages in the region, and thus little pressure to raise wages.

And New York City still has one of the highest big-city unemployment rates in the nation, at 9.1 percent — though that has come down over the last four months from a 10 percent peak in early summer.

Though companies have created tens of thousands of new jobs in fields like financial services, technology and consulting, the numbers of people seeking those jobs has grown even faster, and many unemployed city residents do not have the right skills, employers say. That has kept New York's unemployment rate high, while further driving down the

Continued on Page A28

Continued From Page A1

jobless rate in places like Stamford, as many of the new jobs have gone to commuters.

Economists say that the contrast of joblessness amid a hiring frenzy — as well as the lingering effects of the deep recession of the late 1980's and early 1990's — have made workers in the New York region more tentative in their wage demands than workers elsewhere in the nation.

"Places like Des Moines, Minneapolis and Dallas have been experiencing tightness for some time — labor is emboldened there," said Mark Zandi, the chief economist at Regional Financial Associates, an economic consulting firm. "In Stamford, the tightening is much more recent — and very recent in cutting across a wide range of industries."

Christopher L. Bergstrom, the director of economic development for the City of Stamford, described the current economy as a "boom with angst."

"Even though it's a tight labor market, people don't necessarily feel all that secure," he said. "People know they can still lose their jobs, even though there aren't enough workers to go around."

Nonetheless, amid the anxiety there are increasing numbers of workers with good jobs, for whom the closing months of 1997 are like the reprise of a song that some thought might never be played in this region again.

"A lot of the things my husband and I have now — a few years ago I wouldn't have thought were attainable," said Laura Kuck, a 26-year-old paralegal in Stamford who is benefiting from the competition among employers. Mrs. Kuck, who lives about 40 miles north of here in New Fairfield, has changed jobs several times in the last two years, and has seen her income climb by more than $10,000 as a result. Her husband, Eric, a warehouse manager, was recently lured to Stamford by a job offer as well.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-2-97

A 'boom with angst': workers with certain skills are more in demand than others.

The lumpiness of the region's job story can be found within towns and even within companies. Mrs. Kuck's boss, Mark P. Santagata, a partner at the law firm of Cacace Tusch Santagata, said that he and his partners had been searching for a receptionist for six months, and that they had just hired an office manager after an exhaustive search.

But if they wanted to hire another lawyer, they could have their pick. "If I put in ad in the paper looking for an attorney, I'd have 50 résumés on my desk in a day," Mr. Santagata said.

Similarly, some companies that have been having poor luck hiring new college graduates have been reaching out specifically for older workers, checking in at places like Senior Employment Services, a nonprofit agency that works primarily with people age 50 and over.

But Karen Cornwell, the agency's director, said the calls from the newly jobless had not stopped, either. On one recent morning, for instance, a senior executive from Champion International stopped by. Champion, a paper products company with its headquarters here, said in October that it would eliminate about 30 percent of its jobs, and the executive, a woman in her early 40's who had worked for the company since college, was on the layoff list. She was scared and did not want to be identified. "But I told her her prospects were good," Ms. Cornwell said.

Around the region, employers and economists say that job markets have tightened in a kind of rolling wave that has affected some places earlier and more profoundly than others.

"It's been a challenge in New Jersey for the last year; Connecticut started to get tight about nine months ago, and the last six months on Long Island," said Gordon J. Bingham, a senior vice president for marketing with Olsten Staffing Services, the Long Island-based temporary-help agency. "It's difficult to fill the high end and the low," Mr. Bingham added. "The middle is still easier."

1/2

The New York Times
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

The New York Times

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1997

Technology is the common thread of most of the jobs that are in high demand. Entry level clerical workers making $18,000 to $35,000 a year who can operate computers have seen their wages jump by about 15 percent this year, said Catherine C. Candland, president of Advantage Staffing Services, an employment agency in Stamford. For highly skilled programmers, Ms. Candland said, there are "no limits" on pay, with many salaries reaching $300,000 a year or more.

Ms. Candland said that some people who lost jobs in the recession as middle managers have returned with technology training and are earning even more than before. Many more, she said, have had a hard time adapting.

Still, the demand for technology skills seems only to increase. At SPC Warburg Dillon Read, a division of the Swiss Bank Corporation that is moving its headquarters to Stamford from Manhattan over the next year, more than half of the 450 to 475 new jobs are in those two hard-to-fill high- and low-end technical categories. The firm has pitched the area's quality of life and amenities like day care as part of its hiring package.

New state and Federal welfare laws aimed at getting welfare recipients into jobs are also having an effect on the labor market. Jonathan A. Mathias, owner of the Corporate Deli and Grille in downtown Bridgeport, said that a year ago he could walk over to the bus depot, a block away, and find five or six people available for a day's work, cleaning up a storage room or basement. Most were welfare recipients, and most have disappeared from the streets, apparently into full-time jobs, Mr. Mathias said.

On one recent morning he stood in his kitchen, hands and arms covered halfway to the elbow with gritty, aromatic brown cooking grease, struggling to fix an old electric grill with a burned-out thermostat.

"A year ago, I would have been supervising," Mr. Mathias said.

The fast-food industry, on the other hand, perhaps because of the influx of former welfare recipients looking for full-time jobs, has reported few shortages — a stark contrast especially to the late 1980's, when places like McDonald's had to bus workers from the Bronx to staff its restaurants on the Connecticut Turnpike.

Looming behind all the falling unemployment numbers in the region, of course, is the economic force of New York City. Unemployment rates are low in places like Stamford partly because local companies are hiring, but also because New York City companies are hiring as well — a fact that is obscured by New York's high unemployment rate. New York City jobs that go to suburban commuters and local jobs created in the suburbs have exactly the same effect in pulling down jobless rates in Connecticut, which sends about 33,000 commuters a day to Manhattan for work.

And the city has entered the late fall on a very strong note. In the first 10 months of 1997, New York companies created 53,000 new jobs, more than in any comparable period since 1984. About 43,000 more New Yorkers are working now than just four months ago, according to the New York State Department of Labor.

Some experts fear that a combined and heightened demand — city and suburbs, big firms and small ones all competing for the same group of workers — could choke off the region's economy before it really gathers steam.

"Now we've got the jobs, and the question is, can we get the workers?" said Lee E. Koppelman, executive director of the Long Island Regional Planning Board.

Companies like Silicon Valley Internet Partners, an 18-month-old Boston-based company that opened its first Manhattan office in September 1996, show the New York City side of the job equation: The firm has grown tenfold in just 14 months, to 60 employees from 6. The target for the foreseeable future is 100 percent growth per year, said Aron Dutta, a vice president and general manager of the New York office. So far, Mr. Dutta said, hiring has not been a problem — about 30 percent of the staff was stolen away from Wall Street giants like Merrill Lynch and Morgan Stanley.

The world at large represents yet another recruiting possibility. Olsten now recruits and brings into the United States 25 to 40 technically trained foreign nationals every six weeks to fill the demand for computer programmers and software engineers. Many of them, the company says, choose to work in the New York region because the ethnic diversity means they are more likely to find a community or neighborhood of fellow immigrants.

The City of Stamford is also exploring a public-private program to begin recruiting foreign technical workers, under a public-private partnership with local employers. Poland is the first target because of the large local Polish population. The University of Connecticut has also set up a campus here specifically aimed at training technical workers, and Mr. Bergstrom at the city's Economic Development Department dreams of a whole educational overhaul that would offer children from preschool on up a technology-rich experience that he says would prepare them for the future he sees unfolding.

But how hiring and employment will work by the time the future arrives for those children is anybody's guess.

Ebeth Pretorius, a computer software worker from South Africa, took a job in New York in 1992, working for the technical subsidiary of Olsten, just as companies were downsizing. She saw the corridor outside her office in Rockland County empty of workers. Now it is full again, but everything is different. Because of the hiring squeeze, she said, all the technical workers in her office are now, like her, contract workers.

2/2

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Seeds of Peace

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To: PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE

From: JOHN WALLACH

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Fax: 212-573-8047 **Pages:** 2

Phone: 212-573-8040 **Date:** NOVEMBER 24, 1997

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

November 25, 1997

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for inviting Janet and myself to attend the luncheon last Friday on the occasion of your receiving The Man of Peace 1997 Award. It was a moving occasion for both of us as we knew Yitzhak Rabin quite well. He was an early and committed supporter of *Seeds of Peace*.

Although we only had a brief moment to speak, I was pleased to hear that you mentioned *Seeds of Peace* in some written remarks on your interracial peace initiative in our country. In the last five years, *Seeds of Peace* has graduated almost 800 Arab and Israeli teenagers who have learned the art of making peace in our conflict resolution program.

As I mentioned in our brief conversation, it is a distinct honor and privilege for me to invite you and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to receive the 1998 Seeds of Peace Prize which is presented annually by children from each of our participating eight nations in the Middle East at a formal dinner in New York. Past recipients have included Their Majesties King Hussein and Queen Noor, Prime Ministers Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres and both the Israeli and Palestinian architects of the Oslo Accords.

We would like to be able to present you and the First Lady with the 1998 Seeds of Peace Prize at our gala dinner at The Pierre Hotel in New York on one of the following dates: Sunday, April 5; Monday, April 6; Tuesday April 21; Wednesday April 22 or Sunday, April 26. Last year's event, which also was attended by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, was attended by more than 600 people. Please let me know whether you will receive the prize and if any of the above dates are suitable.

With very best wishes,

John Wallach
President

cc: The Honorable Sandy Berger
The Honorable Maria Echaveste

"In this entire assembly, no one is more important than the group of Israeli and Arab children who are seated here with us today.

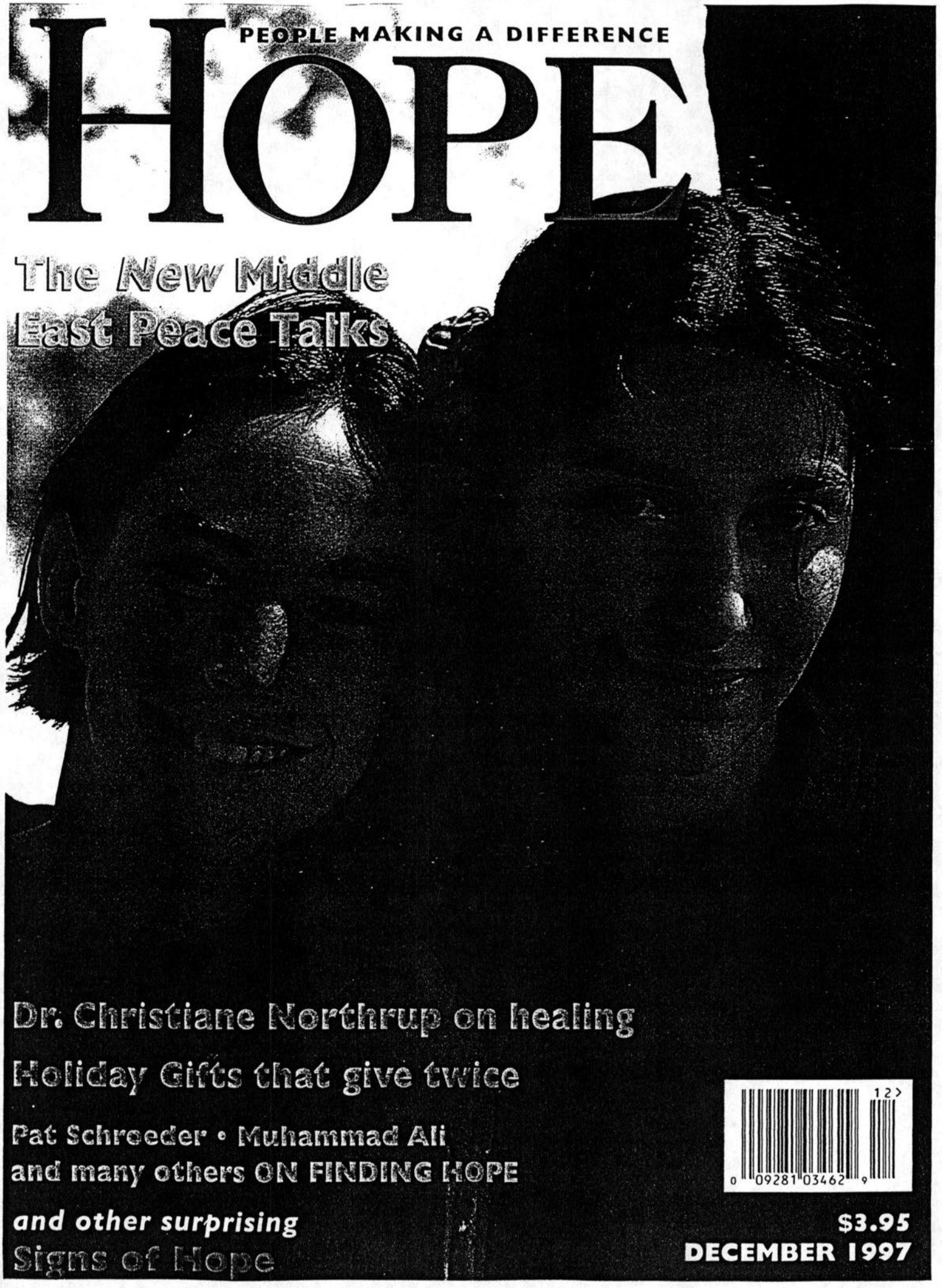
PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

For them we must realize the prophecy of Isaiah, that the cry of violence shall no more be heard in your land, nor wrack nor ruin within your borders."

SEPTEMBER 13, 1993

PEOPLE MAKING A DIFFERENCE

HOPE



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PEACEMAKING

At a summer camp in Maine, the children of bitter enemies live with the people they've been taught to fear. It's no love-fest, but it might be a volatile region's best chance for building lasting peace.

Middle East

LIKE ROADSIDE ICE CREAM stands or country churches, summer camps in Maine have a reassuring orthodoxy all their own. Visit one and you'll probably find a line of cabins strung out along a lake. There will be a main lodge and a jumble of lesser structures, each with its own blend of rumpled out-of-plumbness speaking of light construction and heavy winter snows. On your visit, you're almost certain to hear the shriek of whistles from the swimming dock, the sound of distant shouting as a well-hit ball arcs deep to left, dusty footfalls clumping closer and then suddenly tripping on a well-worn root by the dining lodge, as a thousand teenage feet have tripped a thousand times before. At summer camps, what you'll mostly hear is laughter, and in the spaces between the laughter, the plaintive song of a white throated sparrow from the woody margins, the uncertain plunk of tennis balls, and the snap of a wet towel with its answering yelp of pain. In the long inhale and exhale of summer days by a sandy-bottom lake, what you'll surely find among the grassy spaces and dappled shade of camps is a special mix of away-from-home safety and risk that helps kids grow right.

Not surprisingly then, when it came time to find a place for the children of Arabs and Jews—bitter enemies who have been killing each other for generations—to attempt the painful and uncertain work of making peace among themselves, a summer camp in Maine seemed like a natural place to locate. To make peace, these kids need distance from their homelands. They need neutral ground. The cultural, political, and personal walls that separate them are incomprehensibly high. There is, in the words of contemporary historian

Teenagers from the Middle East including Adi Shelag (left) of Israel and Malek Fayez of Egypt explore their differences—and their shared humanity—in a Co-Existence Group discussion at Seeds of Peace International Camp.

Peace Talks

BY BILL MAYHER
PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARAH PUTNAM

Mohamed Haikal, such "fury and revulsion" between them, that most of the teenagers chosen by their countries to attend a camp called Seeds of Peace in Otisfield, Maine, have never met a single one of their opposite number. For this reason alone, they need time to talk together; they need time to listen. Most of the 162 campers at Seeds of Peace have traveled from Egypt, Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, and even Qatar to eat American camp chow and sleep in open cabins with people they have been taught their whole lives to hate. For taking these risks, they deserve a chance at reconciliation and friendship. At Seeds of Peace, they'll get it.

On a dazzling July morning, Seeds of Peace founder John Wallach opens this year's session with a challenge to the teenagers gathered around him on the grass. "Today this is the only place in the world where Israelis and Arabs can come together on neutral ground and try to be friends," he says. "Because of this, I would ask one thing of each of you. No matter what else you do in your time here, make one friend from the other side."

In laying down his challenge—regardless how idyllic the setting, or how eager the kids—Wallach is saying that building friendships between enemies is, after all, no easy thing.

John Wallach left a high-powered journalism career to launch the Seeds of Peace International Camp in 1993. Wallach had been a White House correspondent for thirty years. He had broken the story of the CIA mining Nicaraguan harbors, and he had covered the Middle East. He won the National Press Club Award and the Overseas Press Club Award for uncovering the "arms for hostages" story that led to the Iran-Contra

"I'VE LEARNED THAT THE ANSWER TO LIFE IS NOT THE POOHBAHS, IT'S THE BASICS."

scandal. When few people had thought such a thing was possible, he had written, with his wife Janet Wallach, a biography of the elusive Yasser Arafat.

But Wallach didn't feel satisfied being, in his words, a "fly on the wall of history." Perhaps he felt a sense of personal destiny because his parents had escaped the Holocaust. Perhaps he has always had an instinct for seeing beyond superficial differences because Catholic priests had guided his parents through the Pyrenees to safety. Whatever the reasons, in 1985, when the Cold War thaw was merely a trickle, Wallach initiated a program in what he called "citizen diplomacy" at the Chautauqua Institute in Upstate New York to bring together ordinary Russians and Americans together to search for common ground. For this work, Wallach received the Medal of Friendship, the former Soviet Union's highest civilian award, from then president Mikhail Gorbachev in 1991.

At news of the World Trade Center bombing in New York City in February 1993, Wallach again heard the call to action. A month later, an idea came to him: because the adults of the world had so clearly failed at peacemaking in the Middle East, he would skip the present generation of leaders and go straight to the next. He would bring together young people who had been born amid the violence and searing hatreds of the region, and allow them to explore their mutual humanity.

"I spent my whole life with the powerful," Wallach recalled in an interview with Susan Rayfield in the *Maine Sunday Telegram*. "I can't tell you how

A Middle East Primer

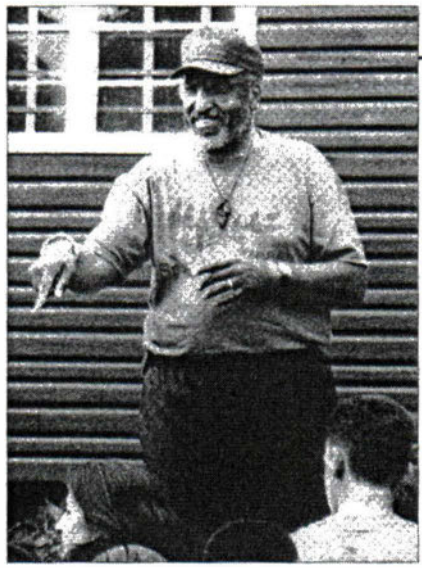
The Arab-Israeli conflict is rooted in Biblical times but, for our purposes, we might begin in 1892, when violent anti-Semitism in Russia stimulated a wave of Zionist immigrants into Palestine, pitting Jewish settlers against indigenous Palestinians in a struggle over land both groups passionately believed was originally theirs. These pressures grew even more intense after World War I. With the demise of the empire of the Ottoman Turks, Britain assumed a League of Nations Mandate to govern Palestine and then, via the Balfour Declaration of November 1917, supported the establishment of a Jewish homeland—with the understanding that the rights of indigenous Arabs would also be upheld. But no formal steps were taken until after World War II when, with the Holocaust adding critical impetus to the Zionist dream, the United Nations General Assembly, on November 29, 1947, voted to partition Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. The Arab League rejected this initiative, refusing to give up any land to the founding of a Jewish homeland.

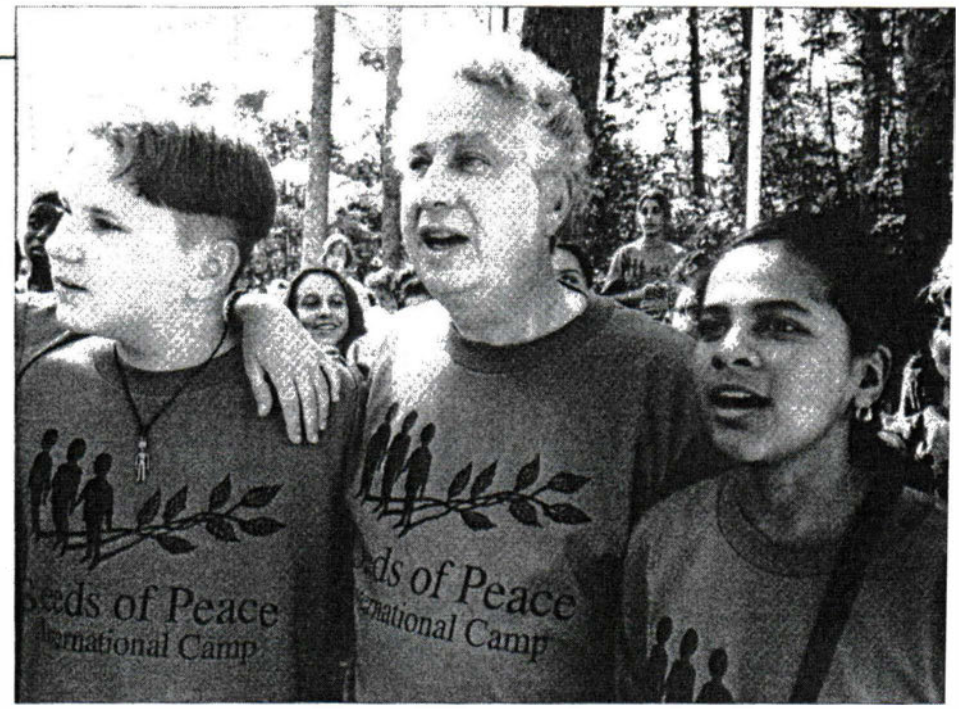
On May 14, 1948, when the British mandate expired, Zionist leaders proclaimed the State of Israel. In answer, the Arabs invaded Israel with the intent of eliminating it as a political entity, but Israel managed to survive the assault and, in the ensuing years, settled into uneasy nationhood surrounded by a hostile population of displaced Palestinians and other Arabs.

Following Israel's decisive victory in the Six Day War of 1967, animosities grew more intense. Israel occupied territories it had won in the war: Arab East Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank of the Jordan River. Except for Sinai, which Israel returned to Egypt in the peace negotiated at Camp David in 1978, and the modest territories in Gaza and the West Bank that Israel later relinquished to the Palestinians, the Jewish State has continued to occupy and administer the territory it conquered. Using a code inherited from the British rule of Palestine, the "British Defense (Emergency) Regulations," it claims the right to "deport citizens of Palestine, to demolish houses, to impose curfews and town arrest, to censor newspapers and books, and to administratively detain, all without the necessity of judicial proceedings." Israel also allowed the founding of Jewish "settlements" for strategic and ideological purposes, and then provided the subsequent logistical and military support necessary to protect them. This has further exacerbated tensions and a ferocious eye-for-an-eye continues to this day, with terrorist attacks by radical Palestinians countered by the harsh reprisals of Israeli extremists. In addition, the occupying Israeli army's tight grip on border check points and vital resources has held the Palestinians in a state of permanent subjugation, which itself led to the Palestinian uprising known as the Intifada, beginning in 1987.

On September 13, 1993, Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat came to the White House to sign a peace accord negotiated in Oslo, Norway, in which the Palestinians agreed to end their call for the destruction of the state of Israel in return for the beginnings of national autonomy that would ultimately lead to the creation of a Palestinian State. As a result of the Peace Accord, the Palestinians were allowed to establish their own freely-elected government in Gaza and expand their authority to other parts of the West Bank, including the biblical city of Hebron. The promise of this accord proved to be short-lived, however. Yitzak Rabin was assassinated in November 1995 by a right-wing Israeli who claimed Rabin had sold out to the Palestinians. Rabin was succeeded by Shimon Peres of the Labor Party, but, Peres was then narrowly defeated by the conservative Likud party of Benjamin Netanyahu. While agreeing to honor the Arafat-Rabin treaty in principle, the Likud government has continued its hard-line policies toward the Palestinians.

—B.M.





Above: Seeds of Peace staffer Tim Wilson has a talent for keeping things lively and under control at the same time. *Right:* Founder and former journalist John Wallach joins campers in the opening celebration.

many times I've been on Air Force One, or with the White House pool, or world leaders. I had a lot of power as a journalist. I've learned that the answer to life is not the poohbahs, it's the basics. The coming home to Maine. To what is human in all of us, that ties us together as human beings."

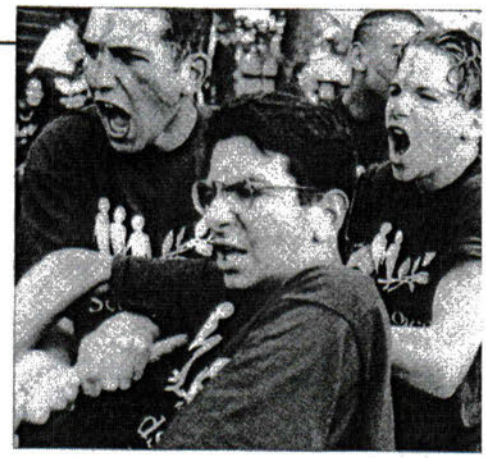
Wallach needed staff, kids, and a facility to realize his vision. He found his first staffer, Executive Director Barbara "Bobbie" Gottschalk, in Washington, D.C. Gottschalk's book group had invited Wallach and his wife to discuss their book on Arafat and afterwards, he shared his vision for Seeds of Peace. Gottschalk was so intrigued, she left a secure job as a clinical social worker to join him.

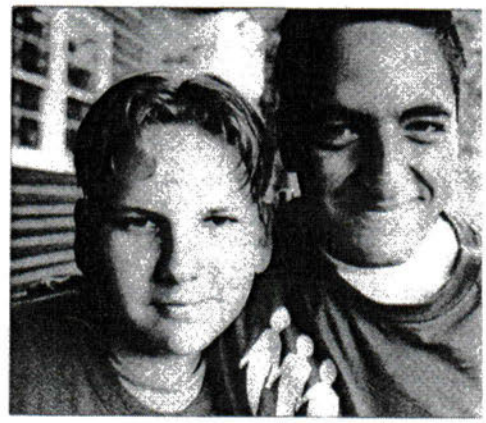
To find kids for his camp, Wallach approached the Middle East's major players, each of whom he personally knew: Yasser Arafat, the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization; Yitzhak Rabin, the Prime Minister of Israel; and Hosni Mubarak, the President of Egypt. "Trust me with your children," Wallach asked each of the beleaguered men. "Give me the next generation. Give them a chance to escape the poison." His years of journalistic engagement and fairness were to have an unforeseen payoff: all three leaders answered Wallach's plea, an acquiescence little short of miraculous.

Serendipity intervened when Wallach found that a Camp Powhatan in Otisfield, Maine, would let him use its facility after the camp's regular session ended. Touring the camp, Wallach met Tim Wilson, Powhatan's co-director, whom he immediately recognized as a Maine-camp classic with his own dazzling bag of tricks for keeping things lively and yet under control at the same time. An inner-city teacher and football coach around the steel mills of Pittsburgh, Wilson is as good at the up-in-front-of-everybody bluster that keeps things cooking as he is at the quiet arm-around-the-shoulder buck-up that helps an exhausted and melancholy adolescent get through another day. So in the summer of 1993 with a camp facility and a core staff in place, Wallach had assembled the basics of what would become Seeds of Peace.

In four short years, the camp has won awards including a 1997 Peace Prize from the United Nations Educational, Science and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and drawn accolades from world leaders. Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, wrote in a letter to Seeds of Peace this year, "There is no more important initiative than bringing together young people who have seen the ravages of war to learn the art of peace." In her speeches, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright has mentioned Seeds of Peace as a bright spot on an otherwise dark Middle East horizon. Yasser Arafat has said, "Seeds of Peace represents the hope and the aim which we are working to realize, namely just peace in the land of peace." Before he was assassinated, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin noted after meeting with campers, "Witnessing young Arabs and Israelis together gives me great hope that soon all Arabs and Israelis can live normal lives side-by-side."

The new arrivals, all between ages thirteen and eighteen, plunge into the usual sports and games, ready to fulfill the camp's mission to make peace among themselves. That is, until the hard work begins. Staff assign campers to Co-Existence groups, where the most intense, and arguably the most important, work of the camp occurs. Here, campers learn to listen to the histories and feelings of age-old enemies and begin to move toward accommodation and ultimately, empathy. Led by pairs of trained facilitators, these groups of about fourteen campers meet daily in a cycle of three sessions, and then move on together to a new pair of facilitators who, using a





IT IS A CAMP THAT COMPELS THEM TO LOOK THEIR ENEMY IN THE EYE AND BEGIN TO KNOW THEIR ENEMY'S HEART.

variety of techniques including oral history, role playing and role reversal, art, and drama, teach effective listening and negotiating skills. The group work is at first designed to create a safe space between participants. The facilitators then direct the group toward more difficult issues.

In one group, facilitators Linda Carol Pierce and Janis Astor de Valle delve into intense racial tensions in Brooklyn, New York. Their role-play, in which a black camper from Bedford Stuyvesant runs into a white camper from Bensonhurst, starts out as friendly banter. Suddenly, it veers into a dramatic shouting match recapitulating incidents of muggings and mob murder that continue to divide their neighborhoods to this day. As the actors shout at each other, "You people," this, and "You people," that, campers see graphically that bone-deep prejudice is not confined to the Middle East.

Following the role-play, Pierce and deValle ask individuals in the group to share with a partner a personal story of prejudice each has suffered, and then have that partner report the story to the entire group—a well-known technique that builds listening skills among the youngsters and, as they tell each other's stories, helps put them into each other's shoes. An Arab girl tells of being snubbed on the Internet by members of her chat group when they discovered she was from Jordan. She relates how one of them shot back, "Isn't that where people with bombs come from?" and refused to acknowledge her further, letting her twist in cyberspace—a new style victim of a very old disease.

In another group, campers who already have represented the opposition's side in a mock Middle East negotiating session are now allowed to present their own points of view in debating who should have control over Jerusalem. But before the teenagers begin, the facilitators ask them to assemble pictures from colored toothpicks in a tabletop exercise that serves as a metaphor for issues of personal and collective space. The kids' individual designs—stick figures of people, houses, stars, and suns—soon expand to cover the entire table. The facilitators then start with the questions. "Were there borders there for you?" one facilitator asks. "There were borders on the table. Whoever was stronger took more space," a camper replies. "The quick and the strong get it all," adds another. "Let's relate this to Jerusalem," the facilitator then suggests, giving the kids fresh angles of approach to discuss this contentious and emotional issue. The debate that ensues is spirited, often heated, but it is also respectful because both sides have established the need to honor each other's "space."

Through the process of working with different facilitators—each with different strategies—campers cannot avoid getting down to the most stubborn problems that divide them. There is too much bad blood, too much history to let campers play at peace like they play at tennis. This camp, by Wallach's own design, is no feel-good paradise; rather it is a camp that compels them to look their enemy in

Playing hard outside and talking hard inside, campers work out their differences and search for common ground. *Opposite:* Baseball and tug-of-war are just two events in the Color Games, a competitive crescendo in the camp's final days that uses teamwork to melt boundaries and foster new friendships like the one between Israeli Edi Spitz and Palestinian Adhem Rishmawi (*bottom left*). *Above:* Indoors, teenagers from opposite sides of the Middle East conflict begin to forge bonds by interpreting one another's drawings of safety, trust, and personal risk, and by listing things they all share in common.

the eye and in doing so, begin to know their enemy's heart. When the kids get down to it in the groups, Wallach says, "It doesn't take them very long to realize that they don't like each other very much."

As they hash out their deep-seated differences, the kids at Seeds of Peace also spend plenty of time on the playing field—a few individual events, but mostly team sports that put individuals from opposing political factions on the same team: baseball, tennis, lacrosse, soccer, swimming, volleyball, relay races, basketball. The theory is that in the heat of competition, young people will become teammates and forget the elemental differences that brought them here.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the Color Games, a competitive crescendo in the final days of the camp. Guided by the skilled (and wily) hand of Tim Wilson, the camp is divided into two teams: Greens and Blues. Tee shirts are donned, separate cheers invented. The teams are then turned loose to relentlessly compete against each other across the entire spectrum of camp sports and activities. Every camper has to contribute, the efforts of each essential to the whole. It is raucous, loud, dusty, and hilarious: transcendent partisanship forging white-hot loyalties—if only for the moment.

As the Color Games rush toward the final events, in the age-old tradition of a summer camp, it becomes increasingly impossible for the participants to assess with any precision what it might actually take to win. The totals for each team remain maddeningly close until, in the final event, one team surges to capture the crown only to discover that, in fact, there is no actual prize for the hard fought victory except the opportunity to give an enthusiastic cheer for the losing team and to jump in the lake first.

At this moment, the Color Games become a metaphor for sharing the victory equally between "winners" and "losers." After days of running their guts out and shouting over the treetops, the campers begin to understand that most elusive of truths: People on each side of a conflict must be truly satisfied if there is to be peace; victory can and must be a shared thing.

Perhaps Egyptian camper Silvana Naguib said it best in a film made at the camp several years ago: "The first step we have to make right now is not only to want for your own people.... You have to really, really want, really desire for the others. If you are an Israeli, you have to want for all the Palestinians to feel happy and feel safe and feel comfortable. If you're a Palestinian you want the same thing [for the Israelis]. All the people in the country have to really want everyone else to be happy."

On July, 30, 1997, a double suicide bombing by radical Palestinians tears through a Jerusalem marketplace called Mahane Yehuda, killing fourteen Israelis and wounding more than 150 others. The horror of the attack is captured by Serge Schmemann writing in the New York Times: "Witness after witness recited the same litany of flame, flesh, and horror. They described bodies covered with fruits and shoes; a man sitting on his motorbike dead; limbs flying."

Reports of the bombing rip through

Seeds of Peace as well. When the news breaks, John Wallach addresses the camp as a whole. Special groups are formed with facilitators to help campers ride out the emotional storm. In the first hours, a deep sense of mourning and sympathy pervades the camp. In the next few days, as the initial shock wears off, the work in Co-Existence Groups takes on a harder edge; it becomes more difficult to maintain safe space and good listening. At this point, says facilitator Cindy Cohen, "It's almost impossible for kids to [acknowledge] the suffering of the other side without feeling it as an attack."

In the groups, tension is palpable and harsh phrases fly: "Palestine does not exist!" "Israel has no culture!" "You people always bring up the Holocaust to justify everything you have done to us." Historical interpretations are shot like missiles; it is raining verbal SCUDS. Of this phase Wallach says, "You could leave a Co-Existence Group and feel pretty discouraged by the depths of anger you see there. But it's all part of the process of peacemaking. It is the beginning of wisdom."

At first it's hard to see much in the way of either peacemaking or wisdom happening. It just looks like bickering. But then, through the sluiceways of talk, one suddenly glimpses—washing along amid the hard, gray slag of ancient enmities—bright nuggets of reconciliation: "I can understand your fears." "Everyone has the same sort of pain.... We share that." "We hear history repeats itself, and that's really scary." "If we can't compromise here, how can we expect two whole countries to compromise?" Finally in one combative session, a particularly hard-line Israeli boy turns and looks into the eyes of the Palestinian youth next to him—a boy who was jailed at the age of eight during the Intifada, and who saw his uncle killed by Israeli soldiers. The Israeli boy says, "I can't guarantee that my government won't kill your people, but I can guarantee that I won't."

In the days ahead, the kids will be allowed to exhaust themselves in passionate arguments—no matter how futile. Eventually they will reach the point when they look across the abyss that divides them and finally see other human beings. It is the tradition of this camp that, amid the games and cheering and fireside songs, amid the long, hot days of talk, trust will be built on the simple idea that if each side listens attentively enough to the other, each will at long last realize there is no alternative to peace.

Campers go wild when their team scores a basket at the height of the Color Games.

Wallach's charge to make one friend from the other side seemed like a modest goal in the first, euphoric days of camp. In the darker days following the bombing, it seems nearly unreachable. This is the point when a paradox embedded in the way Seeds of Peace works becomes clear: The pain of the journey is the very thing that insures both its validity and its durability. Without hardening-off at camp, the tender shoots of reconciliation nourished there won't be hardy enough to survive transplanting to the rocky, unyielding soil of their homelands.

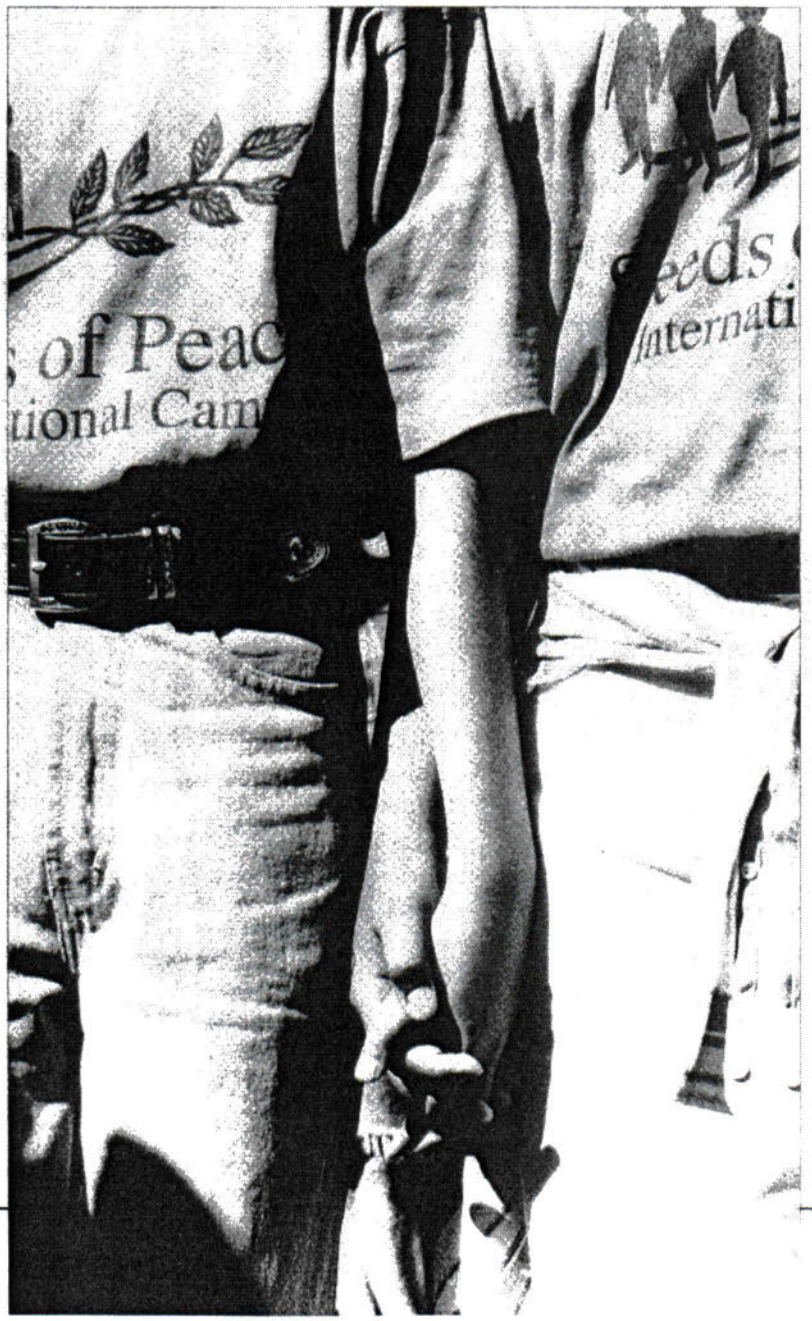
Role-playing and other group work gives the campers a sense of how to cope with the re-entry process. But when the teens return home, they will still face formidable obstacles to keeping in touch with new friends from the other side—especially since the suicide bombing has led Israel to impose even stricter control over border checkpoints. A Palestinian camper explains that he had to stand in line for four hours to apply for a pass into Jerusalem. He then had to wait about a month for the pass to be processed. After his request was approved, he had to stand in line for another four or five hours to cross into Jerusalem to visit his friend who lived only twelve kilometers away. And that was before the bombings.

Luckily, there is e-mail to keep kids communicating with camp friends, and Wallach and executive director Gottschalk—who maintains contact with all of the kids—have developed other techniques for helping them stay in touch. A full-time coordinator in the Middle East works at establishing events for alumni, who also write feature articles for the organization's quarterly newspaper, The Olive Branch. Two years ago, King Hussein of Jordan welcomed 200 campers to a Seeds of Peace reunion in Jordan and symbolically donned a Seeds of Peace necktie.

Towards the end of camp, evidence of friendship is everywhere—in arms casually twined around another, in easy banter and teasing. Hazem Zaanon from Gaza and Noa Epstein from just outside Jerusalem are hoarse from cheering and flushed with excitement about the Color Games. Hazem says that he got to know Noa at their lunch table when they "just began to talk, first about Palestine and Israel, but then about everything. We became friends because everyone listened to the other's part," explains Hazem. "We became easy in

The Future of Seeds of Peace

Seeds of Peace is an expensive operation that, independent as it is of government funding, calls for intense annual fund raising to cover the tuition and transportation for all its campers, as well as to pay for the salaries and costs of running the camp. Fortunately this year, with a long-term lease of the former Camp Powhatan property, Seeds of Peace has found a permanent home. This will enable John Wallach to eventually expand the mission of the camp to three, three-week sessions every summer for children from other regions. Several years ago the camp included delegations from Bosnia and Serbia. Wallach would like to continue this tradition by inviting other groups involved in long-standing conflicts: Protestants and Catholics from Northern Ireland, Greeks and Turks, white and black South Africans, and American inner-city youths. —*B.M.*



this. We listened and respected each other without yelling and screaming." Noa agrees: "Camp is wonderful for me. I wouldn't have made a Palestinian friend back home." She then speaks of the "easy" luxury of time with her friend, "not in Co-Existence groups, but eating lunch and playing ball games. Things that require friendship." Of course each of them knows it will be hard to keep in touch when "they face reality back home." But, Noa adds, "I think we have taken a step toward a new reality."

Whether this new reality is to be born in the region may end up being a matter of sheer numbers. When this year's campers return home, there will be 800 Seeds of Peace graduates in the region; next year close to 1,000. The Arab-Israeli conflict has been fought out in a tiny theater of operations. For the most part this geographic compression has intensified the struggle, allowing enemies to throw rocks at each other, shoot into each other's homes, launch inter-neighborhood rocket attacks, cross the street to blow each other up.

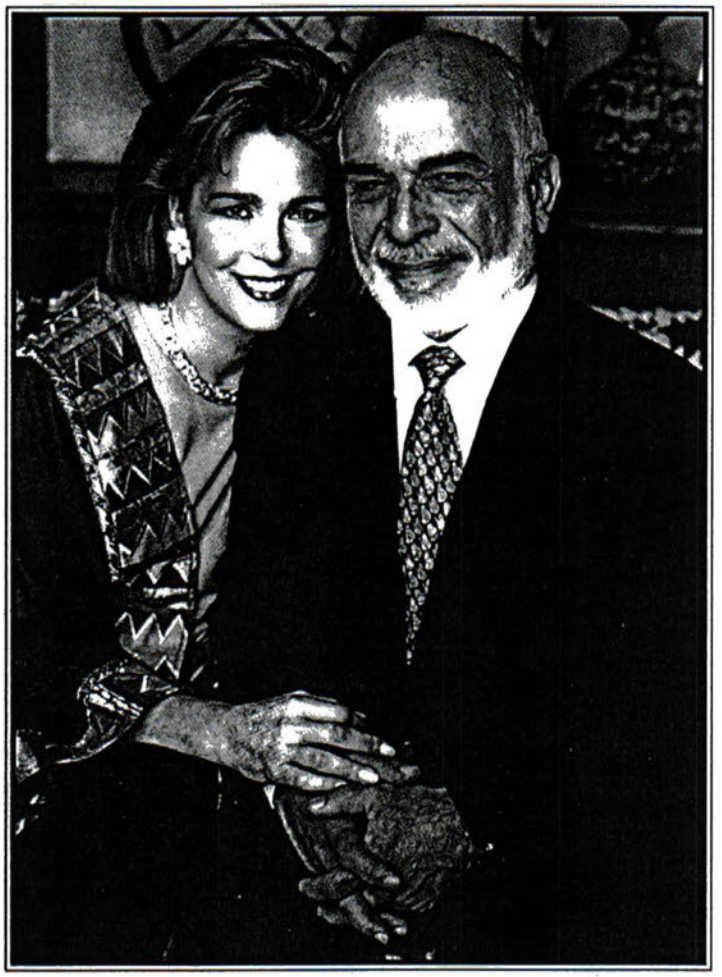
If every problem contains its own solution, the solution in this case is to unleash what Wallach—now a Senior Fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace—calls a "small army" of peacemakers. Kids who can speak clearly and listen carefully. Kids who have learned to negotiate patiently and who know that to achieve peace, each side must leave the table feeling safe. Kids who, by any accounting, are among the best their countries have to offer. Kids who, as Wallach predicts to the camp, will surely return to Seeds of Peace as the presidents or prime ministers of their countries. Kids like Noa and Hazem who have had the courage and suppleness of mind to make a friend from the other side, who have combined to make a double-play together, dished-off for a winning basket, collaborated on a sculpture. Kids who together have watched the moon rise over a lake, and in its soft light seen that their enemy has a human face and known, in that moment, something of their enemy's heart. ▲

Bill Mayher, a former teacher and college counselor, is a freelance writer and frequent contributor to Hope.

Fifth Anniversary Year

SEEDS OF PEACE

GALA CELEBRATION 1997



HONORING

HIS MAJESTY KING HUSSEIN BIN TALAL

AND

HER MAJESTY QUEEN NOOR AL HUSSEIN

OF THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

MARCH 31, 1997

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BUILDING PEACE: ONE FRIEND AT A TIME

It is hard to believe that Seeds of Peace is entering its fifth summer of bringing Israeli and Arab youngsters together for a month of coexistence and conflict resolution. We began with a two-week program in the summer of 1993 with only 47 youngsters from three countries. Last summer, 150 teenagers from eight nations participated in our month-long program. In 1995, teenagers from Bosnia and Serbia joined our program. Today, more than one thousand youngsters throughout the Middle East compete annually to come to Seeds of Peace.

U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan wrote recently how impressed he is "with the quiet, behind-the-scenes work being done by Seeds of Peace and the help and hope it offers to teenagers from conflict regions everywhere." In 1996, UNESCO recognized our achievements by awarding Seeds of Peace one of its coveted peace prizes and President Clinton wrote that "the success of Seeds of Peace will mean a brighter future for the region and the world." King Hussein, Prime Minister Netanyahu, President Arafat and President Mubarak have all noted that Seeds of Peace has become an indispensable part of the peacemaking process.

We are not resting on our laurels. This summer we will be inaugurating our own facility in Maine, the Seeds of Peace International Camp, which will be available to us on a year-round basis for the next decade. While it is impractical to run programs during the winter, we can now contemplate expanding throughout all the summer months to bring more teenagers from the Middle East as well as from other regions of conflict, including the inner cities of America.

Nothing is more urgent than the task of *peacebuilding*. Sending American or United Nations troops to help separate warring parties is only part of the solution. Witness the difficulty that President Clinton has had in withdrawing U.S. forces from Bosnia. Hundreds of millions of dollars are being spent on these military peacekeeping missions. But virtually no funds are being allocated to peacebuilding and only a handful of organizations are tackling the need to bring the people, particularly the next generation, together at a pivotal time in their lives.

That is our mission at Seeds of Peace. We are so proud of each of our several hundred graduates, particularly the teenagers who were 13 or 14 years old when they began and have returned summer after summer as peer support, junior counselors and this summer *for the first time* as counselors. In the future we hope to run several sessions every summer. We hope to institute a program that will allow school teachers to get together to begin the urgent task of rewriting social studies and history textbooks.

The challenge is enormous. But as we begin our fifth year, I am more confident than ever that one or more of our graduates will one day become the president or prime minister of their country. In the meantime, these youngsters are distinguishing themselves every day. They are publishing *The Olive Branch*, the first Arab-Israeli youth newspaper; they are holding regular reunions in each other's homes; they are working on *Building Blocks for Peace* and other joint art and science projects and some are able to e-mail each other on a regular basis.

There is no limit to what we can achieve in the next decade. But we need your support—*now more than ever.* Thank you for making the commitment to attend our anniversary dinner. On behalf of Bobbie Gottschalk, our devoted executive director, and Tim Wilson, our inspirational camp director, I want to extend an invitation to each of you to visit us this summer at Seeds of Peace. I have often said that from the youngsters themselves to the camp counselors and facilitators, there is virtually no one whose life is not affected by this experience. Amidst all the suffering surrounding us in the Middle East and elsewhere, Seeds of Peace must remain a beacon of hope. Our mandate, as Ruth Ratner Miller knew throughout her life, is to never accept limits to what is possible.

JOHN WALLACH, *Founder and President,* SEEDS OF PEACE

Subj: Friends and Family
Date: 97-03-14 11:17:22 EST
From: Bobbie Gottschalk @ SeedsPeace

Dear Friends and Family,

This morning as I tried to read the newspaper through my tears, I kept imagining the gripping fear those eighty school girls lived through yesterday and the impact the tragedy would have on their friends, family, communities, the Middle East and the world. It is one more time, in a whole series of instances, in which a crazed person has attempted to change the course of history with a single act of horror. When will we all agree that enough is enough is enough!!!?

I don't need to remind you, I am sure, that this is the time to reach out to your friends from other delegations and support each other. Every time there is an incident like this one, the old stereotypes and fears come back to the front of our minds. It is important to recognize them for what they are and to dismiss them in favor of the new perspectives we have as a result of experiences in Seeds of Peace. Keep trying to reach each other. Sometimes the lines of communication are blocked. Right now some Israelis are not able to reach their friends in Jordan by phone. Use e-mail if you can.

Tonight is the beginning of Shabbat for Jewish people. It will be a very sad one. Today was the Sabbath day for Muslim people and it must have been very sad as well. Christians will observe the Sabbath on Sunday. On these three days, one after the other, there is a chance that our multiple prayers and yearnings for peace will unite our brethren of all faiths in one great demand for humanity, decency and love. Those of us who choose to accept one another, despite our differences, are in the majority all over the world. We must not allow the lunatic minority to destroy our ability to live together in peace.

John, Tim, Meredith and Stanley join me in a prayer for calm in the face of atrocity, although it will not be easy and it will test your resolve mightily. Stay united. Help your families and friends understand the importance of preparing for peace. Once you begin to prepare for war, that is what you achieve. We have all had enough of that. More than enough.

Take care and stay in touch.
Love always,
Bobbie

PROGRAM

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY SEEDS OF PEACE DINNER IN HONOR OF
THEIR MAJESTIES KING HUSSEIN AND QUEEN NOOR ON THE OCCASION OF THE
PRESENTATION OF THE 1997 RUTH RATNER MILLER SEEDS OF PEACE PRIZE

PERFORMANCE OF THE NATIONAL ANTHEMS OF THE
HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WELCOME BY FREDRIC GOULD AND ELIAS ABURDENE
1997 SEEDS OF PEACE DINNER CHAIRS

GREETING BY BARBRA STREISAND

INTRODUCTION OF JOHN WALLACH
Founder and President

DINNER

LIVE AUCTION

ENTERTAINMENT

THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA*

PRESENTATION OF RUTH RATNER MILLER AWARD
BY THE HONORABLE AARON MILLER
AND GRADUATES SARA ABABNEH, SHAI KIRSHEIMER,
BADER TAREQ TUFAHAH, AMIRA SHAKER,
JENNY MILLER, IRENE NASSER AND SHOUQ TARAWNEH

ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS
HIS MAJESTY KING HUSSEIN BIN TALAL

Please remain seated during the departure of Their Majesties and the Jordanian official party.

*invited

SEEDS OF PEACE
370 LEXINGTON AVENUE
SUITE 1409
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017
TEL: 212-573-8040
FAX: 212-573-8047

Seeds of Peace

'97 DEC 1 AM 10:5

Fax

To: PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE

From: JOHN WALLACH

SEEDS OF PEACE

Fax: 212-573-8047 **Pages:** 2

Phone: 212-573-8040 **Date:** NOVEMBER 24, 1997

Re: **CC:** THE HONORABLE SANDY BERGER

THE HONORABLE MARIA ECHAVESTE

Urgent **For Review** ☐ **Please Comment** ☐ **Please Reply** ☐ **Please Recycle**

12-1-97

Send to NSC?

Yes

Thanks

TO Scheduling

Seeds of Peace

PREPARING TOMORROW'S LEADERS / A TRAINING GROUND FOR PEACE

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

November 25, 1997

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for inviting Janet and myself to attend the luncheon last Friday on the occasion of your receiving The Man of Peace 1997 Award. It was a moving occasion for both of us as we knew Yitzhak Rabin quite well. He was an early and committed supporter of *Seeds of Peace*.

Although we only had a brief moment to speak, I was pleased to hear that you mentioned *Seeds of Peace* in some written remarks on your interracial peace initiative in our country. In the last five years, *Seeds of Peace* has graduated almost 800 Arab and Israeli teenagers who have learned the art of making peace in our conflict resolution program.

As I mentioned in our brief conversation, it is a distinct honor and privilege for me to invite you and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to receive the 1998 Seeds of Peace Prize which is presented annually by children from each of our participating eight nations in the Middle East at a formal dinner in New York. Past recipients have included Their Majesties King Hussein and Queen Noor, Prime Ministers Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres and both the Israeli and Palestinian architects of the Oslo Accords.

We would like to be able to present you and the First Lady with the 1998 Seeds of Peace Prize at our gala dinner at The Pierre Hotel in New York on one of the following dates: Sunday, April 5; Monday, April 6; Tuesday April 21; Wednesday April 22 or Sunday, April 26. Last year's event, which also was attended by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, was attended by more than 600 people. Please let me know whether you will receive the prize and if any of the above dates are suitable.

With very best wishes,

John Wallach
President

cc: The Honorable Sandy Berger
The Honorable Maria Echaveste

"In this entire assembly, no one is more important than the group of Israeli and Arab children who are seated here with us today.

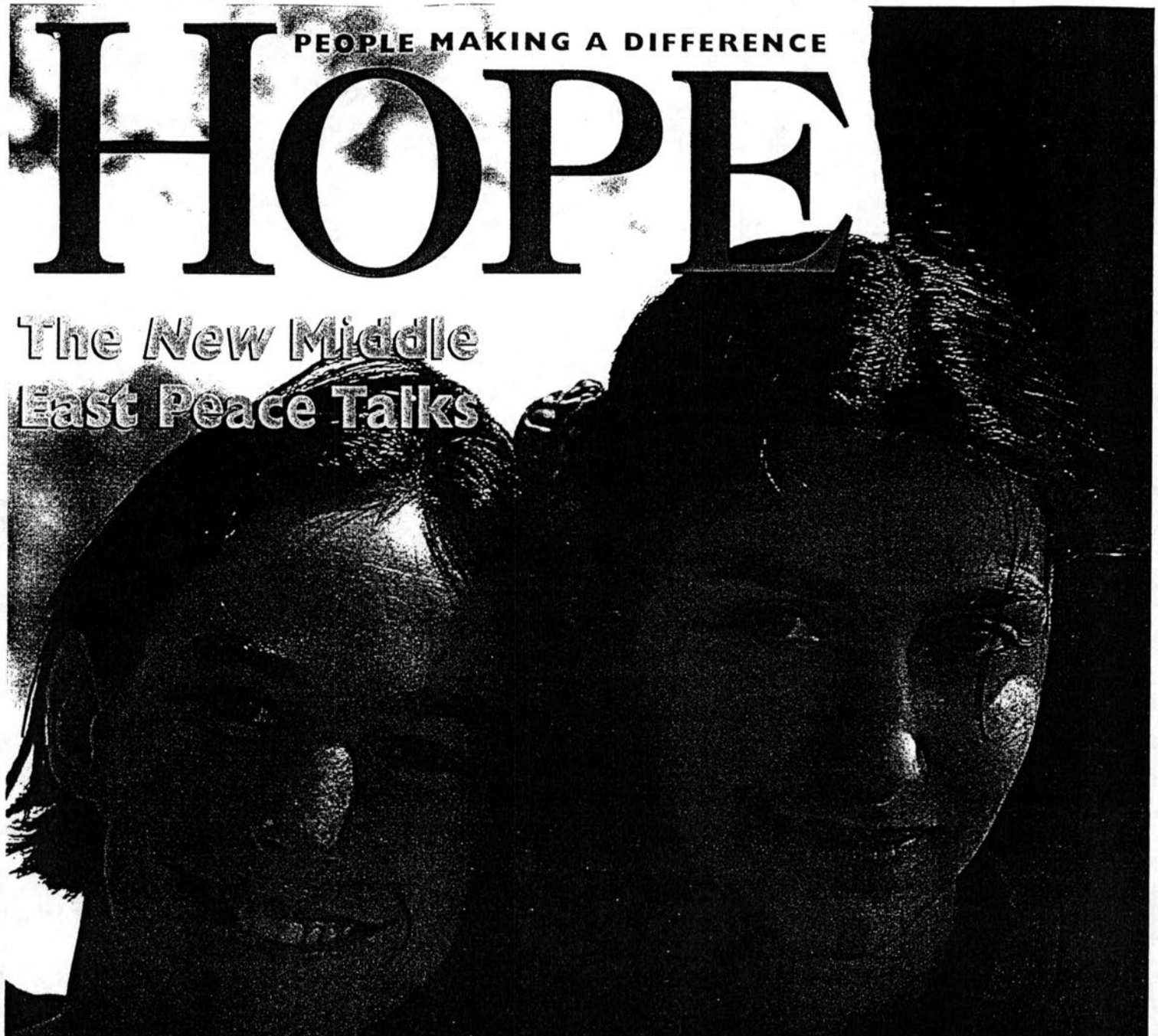
PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

For them we must realize the prophecy of Isaiah, that the cry of violence shall no more be heard in your land, nor wrack nor ruin within your borders."

SEPTEMBER 13, 1993

PEOPLE MAKING A DIFFERENCE

HOPE



The New Middle East Peace Talks

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and other surprising
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DECEMBER 1997

At a summer camp in Maine, the children of bitter enemies live with the people they've been taught to fear. It's no love-fest, but it might be a volatile region's best chance for building lasting peace.

Middle East

LIKE ROADSIDE ICE CREAM stands or country churches, summer camps in Maine have a reassuring orthodoxy all their own. Visit one and you'll probably find a line of cabins strung out along a lake. There will be a main lodge and a jumble of lesser structures, each with its own blend of rumpled out-of-plumbness speaking of light construction and heavy winter snows. On your visit, you're almost certain to hear the shriek of whistles from the swimming dock, the sound of distant shouting as a well-hit ball arcs deep to left, dusty footfalls clumping closer and then suddenly tripping on a well-worn root by the dining lodge, as a thousand teenage feet have tripped a thousand times before. At summer camps, what you'll mostly hear is laughter, and in the spaces between the laughter, the plaintive song of a white throated sparrow from the woody margins, the uncertain plunk of tennis balls, and the snap of a wet towel with its answering yelp of pain. In the long inhale and exhale of summer days by a sandy-bottom lake, what you'll surely find among the grassy spaces and dappled shade of camps is a special mix of away-from-home safety and risk that helps kids grow right.

Not surprisingly then, when it came time to find a place for the children of Arabs and Jews—bitter enemies who have been killing each other for generations—to attempt the painful and uncertain work of making peace among themselves, a summer camp in Maine seemed like a natural place to locate. To make peace, these kids need distance from their homelands. They need neutral ground. The cultural, political, and personal walls that separate them are incomprehensibly high. There is, in the words of contemporary historian

Teenagers from the Middle East including Adi Shelag (left) of Israel and Malek Fayez of Egypt explore their differences—and their shared humanity—in a Co-Existence Group discussion at Seeds of Peace International Camp.

Peace Talks

BY BILL MAYHER
PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARAH PUTNAM

Mohamed Haikal, such "fury and revulsion" between them, that most of the teenagers chosen by their countries to attend a camp called Seeds of Peace in Otisfield, Maine, have never met a single one of their opposite number. For this reason alone, they need time to talk together; they need time to listen. Most of the 162 campers at Seeds of Peace have traveled from Egypt, Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, and even Qatar to eat American camp chow and sleep in open cabins with people they have been taught their whole lives to hate. For taking these risks, they deserve a chance at reconciliation and friendship. At Seeds of Peace, they'll get it.

On a dazzling July morning, Seeds of Peace founder John Wallach opens this year's session with a challenge to the teenagers gathered around him on the grass. "Today this is the only place in the world where Israelis and Arabs can come together on neutral ground and try to be friends," he says. "Because of this, I would ask one thing of each of you. No matter what else you do in your time here, make one friend from the other side."

In laying down his challenge—regardless how idyllic the setting, or how eager the kids—Wallach is saying that building friendships between enemies is, after all, no easy thing.

John Wallach left a high-powered journalism career to launch the Seeds of Peace International Camp in 1993. Wallach had been a White House correspondent for thirty years. He had broken the story of the CIA mining Nicaraguan harbors, and he had covered the Middle East. He won the National Press Club Award and the Overseas Press Club Award for uncovering the "arms for hostages" story that led to the Iran-Contra

"I'VE LEARNED THAT THE ANSWER TO LIFE IS NOT THE POOHBAHS, IT'S THE BASICS."

scandal. When few people had thought such a thing was possible, he had written, with his wife Janet Wallach, a biography of the elusive Yasser Arafat.

But Wallach didn't feel satisfied being, in his words, a "fly on the wall of history." Perhaps he felt a sense of personal destiny because his parents had escaped the Holocaust. Perhaps he has always had an instinct for seeing beyond superficial differences because Catholic priests had guided his parents through the Pyrenees to safety. Whatever the reasons, in 1985, when the Cold War thaw was merely a trickle, Wallach initiated a program in what he called "citizen diplomacy" at the Chautauqua Institute in Upstate New York to bring together ordinary Russians and Americans together to search for common ground. For this work, Wallach received the Medal of Friendship, the former Soviet Union's highest civilian award, from then president Mikhail Gorbachev in 1991.

At news of the World Trade Center bombing in New York City in February 1993, Wallach again heard the call to action. A month later, an idea came to him: because the adults of the world had so clearly failed at peacemaking in the Middle East, he would skip the present generation of leaders and go straight to the next. He would bring together young people who had been born amid the violence and searing hatreds of the region, and allow them to explore their mutual humanity.

"I spent my whole life with the powerful," Wallach recalled in an interview with Susan Rayfield in the *Maine Sunday Telegram*. "I can't tell you how

A Middle East Primer

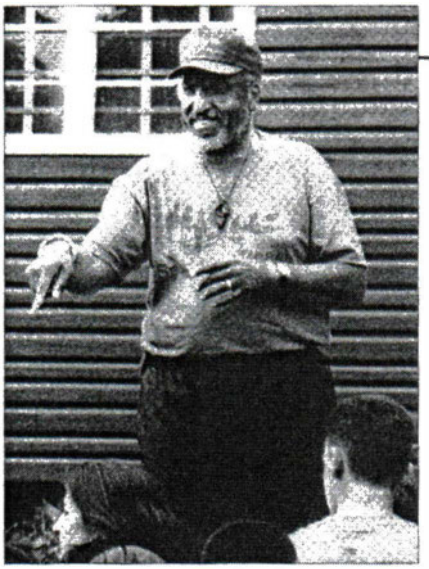
The Arab-Israeli conflict is rooted in Biblical times but, for our purposes, we might begin in 1892, when violent anti-Semitism in Russia stimulated a wave of Zionist immigrants into Palestine, pitting Jewish settlers against indigenous Palestinians in a struggle over land both groups passionately believed was originally theirs. These pressures grew even more intense after World War I. With the demise of the empire of the Ottoman Turks, Britain assumed a League of Nations Mandate to govern Palestine and then, via the Balfour Declaration of November 1917, supported the establishment of a Jewish homeland—with the understanding that the rights of indigenous Arabs would also be upheld. But no formal steps were taken until after World War II when, with the Holocaust adding critical impetus to the Zionist dream, the United Nations General Assembly, on November 29, 1947, voted to partition Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. The Arab League rejected this initiative, refusing to give up any land to the founding of a Jewish homeland.

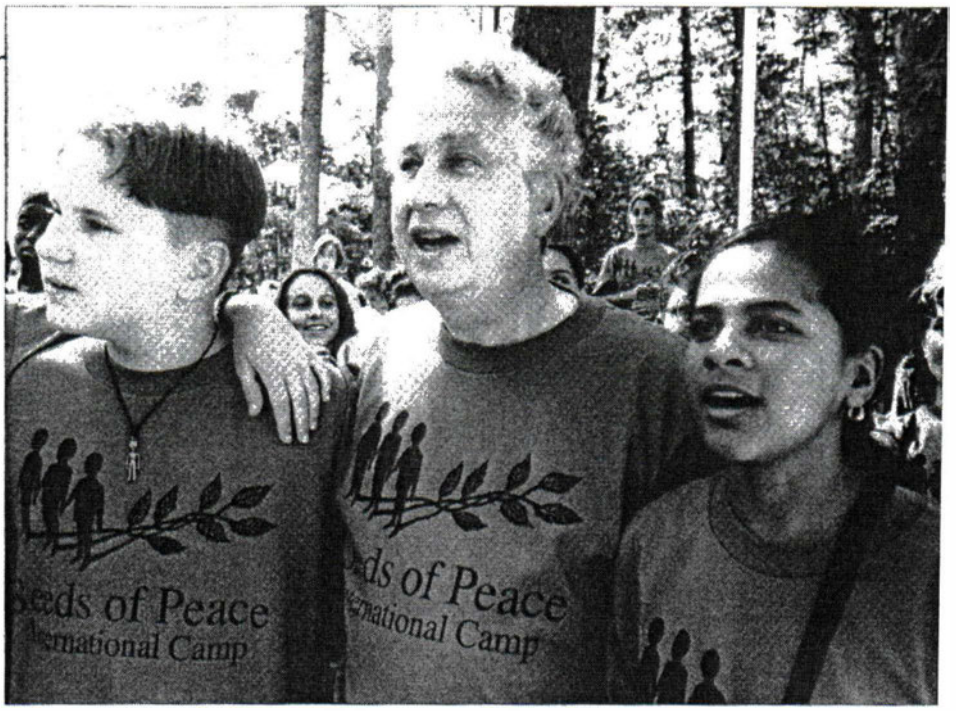
On May 14, 1948, when the British mandate expired, Zionist leaders proclaimed the State of Israel. In answer, the Arabs invaded Israel with the intent of eliminating it as a political entity, but Israel managed to survive the assault and, in the ensuing years, settled into uneasy nationhood surrounded by a hostile population of displaced Palestinians and other Arabs.

Following Israel's decisive victory in the Six Day War of 1967, animosities grew more intense. Israel occupied territories it had won in the war: Arab East Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank of the Jordan River. Except for Sinai, which Israel returned to Egypt in the peace negotiated at Camp David in 1978, and the modest territories in Gaza and the West Bank that Israel later relinquished to the Palestinians, the Jewish State has continued to occupy and administer the territory it conquered. Using a code inherited from the British rule of Palestine, the "British Defense (Emergency) Regulations," it claims the right to "deport citizens of Palestine, to demolish houses, to impose curfews and town arrest, to censor newspapers and books, and to administratively detain, all without the necessity of judicial proceedings." Israel also allowed the founding of Jewish "settlements" for strategic and ideological purposes, and then provided the subsequent logistical and military support necessary to protect them. This has further exacerbated tensions and a ferocious eye-for-an-eye continues to this day, with terrorist attacks by radical Palestinians countered by the harsh reprisals of Israeli extremists. In addition, the occupying Israeli army's tight grip on border check points and vital resources has held the Palestinians in a state of permanent subjugation, which itself led to the Palestinian uprising known as the Intifada, beginning in 1987.

On September 13, 1993, Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat came to the White House to sign a peace accord negotiated in Oslo, Norway, in which the Palestinians agreed to end their call for the destruction of the state of Israel in return for the beginnings of national autonomy that would ultimately lead to the creation of a Palestinian State. As a result of the Peace Accord, the Palestinians were allowed to establish their own freely-elected government in Gaza and expand their authority to other parts of the West Bank, including the biblical city of Hebron. The promise of this accord proved to be short-lived, however. Yitzak Rabin was assassinated in November 1995 by a right-wing Israeli who claimed Rabin had sold out to the Palestinians. Rabin was succeeded by Shimon Peres of the Labor Party, but, Peres was then narrowly defeated by the conservative Likud party of Benjamin Netanyahu. While agreeing to honor the Arafat-Rabin treaty in principle, the Likud government has continued its hard-line policies toward the Palestinians.

—B.M.





Above: Seeds of Peace staffer Tim Wilson has a talent for keeping things lively and under control at the same time. *Right:* Founder and former journalist John Wallach joins campers in the opening celebration.

many times I've been on Air Force One, or with the White House pool, or world leaders. I had a lot of power as a journalist. I've learned that the answer to life is not the poohbahs, it's the basics. The coming home to Maine. To what is human in all of us, that ties us together as human beings."

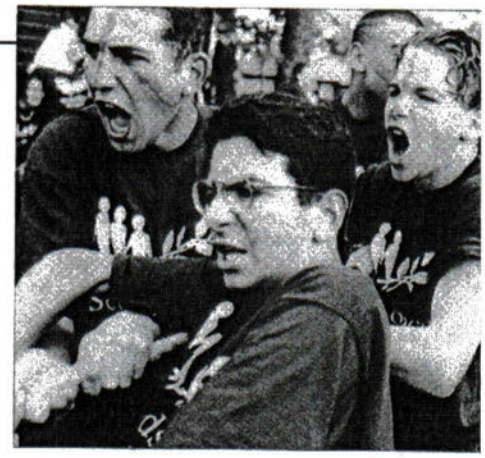
Wallach needed staff, kids, and a facility to realize his vision. He found his first staffer, Executive Director Barbara "Bobbie" Gottschalk, in Washington, D.C. Gottschalk's book group had invited Wallach and his wife to discuss their book on Arafat and afterwards, he shared his vision for Seeds of Peace. Gottschalk was so intrigued, she left a secure job as a clinical social worker to join him.

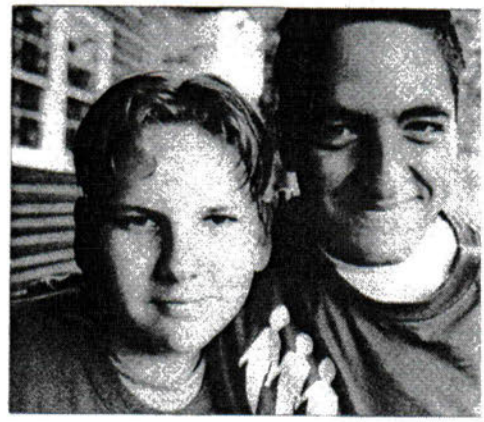
To find kids for his camp, Wallach approached the Middle East's major players, each of whom he personally knew: Yasser Arafat, the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization; Yitzhak Rabin, the Prime Minister of Israel; and Hosni Mubarak, the President of Egypt. "Trust me with your children," Wallach asked each of the beleaguered men. "Give me the next generation. Give them a chance to escape the poison." His years of journalistic engagement and fairness were to have an unforeseen payoff: all three leaders answered Wallach's plea, an acquiescence little short of miraculous.

Serendipity intervened when Wallach found that a Camp Powhatan in Otisfield, Maine, would let him use its facility after the camp's regular session ended. Touring the camp, Wallach met Tim Wilson, Powhatan's co-director, whom he immediately recognized as a Maine-camp classic with his own dazzling bag of tricks for keeping things lively and yet under control at the same time. An inner-city teacher and football coach around the steel mills of Pittsburgh, Wilson is as good at the up-in-front-of-everybody bluster that keeps things cooking as he is at the quiet arm-around-the-shoulder buck-up that helps an exhausted and melancholy adolescent get through another day. So in the summer of 1993 with a camp facility and a core staff in place, Wallach had assembled the basics of what would become Seeds of Peace.

In four short years, the camp has won awards including a 1997 Peace Prize from the United Nations Educational, Science and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and drawn accolades from world leaders. Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, wrote in a letter to Seeds of Peace this year, "There is no more important initiative than bringing together young people who have seen the ravages of war to learn the art of peace." In her speeches, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright has mentioned Seeds of Peace as a bright spot on an otherwise dark Middle East horizon. Yasser Arafat has said, "Seeds of Peace represents the hope and the aim which we are working to realize, namely just peace in the land of peace." Before he was assassinated, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin noted after meeting with campers, "Witnessing young Arabs and Israelis together gives me great hope that soon all Arabs and Israelis can live normal lives side-by-side."

The new arrivals, all between ages thirteen and eighteen, plunge into the usual sports and games, ready to fulfill the camp's mission to make peace among themselves. That is, until the hard work begins. Staff assign campers to Co-Existence groups, where the most intense, and arguably the most important, work of the camp occurs. Here, campers learn to listen to the histories and feelings of age-old enemies and begin to move toward accommodation and ultimately, empathy. Led by pairs of trained facilitators, these groups of about fourteen campers meet daily in a cycle of three sessions, and then move on together to a new pair of facilitators who, using a





IT IS A CAMP THAT COMPELS THEM TO LOOK THEIR ENEMY IN THE EYE AND BEGIN TO KNOW THEIR ENEMY'S HEART.

variety of techniques including oral history, role playing and role reversal, art, and drama, teach effective listening and negotiating skills. The group work is at first designed to create a safe space between participants. The facilitators then direct the group toward more difficult issues.

In one group, facilitators Linda Carol Pierce and Janis Astor de Valle delve into intense racial tensions in Brooklyn, New York. Their role-play, in which a black camper from Bedford Stuyvesant runs into a white camper from Bensonhurst, starts out as friendly banter. Suddenly, it veers into a dramatic shouting match recapitulating incidents of muggings and mob murder that continue to divide their neighborhoods to this day. As the actors shout at each other, "You people," this, and "You people," that, campers see graphically that bone-deep prejudice is not confined to the Middle East.

Following the role-play, Pierce and deValle ask individuals in the group to share with a partner a personal story of prejudice each has suffered, and then have that partner report the story to the entire group—a well-known technique that builds listening skills among the youngsters and, as they tell each other's stories, helps put them into each other's shoes. An Arab girl tells of being snubbed on the Internet by members of her chat group when they discovered she was from Jordan. She relates how one of them shot back, "Isn't that where people with bombs come from?" and refused to acknowledge her further, letting her twist in cyberspace—a new style victim of a very old disease.

In another group, campers who already have represented the opposition's side in a mock Middle East negotiating session are now allowed to present their own points of view in debating who should have control over Jerusalem. But before the teenagers begin, the facilitators ask them to assemble pictures from colored toothpicks in a tabletop exercise that serves as a metaphor for issues of personal and collective space. The kids' individual designs—stick figures of people, houses, stars, and suns—soon expand to cover the entire table. The facilitators then start with the questions. "Were there borders there for you?" one facilitator asks. "There were borders on the table. Whoever was stronger took more space," a camper replies. "The quick and the strong get it all," adds another. "Let's relate this to Jerusalem," the facilitator then suggests, giving the kids fresh angles of approach to discuss this contentious and emotional issue. The debate that ensues is spirited, often heated, but it is also respectful because both sides have established the need to honor each other's "space."

Through the process of working with different facilitators—each with different strategies—campers cannot avoid getting down to the most stubborn problems that divide them. There is too much bad blood, too much history to let campers play at peace like they play at tennis. This camp, by Wallach's own design, is no feel-good paradise; rather it is a camp that compels them to look their enemy in

Playing hard outside and talking hard inside, campers work out their differences and search for common ground. *Opposite:* Baseball and tug-of-war are just two events in the Color Games, a competitive crescendo in the camp's final days that uses teamwork to melt boundaries and foster new friendships like the one between Israeli Edi Spitz and Palestinian Adhem Rishmawi (*bottom left*). *Above:* Indoors, teenagers from opposite sides of the Middle East conflict begin to forge bonds by interpreting one another's drawings of safety, trust, and personal risk, and by listing things they all share in common.

the eye and in doing so, begin to know their enemy's heart. When the kids get down to it in the groups, Wallach says, "It doesn't take them very long to realize that they don't like each other very much."

As they hash out their deep-seated differences, the kids at Seeds of Peace also spend plenty of time on the playing field—a few individual events, but mostly team sports that put individuals from opposing political factions on the same team: baseball, tennis, lacrosse, soccer, swimming, volleyball, relay races, basketball. The theory is that in the heat of competition, young people will become teammates and forget the elemental differences that brought them here.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the Color Games, a competitive crescendo in the final days of the camp. Guided by the skilled (and wily) hand of Tim Wilson, the camp is divided into two teams: Greens and Blues. Tee shirts are donned, separate cheers invented. The teams are then turned loose to relentlessly compete against each other across the entire spectrum of camp sports and activities. Every camper has to contribute, the efforts of each essential to the whole. It is raucous, loud, dusty, and hilarious: transcendent partisanship forging white-hot loyalties—if only for the moment.

As the Color Games rush toward the final events, in the age-old tradition of a summer camp, it becomes increasingly impossible for the participants to assess with any precision what it might actually take to win. The totals for each team remain maddeningly close until, in the final event, one team surges to capture the crown only to discover that, in fact, there is no actual prize for the hard fought victory except the opportunity to give an enthusiastic cheer for the losing team and to jump in the lake first.

At this moment, the Color Games become a metaphor for sharing the victory equally between "winners" and "losers." After days of running their guts out and shouting over the treetops, the campers begin to understand that most elusive of truths: People on each side of a conflict must be truly satisfied if there is to be peace; victory can and must be a shared thing.

Perhaps Egyptian camper Silvana Naguib said it best in a film made at the camp several years ago: "The first step we have to make right now is not only to want for your own people.... You have to really, really want, really desire for the others. If you are an Israeli, you have to want for all the Palestinians to feel happy and feel safe and feel comfortable. If you're a Palestinian you want the same thing [for the Israelis]. All the people in the country have to really want everyone else to be happy."

On July, 30, 1997, a double suicide bombing by radical Palestinians tears through a Jerusalem marketplace called Mahane Yehuda, killing fourteen Israelis and wounding more than 150 others. The horror of the attack is captured by Serge Schmemann writing in the New York Times: "Witness after witness recited the same litany of flame, flesh, and horror. They described bodies covered with fruits and shoes; a man sitting on his motorbike dead; limbs flying."

Reports of the bombing rip through

Seeds of Peace as well. When the news breaks, John Wallach addresses the camp as a whole. Special groups are formed with facilitators to help campers ride out the emotional storm. In the first hours, a deep sense of mourning and sympathy pervades the camp. In the next few days, as the initial shock wears off, the work in Co-Existence Groups takes on a harder edge; it becomes more difficult to maintain safe space and good listening. At this point, says facilitator Cindy Cohen, "It's almost impossible for kids to [acknowledge] the suffering of the other side without feeling it as an attack."

In the groups, tension is palpable and harsh phrases fly: "Palestine does not exist!" "Israel has no culture!" "You people always bring up the Holocaust to justify everything you have done to us." Historical interpretations are shot like missiles; it is raining verbal SCUDS. Of this phase Wallach says, "You could leave a Co-Existence Group and feel pretty discouraged by the depths of anger you see there. But it's all part of the process of peacemaking. It is the beginning of wisdom."

At first it's hard to see much in the way of either peacemaking or wisdom happening. It just looks like bickering. But then, through the sluiceways of talk, one suddenly glimpses—washing along amid the hard, gray slag of ancient enmities—bright nuggets of reconciliation: "I can understand your fears." "Everyone has the same sort of pain.... We share that." "We hear history repeats itself, and that's really scary." "If we can't compromise here, how can we expect two whole countries to compromise?" Finally in one combative session, a particularly hard-line Israeli boy turns and looks into the eyes of the Palestinian youth next to him—a boy who was jailed at the age of eight during the Intifada, and who saw his uncle killed by Israeli soldiers. The Israeli boy says, "I can't guarantee that my government won't kill your people, but I can guarantee that I won't."

In the days ahead, the kids will be allowed to exhaust themselves in passionate arguments—no matter how futile. Eventually they will reach the point when they look across the abyss that divides them and finally see other human beings. It is the tradition of this camp that, amid the games and cheering and fireside songs, amid the long, hot days of talk, trust will be built on the simple idea that if each side listens attentively enough to the other, each will at long last realize there is no alternative to peace.

Campers go wild when their team scores a basket at the height of the Color Games.

Wallach's charge to make one friend from the other side seemed like a modest goal in the first, euphoric days of camp. In the darker days following the bombing, it seems nearly unreachable. This is the point when a paradox embedded in the way Seeds of Peace works becomes clear: The pain of the journey is the very thing that insures both its validity and its durability. Without hardening-off at camp, the tender shoots of reconciliation nourished there won't be hardy enough to survive transplanting to the rocky, unyielding soil of their homelands.

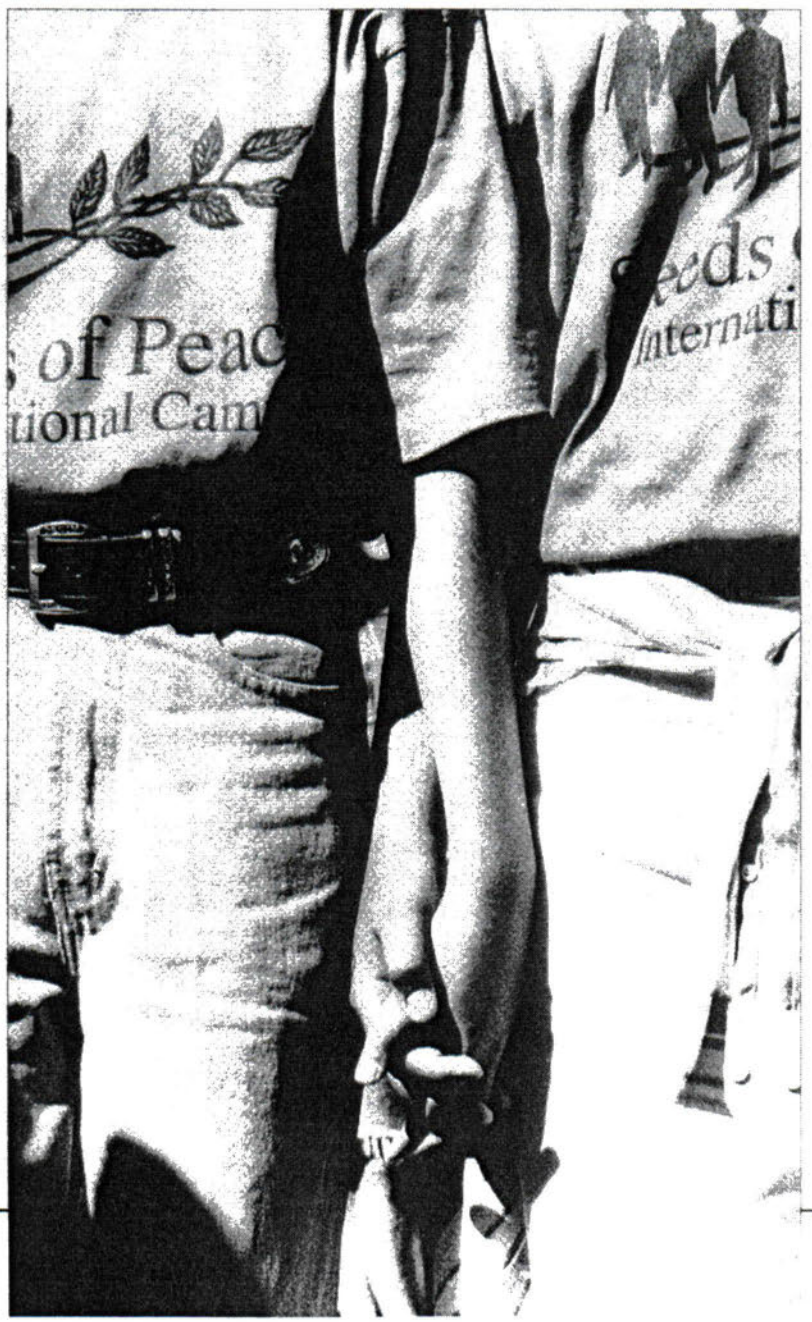
Role-playing and other group work gives the campers a sense of how to cope with the re-entry process. But when the teens return home, they will still face formidable obstacles to keeping in touch with new friends from the other side—especially since the suicide bombing has led Israel to impose even stricter control over border checkpoints. A Palestinian camper explains that he had to stand in line for four hours to apply for a pass into Jerusalem. He then had to wait about a month for the pass to be processed. After his request was approved, he had to stand in line for another four or five hours to cross into Jerusalem to visit his friend who lived only twelve kilometers away. And that was before the bombings.

Luckily, there is e-mail to keep kids communicating with camp friends, and Wallach and executive director Gottschalk—who maintains contact with all of the kids—have developed other techniques for helping them stay in touch. A full-time coordinator in the Middle East works at establishing events for alumni, who also write feature articles for the organization's quarterly newspaper, The Olive Branch. Two years ago, King Hussein of Jordan welcomed 200 campers to a Seeds of Peace reunion in Jordan and symbolically donned a Seeds of Peace necktie.

Towards the end of camp, evidence of friendship is everywhere—in arms casually twined around another, in easy banter and teasing. Hazem Zaanon from Gaza and Noa Epstein from just outside Jerusalem are hoarse from cheering and flushed with excitement about the Color Games. Hazem says that he got to know Noa at their lunch table when they "just began to talk, first about Palestine and Israel, but then about everything. We became friends because everyone listened to the other's part," explains Hazem. "We became easy in

The Future of Seeds of Peace

Seeds of Peace is an expensive operation that, independent as it is of government funding, calls for intense annual fund raising to cover the tuition and transportation for all its campers, as well as to pay for the salaries and costs of running the camp. Fortunately this year, with a long-term lease of the former Camp Powhatan property, Seeds of Peace has found a permanent home. This will enable John Wallach to eventually expand the mission of the camp to three, three-week sessions every summer for children from other regions. Several years ago the camp included delegations from Bosnia and Serbia. Wallach would like to continue this tradition by inviting other groups involved in long-standing conflicts: Protestants and Catholics from Northern Ireland, Greeks and Turks, white and black South Africans, and American inner-city youths. —*B.M.*



this. We listened and respected each other without yelling and screaming." Noa agrees: "Camp is wonderful for me. I wouldn't have made a Palestinian friend back home." She then speaks of the "easy" luxury of time with her friend, "not in Co-Existence groups, but eating lunch and playing ball games. Things that require friendship." Of course each of them knows it will be hard to keep in touch when "they face reality back home." But, Noa adds, "I think we have taken a step toward a new reality."

Whether this new reality is to be born in the region may end up being a matter of sheer numbers. When this year's campers return home, there will be 800 Seeds of Peace graduates in the region; next year close to 1,000. The Arab-Israeli conflict has been fought out in a tiny theater of operations. For the most part this geographic compression has intensified the struggle, allowing enemies to throw rocks at each other, shoot into each other's homes, launch inter-neighborhood rocket attacks, cross the street to blow each other up.

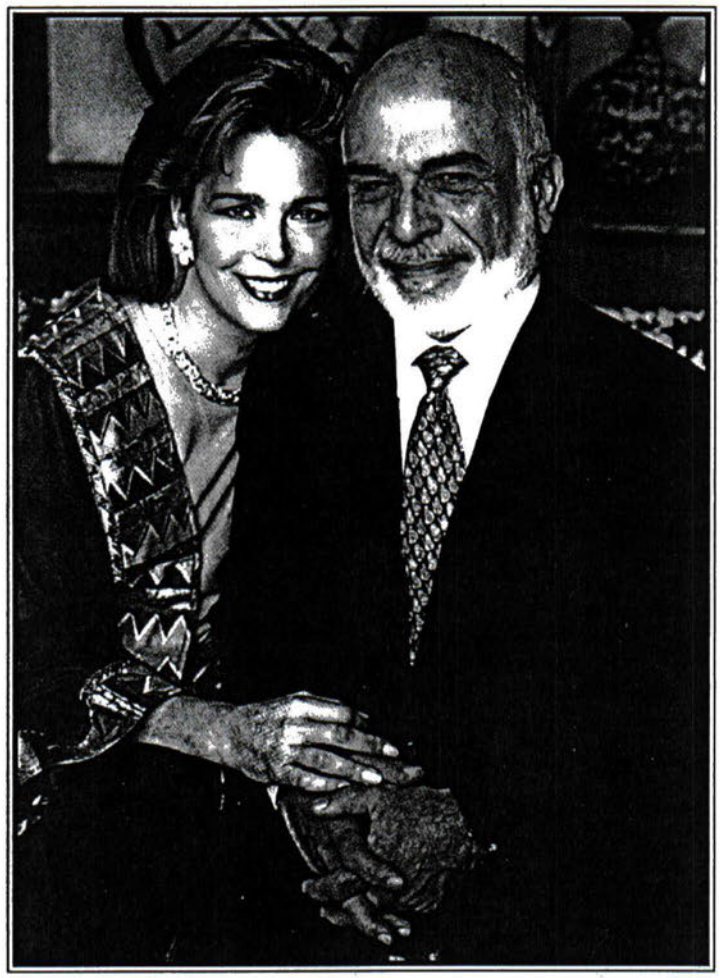
If every problem contains its own solution, the solution in this case is to unleash what Wallach—now a Senior Fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace—calls a "small army" of peacemakers. Kids who can speak clearly and listen carefully. Kids who have learned to negotiate patiently and who know that to achieve peace, each side must leave the table feeling safe. Kids who, by any accounting, are among the best their countries have to offer. Kids who, as Wallach predicts to the camp, will surely return to Seeds of Peace as the presidents or prime ministers of their countries. Kids like Noa and Hazem who have had the courage and suppleness of mind to make a friend from the other side, who have combined to make a double-play together, dished-off for a winning basket, collaborated on a sculpture. Kids who together have watched the moon rise over a lake, and in its soft light seen that their enemy has a human face and known, in that moment, something of their enemy's heart. ▲

Bill Mayher, a former teacher and college counselor, is a freelance writer and frequent contributor to Hope.

Fifth Anniversary Year

SEEDS OF PEACE

GALA CELEBRATION 1997



HONORING

HIS MAJESTY KING HUSSEIN BIN TALAL

AND

HER MAJESTY QUEEN NOOR AL HUSSEIN

OF THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

MARCH 31, 1997

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Barbra Streisand

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BUILDING PEACE: ONE FRIEND AT A TIME

It is hard to believe that Seeds of Peace is entering its fifth summer of bringing Israeli and Arab youngsters together for a month of coexistence and conflict resolution. We began with a two-week program in the summer of 1993 with only 47 youngsters from three countries. Last summer, 150 teenagers from eight nations participated in our month-long program. In 1995, teenagers from Bosnia and Serbia joined our program. Today, more than one thousand youngsters throughout the Middle East compete annually to come to Seeds of Peace.

U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan wrote recently how impressed he is "with the quiet, behind-the-scenes work being done by Seeds of Peace and the help and hope it offers to teenagers from conflict regions everywhere." In 1996, UNESCO recognized our achievements by awarding Seeds of Peace one of its coveted peace prizes and President Clinton wrote that "the success of Seeds of Peace will mean a brighter future for the region and the world." King Hussein, Prime Minister Netanyahu, President Arafat and President Mubarak have all noted that Seeds of Peace has become an indispensable part of the peacemaking process.

We are not resting on our laurels. This summer we will be inaugurating our own facility in Maine, the Seeds of Peace International Camp, which will be available to us on a year-round basis for the next decade. While it is impractical to run programs during the winter, we can now contemplate expanding throughout all the summer months to bring more teenagers from the Middle East as well as from other regions of conflict, including the inner cities of America.

Nothing is more urgent than the task of *peacebuilding*. Sending American or United Nations troops to help separate warring parties is only part of the solution. Witness the difficulty that President Clinton has had in withdrawing U.S. forces from Bosnia. Hundreds of millions of dollars are being spent on these military peacekeeping missions. But virtually no funds are being allocated to peacebuilding and only a handful of organizations are tackling the need to bring the people, particularly the next generation, together at a pivotal time in their lives.

That is our mission at Seeds of Peace. We are so proud of each of our several hundred graduates, particularly the teenagers who were 13 or 14 years old when they began and have returned summer after summer as peer support, junior counselors and this summer *for the first time* as counselors. In the future we hope to run several sessions every summer. We hope to institute a program that will allow school teachers to get together to begin the urgent task of rewriting social studies and history textbooks.

The challenge is enormous. But as we begin our fifth year, I am more confident than ever that one or more of our graduates will one day become the president or prime minister of their country. In the meantime, these youngsters are distinguishing themselves every day. They are publishing *The Olive Branch*, the first Arab-Israeli youth newspaper; they are holding regular reunions in each other's homes; they are working on *Building Blocks for Peace* and other joint art and science projects and some are able to e-mail each other on a regular basis.

There is no limit to what we can achieve in the next decade. But we need your support—*now more than ever.* Thank you for making the commitment to attend our anniversary dinner. On behalf of Bobbie Gottschalk, our devoted executive director, and Tim Wilson, our inspirational camp director, I want to extend an invitation to each of you to visit us this summer at Seeds of Peace. I have often said that from the youngsters themselves to the camp counselors and facilitators, there is virtually no one whose life is not affected by this experience. Amidst all the suffering surrounding us in the Middle East and elsewhere, Seeds of Peace must remain a beacon of hope. Our mandate, as Ruth Ratner Miller knew throughout her life, is to never accept limits to what is possible.

JOHN WALLACH, *Founder and President,* SEEDS OF PEACE

Subj: Friends and Family
Date: 97-03-14 11:17:22 EST
From: Bobbie Gottschalk @ SeedsPeace

Dear Friends and Family,

This morning as I tried to read the newspaper through my tears, I kept imagining the gripping fear those eighty school girls lived through yesterday and the impact the tragedy would have on their friends, family, communities, the Middle East and the world. It is one more time, in a whole series of instances, in which a crazed person has attempted to change the course of history with a single act of horror. When will we all agree that enough is enough is enough!!!?

I don't need to remind you, I am sure, that this is the time to reach out to your friends from other delegations and support each other. Every time there is an incident like this one, the old stereotypes and fears come back to the front of our minds. It is important to recognize them for what they are and to dismiss them in favor of the new perspectives we have as a result of experiences in Seeds of Peace. Keep trying to reach each other. Sometimes the lines of communication are blocked. Right now some Israelis are not able to reach their friends in Jordan by phone. Use e-mail if you can.

Tonight is the beginning of Shabbat for Jewish people. It will be a very sad one. Today was the Sabbath day for Muslim people and it must have been very sad as well. Christians will observe the Sabbath on Sunday. On these three days, one after the other, there is a chance that our multiple prayers and yearnings for peace will unite our brethren of all faiths in one great demand for humanity, decency and love. Those of us who choose to accept one another, despite our differences, are in the majority all over the world. We must not allow the lunatic minority to destroy our ability to live together in peace.

John, Tim, Meredith and Stanley join me in a prayer for calm in the face of atrocity, although it will not be easy and it will test your resolve mightily. Stay united. Help your families and friends understand the importance of preparing for peace. Once you begin to prepare for war, that is what you achieve. We have all had enough of that. More than enough.

Take care and stay in touch.
Love always,
Bobbie

PROGRAM

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY SEEDS OF PEACE DINNER IN HONOR OF
THEIR MAJESTIES KING HUSSEIN AND QUEEN NOOR ON THE OCCASION OF THE
PRESENTATION OF THE 1997 RUTH RATNER MILLER SEEDS OF PEACE PRIZE

PERFORMANCE OF THE NATIONAL ANTHEMS OF THE
HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WELCOME BY FREDRIC GOULD AND ELIAS ABURDENE
1997 SEEDS OF PEACE DINNER CHAIRS

GREETING BY BARBRA STREISAND

INTRODUCTION OF JOHN WALLACH
Founder and President

DINNER

LIVE AUCTION

ENTERTAINMENT

THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA*

PRESENTATION OF RUTH RATNER MILLER AWARD
BY THE HONORABLE AARON MILLER
AND GRADUATES SARA ABABNEH, SHAI KIRSHEIMER,
BADER TAREQ TUFAHAH, AMIRA SHAKER,
JENNY MILLER, IRENE NASSER AND SHOUQ TARAWNEH

ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS
HIS MAJESTY KING HUSSEIN BIN TALAL

Please remain seated during the departure of Their Majesties and the Jordanian official party.

*invited

Watkins Ludlam & Stennis, P.A.

Attorneys at Law

'97 DEC 2 AM10:3

Mark S. Aquadro
Robert M. Arentson, Jr.
Jeffrey R. Barber
Allan P. Bennett
Neville H. Boschert
Robert E. Box, Jr.
J. Chase Bryan
Alveno N. Castilla
Carl J. Chaney
H. Mitchell Cowan
C. York Craig, Jr.
Thomas W. Crockett
Lynda M. Crouse
Jennifer R. Crowson
Mark T. Davis
Michael T. Dawkins
William E. Dossett
Amy C. Felder
John M. Flynt
W. Davis Frye
Virginia S. Gautier
David B. Grishman
Robert E. Hamberg, Jr.
Kathryn H. Hester
John H. Holloman II
Robert B. House
Peyton S. Irby, Jr.
Gina M. Jacobs
Kristina M. Johnson
Stuart G. Kruger
Craig N. Landrum
Robert S. Lazarus
Ricky G. Luke
David L. Martin
Christy Crockett McCluskey
Aileen S. McNeill
Dennis W. Miller
[illegible] Netz

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Of Counsel

John B. Little, Jr.
Director of Administration

Writer's Direct No.
949-4800
ACSIMILE

Note from Gov. Winter on Race Advisory Board —

[illegible]mber 26, 1997

Reply

The Hon
President
The Wh
1600 Pe
Washin

Dear Mr. President:

I have hesitated 12-2-97 TO BURKHARDT FOR REPLY? YES NO to give you my impressions of the work

First, let me say beginning to accomplish what you had in mind when you established it. he skeptics in the press and elsewhere, I am finding an incredible am nce of what we are doing and a desire to be involved in it. It is simp blems that we are dealing with that causes some folks to be skeptical.

Be that as it may, I think that we have already accomplished one of our initial purposes, and that is to raise the subject of race to the level of genuine reflection, conversation and inquiry. Every newspaper columnist, skeptical or not, has been writing about the Initiative.

I am tremendously impressed by the very able and hard-working staff headed by Judith Winston. When we consider that they started from scratch in late summer, it blows my mind that they have been able to develop so many creative plans to make the Initiative a success. The Advisory Board is working harmoniously together.

After my brief experience on the Board, I am more convinced than ever that we are on the right track and that this is the most important endeavor that the people of this country can be involved in. I believe that the positive results that can flow from this Initiative can represent a historic and monumental achievement of your administration.

To that end I urge you to use your unique authority and influence to the maximum extent that you can to give emphasis to the purpose of the Initiative. It is acknowledged that you are the first President to

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Cheryn L. Netz
Adrian L. Oakes
Neil P. Olack
L. Keith Parsons
Ben J. Piazza, Jr.
Pamela Prather
Keith R. Raulston
W. Whitaker Rayner
Thomas B. Shepherd III
John Hampton Stennis
Jay Stroble
Ernest G. Taylor, Jr.
Zachary Taylor III
Martha Ross Thomas
Jim B. Tohill
Randall B. Wall
Robert H. Weaver
Cory Todd Wilson
William F. Winter

November 26, 1997

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I have hesitated to intrude on your time, but I would like to take this opportunity to give you my impressions of the work of the Initiative on Race.

First, let me say that I believe that the Initiative is beginning to accomplish what you had in mind when you established it last summer. In spite of some of the skeptics in the press and elsewhere, I am finding an incredible amount of agreement on the importance of what we are doing and a desire to be involved in it. It is simply the sheer magnitude of the problems that we are dealing with that causes some folks to be skeptical.

Be that as it may, I think that we have already accomplished one of our initial purposes, and that is to raise the subject of race to the level of genuine reflection, conversation and inquiry. Every newspaper columnist, skeptical or not, has been writing about the Initiative.

I am tremendously impressed by the very able and hard-working staff headed by Judith Winston. When we consider that they started from scratch in late summer, it blows my mind that they have been able to develop so many creative plans to make the Initiative a success. The Advisory Board is working harmoniously together.

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