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The  
Economist

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
12-29-97

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## Asia and the abyss

AS 1997 draws towards a close, it is safe to say that the most important phenomenon of the year has been the financial turmoil in Asia. Some might cite instead Binyamin Netanyahu, Saddam Hussein, Deng Xiaoping, the Princess of Wales, Tony Blair, Dolly the sheep, even the Spice Girls: but in truth it is Asia's condition that has raised the most important questions, and could have the most far-reaching consequences. Is the turmoil a local issue or might it harm the rest of the world? Does it signify the failure of a particular economic or political ideology, which might thus hold lessons for others? And, most pressing of all: is the turmoil over?

It is best to start by combining the last and the first of those questions. When economic slowdowns, plunging currencies, collapsing banks and struggling companies were confined to Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines, the story could be considered as being principally of local importance. These economies are small, and their trading and investment links to the rest of the world are modest. But when the story moved north-eastwards to South Korea and Japan it took on a new seriousness. These are two of the world's largest economies which, contrary to popular perception, are also two of the world's largest importers as well as sending their investments all over the globe. A financial calamity there could bring on a worldwide slowdown or even slump.

So is one likely? The answer, alas, is that such a calamity can still not be ruled out. In Korea, this is principally because shoring up the country's banks requires the right government policies, which in turn requires a government—and the country was voting on December 18th for a new president, whose government will not formally take office until February 25th. In Japan, however, the uncertainty is not the result simply of circumstance. Faced with a renewed slump in confidence among consumers, investors and depositors, and the likelihood of a spate of collapses among the country's biggest banks, the government needed to act clearly and decisively. A big tax cut was required to stimulate the economy; and a huge, preferably open-ended, amount of public money had to be made available to keep banks afloat while they are merged, sold, closed or otherwise revamped. Yet the Japanese government's response has been neither clear nor decisive.

On December 17th Japan's prime minister, Ryutaro Hashimoto, did announce a ¥2 trillion (\$16 billion) cut in income taxes, plus an ¥850 billion cut in corporate taxes. But this will apply only for one year, and merely reverses the fiscal tightening his government enforced last spring. News has also emerged of a plan to issue ¥10 trillion-worth of government bonds to finance bank rescues. Yet the plan is vague, with no details of how the rescues will work nor whether



more money will be made available if it turns out to be needed (see page 47). Mr Hashimoto says his aim is to stop the economic troubles "originating in Japan from causing global depression". That is a fine aim, and his plan was a step in the right direction. But the risk remains of a Japanese collapse, which worsens the broader Asian collapse, and then causes a worldwide recession.

### No model, but a broader moral

That brings on the wider questions. How could this have happened, in a region where growth was proceeding swimmingly, where the "fundamentals" of high savings, top-

notch education and technology, and social peace seem still to apply? Has the "Asian model" gone wrong?

At a time of financial collapse, the "fundamentals" are virtually irrelevant. In 1930, America's fundamentals were strong, and barely a decade ahead lay the country's greatest military triumph and its emergence as an economic, political and technological superpower. Nevertheless, it was about to enter the Great Depression. That is what big financial collapses can produce, when combined with disastrous macroeconomic policies—in America's case, sharp monetary tightening, plus fierce protectionism.

That, in all its simplicity, is the only general lesson that can be brought to bear on Asia's troubles. The economies in difficulty do not share anything that can be sensibly described as an "Asian model", still less an ideology. Thailand, Indonesia and South Korea have as much, or as little, in common as do France, Britain and Italy, say: although, like all capitalist economies, they choose from the same tray of ingredients, their mixtures of policies and structures have been different. They have not, contrary to many pundits' claims, shared a common desire to have the state directing economic progress and private investment. Compare these economies with India's, say, and you will see that what stands out is their willingness to use relatively open markets rather than state direction to generate growth; compare them with each other, and what stands out is a wide difference in the state's role, as wide as that between France, Britain and Italy.

Like those European economies, though, what they do share is a region, and close economic links. In the good years, the Asians' increasing exchange of trade and investment with each other, and even their tourists' desire to lie on each others' beaches, helped make their growth mutually reinforcing. Now that a bad year has arrived, this effect has gone into reverse. And it is being exacerbated by three characteristics that are widespread, though not ideological: first, that fast growth had concealed, or even encouraged, the existence of many poorly run and poorly regulated banks; second, that some



Asian governments have been slow to accept that tough remedies were needed to avert banking collapses, instead preferring, like Malaysia, to blame outsiders; and, that in several East Asian countries worries about political instability threaten to make economic uncertainties even worse.

This third worry applies particularly to South Korea and Indonesia (see page 49). But it could also apply to China, whose economy has so far been relatively unscathed but which next year faces the task of privatising its vast state enterprises. That hard task will be made even harder by Asia's weakening economy. The risk is that the associated pains could break apart the collective leadership that has run China since the death of Deng, in February, raising the prospect of

some possible goods, but also plenty of possible bads.

That, as with so much else at a time of financial turmoil, is mere speculation. All that can be said for sure about Asia's troubles is that they are serious, and that the risk of them spreading to the rest of the world is also serious. Whether locally or globally, however, the basic lesson remains that of America in 1930. Deflations and depressions are avoidable. Financial collapses make them possible, because they destroy the confidence on which economic activity depends. But what makes them happen is policy mistakes: closing your economy, blocking capital flows, ignoring banking collapses, blaming foreigners, choking off the money supply. Let governments dwell upon that, over the holidays.

## Persecuting Bill

**It is a close call, but America's trustbusters are right to worry about Microsoft's attempts to tighten its grip on the personal computer**

INTEL'S Andy Grove may have turned paranoia into a business philosophy, but for Microsoft, the other half of the "Wintel" twosome that towers over the personal-computer business, the persecution is real enough. Bill Gates's software firm is not only facing a host of legal challenges to the way it does business, but is also confronted by a formidable alliance of competitors who are out to end the Windows monopoly of the desktop operating system.

To a degree, the legal and commercial threats are related. When Microsoft feels vulnerable to competition it fights its corner with greater vigour. Because that tends to mean using the muscle that comes from owning the desktop, it attracts the unwelcome attentions of competition authorities, who are then spurred on by the possibility that Microsoft's dominance of the personal computer may not be impregnable after all. This explains why, despite some idiosyncratic logic (see page 100), Judge Thomas Jackson was probably right to stop Microsoft from forcing PC makers to install its Internet browser as a condition for licensing Windows 95.

Regulators should only act when they believe that firms are engaging in practices that will reduce competition, in ways that could raise prices or suppress innovation. They must also be confident that by intervening they will make things better, not worse. In software, the need for regulators to tread softly is especially great. A market in which thousands of companies enjoy enviable growth, and in which consumers get ever-improving products at ever-lower prices, should not need much help from flat-footed competition police.

That said, Microsoft's market power would give even the coolest regulator some anxiety. The issue before Judge Jackson, although superficially narrow—whether Microsoft had breached an earlier consent decree forbidding it from "tying" products to sales of Windows—is one that really does matter: should Microsoft be allowed to integrate its Web browser, Internet Explorer, into the Windows operating system? Microsoft's arguments for doing so have merit. Just about everybody who buys a PC these days wants to gain access to the Internet, so a browser should be standard equipment. If it is standard equipment, it follows that it should be fully a part of the operating system, because that way it will work more

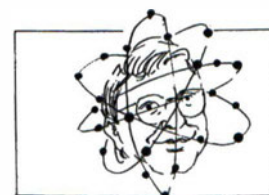
seamlessly and customers will escape the inconvenience of having to install a separate program themselves.

But there are also arguments against allowing Microsoft to do what it wants, at least for the time being. It is too simple to say that he who controls the browser market also controls the Web, but browsers do form a sort of gateway that can influence the way people use the Internet, by promoting some content at the expense of others. Ever since 1994, when Netscape burst on to the scene with its Navigator browser, Microsoft has been playing catch-up. However, the effort it has put into it—giving its browser away, bullying PC manufacturers to install it and improving it until it is at least the equal of Netscape's latest offering—is some indication of what Microsoft thinks is at stake.

### Heading off Java

Microsoft's critics allege, and Microsoft fiercely denies, that it is also intent on using its browser to prevent Java, a new software language whose supporters claim for it a "write once, run anywhere" capability, from fulfilling its potential. Sun Microsystems—Java's inventor—is suing Microsoft for attempting to balkanise Java into different versions. The threat to Windows is that Java "applets" or mini-applications can be downloaded from the Internet to run on any operating system. This has led rivals such as Oracle, IBM and Sun to promote the network computer (NC), a slimmed-down machine that can download applications when they are needed, as an alternative to the complex PC. It is this combination of forces that, the Justice Department believes, has made Microsoft so determined to elbow Netscape into history.

Next year will see the release of new Java-based applications for the business market and the launch of various inexpensive NC-type devices. If they work as billed, admittedly a big "if", companies and consumers stand to benefit as the resulting competition makes computing cheaper and easier. But it is a gamble, and should be treated as such. The current injunction awaits a report on Microsoft by a Harvard law professor in May. That will be a good time to consider whether to let Mr Gates off the leash again.





# *More pages* **Khatami's Iran**

*Security Khatami*



Does the exchange of courtesies between Iran and America spell the end of estrangement? Only if the outside world continues to help Mr Khatami

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**B**RAVELY, Muhammad Khatami stretched out his fingertips, even to the Great Satan itself. He had respect, said Iran's new president on December 14th at the end of a remarkably harmonious Islamic gathering in Tehran, for "the great people of the United States", and hoped that through a "thoughtful dialogue we could get closer to peace and security and tranquillity." President Bill Clinton responded promptly and warmly, though whether he is yet prepared to abandon the discredited "dual containment" policy that banished Iran, as well as Iraq, from civilised discourse remains unclear. He would welcome such a dialogue, he said, so long as it covered matters of American concern. These, he reiterated, were Iran's support for international terrorism, its efforts to disrupt the Middle East peace process and its development of weapons of mass destruction.

America's positive response to Mr Khatami's overture is welcome. Much has changed since the 1980s, when America burnt its fingers trying to back "moderates" in an Iranian regime that was playing a good-cop, bad-cop routine. These days, the power struggle is sincere, and crucial. Mr Khatami was elected, by a landslide 70% of voters, because he was thought to be the man who would shepherd a liberalised Iran back from the world's ostracised fringe. But he is fiercely resisted by Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Iran's "supreme leader", who has become the voice for all who resist social and political change. Victory could go either way.

Mr Khatami has to tread carefully, above all in promoting relations with the West. But the Islamic conference was a big coup for him, setting the stage for a dramatic improvement in Iranian-Arab affairs. In the past, Arab rulers feared Iran as an

exporter of revolutionary thought: now, at least in public, the emphasis is on tolerance, co-existence and stability.

Some of America's old concerns may be of diminishing importance. With the advent of Israel's Likud government, the line dividing those who support the peace process from those who oppose it is blurred. Nor is Iran's current sponsorship of international terrorism incontestable: all that is sure is that it still has some control over Hizbullah, which fights to get Israel out of Lebanon, and over Islamic Jihad, a tiny Palestinian group that has been inactive for some time. And though the thought of Iran's mullahs with a nuclear bomb is indeed scary, it is hard to get a country to drop a programme that it denies having. Better, perhaps, if Iran's nuclear-power programme were fully approved and safeguarded. Better yet if Iran could free itself of its paranoia about the arsenals that surround it, including America's in the Gulf.

## The Saudi channel

The urgency is to get American-Iranian communication going. But to expect early, and open, government-to-government talks may be to overrate the extent of Mr Khatami's authority: the advantages of calmer relations with America have to creep up on Iran, not explode in the mullahs' faces.

Saudi Arabia, which long resented Iran's Islamic pretensions and feared its meddling, is now offering its services as broker to advance an Iranian-American dialogue. It might be an idea to take advantage of this curious channel, at least to get things started. Iran's anti-western hardliners would be the only ones to gain if nothing solid were to emerge from Mr Khatami's and Mr Clinton's exchange of smoke signals.

## The Luxembourg rebuff

*Security*



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### Europe needs to repair relations with Turkey, fast

**I**F THE European Union summit last weekend ever comes to be regarded as historic, it is likely to be because of a historic mistake. Unless matters are put right, historians may look back to the Luxembourg meeting and judge it to be the occasion when Europe needlessly offended Turkey, thus increasing that country's sense of exclusion, its reluctance to reform, its awkwardness over Cyprus and NATO and perhaps its readiness to embrace either Islamic or quasi-military rule. Not bad for two days' work.

A main purpose of the summit was to decide how and when the EU would open talks with prospective new members to the east. On this, the summiteers took their text from the Gospels and decided that the first should be last, and the last first. So five applicants only recently freed from communism (the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slo-

venia), plus Cyprus, would be given priority; communists would be taken second; and into a alone, would fall Turkey, which has been wait-

Perhaps the West Europeans did not thus offend the Turks. The Luxembourg communiqué, at key is as eligible as the others. Yet equal eligibility does not mean equal treatment, as Turkey's position has been quick to note. He has gone into a huff (see page 74).

In truth, Turkey is not yet as eligible as most of the others. The five Central Europeans would certainly be easier to bring into the club, not least because they are smaller and richer. Moreover, Turkey is far from measuring up to West European standards of democracy. The rights of man do not rank high among the concerns of most of those who run the country, especially among the police and army. A bloody war against



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Perhaps the West Europeans did not thus mean to insult the Turks. The Luxembourg communiqué, after all, says Turkey is as eligible as the others. Yet equal eligibility evidently does not mean equal treatment, as Turkey's prime minister has been quick to note. He has gone into a huff (see page 74).

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## LEADERS

separatist Kurds consumes much of the south-east and spills over into Iraq, where Turkey has thousands of troops. And no end to the fighting is in sight. The war demands a political settlement, ideally based on a system of regional autonomy, but only force is on offer.

No wonder, perhaps: the army, which has seized power three times in the past 40 years, still exercises undue influence over Turkish politics. In June, acting as self-appointed guardians of the country's secularism, Turkey's generals in effect removed from office the coalition government led by the Islamist Welfare Party. The generals' hand is not hard to detect in the unwise attempt now under way to have the Constitutional Court declare the party illegal. It is equally evident in Turkey's uncompromising stand over Cyprus. If the Turks were imaginative enough to offer a few concessions, such as a cut in their forces in northern Cyprus, and to advise the Turkish-Cypriots to give up some land in return for a settlement, then the pressure would be on their Greek and Greek-Cypriot antagonists to respond. But the generals are obdurate.

With shortcomings like these, Turkey may well seem unsuitable as a member of the EU. Yet the Turks do not expect instant admission. They expect, and deserve, only treatment as favourable as that given to the second group of applicants,

which includes Bulgaria, Slovakia and other less-than-perfect democracies. The benefits for Turkey would be considerable. In time there would be economic dividends, but long before that the mere expression of willingness to treat the application seriously would have helped all those Turks who are trying to promote democracy, to settle the Kurdish problem and to reduce the influence of the generals.

### **Exclusion, resentment, defiance, trouble**

If such encouragement is not given, the opposite may happen. Turkey may become more Middle Eastern in its ways, its government may become more military-influenced and repressive, and its people more resentful and perhaps more worryingly Islamist. By that time, however, it is quite possible that Cyprus—where hopes for a settlement are now yoked to the Cypriot application to join the EU—will have moved towards crisis point. The drift towards belligerency would then be much harder to stop.

Since the West needs a friendly, co-operative partner at the eastern end of the Mediterranean as much as ever—Iraq is vile, Iran uncertain, Central Asia and the Caucasus hardly placid—the Luxembourg rebuff seems astonishingly ill judged. Amends should be made as quickly as possible.



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## Labour's stumbles

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Britain's Labour government has had a wobbly month. Part of the reason is inexperience. But part arises from philosophical confusion

THE confident stride with which Tony Blair's government entered office on May 2nd has turned into a series of trips, stumbles and zig-zags. None has been serious on its own; and in time all might turn out merely to have been caused by the natural inexperience of a party that was out of power for 18 years. But some of the problems arise from a deeper difficulty, which could, in the end, pose a real danger.

That difficulty is that, for all the talk of "New Labour" and "modernisation", the leadership of the party still seems unsure of quite what it thinks about some basic philosophical issues. The fuss over the offshore, tax-avoiding trust held by a Treasury minister, Geoffrey Robinson (see page 80) does not reflect any apparent wrong-doing by Mr Robinson but rather the fact that his boss, Gordon Brown, the chancellor of the exchequer, has felt the need to attack exactly the sort of tax-avoidance schemes which his colleague has been exploiting. For Mr Brown, using legal means to reduce your tax liability is immoral: the rich must pay their "fair share" even if it exceeds their legal share. And yet he and Mr Blair appointed a tax avoider to his Treasury team. That, if you think tax avoidance is immoral, is rather like appointing an adulterer to advise the government on how to strengthen the family.

This reflects a wider ambiguity about Labour's attitude to business. At the Department of Health, the private sector is still regarded as irredeemably wicked, and competition is a dirty word. The health white paper published in mid-December supposedly abolishes the limited amount of competition between hospitals introduced by the previous Conservative government. There is no question of inviting private medical firms to tender for some NHS work, even though such con-

tracting-out has improved other public services. The government has abolished tax relief for private medical care for the elderly—apparently on purely ideological grounds, since this will actually add to the bill paid by the state. Ministers are also in a flap over whether to let the NHS hire spare beds in private hospitals to head off a predicted winter crisis.

At the Department for Education and Employment, private is sometimes good, sometimes bad. The assisted-places scheme and nursery vouchers, two means by which parents were given state money to buy private education, have been scrapped. But the department recently announced a pilot scheme in which the state would pay for older pupils to go to private schools, to study for A-level exams in subjects not offered in local state schools. And David Blunkett, the education secretary, has even suggested privatising local-education authorities which fail to improve. While Mr Blunkett insists, like other ministers, that "competition is out, co-operation is in", he will not be scrapping the Tories' league tables of schools' exam results. Competition is still in, then.

But surely Labour has cosied up to business, by appointing to its ranks Mr Robinson as well as Lord Simon, a former chairman of BP? Yes, but cosying up seems to mean handing out privileges with one hand—relief for Formula One motor-racing, for film-makers, for coal mines—while still attacking wealth and profits when the government feels like it. That may be tempting, when you are being assailed by your own supporters for efforts to cut welfare spending on lone parents and others. Yet competition and choice, not suspicion and control, should be the watch-words. And consistency.



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# ENVIRONMENTAL SCARES

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-29-97

Kate Weg

## Plenty of gloom

**Forecasters of scarcity and doom are not only invariably wrong, they think that being wrong proves them right**

IN 1798 Thomas Robert Malthus inaugurated a grand tradition of environmentalism with his best-selling pamphlet on population. Malthus argued with impeccable logic but distinctly peccable premises that since population tended to increase geometrically (1,2,4,8...) and food supply to increase arithmetically (1,2,3,4...), the starvation of Great Britain was inevitable and imminent. Almost everybody thought he was right. He was wrong.

In 1865 an influential book by Stanley Jevons argued with equally good logic and equally flawed premises that Britain would run out of coal in a few short years' time. In 1914, the United States Bureau of Mines predicted that American oil reserves would last ten years. In 1939 and again in 1951, the Department of the Interior said American oil would last 13 years. Wrong, wrong, wrong and wrong.

This article argues that predictions of ecological doom, including recent ones, have such a terrible track record that people should take them with pinches of salt instead of lapping them up with relish. For reasons of their own, pressure groups, journalists and fame-seekers will no doubt continue to peddle ecological catastrophes at an undiminishing speed. These people, oddly, appear to think that having been invariably wrong in the past makes them more likely to be right in the future. The rest of us might do better to recall, when warned of the next doomsday, what ever became of the last one.

### Empty imaginations

In 1972 the Club of Rome published a highly influential report called "Limits to Growth". To many in the environmental movement, that report still stands as a beacon of sense in the foolish world of economics. But were its predictions borne out?

"Limits to Growth" said total global oil reserves amounted to

550 billion barrels. "We could use up all of the proven reserves of oil in the entire world by the end of the next decade," said President Jimmy Carter shortly afterwards. Sure enough, between 1970 and 1990 the world used 600 billion barrels of oil. So, according to the Club of Rome, reserves should have been overdrawn by 50 billion barrels by 1990. In fact, by 1990 unexploited reserves amounted to 900 billion barrels—not counting the tar shales, of which a single deposit in Alberta contains more than 550 billion barrels.

The Club of Rome made similarly wrong predictions about natural gas, silver, tin, uranium, aluminium, copper, lead and zinc. In every case, it said finite reserves of these minerals were approaching exhaustion and prices would rise steeply. In every case except tin, known reserves have actu-

ally grown since the Club's report; in some cases they have quadrupled. "Limits to Growth" simply misunderstood the meaning of the word "reserves".

The Club of Rome's mistakes have not tarnished its confidence. It more recently issued to wide acclaim "Beyond the Limits", a book that essentially said: although we were too pessimistic about the future before, we remain equally pessimistic about the future today. But environmentalists have been a little more circumspect since 1990 about predicting the exhaustion of minerals. That year, a much-feted environmentalist called Paul Ehrlich, whose words will prove an inexhaustible (though not infinite: there is a difference) reserve of misprediction for this article, sent an economist called Julian Simon a cheque for \$570.07 in settlement of a wager.

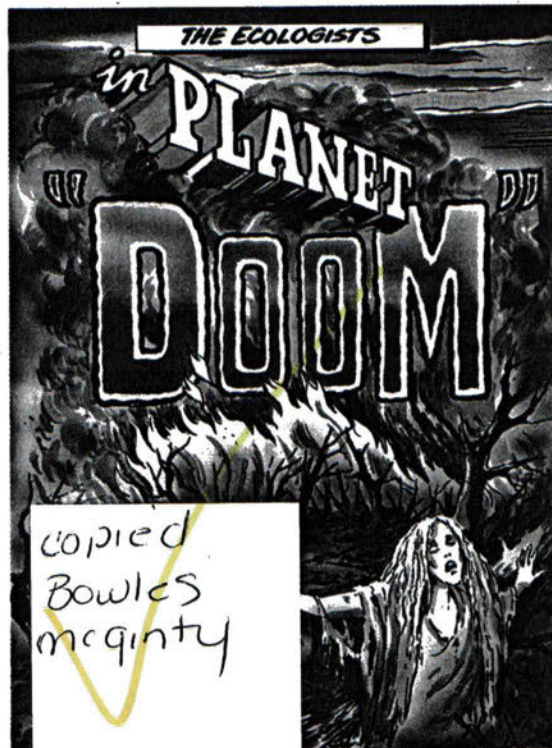
Dr Ehrlich would later claim that he was "goaded into making a bet with Simon on a matter of marginal environmental importance." At the time, though, he said he was keen to "accept Simon's astonishing offer before other greedy people jump in." Dr Ehrlich chose five minerals: tungsten, nickel, copper, chrome and tin. They agreed how much of these metals \$1,000 would buy in 1980, then ten years later re-calculated how much that amount of metal

would cost (still in 1980 dollars) and Dr Ehrlich agreed to pay the difference if the price fell, Dr Simon if the price rose. Dr Simon won easily; indeed, he would have won even if they had not adjusted the prices for inflation, and he would have won if Dr Ehrlich had chosen virtually any mineral: of 35 minerals, 33 fell in price during the 1980s. Only manganese and zinc were exceptions (see chart 1).

Dr Simon frequently offers to repeat the bet with any prominent doomsayer, but has not yet found a taker.

Others have yet to cotton on. The 1983 edition of a British GCSE school textbook said zinc reserves would last ten years and natural gas 30 years. By 1993, the author had wisely removed references to zinc (rather than explain why it had not run out), and he gave natural gas 50 years, which mocked his forecast of ten years earlier. But still not a word about price, the misleading nature of quoted "reserves" or substitutability.

So much for minerals. The record of mispredicted food sup-





## ENVIRONMENTAL SCARES

plies is even worse. Consider two quotations from Paul Ehrlich's best-selling books in the 1970s.

Agricultural experts state that a tripling of the food supply of the world will be necessary in the next 30 years or so, if the 6 or 7 billion people who may be alive in the year 2000 are to be adequately fed. Theoretically such an increase might be possible, but it is becoming increasingly clear that it is totally impossible in practice.

The battle to feed humanity is over. In the 1970s the world will undergo famines—hundreds of millions of people are going to starve to death.

He was not alone. Lester Brown of the Worldwatch Institute began predicting in 1973 that population would soon outstrip food production, and he still does so every time there is a temporary increase in wheat prices. In 1994, after 21 years of being wrong, he said: "After 40 years of record food production gains, output per person has reversed with unanticipated abruptness." Two bumper harvests followed and the price of wheat fell to record lows. Yet Mr Brown's pessimism remains as impregnable to facts as his views are popular with newspapers.

The facts on world food production are truly startling for those who have heard only the doomsayers' views. Since 1961, the population of the world has almost doubled, but food production has more than doubled. As a result, food production per head has risen by 20% since 1961 (see chart 2). Nor is this improvement confined to rich countries. According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation, calories consumed per capita per day are 27% higher in the third world than they were in 1963. Deaths from famine, starvation and malnutrition are fewer than ever before.

"Global 2000" was a report to the president of the United States written in 1980 by a committee of the great and the good. It was so influential that it caused one CNN producer to "switch from being an objective journalist to an advocate" of environmental doom. "Global 2000" predicted that population would increase faster than world food production, so that food prices would rise by between 35% and 115% by 2000. So far the world food commodity index has fallen by 50% (see chart 3). With two years to go, prices may yet quintuple to prove "Global 2000" right. Want to bet?

Perhaps the reader thinks the tone of this article a little unforgiving. These pre-

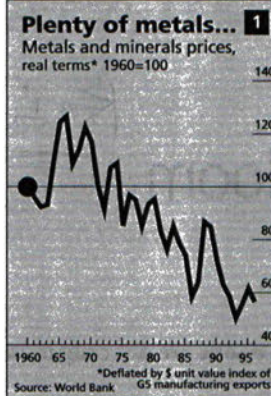
dictions may have been spectacularly wrong, but they were well-meant. But in that case, those quoted would readily admit their error, which they do not. It was not impossible to be right at the time. There were people who in 1970 predicted abundant food, who in 1975 predicted cheap oil, who in 1980 predicted cheaper and more abundant minerals. Today those people—among them Norman Macrae of this newspaper, Julian Simon, Aaron Wildavsky—are ignored by the press and vilified by the environmental movement. For being right, they are called "right-wing". The truth can be a bitter medicine to swallow.

### Hot headed

Meanwhile, environmental attention switched from resources to pollution. Cancer-causing chemicals were suddenly said to be everywhere: in water, in food, in packaging. Last summer Edward Goldsmith blamed the death of his brother, Sir James, on chemicals: all cancer is caused by chemicals, he claimed, and cancer rates are rising. Not so. The rate of mortality from cancers not related to smoking for those between 35 and 69 is actually falling steadily—by 15% since 1950. Organically grown broccoli and coffee are full of natural substances that are just as carcinogenic as man-made chemicals at high doses and just as safe at low doses.

In the early 1980s acid rain became the favourite cause of doom. Lurid reports appeared of widespread forest decline in Germany, where half the trees were said to be in trouble. By 1986, the United Nations reported that 23% of all trees in Europe were moderately or severely damaged by acid rain. What happened? They recovered. The biomass stock of European forests actually increased during the 1980s. The damage all but disappeared. Forests did not decline: they thrived.

A similar gap between perception and reality occurred in the United States. Greens fell over each other to declare the forests of North America acidified and dying. "There is no evidence of a general or unusual decline of forests in the United



States or Canada due to acid rain," concluded a ten-year, \$700m official study. When asked if he had been pressured to be optimistic, one of the authors said the reverse was true. "Yes, there were political pressures... Acid rain had to be an environmental catastrophe, no matter what the facts revealed."

Today the mother of all environmental scares is global warming. Here the jury is still out, though not

according to President Clinton. But before you rush to join the consensus he has declared, compare two quotations. The first comes from Newsweek in 1975: "Meteorologists disagree about the cause and extent of the cooling trend... But they are almost unanimous in the view that the trend will reduce agricultural productivity for the rest of the century." The second comes from Vice-President Al Gore in 1992: "Scientists concluded—almost unanimously—that global warming is real and the time to act is now." (The italics are ours.)

There are ample other causes for alarmism for the dedicated pessimist as the century's end nears. The extinction of elephants, the threat of mad-cow disease, outbreaks of the Ebola virus, and chemicals that mimic sex hormones are all fashionable. These come in a different category from the scares cited above. The trend in each is undoubtedly not benign, but it is exaggerated.

In 1984 the United Nations asserted that the desert was swallowing 21m hectares of land every year. That claim has been comprehensively demolished. There has been and is no net advance of the desert at all. In 1992 Mr Gore asserted that 20% of the Amazon had been deforested and that deforestation continued at the rate of 80m hectares a year. The true figures are now agreed to be 9% and 21m hectares a year gross at its peak in the 1980s, falling to about 10m hectares a year now.

Just one environmental scare in the past 30 years bears out the most alarmist predictions made at the time: the effect of DDT (a pesticide) on birds of prey, otters and some other predatory animals. Every other environmental scare has been either





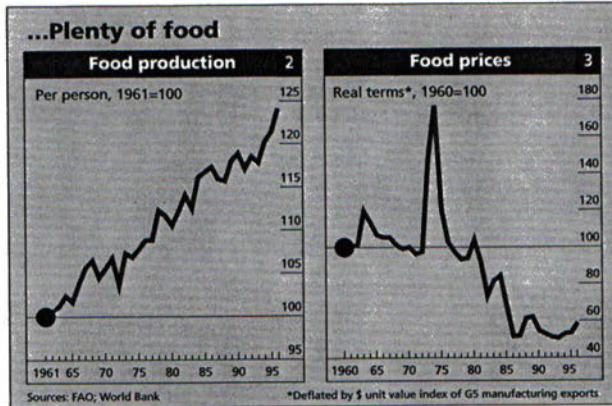
wrong or badly exaggerated. Will you believe the next one?

Environmental scare stories now follow such a predictable line that we can chart their course. Year 1 is the year of the scientist, who discovers some potential threat. Year 2 is the year of the journalist, who oversimplifies and exaggerates it. Only now, in year 3, do the environmentalists join the bandwagon (almost no green scare has been started by greens). They polarise the issue. Either you agree that the world is about to come to an end and are fired by righteous indignation, or you are a paid lackey of big business.

Year 4 is the year of the bureaucrat. A conference is mooted, keeping public officials well supplied with club-class tickets and limelight. This diverts the argument from science to regulation. A totemic "target" is the key feature: 30% reductions in sulphur emissions; stabilisation of greenhouse gases at 1990 levels; 140,000 ritually slaughtered healthy British cows.

Year 5 is the time to pick a villain and gang up on him. It is usually America (global warming) or Britain (acid rain), but Russia (CFCs and ozone) or Brazil (deforestation) have had their day. Year 6 is the time for the sceptic who says the scare is exaggerated. This drives greens into paroxysms of pious rage. "How dare you give space to fringe views?" cry these once-fringe people to newspaper editors. But by now the scientist who first gave the warning is often embarrassingly to be found among the sceptics. Roger Revelle, nickname "Dr Greenhouse", who fired Al Gore with global warming evangelism, wrote just before his death in 1991: "The scientific basis for greenhouse warming is too uncertain to justify drastic action at this time."

Year 7 is the year of the quiet climbdown. Without fanfare, the official consensus estimate of the size of the problem is shrunk. Thus, when nobody was looking, the population "explosion" became an asymptotic rise to a maximum of just 15 billion; this was then



downgraded to 12 billion, then less than 10 billion. That means population will never double again. Greenhouse warming was originally going to be "uncontrolled". Then it was going to be 2.5-4 degrees in a century. Then it became 1.5-3 degrees (according to the United Nations). In two years, elephants went from imminent danger of extinction to badly in need of contraception (the facts did not change, the reporting did).

#### Doom kills

Is it not a good thing to exaggerate the potential ecological problems the world faces rather than underplay them? Not necessarily. A new book edited by Melissa Leach and Robin Mearns at the University of Sussex ("The Lie of the Land", published by James Currey/Heinemann) documents just how damaging the myth of deforestation and population pressure has been in parts

of the Sahel. Westerners have forced inappropriate measures on puzzled local inhabitants in order to meet activists' preconceived notions of environmental change. The myth that oil and gas will imminently run out, together with worries about the greenhouse effect, is responsible for the despoliation of wild landscapes in Wales and Denmark by ugly, subsidised and therefore ultimately job-destroying wind farms. School textbooks are counsels of despair and guilt (see "Environmental Education", published by the Institute of Economic Affairs), which offer no hope of winning the war against famine, disease and pollution, thereby inducing fatalism rather than determination.

Above all, the exaggeration of the population explosion leads to a form of misanthropy that comes dangerously close to fascism. The aforementioned Dr Ehrlich is an unashamed believer in the need for coerced family planning. His fellow eco-guru, Garrett Hardin, has said that "freedom to breed is intolerable". If you think population is "out of control" you might be tempted to agree to such drastic curtailments of liberty. But if you know that the graph is flattening, you might take a more tolerant view of your fellow human beings.

You can be in favour of the environment without being a pessimist. There ought to be room in the environmental movement for those who think that technology and economic freedom will make the world cleaner and will also take the pressure off endangered species. But at the moment such optimists are distinctly unwelcome among environmentalists. Dr Ehrlich likes to call economic growth the creed of the cancer cell. He is not alone. Sir Crispin Tickell calls economics "not so much dismal as half-witted".

Environmentalists are quick to accuse their opponents in business of having vested interests. But their own incomes, their advancement, their fame and their very existence can depend on supporting the most alarming versions of every environmental scare. "The whole aim of practical politics", said H.L. Mencken, "is to keep the populace alarmed—and hence clamorous to be led to safety—by menacing it with an endless series of hobgoblins, all of them imaginary." Mencken's forecast, at least, appears to have been correct.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 22, 1997

THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE  
12-29-97

MEMORANDUM TO

✓  
THE PRESIDENT

'97 DEC 22 PM 12:4

FROM

RAHM EMANUEL

SUBJECT

THE ECONOMIST AND BUSINESS WEEK ARTICLES

I thought you would find the attached articles interesting. The first article is from the December 20 issue of *THE ECONOMIST* and the second is from the December 29 issue of *BUSINESS WEEK*.

Rahm (Jimmy) Paul  
I tried to discuss  
the big deal at the top of  
the first article. I thought  
it was a little bit  
in context. I thought  
it was not being heard on  
the second article. I want  
to deal with it.  
PK

copied  
Bowles  
Emanuel  
Blumenthal  
Beata



## Bill Clinton's unexplained idea

THE standard line on Bill Clinton is that he talks well and does little. The truth, so far as 1997 is concerned, is closer to the opposite. He has accomplished, or helped to accomplish, rather a lot: he has fixed the budget and enlarged NATO, and these are big things; he has made modest but useful progress on health care and education. But, for much of the year, he has talked rather little. He has avoided the cameras and the White House briefing room; he has failed to present his administration's various schemes as part of one grand vision. Hence the mounting talk that he is aimless, exhausted, a lame duck. And hence the importance of his news conference on December 16th, which ran for 94 minutes and may have been the longest in America's presidential history.

The conference was, in large part, brilliant. Mr Clinton again showed that he is the world's best telecaster. He is handsome, hirsute, and highly articulate on any subject that comes up. He knows the Greek-Turkish issue. He knows anthrax vaccines. He knows the Washington, DC, school system. A week before the press conference, the *New York Times* had published a long article suggesting that Mr Clinton's eye had shifted from the political ball to the golf ball. After the conference, most journalists in the audience must have found themselves wishing that they could master so many subjects and be half as sporty.

Mr Clinton's most impressive answers concerned race. The "national dialogue" that he has launched on this subject has been widely ridiculed: there is no point just talking, say the sceptics, and anyway the dialogue has shut out opponents of the administration's policies. The president jumped on a questioner who alluded to these criticisms. The dialogue, he said, was in fact supported by concrete actions: the administration has proposed college scholarships for students willing to teach in poor black areas, and is pushing new measures to eliminate discrimination in public housing. Besides, the president went on, critics are starting to get their say. Resentments are being aired, which is the first step towards assuaging them.

What, asked another questioner, did the president feel about affirmative action? Again, this is a subject on which he has been ridiculed: "Mend it, don't end it," he has said, as though a rhyme were a substitute for a decision. But it was hard to listen to Mr Clinton's answer without feeling some sympathy. Americans, he said, believe in three things: promotion by merit, opportunity for everyone, and a hand up for people who have had a hard time. This third thing—preferences for the underprivileged—may be hard to reconcile with strict meritocracy; but, reconcilable or not, both notions are appealing. After listening to Mr Clinton, many felt that he was grappling honestly with difficult choices rather than merely waffling—that he was having a dialogue on race inside his own head, as one commentator put it.

And yet, if Mr Clinton's performance was brilliant in parts, it was awful also. For, just as he succeeded in casting his misty

views on race in an appealing light, so he missed the opportunity to wrap his policies in a grand vision. His opening statement, which should have been an opportunity to explain his vision for his three remaining years in power, was brief and distinctly disappointing; and though he promised later to sum up his agenda in a sentence, it turned out at several paragraphs.

This was frustrating, and not just because Mr Clinton can explain things so compellingly if he chooses to. It was frustrating because Mr Clinton does have a governing idea, and it is a good one. Unlike left-wing Democrats, he accepts that the globalised economy and technological change are not merely inevitable but positive, for they offer new ways for Americans to get richer.

Unlike most Republicans, he wants to help people who lose from this turmoil.

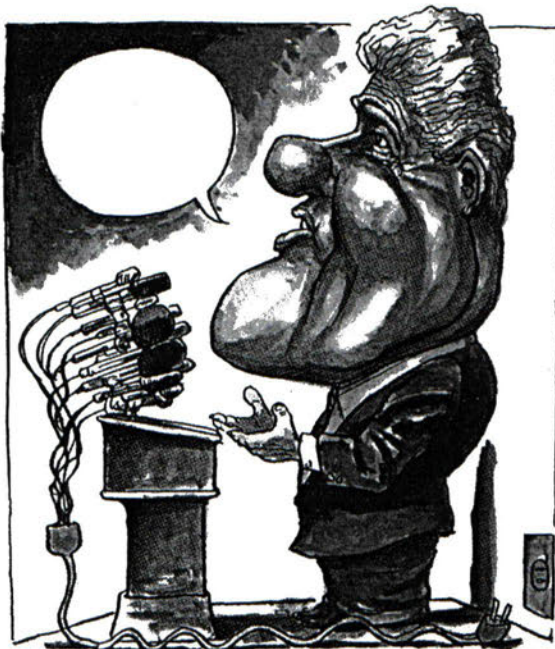
This middle view explains many Clinton policies: more free trade, so that America's economy can grow; more education subsidies, so that people are equipped to deal with economic change; more effort to protect people from losing their health insurance, so that those who cope poorly with change are spared the worst hardships. Misconceived government programmes to help the vulnerable might blunt incentives and drive up taxes. But Mr Clinton has proved his sensitivity to these dangers by signing welfare reform and balancing the budget.

This is not merely coherent in policy terms. It also offers a cure for the administration's main political headache. For the past year, the Clintonites have been plagued by Dick Gephardt, the Democratic

leader in the House and the party's heftiest left-winger. Mr Gephardt has levelled two accusations against the president: that he cares insufficiently about vulnerable folk, and that he lacks vision. If Mr Clinton had made more of an effort to explain himself this year, both charges would seem laughable.

The president's mistake is best illustrated by the fight over fast track. He failed to explain why freer trade deals are good for America, especially when linked to efforts to help parts of the country where expanded trade brings unemployment. Instead, he put off the issue all through the year, then finally cast it as a narrow issue of presidential prerogative. Mr Gephardt, meanwhile, did not hesitate to present his resistance to fast track as a principled stand against globalisation and all its works. Having thus occupied the high ground, Mr Gephardt succeeded in blocking fast track and humiliating the administration.

And so, despite his reputation for smooth talk, Mr Clinton wasted opportunities in 1997 because his talk was inadequate. He has lost the bright communications advisers of his first term; and his appetite for press conferences was dulled by their tendency to be dominated by questions about scandals. Perhaps a new year will mark a change. The president will give his state-of-the-union message in a month's time. And, remarkably, the subject of scandal was barely raised at all during this week's marathon press conference: a year's-end relief for Mr Clinton.





EDITED BY OWEN ULLMANN

## CLINTON STILL HAS BIG IDEAS —HE JUST CAN'T SELL THEM

**A**s his State of the Union address draws nigh, Bill Clinton is uneasily confronting the central dilemma of his second term: With a 60% approval rating, he enjoys a level of popularity most reelected Presidents only dream of. Yet he can't convert those high-octane poll numbers into legislative horsepower.

Call it The Little Presidential Engine That Couldn't. With Congress in hostile GOP hands—and likely to stay that way through 2000—and the international policy environment turning chilly for U.S. interests, the President is struggling to shape a new agenda. During a Castroesque 90-minute news conference on Dec. 16, he test-marketed some giant-sized themes for 1998: reining in runaway entitlement spending, simplifying the tax code, floating a new tax credit for child care, and finding ways to spread the benefits of the economic expansion to the working class. Already on the table is a "Bill of Rights" for patients to help cushion Americans from the excesses of managed-care combines.

Sounds swell. But White House aides trying to convert Clinton's activist impulses into actual policies glumly admit that the boss lacks the political stroke to make most of his initiatives happen. "You'll see a Clinton that does a lot of foreign travel and runs a very opportunistic Presidency," says one outside adviser. "He'll pounce on situations as they present themselves, to underscore that he still has power."

**HELLISH YEAR.** That, at least, is the plan. The reality is that Clinton is fast exhausting his little pile of political chips. The failure to gain congressional "fast-track" trade-negotiating authority, coupled with the Republicans' ability to block many personnel picks, have cost the White House momentum. To complicate the picture, '98 looks to be a hellish year on the Hill (page 80). Clinton will be caught between antagonistic Re-

publicans and liberal Democrats loyal to House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, who has been skewering Clintonism as a pallid form of GOP market worship.

This is not a climate in which Presidential proposals thrive. Yet Clinton's need to demonstrate government's relevance drives him to flirt with mega-issues such as income inequality, the downside of global competition, racial polarization, and the threat to Social Security posed by aging baby boomers.

Clinton's solutions, however, don't measure up to the problems. Social Security's coming insolvency disturbs him, but his threadbare answer is a bipartisan reform commission. Workers who lose jobs to foreign competition concern him, but the best the Clintonites can cobble together is a \$2 billion job-displacement fund. The growing pool of uninsured Americans (41 million at last count) distresses him, but a new stopgap insurance plan for fiftysomething workers who lose benefits when they take early retirement would put just a small dent in the problem.

Perhaps tax reform best demonstrates the divide between Presidential ambition and action. Intellectually, Clinton

has always been drawn to the idea of penalizing consumption and killing tax preferences for business and well-off individuals. But his economic advisers keep telling him that an early embrace of tax reform would let Republicans hypnotize America with pleas for an alluring flat tax. The likely result: The Prez will lay out broad criteria for reform, while continuing to push micro tax breaks that are its antithesis.

When Clinton goes before Congress to lay out his vision, the overarching theme will be "unfinished business" during prosperous times. Not exactly poetry. But it's to be expected from a President who sees his powers ebbing day by day.

By Lee Walczak



TALK-A-THON: At least Buddy listens

### CAPITAL WRAPUP

#### LOTT'S SEARCH FOR DEFECTORS

► With visions of a filibuster-proof, 60-vote majority dancing in his head, Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) is making a list of Democratic senators who might be enticed to switch parties, Washington insiders say. And Lott is ready to play Santa by dangling plum committee assignments and plenty of pork before those who are willing to make the leap. Targets include senators Jeff Bingaman of New Mexico and Harry M. Reid and Richard H. Bryan, both of

Nevada. Centrist Bingaman, for one, has been frustrated in his quest for a seat on the Finance Committee and his dealings with liberals in his caucus. He likes Lott and is friendly with another party-hopper, Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-Colo.). But Democrats insist that Lott's chances of wooing Bingaman are slim. One reason is that Bingaman is intrigued by the chance to be the ranking Democrat on the Senate Energy & Natural Resources Committee now that Senator Dale L. Bumpers (D-Ark.) is retiring.

#### NEXT CHIEF OF STAFF?

► Representative Vic Fazio (D-Calif.), who is retiring, has become an informal White House adviser on dealing with Capitol Hill. Clintonites say Fazio is all but certain to be offered a top Administration job, such as Presidential Counselor, and friends have been promoting him as a replacement for Chief of Staff Erskine B. Bowles, who is expected to depart in 1998. The moderate Fazio, the No. 3 Democrat in the House, is seen as a skillful bridge builder to GOP centrists.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 24, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-29-97

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Jennifer Palmieri *JMP*

SUBJECT: Meeting with Frank Raines

I understand that you and Frank Raines discussed the possibility of setting up a short budget meeting for Friday afternoon. Frank expects the meeting will take a half hour. There will be no other attendees. If you concur, the preference is to hold this meeting in the Residence. Please advise what time you would like to hold this meeting.

5:00 pm, Friday

Other

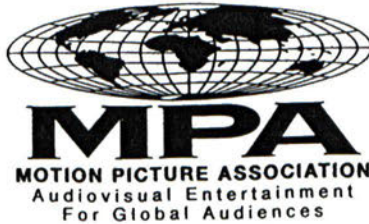
*let's 10:00 am fr.*

*copied  
Bowles  
Palmieri*



*To Valenti / Sorry / Begala  
for being so late  
with it this way  
JC*

JACK VALENTI  
CHAIRMAN  
AND  
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER



October 2, 1997

10-23-97

OCT 23 1997

'97 OCT 23 AM 11:11

12-29-97

1600 EYE STREET, NW  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006  
TELEPHONE: 202/293-1966  
TELECOPIER: 202/452-9823

*Dear Mr President*

When you appear at the National Italian American Foundation's gala dinner on October 25, one of those present will be the Deputy Prime Minister of Italy, Walter Veltroni.

He is described in Italy at that country's version of Bill Clinton: High velocity intelligence, persuasive skills of a superior kind always on display, and a visionary reach to the future.

But you would find most relevant his introduction to the Italian language edition of your book BETWEEN HOPE AND HISTORY.

I think you will find his comments intriguing - and most complimentary of your presidential labors. You will enjoy meeting him, chatting with him.

*Warmly  
Jack*

*Copied  
Emanuel  
Blumenthal  
Begala  
Bowles*



# THE AMERICA OF BILL CLINTON

Insights by Walter Veltroni

The America of the 1990's has become the America of Bill Clinton, just like the preceding decade belonged to Ronald Reagan, the 1960's to the Kennedys, and the 1930's to Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

During these years I have kept a close and attentive eye on this experience which, beginning back in 1992 when I went to the Convention of the Democratic Party in New York City, struck me as an interesting one for democrats all over the world. In fact, after many years of candidatures based on the principle of representation and the sum total of social and ethnic minorities, the Democrats choose a leader whose political position and language spoke to the entire country.

We now know how things went from then on, and during these years America has changed a great deal. It has regained a sense of assuredness and self-confidence. A country founded as always on a sound and solid basis of respect for individual freedoms, but also far ahead in the reform of its own welfare system. A country more attentive than during Reagan's time to the problems of poverty and social outcasts, and where a large percentage of citizens no longer looks upon the federal government as the adversary of tax payers, but as an instrument for the protection and promotion of equal opportunities. In brief, a federal system which in no way disowns but actually defends the essence of the American dream, the possibility offered to all to progress and move forward, to reach their own goals, and always have new horizons.

When Bill Clinton entered the nationwide political arena in the United States he was received with a great degree of skepticism, both at home and abroad. The commentaries of many observers granted limited credit to this young governor of Arkansas, and also cast doubts on the governance qualities and institutional abilities of this representative of the baby boomers; almost as if to imply that the place in history for that generation – someone who was 15 to 20 years old when John F. Kennedy was assassinated, had attended Berkeley or Columbia University during the years of student protests, had admired and shared the values of the new Hollywood motion picture industry, and had danced to the sounds of the Beach Boys or the Supremes – had to be confined to albeit important roles in American society, but never involve positions of great responsibility, and never government positions.

Hidden to a great degree behind the skepticism towards Bill Clinton and Al Gore was the conviction that some of the outstanding values of the 1960's, beginning with pacifism and refusal of America's intervention in Viet Nam, were not compatible with exercising offices which entailed responsibility for leading the country. Lastly, the limited confidence accorded to Clinton was based on the idea that the swelling wave triggered by Reagan was still moving strong, and that, in any case, it was nigh unto impossible to offer a winning alternative to that movement.

Even after the presidential elections in November 1992, numerous commentators ascribed Clinton's victory over George Bush to decisive factors such as the late reawakening of the American economy and the many votes cast for Ross Perot. And even two years later, in the wake of the congressional elections in November 1994, people began to speak about Clinton's political downfall following the resounding success of Newt Gingrich and his fellow Republicans.

What actually happened, however, was an entirely different scenario, and the book now available to Italian readers is particularly important, because it clarifies the reasons why consensus around Bill Clinton grew stronger. As a result, it offsets the many simplifications which nowadays continue to accompany the political life of this American president.



Here's just one example of hasty and superficial judgment: Clinton's success and his familiarity with the use of the mass media. Bill Clinton is undoubtedly a good communicator. When he speaks there is clarity and simplicity in what he says. As we saw during the two debates on TV with Bob Dole, Bill Clinton has that rare gift of being able to get on to the same wave length as the person to whom he is speaking; to understand the reasons behind the doubts and questions assailing the citizens listening to him. In a political age of swift and incisive statements – the so called 'one-liners' – these are important characteristics, but, in my opinion, they are never decisive elements for sweeping political success.

Behind the heightened awareness for communication and for a modern use of the mass media, from the outset of the 1990's Bill Clinton and the new Democratic Party of America have proposed new values and new programs to the country; programs and values based on rigor and solidarity, on innovation as well as on long standing convictions so deeply rooted in the history of America.

In 1992, Clinton's platform caught on with Americans. An increasing percentage of American voters began to listen more attentively to the words of this candidate of the Democratic Party. And they did so because they were fed up with the progressive reduction of Reagan's and Bush's politics to sheer rhetoric, with the solemn promises never kept (e.g. "Read my lips: no new taxes", said Bush), with the administration acting as a mere bystander while unemployment, poverty, and forms of inequality skyrocketed, with the uncontrolled increase of the federal debt and the question marks this stamped on the future of new generations.

The state of mind of the majority of Americans was interpreted in an extraordinarily effective way by Mario Cuomo in his speech to the Democratic Convention held in New York City in 1992. "How could the life of Americans", Cuomo asked, "have ever fallen so low that the American dream seems broken, that so many dramas, so many tragedies afflict this great country?" The then governor of the State of New York went on to buttress the very reasons for the existence of the Democratic Party, and its inbred concern for an American society where millions of children drop out of school and inevitably end up in the streets, where "they learn the sound of guns before having heard the sounds of an orchestra", or, "have children when they are still children".

This new platform, however, didn't just propose anew the traditionally compassionate attitudes of the Democrats. The force and strength of the platform's messages stemmed from the realism and concreteness of the proposals advanced to provide jobs for millions of persons, combat the degradation of society, and offer greater certainty to insecure citizens frightened by the awesome increase in crime, with respect to which even a deterrent as ferocious and far removed from our European culture as the death penalty, revealed the full extent of its cruel uselessness. Above all, the aim of these proposals was to bolster once again the bonds of a national community which was increasingly estranged and ever more divided, not so much due to the spread of multiculturalism and political correctness, but rather because of the weakening and waning of the common values of solidarity and collective progress.

In effect, at the beginning of the 1990's America was a country where so many weaknesses were gaining the upper hand: from the deterioration of public infrastructures to the increasingly precarious state of public schooling, from an unbridled upsurge in health care expenditures to the worsening of living conditions in the outlying neighborhoods of large cities, from a loss of purchasing power to a gray and highly uncertain future.

Clinton's platform responded to these problems with the awareness that the market is not always able to come up with suitable and especially swift answers. And therefore it is the duty of a modern national administration to intervene in all those cases where the spontaneous endeavors of the forces of the economy are not able to guarantee the results awaited and expected by citizens.

In the eyes of the average American, however, this pro-intervention platform did not evoke the fears of 'big government', nor did it expose its flank to the accusation customarily made in the past about how all the Democrats wanted to do was 'tax and spend'.



In fact, and this is only one of many possible examples, Clinton's proposals included limits and changes regarding the ways federal transfers would be made for low income or poverty situations. The platform likewise contemplated a substantial reduction in the total working force of the federal administration.

However, the force of the economic and social renewal project championed by Bill Clinton and his running mate Al Gore, resided in setting the reduction of the federal debt as the priority goal of the administration's efforts. And they planned to do this by making sharp cuts in spending, while also avoiding any perpetuation of the error of American supply siders as well as both the Reagan and the Bush administrations, which, on three different occasions, had been able to convince voters to believe in the fairy tale that lower taxes would have led to a reduction in blatant fiscal imbalances.

Hard facts have endorsed the proposals of the Democratic administration which took the oath of office in January 1993. In my opinion, rarely has an outgoing president stood before the American voters for re-election with such a convincing and undeniable series of economic and social results.

It is important to dwell for a moment on the economic successes of the Clinton administration which are so well illustrated in the first part of this book, since the outcome of the November elections depended primarily on them. After years of the trite identification of conservative administrations with economic development, and Democratic administrations with taxes and the excesses of the welfare state, an executive branch led by a Democrat achieved macroeconomic results of outstanding acclaim.

Let's take a look at these results. First of all, a growth of more than 9% in GDP during the period 1992-1996, along with a formidable 22% increase in investments. Likewise, there was a tumultuous expansion of employment: Clinton had promised to create 10 million new jobs, and he did just that. Contrary to what people ordinarily believe, however, these were not just jobs for "hamburger flippers", but well paid jobs. Trends such as these made it possible for the United States economy to compensate for the negative effects of the downsizing being done in many companies, and such trends cannot be explained merely on the basis of the high degree of mobility and flexibility in the American labor market.

Quantity-substantial and quality-profound development. Robust development widespread throughout the country. Moreover, it took place in the substantial absence of pro-inflation tension factors; e.g., the average annual increase of consumer prices was below 3%.

As planned in the original platform script, the cornerstone of Clinton's economic policy was the reduction of the federal debt, in terms of both quantity and incidence on GDP. Defense spending was also reduced. At the same time, however, access to welfare benefits was tightened.

The markets rewarded the concerted efforts to reduce the debt. The credibility of the maneuvers to curtail spending in a great way facilitated the decline in medium and long term interest rates, and their stability at what historically speaking were very low levels. Since the American economy, as we know, is much more sensitive than European ones to swings in interest rates, the trend in the cost of money turned out to be a fundamental element in development during the past four year period. Just as it was an essential factor for the growth of the equity market, which was already able to count on the excellent trend in corporate financial reports.

Against this background of robust and non-inflationary growth, the Clinton administration made important choices in other fields as well; from the measures limiting the indiscriminate sale of weapons to the ones applied to the consumption of cigarettes. The administration also placed much more of a focus on environmental issues than in the past. Spending in the field of education likewise received more attention. Quite obviously, there were moments of uncertainty as well as defeats. For example, the administration lost the challenge over the reform of the health care system. Clinton had made the greater protection of tens of millions of people bereft of health care a core element of his platform, and had launched his program with utmost personal conviction. But all too strong turned



out to be the resistance fielded by all kinds of lobbies, from those of the insurance companies, to the ones contrary in principle to any new interference on the part of the federal government in the country's economic life.

In the realm of international relations the Democratic administration can be proud of a series of endeavors crowned by success; from the Dayton Agreements to the ongoing attention dedicated to problems in the Middle East, from the return of democracy to Haiti to active support for a solution to the Irish question. And all this in an international scenario where the weight of the United States had been boosted by the end of the bipolar system, and by the review of its own role in the re-engineering process underway in the United Nations.

In view of the tangible results achieved, it is really misleading to interpret Clinton's 'resurrection' over the last two years as the outcome of a simple shift on his part towards the right wing of the American political camp. Comments like this were most frequent especially after the recent approval of the reform of the welfare state, a reform accused of being nothing more than a watered down version of the radical Republican proposal to cut back drastically on public support to citizens.

First of all, Clinton's welfare state actually tends to create conditions so there would be no lifelong bond between the federal government and someone assisted by it. This outlook was already expressed in the 1992 electoral platform, and is strengthened in this book.

Secondly, the Republican victories in the November elections of 1994 put the American president in the most classical and dangerous of situations: cohabitation. Compromises with the Republican majority in Congress were inevitable. The alternative would have been the paralysis of the American institutional system, where, as we know, set against one another are a very authoritative Congress, and a president endowed with equally strong powers.

In actual fact, it sufficed for Clinton to bide his time and await the clearer manifestation of the excesses already quite distinct in the "Contract With America" launched by Newt Gingrich, the new speaker of the House of Representatives. And, especially in the tug-of-war struggle over the reduction of the federal debt, the American people appreciated the way the president defended those classes which would have been affected the most by the drastic cuts in health care spending advocated by the Republicans.

The battle between Clinton and the majority in Congress at the end of 1995, and the outset of 1996, brought to the forefront a further element worthy of being highlighted, and that is how close a relationship there is between Bill Clinton's vision and program, and the average American's ideas and mentality. Whoever knows and loves the United States of America is well aware of the great force evoked by words such as 'opportunity', 'responsibility', and 'community', words which set the tone for this book. These are words, concepts and ideas which dwell deep within the complex and contradictory phenomenon of American democracy.

In fact, the idea of opportunities is the idea of equal opportunities. America is known for its ability to be an implacable country as well; a country where an individual's talents are put to the test day after day, and where the outside support of society's stalwart institutions – from the family to the public administration in all its forms – is less solid than in European countries.

In addition, it is a country where individuals firmly and deeply believe in the values of competition, and, in America, this is not just a purely economic matter. Competition, rivalry, and one-upmanship are also the product of a rather well entrenched faith in the individual abilities of persons to "get the job done", and be successful in the face of any and all adversity. This is practically an heroic and often romantic attitude towards life, and traces of it can be found in Bruce Springsteen's songs, Hemingway's novels, and most of American movies. But competitiveness must be exercised with the same rules applied to everyone, and respected by everyone. Everyone has to be able to count on the same opportunities when they are at the starting blocks.

This true and sound competitive spirit also generates another essential element in the DNA of Americans: responsibility. In the sense of the maturity and dignity of the individual, and the way



a person is proud not to be a weight upon the community. In our eyes as Europeans, this vision appears uselessly virile, and at times even violent. And yet, in its best expression, it is a vision which goes hand in hand with a great respect for the rules and for relations with the other members of the community.

In its most rigid version, and even though it does have an element as dynamic as the market for a benchmark, the conservative culture in the United States rather paradoxically manifests a static connotation. A culture of immobility. And this because, apart from rare exceptions, it is not able to offer people new frontiers.

An Italian reader will find many stimulating and interesting elements projected by the vision narrated in this book. And yet, quite evidently, *Between History and Hope* is not to be approached as if it contained a series of social and economic formulae easily exportable into contexts other than the United States. It would be most superficial to hide from view the many things separating us from that country and its culture of governance and public management, even in its most modern version: what immediately comes to my mind is the death penalty, which is unacceptable for someone like myself who is convinced that punishment is not an act of revenge, but an opportunity for the redemption of the person who has been judged guilty. There is also the factor of the labor market, whose flexibility is at times synonymous with precariousness.

Nonetheless, the blueprint of the American president in working towards the year 2000 contains important and thought-provoking indications, which any reader truly concerned about the major issues at stake in the transition underway in Italy, should consider with attention.

And this all the more so now, when at work in our country is a pro-reform government, the government of the Olive Tree. A government which has assumed the priority task of bringing Italy into Europe. And, in order to reach that goal, is in the process of making considerable adjustments in the field of public finances, and, in the short term, will have to undertake an in-depth and courageous re-engineering of its own welfare state.

One first aspect: Clinton's policies have shown that it is possible to reduce the public debt without having the weakest classes of the population bear the brunt of the adjustment, and at the same time bring about a substantial increase in income, investments and employment. And all this without any inflationary trends. Everything due to the effects of credibility on financial markets, and the subsequent favorable movement of interest rates. The initial months of the Olive Tree administration were marked by the obstinate pursuit of this strategy. And in the space of a few months our country had regained financial stability in terms of its own currency's exchange rate, and prices. Knowing that such a strategy paid off in the United States constitutes a very strong source of encouragement to continue along this road.

A second element of stimulus stemming from Clinton's words has to do with new technologies. The new generation of American Democrats is harvesting the most dynamic, constructive and creative aspects of the information technology revolution. The capillary spread of computers in the world of business and manufacturing is not being lived in an apocalyptic way as the advent of the age of new technological unemployment. Nowadays, the computer sector is acting as a locomotive for a growing slice of the American economy, while at the same time improving the quality of the services offered and the products being made in a myriad of companies hard at work all over the country.

Basic knowledge of information technology and network communication are quite justly considered the new alphabet of the upcoming millennium. Therefore, something which must be part and parcel of the cultural assets of any citizen. Our country still has a long way to travel along this pathway, and the model of the United States is not necessarily a realistically feasible one for us. In the wake of the American experience, however, it is quite certain that the public administration can do very much indeed to foster and promote the diffusion of the 'computer culture'; from the blanket



use of personal computers in schools, to the creation and support of data banks, and investments in information technology infrastructures.

Nonetheless, perhaps the most compelling food for thought to be gleaned from a reading of these pages has to do with the problem of rewriting the rules of the welfare state, which our country will tackle already in 1997. The American example shows that an overall reduction of the central government's weight in the economy is entirely compatible not only with the greater efficiency of public services, but also with the possibility to create a true country of opportunities. A country whose objectives and aims are not limited to mere redistribution in order to mitigate income inequalities, but also involve creating conditions so everyone, and especially young people, can count on similar conditions of schooling, training, and getting a start in the world of labor.

The challenge of equal opportunities assumes grandiose dimensions in the United States, where there are blatant economic inequalities as well as equally conspicuous social and racial problems. But in our country as well, the state of opportunities implies a real revolution in the whole way of conceiving the public administration and State support to individuals.

We in Italy may not have social differences as evident as they are in some parts of urban America. Perhaps our families are still able to ensure a greater degree of cohesiveness and social integration than in the United States. And, albeit affected by efficiency shortcomings, our national health care system continues to be inspired by pro-universal principles far removed from the principles which have prevailed in America.

And yet the great challenge of equal opportunities is an equally arduous one in our country as well. Contrary to the United States, and the America of Bill Clinton in particular, still lacking in our country is that dynamic ability, that courage, that 'changing gears' which makes it possible to shut down a welfare state on the verge of sclerosis; a welfare state incapable of tackling new forms of poverty and social outcasting, and neither well equipped nor properly motivated to defend the present and future rights of those who are now taking their place on the labor market.

The policies being pursued by Bill Clinton and the new American Democrats are beautiful ones; policies abounding with the ideals and aspirations so deeply rooted in the principles of American Democrats. Policies imbued with intense tension to achieve greater equality and justice, and new dreams. At the same time, however, serious and rigorous policies able to couple new horizons, new frontiers, and new values with the soundest possible pragmatism of choices. This is why, on the eve of the year 2000, the seeds planted by Bill Clinton can begin to bud and blossom in Italy is well.



## **WALTER VELTRONI**

### **Curriculum vitae**

#### **Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Cultural Heritage, Italy.**

Born in July 1955 in Rome. Married to Flavia Prisco, with two children, Martina and Vittoria. Member of the Roman local council from 1976 to 1981. Member of the Lower House of Italian Parliament since 1987. Leading member of the opposition until the April 1996 general elections, after which he is appointed as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Cultural Heritage of the Prodi government. He favours reforms of the Italian political system towards an anglosaxon-like bipolar system. He also advocates a leaner, less costly public administration, by cutting red tape and improving the quality of public management. His goals as culture minister are the increase in cultural demand and a greater involvement of the private sector in funding and managing the extraordinary wealth of Italian museums and art treasures.

Among his past activities, he has been (from 1992 to 1996) chairman of the daily *L'Unità*, former official organ of Partito democratico della sinistra (Pds). He has also been a film critic for the weekly magazine *Il Venerdì*. He has published several books on cinema and on politics, such as *Il sogno spezzato*, about Robert Kennedy, or *La bella politica*, a long interview on his political biography and on the prospects for Italian democracy. His latest book is *Governare da sinistra*, on the first year of government of the Olive tree coalition.



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Bowles

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-29-97

ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR R. NICHOLAS BURNS  
AT THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN GAL.  
ON NOVEMBER 8, 1997 IN NEW Y

ancellor Mellows, Hospitaller Rice, Canon  
Gentlemen.

"Pray for the Peace of Jerusa

Those powerful words from so long ago were on my mind  
present tonight experienced the great honor and the great privilege  
in the glorious Cathedral Church of Saint John the Divine here in N  
"Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem". The Biblical meaning of  
connotation. Jerusalem is a city which is the focus of tonight's dinner  
the Order of Saint John. And rightly so.

For Jerusalem is a city like no other embroiled in our times  
Sixty years ago, the British mandatory government in Palestine  
revolt, a general insurrection of Palestinian Arabs remarkably similar  
commission formed to investigate the causes of that revolt traced a  
problem of our time", the British concluded, "is rooted so deeply  
today in 1997 as it was then back in 1937 and as it was a thousand  
fervently that Jerusalem was literally the center of the earth, poured out of Europe to return, any, ...  
Holy Land from Infidels.

When walking the streets of Jerusalem in our time today, one is faced with the immense task of  
deciphering and making sense of thousands of years of history, of overlapping layers of civilizations — of  
Hebrews and Assyrians, Greeks and Persians, Saracens, Franks, Turks, Napoleon, the British; of Empire, of  
Saints and warriors, despots and princes, of all of the peoples, the thought and faith and belief that have made  
Jerusalem the focus of so many western and eastern dreams and of so much history.

Pray for the peace of Jerusalem. That is really the work of the Saint John Ophthalmic Hospital in the  
Sheikh Jarrar neighborhood of East Jerusalem.

Now, you might ask, what is an American Diplomat soon to be sworn in as Ambassador to Greece,  
doing here talking to us about Jerusalem and the Saint John Hospital. Good question. Now, let me give you the  
answer.

I was invested in the Order of Saint John today and I am here tonight because there is no city on earth  
more important than Jerusalem. My wife and daughters and I lived there for two years in the mid-1980's. My  
position in the American Consulate General was to coordinate American economic and humanitarian assistance  
to the Palestinian population on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It was an extraordinary job--the most  
challenging I have ever had. We lived on a hill in East Jerusalem in an Arab neighborhood close to Mount  
Scopus, Hebrew University, the Mount of Olives and the Old City of Jerusalem itself.

It was called Ammunition Hill because it was the site of a great and decisive battle of the Six Day War  
in June 1967, thirty years ago. The battle which raged resulted in the Israelis securing that strategic location  
critical for their eventual capture of the entire city. And that battle revolved around the very hospital that our  
Order supports so magnificently and with so much benevolence--the Saint John Ophthalmic Hospital.

And while the Israelis occupied then, and still do, many of the homes and institutions in that part of  
town, they left the hospital alone, in part because it provides such unique and vital services to the local  
population.

When I arrived in Jerusalem just shy of twenty years after the Six Day War, my family and I were given  
a lovely, old stone house with a pretty garden--directly across the street from the Saint John Hospital. As our  
girls were toddlers, we spent a lot of time in the garden and this is what we saw.

We saw, nearly every day of the year, Palestinians from rural West Bank villages, and from the great  
towns of Hebron, Bethlehem, Ramallah, Jericho and from Jerusalem itself, lined up on our street before the  
Hospital awaiting treatment. Most were poor and many elderly. Invariably, as is the custom among Arabs, who  
prize family above all else, entire families would accompany the patient for the day, camping out on the Hospital  
grounds or on the sidewalk before our home. They came in great numbers and they received expert care from  
prescriptions for eyeglasses to cataract treatment to advanced eye surgery. We came to know that Hospital well.

My oldest daughter learned her Arabic there on the Hospital swingsets. I played a regular tennis match with the  
Warden on the Hospital tennis court--which I hope has been repaved! And we came to know well the many  
doctors and nurses who worked at the Hospital as volunteers from Canada and Australia, the United Kingdom  
and the United States.

We should all be most proud of the Saint John Hospital. Unique in that part of the world, it is the only  
institution that provides expert eye care for the poorest people in the Holy Land. Its Mobile Eye Clinic is the  
only chance that many isolated Palestinian villagers will ever have to receive decent care.

The Hospital's service and mission is in the best tradition of the Order of Saint John. And the work of  
the Hospital is critical to thousands of people. It must continue and it must grow and prosper for the sake of the

~~Handwritten signature~~  
~~Handwritten signature~~  
~~Handwritten signature~~  
Sincerely  
This is really good,  
Tom Caplan gave  
me a copy -  
I would be a nice  
letter to him -  
BC



12-29-97

ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR R. NICHOLAS BURNS  
AT THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN GALA DINNER  
ON NOVEMBER 8, 1997 IN NEW YORK CITY

The Prior, Chancellor Mellows, Hospitaller Rice, Canon John Andrew, Mrs. Barbara Alton on her birthday, Ladies and Gentlemen.

"Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem"

Those powerful words from so long ago were on my mind this afternoon when many of us who are present tonight experienced the great honor and the great privilege of our Investiture in the Order of Saint John in the glorious Cathedral Church of Saint John the Divine here in New York City.

"Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem". The Biblical meaning of those words is clear as is their more modern connotation. Jerusalem is a city which is the focus of tonight's dinner and of the work of the American Priory of the Order of Saint John. And rightly so.

For Jerusalem is a city like no other embroiled in our times in a terrible and bitter conflict like no other.

Sixty years ago, the British mandatory government in Palestine was struggling to cope with the Arab revolt, a general insurrection of Palestinian Arabs remarkably similar to the Intifada of the late 1980's. A British commission formed to investigate the causes of that revolt traced its origin to one dominant factor: "No other problem of our time", the British concluded, "is rooted so deeply in the past". Britain's conclusion is as true today in 1997 as it was then back in 1937 and as it was a thousand years ago when Crusaders, believing fervently that Jerusalem was literally the center of the earth, poured out of Europe to rescue, they thought, the Holy Land from Infidels.

When walking the streets of Jerusalem in our time today, one is faced with the immense task of deciphering and making sense of thousands of years of history, of overlapping layers of civilizations — of Hebrews and Assyrians, Greeks and Persians, Saracens, Franks, Turks, Napoleon, the British; of Empire, of Saints and warriors, despots and princes, of all of the peoples, the thought and faith and belief that have made Jerusalem the focus of so many western and eastern dreams and of so much history.

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We should all be most proud of the Saint John Hospital. Unique in that part of the world, it is the only institution that provides expert eye care for the poorest people in the Holy Land. Its Mobile Eye Clinic is the only chance that many isolated Palestinian villagers will ever have to receive decent care.

The Hospital's service and mission is in the best tradition of the Order of Saint John. And the work of the Hospital is critical to thousands of people. It must continue and it must grow and prosper for the sake of the



Palestinians who depend on it so greatly. I commend all of you for continuing the great medieval tradition of service to the poor that the Order of Saint John has always exemplified.

I am hopeful about the Hospital's future for many reasons--because of the generosity of this Order, because of the centrality of the Hospital's mission and because of its permanence in the city of Jerusalem. The present hospital, as I mentioned, is located on a hill to the north of the Old City. But if you walk in the Old City today from the Moslem Quarter and the Muristan towards the Jewish Quarter, you will come across a lovely street and a school playground. There you will see a stone memorial to the Saint John Hospital that the Crusaders built in the eleventh century. Jerusalem is a city that has been subjected to conquests throughout its history and very few institutions have survived in it for a millennium.

But the Saint John Hospital, which the crusaders conceived originally and which we support today, has survived and is playing the role that the Knights of Malta intended. Congratulations to all of you for making that possible and may this work continue.

The Saint John Hospital is an oasis in a turbulent city at a turbulent time in that city's history. Its doctors and nurses carry out their work today amid the titanic struggle between Palestinians and Israelis which governs life in Jerusalem and provides the context and setting for the work of the Saint John Hospital. I won't bore you with my views on the current politics of the peace negotiations or with their long history. But I would like to provide a few very brief reflections that I hope might help to make sense of the Palestinian-Israeli struggle for those of you who have not lived within it.

All of us outsiders must pray for the Peace of Jerusalem and hope that it will arrive soon and remain ascendent for our new century and millennium. That must be the wish and the prayer of Christians, Moslems and Jews. And as we watch that conflict unfold, I think it is terribly important to recognize one central fact--both Palestinians and Israelis have a right to be in the Holy Land. I say that because so much of the present political debate polarizes with each side arguing that the other should have their rights subjugated or denied, arguing about who was there first, arguing about who has what right to what privileges and land, institutions and political power. Arguing about whether the other group even has a right to be there at all.

The fact is that Palestinians and Israelis were born historically to the same land and the same history. Both peoples are Semites, united by the same patriarchs and matriarchs, by the same history of conquest by others. Their fates, their histories, their geography are intertwined. And they are fated to live together on the same land. How much better it will be for all of them if they choose one day soon to live in peace, and not in war, to forego violence and car bombs and murder and to choose instead peaceful negotiations and compromise. The great historian Barbara Tuchman noted that "More blood has been shed for Palestine than for any other spot on earth". In our time, now that we are seeing the end of mankind's bloodiest century, the Arabs and Israelis must choose negotiation over confrontation, peaceful discourse over violence, peace over war.

It is easy to become discouraged with the twists and turns of the peace negotiations that have been underway in one way or another for nearly half a century now. Some people argue that the peace process is a sham or dying or dead already. Many say that my old boss Warren Christopher chased illusions in traveling twenty-four times to the Middle East in a fruitless search of peace.

I couldn't disagree more. Actually, more progress has been made during the last four years in rooting peace in the Middle East than during any comparable period since the founding of Israel in May, 1948 and the start of the five Arab-Israeli wars. Israel is now at peace with Jordan, as well as Egypt. Israel and the Palestinians have signed two agreements which have opened up dialogue, relations, self-rule and the hope of a final resolution of their differences. That process is rocky and fitful. Despite much progress, Israel and the Palestinians must still journey many miles before they can be truly at peace with each other. But they are far better off talking and meeting and arguing than they were in the four past decades leading to our own when they were literally at war with each other.

Perhaps the cynics among us are willing to give up on Peace because it is too hard, too exhausting, too complicated. But, surely that cannot be the answer to a war that has ravaged the Holy Land for forty-nine years in its latest incarnation. I prefer to think that people like Benjamin Netanyahu and Yasser Arafat, King Hussein and Madeleine Albright will persevere and find a way forward. That is certainly what Secretary Albright intends to do.

And I suspect that none of you would be here this evening if you, too had decided to give up on the work of peace. While I cannot predict the future any better than you can, I do believe from the bottom of my heart that we will see peace in our lifetime in the Middle East. And when that great day comes, I propose that the people in this room who belong to and support the Order of Saint John and its work in Jerusalem will deserve a small part of the credit.

Peace will not be achieved by Presidents and Prime Ministers and Diplomats alone. For peace to be lasting and true, it must be whole and deep. The work that this Order is doing is at the heart of the work of peace. By caring for the victims of the Middle East wars, for the poorest of the poor in Jerusalem, we are part of the larger, historic quest for peace.

So, as we leave here tonight, we should give thanks for this Order, rededicate ourselves to it and remind ourselves from time to time of ancient words that call us to a new mission today--pray for the peace of Jerusalem.

Thank you very much.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 24, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT <sup>SS</sup>  
AVIVA STEINBERG <sup>AS</sup>

12-29-97

*Copied  
Bowles  
Streett  
Steinberg*

SUBJECT: TRIP TO HILTON HEAD, SOUTH CAROLINA AND ST. THOMAS

COPY: SYLVIA MATHEWS  
JOHN PODESTA  
PATTI SOLIS-DOYLE

**Hilton Head**

You, the First Lady and Chelsea will be departing for Hilton Head on December 30th. The flight time is one hour and twenty five minutes. We will have an official airport greeting upon arrival but the rest of the next two days will be closed press. Attached is a copy of the Renaissance Weekend schedule of events. We assume that if you would like us to schedule or arrange anything for you in Hilton Head or the Virgin Islands, you will let us know.

Per your request, we have scheduled a meeting for you with Arnie Aronson, the Medal of Freedom winner, on Tuesday directly prior to your departure.

**What time would you like to depart Washington for Hilton Head on December 30th?**

10<sup>00</sup> AM

**Virgin Islands**

You, the First Lady and Chelsea will depart the morning of January 1st from Hilton Head en route to St. Thomas. The flight time from Hilton Head to St. Thomas is three hours and you lose one hour in the time change. Again, we will have an official airport greeting upon arrival and all other days will be closed press. We are currently working under the assumption that you and the First Lady will remain on the island of St. Thomas for the duration of your vacation. Craig Smith and Fred Duval do not believe you and the First Lady need to go to St. Croix for any political reasons.

**What time would you like to depart Hilton Head for St. Thomas on January 1st?**

1<sup>00</sup> AM



Currently, we have you scheduled to return to Washington on the evening of January 4th. However, the First Lady is currently scheduled to remain in St. Thomas for the night of the 4th and departing for Puerto Rico for the day on January 5th.

**Do you still plan on returning to Washington the evening of January 4th?**

**Note:** You are currently scheduled for events on Monday January 5th.

Yes

☒

No

☐

*Mary Claire  
cancel the 4th*



Rubin/McCurry  
Fyfe BS

# Sad dissection of public lives

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN  
12/29/97

**We don't need  
microscopic look at  
their past**



**BERNARD  
RAPOPORT**  
Board of  
Contributors

Two good men — James Stewart and Charles Kuralt — died recently. As sad as these losses are, they left in their passing a miracle.

In all of the press reports I saw, there was only unqualified adoration for the two. The quality of their character dominated the news. It was wonderful to remember once again that there were, indeed, good people among us.

Emerson's comment that "character is that which can do without success" was a life theme for both of these men. They achieved fame not because they deliberately sought it, but because they used their gifts and talents to celebrate all that is good about mankind.

Even in the sadness of their passing, it was good to be reminded that life well-lived and generously shared benefits us all.

The terrific life stories of Stewart and Kuralt were a welcome diversion from the standard fare of meanness and microscopic examination more com-

mon when we see reviews of someone's life these days.

Unfortunately, it probably won't be too long before some investigative reporter in the name of "truth" will discover that one of them cheated on an arithmetic test in the third grade, that one of them received a speeding ticket 30 years ago or even that — God forbid — one of them actually voted for a Democrat for president. Whatever dirt is dug up, it will be thrown at our feet in the name of "truth."

The philosopher John Wilkin-son cautions us that virtue is not in truth, but in meaning. While certain things may be true about someone, we need to ask, "What's the point of telling everything?"

Isn't the intent of such practice to bring down to destroy?

I recall when my son, Ronnie, was 9 or 10, one of my good friends said, "B. would you mind if I gave you some constructive criticism about Ronnie?"

I looked at him and quietly said, "Yes, I would mind."

How much "truth" do I really need to know about my own son? More importantly, why was my friend wanting to tell me: for truth's sake or for some other reason? Was there really any salutary effect from such disclosure?

Another great "philosopher" — Henny Youngman — put it like this: "Of course tell the truth. Just don't go around telling all of it."

Do I want to know any more about James Stewart and Charles Kuralt than the good things I've been reminded of in recent days? For me, all the truth I need to know is that from the heavens goodness descends. And we are all the richer for it.

Bernard Rapoport is a member of the Board of Contributors, 32 Central Texans who write columns regularly for the *Tribune-Herald*. He is chairman and chief executive officer of American Income Life Insurance Co.

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*To do great things, we need great goals. The Presidents' Summit for America's Future is an unprecedented opportunity to set the great goal we the people need in order to turn the tide for millions of young Americans. Specifically, the Summit's goal is to bring together millions of individuals and thousands of public and private organizations to ensure that America's young people have access to the resources they need to lead healthy, fulfilling, and productive lives. As President Clinton said, "Our goal is to mobilize America's citizen power in a united effort to solve our common problems, especially those that threaten our young people."*

*This effort will require the harnessing of all forms of leadership—from government officials, corporate CEOs, and nonprofit directors to grass-roots organizations and citizens—to ensure that all children and youth have access to the fundamental resources they need:*

- an ongoing relationship with a caring adult—a mentor, tutor, coach;*
- safe places and structured activities during non-school hours to learn and grow;*
- a healthy start and healthy future;*
- a marketable skill through effective education; and*
- an opportunity to give back to their communities through their own service.*

*The power and promise of citizen service is demonstrated by more than a million Americans who serve our communities and youth each day through AmeriCorps, Learn and Serve America, and the National Senior Service Corps. This publication highlights just a few of the programs and individuals getting things done for and with America's youth.*

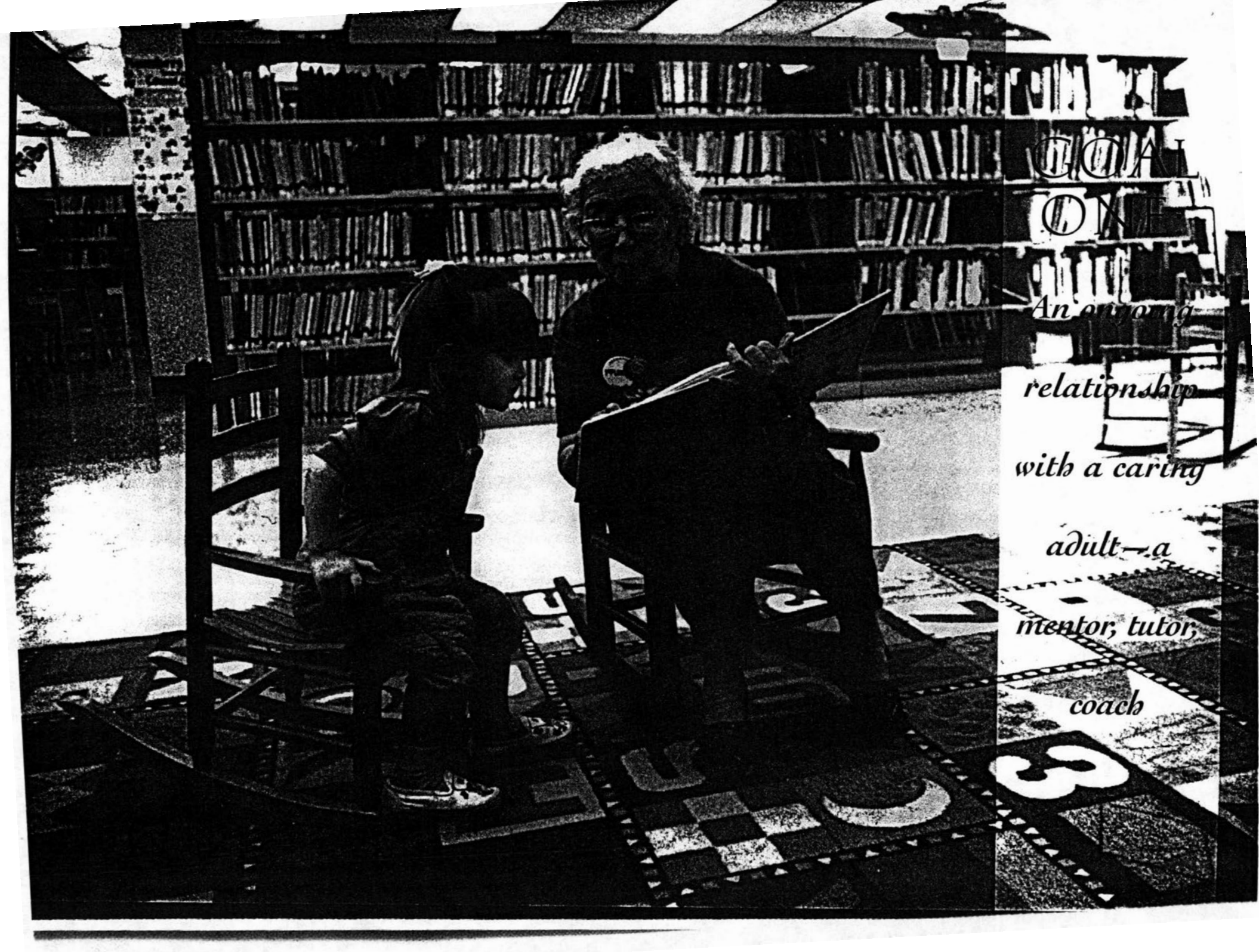
*An estimated two-thirds of national service programs focus on the needs of young people through a variety of community-driven activities, including teaching, tutoring, mentoring, organizing afterschool programs, creating safe havens and safe corridors, and leading younger people in service activities. National service participants serve with community groups, schools, colleges, businesses, child care centers, and other organizations to meet the needs of children and youth.*

*President Bush once said, "Any definition of a successful life must include serving others." To make service the common experience of every American, we must start with our youngest citizens. The true power of national service is not only how it serves youth, but also how it challenges and enables the young to serve. National service looks at young people not as problems to be solved, but as resources to be tapped.*

*The Corporation for National Service is proud to be one of the two original sponsors and organizers of the Presidents' Summit for America's Future. We will continue to work with our partners in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors to make effective citizen service an integral part of the American way of life—and a strategy for meeting the goals for America's youth. The following pages demonstrate what we the people can do when we serve together.*

*Harris Wofford  
Chief Executive Officer  
Corporation for National Service*





# COACH ONE

*An ongoing  
relationship  
with a caring  
adult—a  
mentor, tutor,  
coach*



## Louise Jackson

FOSTER GRANDPARENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

As a Foster Grandparent, Louise Jackson has dedicated her life to serving families affected by child abuse. Since she joined the Foster Grandparent Program in 1973, Louise has served through the D.C. Superior Court, assisting dozens of families and teaching parents the skills necessary to raise children. In 1985, Louise, a great-great-grandmother, adopted twin babies when their abusive mother released custody of them. At seventy-nine, Louise continues to visit the homes of victims of child abuse, before returning home to her two healthy fourth-graders.



*In the SLICE Corps in rural Kentucky, twenty-five AmeriCorps members teach SLICE CORPS reading skills to 122 second- through fourth-graders. This intense one-on-one attention has produced dramatic results. SIMPSON COUNTY, KY. Students' reading comprehension has improved by an average of three levels, and more than one-third have improved their comprehension by more than four levels. The AmeriCorps members also conduct home visits to increase parental involvement in school activities. Considered one of the most effective school success programs in the country, SLICE Corps has been recognized as a national model.*



## Marilyn Concepcion

CITY YEAR  
PROVIDENCE, R.I.

Marilyn Concepcion grew up in Puerto Rico and moved to Providence at age ten. Four years ago, she was a high school dropout working on an assembly line. She then joined the City Year AmeriCorps program in Providence, where she tutored and taught English to elementary students. During her year of service, she earned her GED and gained the confidence she needed to apply for college. Marilyn recently finished her first year at Brown University, where she is studying to be a pediatrician.



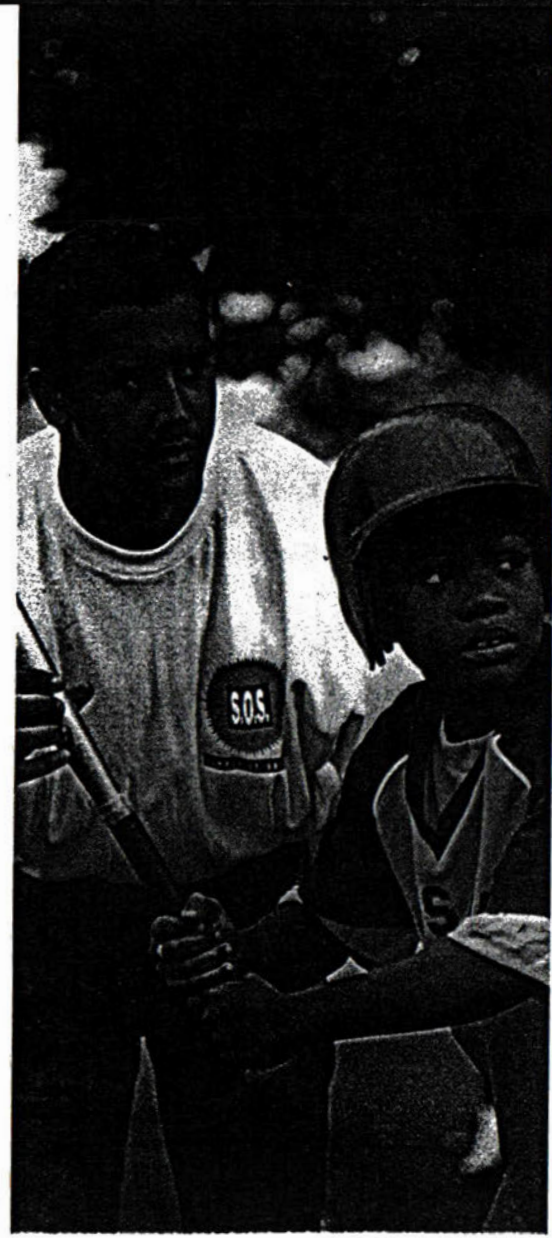
*In two South Bronx elementary schools, a team of thirty older Americans in the*  
**EXPERIENCE CORPS** *Retired and Senior Volunteer*  
*Program (RSVP) are serving together to bring about far-reaching and*  
**NEW YORK, N.Y.** *substantive improvements in the academic and extracurricular lives of students in one of the poorest communities in the nation. Known as the Experience Corps, the volunteers work directly with children through tutoring and mentoring, develop literacy programs, encourage parent and grandparent involvement, lead community service events for children, organize afterschool and summer programs, and recruit volunteers.*



# The Reverend Paul Franklin

I HAVE A DREAM FOUNDATION  
DALLAS, TEXAS

The Reverend Paul Franklin, an ordained Baptist minister, is an AmeriCorps member with the I Have a Dream Foundation in Dallas. An ex-collegiate football player, Paul serves as a role model for young "Dreamers." He organizes athletic events for disadvantaged children and teenagers and coordinates drug awareness seminars, summer camp activities, and college tours. He also serves as a tutor for elementary schoolchildren in an inner-city housing project. His own work toward a college degree is an inspiration to the young Dreamers.



*Parents and Children Working Together (PACT), a Learn and Serve America program at Harcum College, trains inner-city Philadelphia parents to be volunteer tutors in their children's classrooms. The parents receive college credits as participants in the program.*

**WORKING TOGETHER**

*BRYN MAWR, PA. Last year, sixty parents provided 480 at-risk children with 6,000 hours of individual tutoring. Ninety percent of the students increased their reading skills, and 40 percent of the parents obtained jobs.*



*safe places*

*and*

*structured*

*activities*

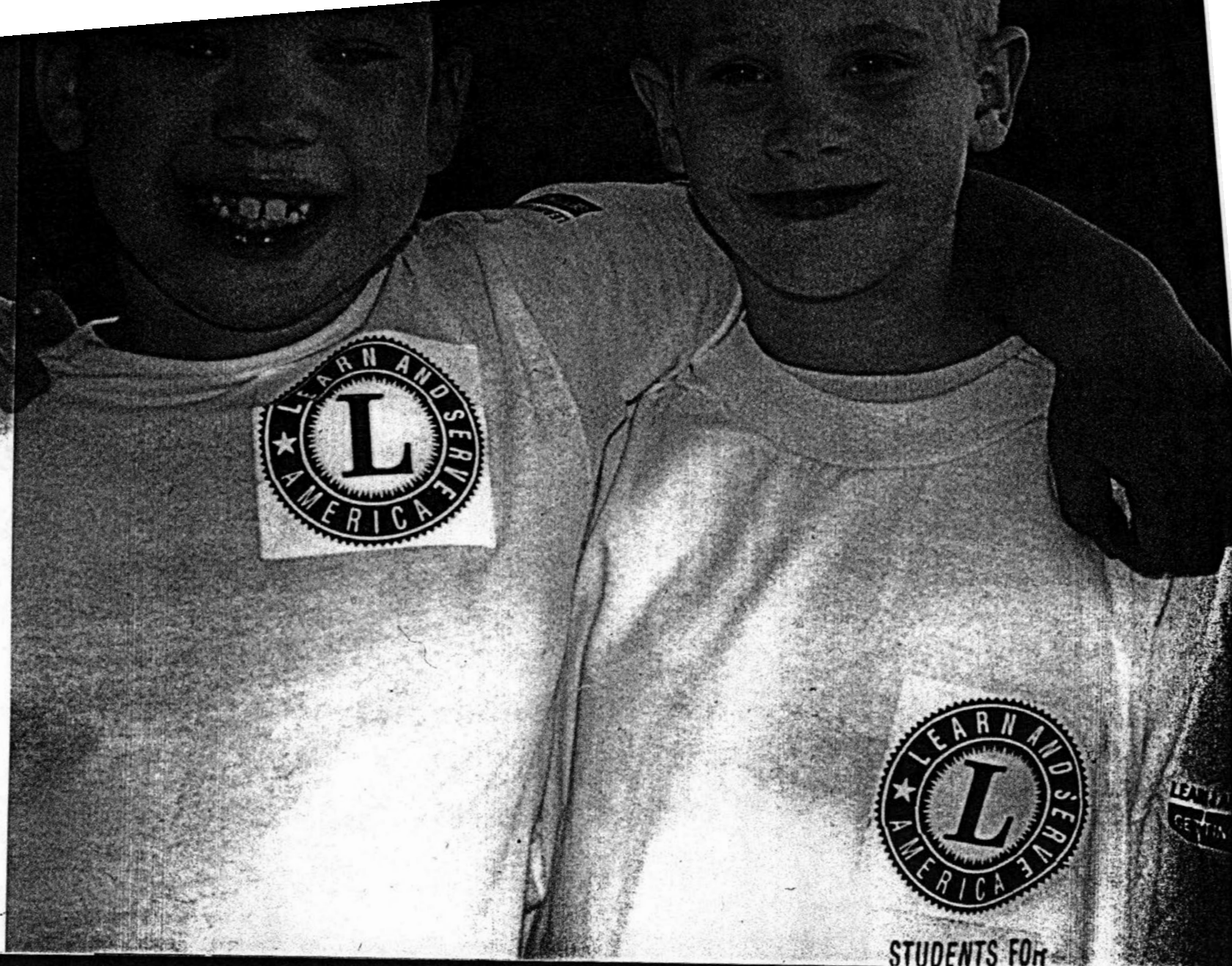
*during*

*non-school*

*hours to*

*learn*

*and grow*





## Luis Pizarro

COMMUNITY SERVICE CORPS  
MILWAUKEE, WISC.

Luis Pizarro, a former gang member and drug dealer, was able to turn his life around by serving as an AmeriCorps member with the Milwaukee Community Service Corps. Luis served in the same community where he used to deal drugs, helping at-risk youth build self-esteem and find alternatives to joining gangs. After he completed his service with AmeriCorps, Luis went on to found HOMIES (Helping Out Milwaukee In Every Struggle), which helps young people break away from gangs.



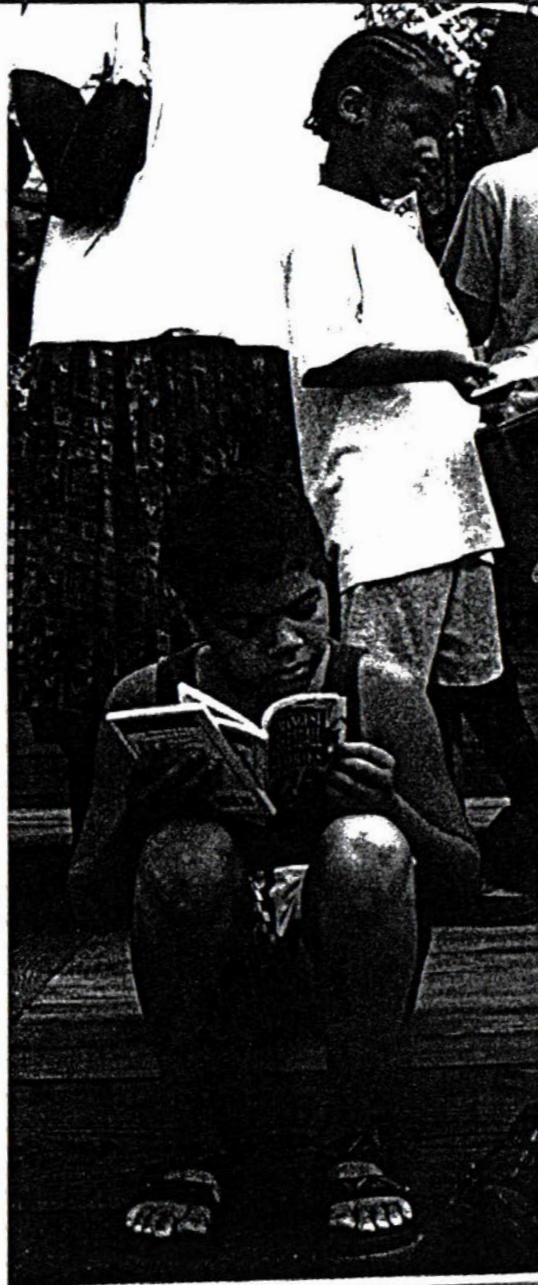
*In seven rural South Carolina counties, thirty-five AmeriCorps members*  
**VICTIM ASSISTANCE CORPS** *work with*  
*victims of domestic violence, sexual assault, and incest—writing orders of pro-*  
**COLUMBIA, S.C.** *tection, accompanying victims to court and*  
*hospitals, providing crisis counseling, and serving in an emergency shelter.*  
*They also help train police officers so they will be better able to respond to*  
*cases of domestic violence and sexual assault. Last year, the AmeriCorps*  
*members helped 9,660 crime victims and taught crime avoidance techniques*  
*to more than 18,000 children.*



## Javier Frausto

BUILDING UP LOS ANGELES  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

A few years ago, twenty-year-old Javier Frausto was the victim of a drive-by shooting in his East Los Angeles neighborhood. As he recovered, he decided to do all he could to reduce violence and make life better for young people in his community. As an AmeriCorps member with Building Up Los Angeles, Javier worked in an afterschool program where he mentored and tutored students. Javier used his own experience to speak out against violence and to teach young people how to settle conflicts peacefully. He is now studying to become a social science teacher.



*Volunteers in the Retired and Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP) of Greater*

## GRANDMA PLEASE PROGRAM

*Cleveland serve after school at least one day a week in several neighborhood*

*CLEVELAND, OHIO centers throughout the Cleveland area.*

*They tutor students, serve as mentors, and teach arts and crafts. RSVP of*

*Greater Cleveland also operates a "Grandma Please" project, which matches*

*seniors by telephone to children who need afterschool assurances and contacts.*

*Grandma Please volunteers provide a friendly and caring voice to latchkey*

*kids and provide mentoring and tutoring support. Today, the Grandma Please*

*program is operating in twenty-six schools, receiving more than 130 calls*

*each week.*



## Mary Hopkins

FOSTER GRANDPARENT  
SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

Foster Grandparent Mary Hopkins, a victim of child abuse herself, has dedicated the past ten years to helping neglected and abused children who have had similar experiences. Mary, age seventy-one, currently serves at Sacramento County's Juvenile Hall, a locked facility for young women. A mentor and counselor, Mary encourages women to abandon lives of crime and complete their education. Recently, Mary helped a young mother regain custody of her child, and with Mary's support, the mother earned her nursing degree and is now assisting abused children.



*Through the Neutral Zone, supported by the Boeing Corporation, AmeriCorps*

**NEUTRAL ZONE** *members address juvenile crime, gang activity, school success, youth homelessness, and other issues affecting high-*

**MOUNTAINLAKE TERRACE, WASH.** *risk youth.*

*In the program's first year, violent crime in Mountainlake Terrace decreased by 30 percent. The Neutral Zone offers a late-night program for 300 to 400 high-risk youth, a street school operating six days a week, out-of-school-time activities for K-12 youth, and a program to enhance student success in schools.*





# GOAL THREE:

*A healthy  
start and  
healthy  
future*



## Sahisha Blount

PUBLIC ALLIES  
CHICAGO, ILL.

When twenty-year-old Sahisha Blount teaches people about the dangers of AIDS, she does so from personal experience—her brother Richard died from the disease. In 1995, Sahisha was an AmeriCorps member with Public Allies in Chicago. She served with the American Red Cross, where she taught AIDS awareness to schools, teen centers, and community groups. Two months into her service, her brother Richard was diagnosed with AIDS. Richard's health deteriorated quickly, and he died in February 1996. His death made Sahisha even more committed to her service, and she has trained more than 700 people in AIDS and HIV awareness and has certified an additional twenty trainers.



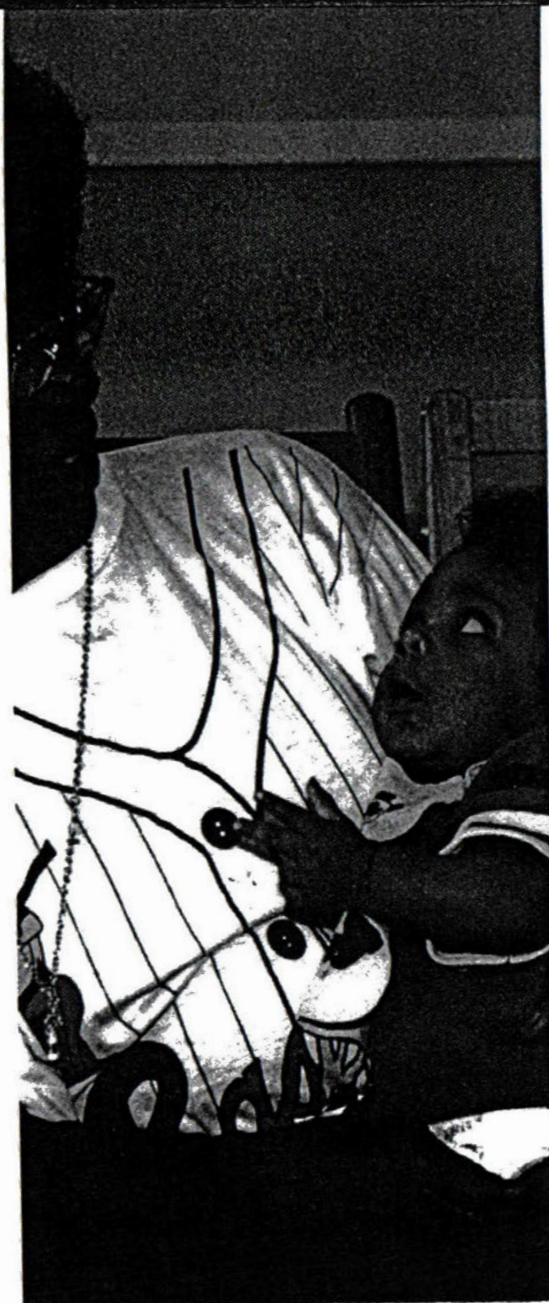
*The Idaho Immunization and Women, Infants, & Children (WIC) Outreach IDAHO BABY TRACK Project is improving immunization rates in Idaho, where only 61 percent of children age two or IDAHO younger are fully immunized. An AmeriCorps\*VISTA and RSVP collaboration, the project educates parents of newborn children about the importance of child immunization. Idaho Baby Track has helped communities set up free immunization clinics and information booths at festivals and fairs. At the eighteen participating hospitals, 90 percent of parents are now enrolled in the program and are matched with RSVP volunteers who work with them to ensure that immunization appointments are made and kept.*



## James Newman

FOSTER GRANDPARENT  
NEW YORK, N.Y.

A Foster Grandparent for the past twelve years, James Newman has cared for hundreds of troubled children and teens in the psychiatric ward of the Elmhurst Hospital Center in New York City. James, seventy-seven, assists emotionally disturbed children during their hospital stays that range from three weeks to four months. He comforts the children, encourages them, and helps them with their homework. Many children and their families have stayed in touch with James for years after leaving the hospital.



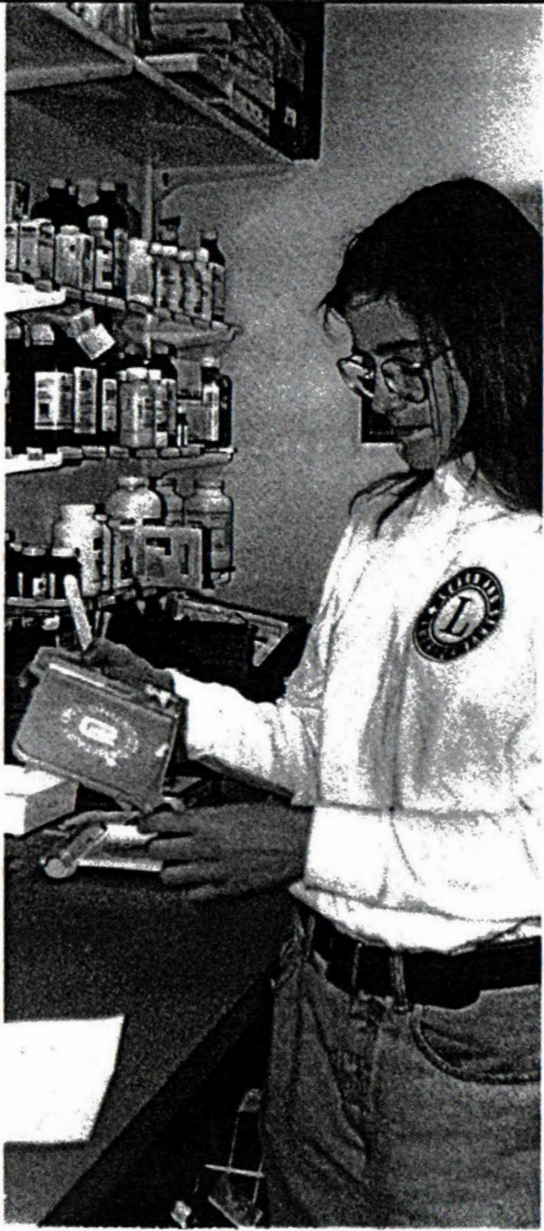
*AmeriCorps members serving with Appalachia Access provide direct health care services to families in twenty-one Appalachian counties—giving free immunizations to children, ATHENS, OHIO breast and cervical cancer screenings for low-income women, disseminating information on and testing for HIV/AIDS, and providing rural residents with free transportation to health care appointments. With the assistance of the AmeriCorps members, childhood immunizations have increased significantly, and nearly 3,000 residents have received new information on topics such as drug prevention, household poison prevention, teen pregnancy, and baby wellness and nutrition.*



Tong  
Nguyen

TEXAS HEALTH STEPS PROGRAM  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

Tong Nguyen, a sixty-one-year-old Vietnamese refugee, served as an AmeriCorps\*VISTA member in the Texas Health Steps Program in Houston, informing residents of low-income neighborhoods about available health services such as Women, Infants, & Children (WIC), immunizations, and medical and dental checkups. Tong and two other Vietnamese refugees introduced Vietnamese families to the benefits of preventive health care and translated printed materials for the community. They subsequently joined the staff of the organization so they could continue their service.



*AmeriCorps members serving with the Nashville Health Corps help improve the*  
**NASHVILLE HEALTH CORPS** *health of 500*  
*children of low-income families by advising parents on proper nutrition and*  
**NASHVILLE, TENN.** *early childhood health, assessing family*  
*health risks, and increasing access to health education. Through home visits to*  
*teenage girls and other high-risk women, the AmeriCorps members provide*  
*information and support on a wide variety of topics, including immunization,*  
*nutrition, growth, and development, and give referrals to appropriate services. As*  
*a result of the AmeriCorps members' service activities this year, 95 percent of*  
*the children they serve are fully immunized, more than 80 percent are growing*  
*at their normal weight and height, and 99 percent are free of abuse and neglect.*



# GOAL FOUR:

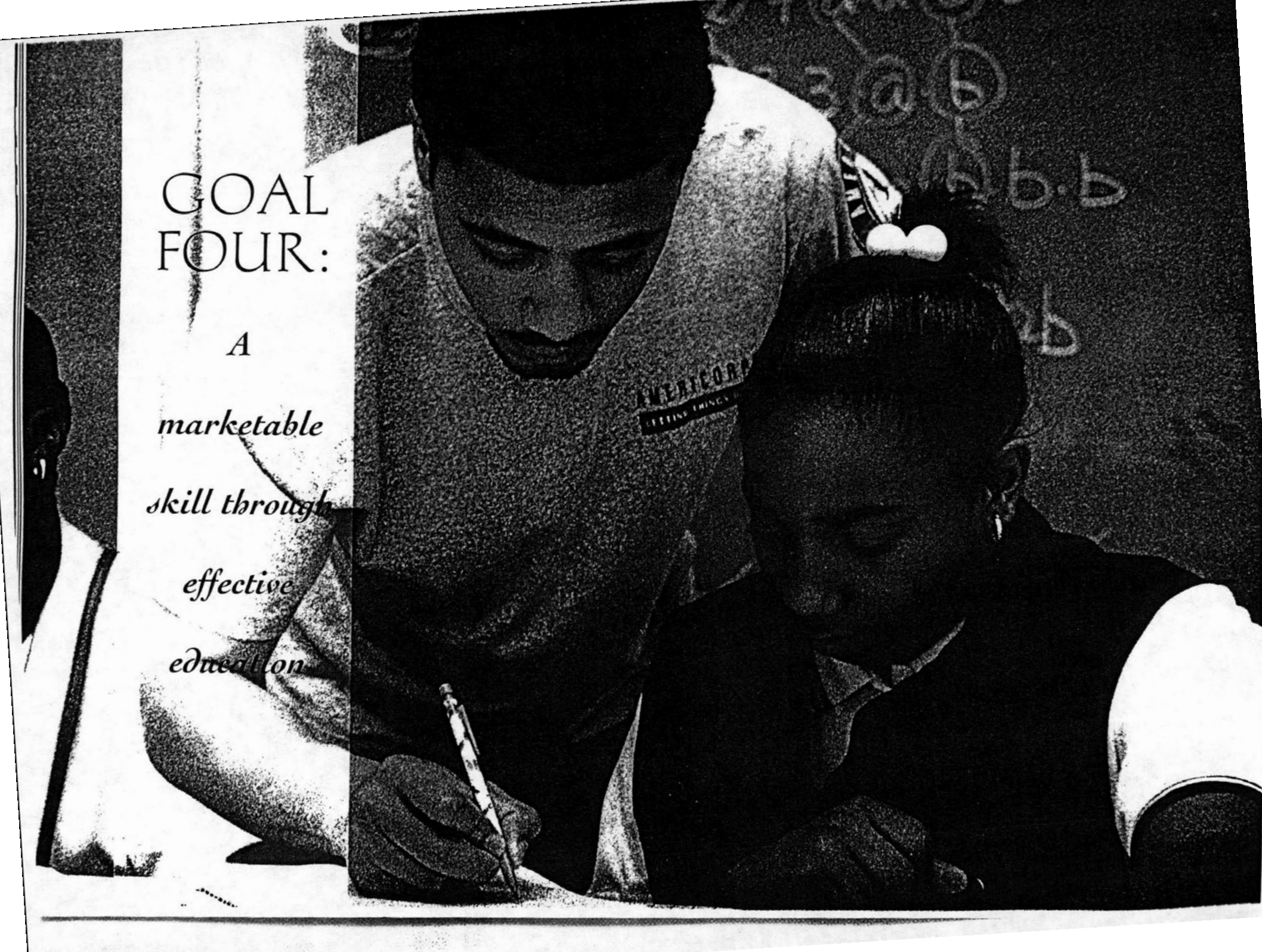
A

*marketable*

*skill through*

*effective*

*education*





## Charles Smith

PROJECT CHALLENGE  
MESA, ARIZ.

An RSVP volunteer and a retired Army officer, Charles Smith has served fifty hours a week since 1993 with the Arizona National Guard's Youth Corps Program, Project Challenge. Project Challenge is a five-month residential program for high school dropouts between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. Students earn their GEDs, perform 100 hours of community service, develop life and citizenship skills and good health habits, and maintain physical fitness. Charles, sixty-eight, is a mentor and role model to the young residents, helping them to succeed by gaining the skills they need to turn their lives around.



*Through the Twenty-First Century Scholars program, AmeriCorps members*  
**TWENTY-FIRST** *mentor, counsel, and provide academic*  
*achievement sessions for Scholars, who are eighth- to twelfth-grade low-income*  
**CENTURY SCHOLARS** *students. In exchange for*  
*a full, state-sponsored tuition scholarship, Scholars pledge to keep a 2.0 grade*  
**INDIANA** *point average, apply for financial aid, and stay free from*  
*drugs and alcohol. AmeriCorps members help keep Scholars on track, mobilize*  
*the community, recruit volunteers, lead Scholars and their parents in service*  
*projects, and work with counselors and teachers to build strong support between*  
*families and schools. The effort focuses on sixteen urban and rural communi-*  
*ties throughout the state. The AmeriCorps members have already counseled*  
*7,260 Scholars, tutored more than 450 Scholars, mentored more than 800*  
*Scholars, and recruited over 1,000 volunteers statewide.*



## Victoria Roberts

PROJECT FIRST  
NEW YORK, N.Y.

Victoria Roberts, an AmeriCorps member with Project FIRST (Fostering Instructional Reform through Service and Technology) in New York City, works with elementary school children to teach them computer skills and help them use those skills as a tool for studying. With her experience in system development, training, and management, Victoria is able to bring a wide array of technological tools and applications into the library and classrooms. Through the learning environment that Victoria helps create, students enhance their critical thinking and problemsolving skills and gain skills that they will use throughout their education and their professional lives.



*One year ago, the Springfield Public School District was ready to close down. PUTNAM VOCATIONAL Putnam Vocational High School. The school had the highest dropout rate in the district and was HIGH SCHOOL considered the most violent school in western Massachusetts. At the same time, the students recognized the need for an SPRINGFIELD, MASS. improved and expanded health facility for the school, and a group of students and teachers got together to pursue the idea. The school received a Learn and Serve America grant to help students build a community and student health services center in the high school. Carpentry, electrical, and construction students have worked on the project as part of their coursework. Thanks to grants and donations from local businesses, the students will complete a \$1 million facility for approximately \$70,000. School officials say the project has sparked positive changes, making learning more relevant for students and dramatically reducing discipline problems.*



## Chris Dudding

ARKANSAS DISABILITY COALITION  
FORT SMITH, ARK.

As an AmeriCorps\*VISTA member, Chris Dudding has developed a community planning project to bring together the disabled community in Arkansas. Working with the Arkansas Disability Coalition, Chris secured funds and recruited volunteers for the project, which has helped disabled children participate fully in their communities. Chris' commitment to this project partly stems from the fact that he is disabled himself. Stricken with meningitis as a child, Chris is almost completely deaf. He is now pursuing a law degree and plans to practice public interest law.



*In YouthBuild, AmeriCorps members age sixteen to twenty-four learn construction skills while rehabilitating abandoned buildings and constructing new housing for homeless and low-income people. The AmeriCorps members attend academic classes for half the time, mastering basic skills and preparing for their high school equivalency diploma. A major emphasis is placed on providing opportunities for young people to develop leadership skills. The AmeriCorps members also serve in other ways, including tutoring elementary students and organizing food drives and environmental cleanups. Currently, 700 YouthBuild AmeriCorps members serve at twenty-one sites throughout the nation.*





# GOAL FIVE:

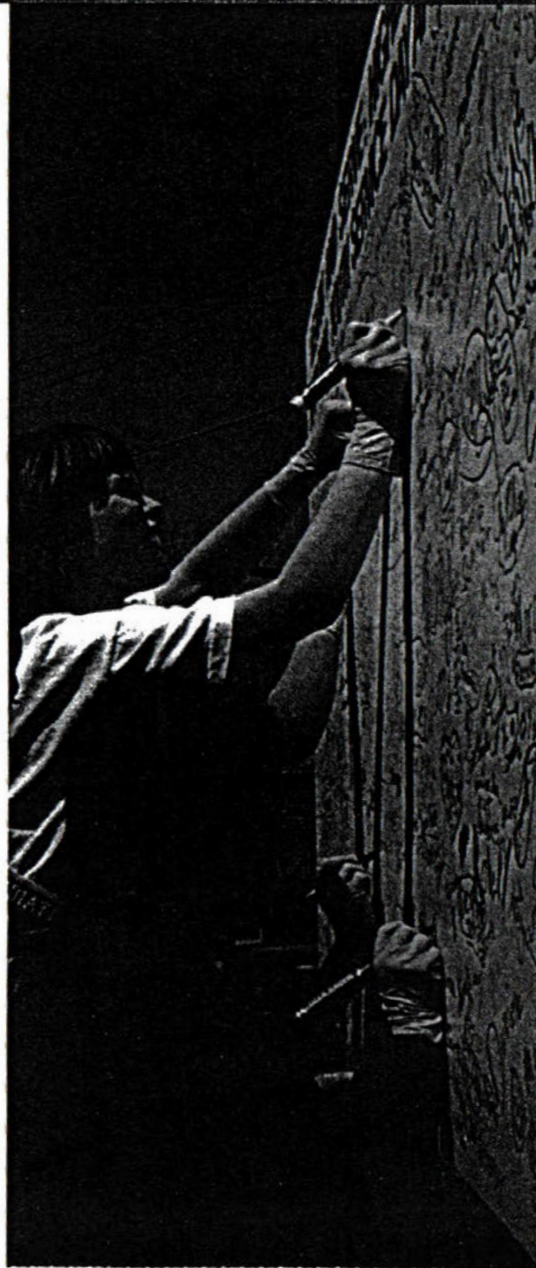
*An  
opportunity  
to give back  
to their own  
communities  
through their  
own service*



## Dara Cole

PALS PROGRAM  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Dara Cole, a twenty-two-year-old AmeriCorps\*VISTA member, helps adult Hmong refugees learn English and living skills in a unique way—by recruiting high school students to be teachers. As the coordinator of the People Assisting with Language Learning Skills Program (PALS), Dara recruits Hmong teens to tutor Hmong adults in English at community centers in public housing projects. Dara also has brought in other community tutors and literacy workers. Dara's enthusiasm and dedication to service has started a chain reaction among the Hmong youth, who now view service as an important part of their lives.



*Through the National Literacy Corps, supported by Learn and Serve America, more than 1,000 high school juniors and seniors in seven states are tutoring elementary school students in reading and writing and seeing significant improvements in the students' academic success. At Lincoln High School in Philadelphia, for example, 80 percent of second-graders who have been tutored are now reading at their grade level, compared with 57 percent before the tutors began. Teachers report an increase in positive behavior and higher motivation toward studies, and the academic achievement of the high school tutors has improved as well. The National Literacy Corps currently is helping students in Delaware, Florida, Michigan, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Washington.*



## Sean Whitten

AMERICORPS\*NCCC  
CHARLESTON, S.C.

Through his service as a team leader in AmeriCorps\*NCCC (the National Civilian Community Corps), Sean Whitten has led a team of eleven in completing several projects such as restoring trails, building homes for low-income families, serving at a nursing home, and tutoring elementary students. Sean and his team have been deployed to help fight disasters all over the country, such as floods and fires. Last year, Sean rescued a young hiker who had been lost for two days in the Smoky Mountains of Tennessee.



*The Young Heroes program is a City Year initiative in eight cities around the*  
**YOUNG HEROES** *United States. Its primary objective*  
*is to lead a diverse group of seventh- and eighth-graders into active citizenship,*  
**CITY YEAR** *including service. Several City Year Boston corps*  
*members created the program, which spans at least eleven Saturdays. Young*  
*Heroes have renovated housing, delivered meals to people with HIV/AIDS,*  
*cleaned schools, and led hundreds of adults and children into service—in*  
*Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Columbia, Columbus, Providence, San Jose, and*  
*San Antonio.*



## Perry Martin

VIRGINIA TECH  
BLACKSBURG, VA.

A communications studies student at Virginia Tech, Perry Martin has used service to improve his own community. He has been a Special Olympics buddy, has served as a mentor to third-grade students, and has participated in many other service activities. Most recently, as part of an Appalachian communities course, he developed a partnership between the university and his hometown of Newport, Virginia. Working closely with five community organizations, including the town's elementary school and its volunteer center, Perry identified projects for students, trained the site supervisors, and placed forty-two students in projects.



*AmeriCorps\*NCCC (the National Civilian Community Corps) is a full-time AMERICORPS\*NCCC residential service program in which 1,000 men and women age eighteen to twenty-four meet urgent community needs while developing skills in teamwork, leadership, and citizenship. NCCC members tutor children and adults, renovate schools and housing, develop afterschool programs, improve the safety of public buildings for disabled citizens, build trails, and respond to natural disasters like floods and forest fires.*



NATIONAL  
SERVICE

*Opportunities  
to serve*





*AmeriCorps has opportunities in hundreds of programs across the nation for individuals of all ages who want to devote a year to service.*

**1-800-942-2677** *AmeriCorps members tutor children, serve as mentors for teens, renovate low-income housing, immunize children against preventable diseases, restore national parks and coastlines, and participate in hundreds of other service projects in the areas of education, public safety, the environment, and other human needs. In exchange for their year of service, AmeriCorps members earn a small living allowance and an award for higher education or vocational training. Two of the many programs that are recruiting now for fall openings are AmeriCorps\*NCCC (the National Civilian Community Corps), in which people age eighteen to twenty-four live on one of five campuses and serve in teams, and AmeriCorps\*VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), whose members live and serve in low-income communities to help overcome problems like illiteracy and poverty.*

*Learn and Serve America promotes service as a learning opportunity through elementary and secondary schools, colleges and universities, and community organizations. Participating students of all ages develop (202) 606-5000 and learn from service activities that link schools and communities and meet important needs. Service-learning activities include teaching younger children to read, designing a neighborhood playground, starting a school recycling program, and constructing houses. Students who participate in these programs often earn higher grades and better understand their communities' needs.*

*The National Senior Service Corps is looking for older Americans who are willing to commit their time and skills to improve lives and communities through programs across the nation. Service opportunities are available 1-800-424-8867 in the Foster Grandparent Program, which matches seniors with children and youth with exceptional needs; the Retired and Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP), which includes activities like tutoring and mentoring at-risk youth, teaching English to immigrants, and organizing neighborhood watch groups; and the Senior Companion Program, whose members help other seniors live independently.*



*"When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir.... Now it is the time to open the doors of opportunity to all God's children.... We have come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now."*

*"Every man or woman must decide whether he (or she) will walk in the creative light of altruism or the darkness of destructive selfishness. This is the judgment. Life's most persistent and most urgent question is, 'What are you doing for others?'"*

*"Everybody can be great because everybody can serve."*

*—Martin Luther King, Jr.*



Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management

1241 New York Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20505

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CORPORATION  
FOR NATIONAL  
★ SERVICE

December 15, 1997

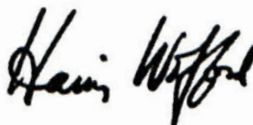
Dear Friend:

As you make plans for celebrating the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., many of you have already reported that service to your community will be an integral part of honoring Dr. King. We look forward to working with you to make the King Holiday a day of action to meet community needs, not a day of rest and recreation.

I am sending you a brochure that provides some ideas for service on the King Holiday. We are working closely with our partners for this day: the King Center for Nonviolent Social Change, the Points of Light Foundation, Do Something, and the United Way of America. Please note Do Something's Kindness and Justice Challenge, a ten-day competition in service leading up to the holiday. You may wish to interest your local schools in participating. We also enclose a commemorative poster for you to display. For more information, links to our partners and updates, please visit our website at [www.nationalservice.org](http://www.nationalservice.org).

As Coretta Scott King said, "The greatest birthday gift my husband could receive is if people of all racial and ethnic backgrounds celebrated the holiday by performing individual acts of kindness through service to others. Remember, it's not a day off - - it's a day on!"

Sincerely,



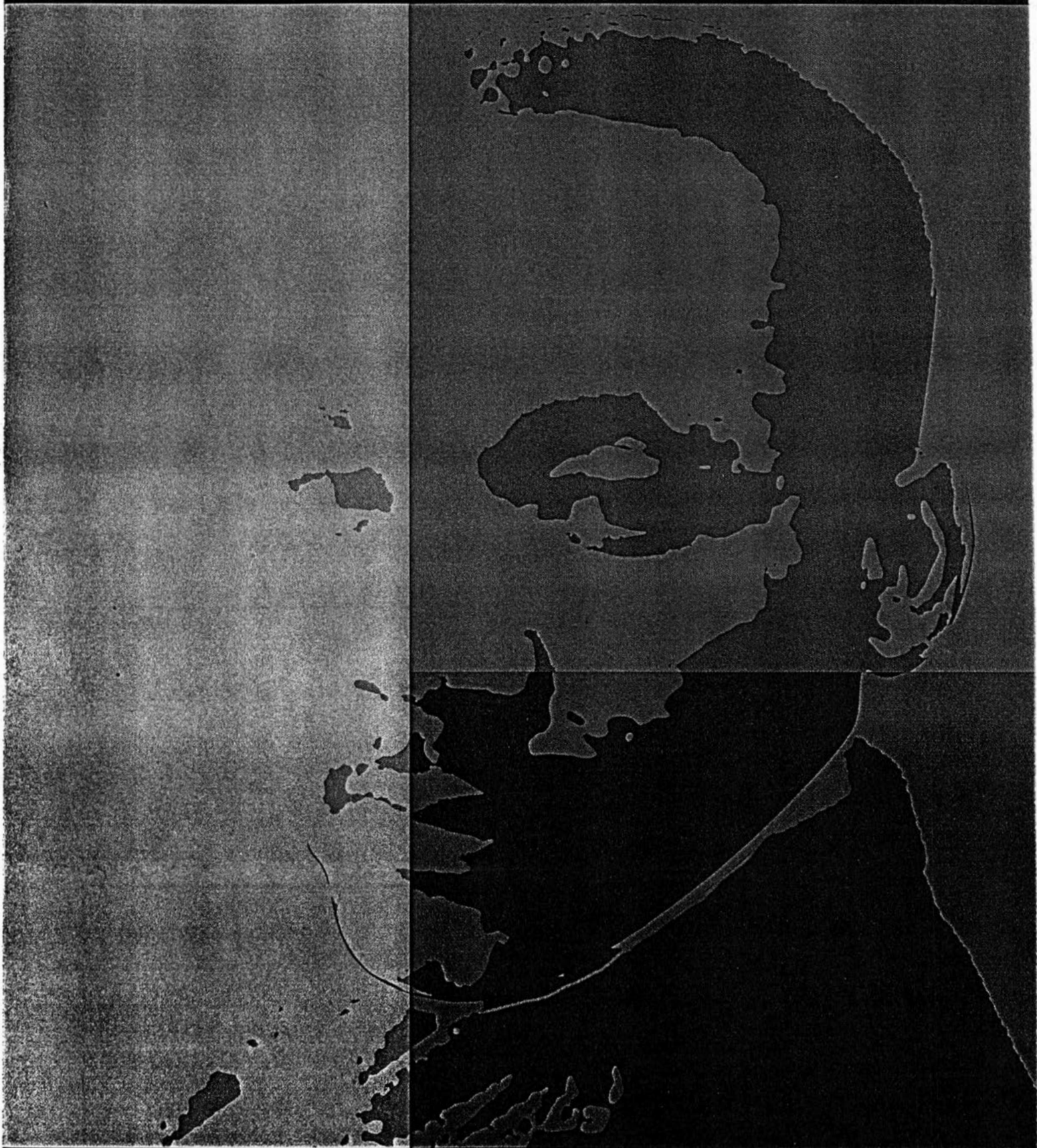
Harris Wofford  
Chief Executive Officer

Enclosures





**MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. DAY OF SERVICE—JANUARY 19, 1999**



*“Everybody can be great  
because anybody can serve.”*

The Martin Luther King Day of Service is sponsored by the Corporation for National Service in partnership with the Martin Luther King, Jr.



## A DAY ON—NOT A DAY OFF

*"The King Holiday should be a day on, not a day off. A day of action, not apathy. A day of responding to community needs, not a day of rest and recreation."*—Harris Wofford, Chief

Executive Officer, Corporation for National Service

Service was at the heart of Martin Luther King's philosophy and action. The King Holiday and Service Act of 1994 aims to transform the observance of Martin Luther King's birthday into a day of service that reflects King's life and teaching—bringing people together, breaking down the barriers that divide us, and working to solve our problems through citizen action.

The national service and community volunteering network can play a vital role in fulfilling the promise of the King Holiday. Americans involved in sustained national and community service—from school-age students engaging in service-learning, to AmeriCorps members performing a year or more of service, to participants of the Senior Corps sharing their experience and talents, to citizens working through volunteer centers—can recruit, train, and organize millions of other volunteers in a day of service. Join people of different backgrounds to meet communities' needs by serving together on Dr. King's day.

Identify a community need that the vigorous efforts of volunteers of all ages can help meet. Then seek partners in the process who share your concern and should be a part of the solution.

Think especially of the talents and resources that you and your people possess. All young Americans should be given the opportunity to see themselves, and be seen by others, as resources and leaders. Help them discover and realize their greatness through service to others.

Reach out to the young and not-so-young through churches, mosques, and synagogues, Volunteer Centers, service-learning coordinators in high schools, the YMCA, the YWCA, Boys and Girls Clubs, Urban Leagues and United Ways, civic and fraternal groups, and their school service clubs, scouting organizations, sororities and fraternities—wherever people gather to serve the public good.

Engage local merchants and employers, asking for in-kind donations and the participation of their employees.

Persuade the K-12 school systems, college and university leaders, and teachers' associations to plan a day when all students and teachers—with parents and school volunteers—are asked to work together on one or more service projects.

Many service projects are getting underway—or building on previous efforts. Join them or create similar projects.

★ Hands On Charlotte (North Carolina) is following up on the Presidents' Summit for America's Future by making sure that two of the five fundamental

### MEETING THE GOALS OF THE PRESIDENTS' SUMMIT FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE

This past April in Philadelphia at the Presidents' Summit for America's Future, President Clinton, former Presidents Bush, Carter, and Ford, Mrs. Reagan representing former President Reagan, and General Colin Powell launched a new national campaign to turn the tide for—and with—millions of young people now heading for disaster. The post-Summit campaign, America's

Promise—The Alliance for Youth, calls for us to work together to secure for all young people five fundamental resources necessary for a healthy and productive life:

- ★ caring adults in their lives, as parents, mentors, tutors, coaches;
- ★ safe places with structured activities in which to learn and grow;
- ★ a healthy start and healthy future;
- ★ an effective education that equips them with marketable skills; and

- ★ an opportunity to give back to their communities through their own service.

The fifth of these conditions for success reflects Martin Luther King's proposition that "everybody can be great because anybody can serve." A key part of America's Promise is that all young people must be enabled to discover and realize that greatness in themselves. The King Holiday is an opportunity to make good on the promise of the Presidents' Summit.



ces—safe places to learn and grow and an opportunity to give back through service—are met for needs of children. Young volunteers from Hands On, the Boy Scout Explorers, schools, and community groups will provide educational and recreational activities for 400 children in 10 safe places on a day when many of their parents are working and the schools are closed.

Build in Philadelphia, Pa., will begin the day with three community clean-ups, then will create community gardens and repair the school playground. After the painting, cleaning, and planting, the neighborhoods will host community fairs to celebrate the full range of cultures in the neighborhood, with storytelling, mural painting, and mask-making, and to provide information on community services.

Students from Community School District 23 in Brooklyn, N.Y., will organize a food and coat drive for the community. On the holiday, students and parent volunteers will fan out for a door-to-door collection. Food and clothing collected will be distributed throughout the winter.

Service Charleston, the Mayor, the Volunteer Center, and AmeriCorps' National Civilian Community Corps will kick off "98 in 98," a campaign to challenge young and old to volunteer 98 hours in 1998. In Charleston, Youth Service Charleston will launch "Soul Mates"—a program that trains fourth-graders to read to and mentor first- and second-graders.

★ The King Center, Hands On Atlanta, Atlanta Community Food Bank, and others will bring together 500 people from across Georgia for a "Citizen Service Summit." The three-day call to action will culminate in up to a dozen service projects all across the city of Atlanta on the holiday.

★ The Jackson Servant Leadership Corps, the Foundation of the Mid-South, the Episcopal Diocese of Mississippi, and a dozen church youth groups will join AmeriCorps members for seven hours of service. Projects will include preparing and cleaning outdoor play spaces, renovating substandard housing, organizing community clothing closets, and preparing and serving meals to the homeless.

★ Farm Share in Florida City, Fla., will sponsor a food gleaning and distribution on the King Holiday, recruiting volunteers from local high schools, their client base, and local churches. After it is gleaned from the fields, the food will be distributed in a local park where children will participate in organized games and educational sessions on Dr. King.

★ Frostburg State University and the University of Maryland are collaborating with AmeriCorps and other youth and service corps to expand and enhance accessibility for people with disabilities at the Frostburg's arboretum. On the King Holiday, they will break ground on the MLK Reflection and Education Inclusive Outdoor Recreational Area, and the building and landscaping will continue with the help of the corps and disabled persons until it is opened during National Volunteer Week in the spring.



**MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.**  
**DAY OF SERVICE**  
**Any On, Not A Day Off.**

*"The greatest birthday gift my husband could receive is if people of all racial and ethnic backgrounds celebrated the holiday by performing individual acts of kindness through service to others. Remember, it's not a day off—it's a day on!"*

—Coretta Scott King



## Do Something!

Schools across the nation will celebrate the King Holiday by participating in the national Kindness & Justice Challenge—an educational and interactive introduction to character education, leadership training, and community service. In the two weeks leading up to the holiday, students will perform Acts of Kindness (helping others) and Acts of Justice (standing up for what is right). By doing so, they and their schools will be eligible to win computers, other prizes, and national recognition. Register for the Kindness & Justice Challenge online at [www.kjchallenge.org](http://www.kjchallenge.org) or call Do Something at (212) 523-1175.

## MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.:

*"Everybody can be great because anybody can serve. You don't have to have a college degree to serve. You don't have to make your subject and verb agree to serve. You don't have to know about Plato and Aristotle to serve.... You only need a heart full of grace. A soul generated by love. And you can be that servant."*

*"Make a career of humanity...and you will make a greater person of yourself, a greater nation of your country, and a finer world to live in."*

*"Every man must decide whether he will walk in the creative light of altruism or the darkness of destructive selfishness. This is the judgment. Life's persistent and most urgent question is 'What are you doing for others?'"*

*"At the heart of all that civilization has meant and developed is 'community'—the mutually cooperative and voluntary venture of man to assume a semblance of responsibility for his brother."*

*"I have the audacity to believe that people everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity, quality, and freedom for their spirits. I believe that what self-centered men have torn down, other-centered men can build up."*

## KING HOLIDAY 1998

This year communities and individuals will remember and honor Dr. King with a day that reflects his proposition that "everybody can be great because anybody can serve"—a day that brings out the greatness in people by bringing them together to make a difference in their communities.

Here are a few of the ways that we can bring people together through service on this day:

- ★ tutoring children and adults
- ★ feeding the hungry, packing lunches, delivering meals, stocking a pantry
- ★ restoring a school and adding to its resources
- ★ joining a Habitat for Humanity build for the day and committing to serve for the next seven Saturdays
- ★ adopting a neighborhood for the day, clearing debris, repairing walks and fences, and beginning a community garden
- ★ recording books for the blind
- ★ restoring the beauty of a public space

- ★ donating blood and helping register bone marrow and organ donors
- ★ renovating low-income and senior housing
- ★ participating in local neighborhood watches
- ★ teaching literacy to those in jail or prison
- ★ celebrating history and heritage with senior citizens and veterans
- ★ building a playground on a vacant lot
- ★ helping to break the cycle of crime, fear, and violence by encouraging twenty-four hours of peace
- ★ removing graffiti and replacing it with a community-designed mural
- ★ helping people through the winter, weatherizing homes, providing warm clothing, digging them out of the snow
- ★ planting trees, installing window boxes for the homebound
- ★ bringing in health care professionals to provide screening and inoculations

Worried about too much snow? Do a "big dig" and shovel out neighborhood schools, senior citizens' homes, and libraries.



December 9, 1997

TO: Director of Scheduling

THROUGH: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

FROM: John Gomperts  
Chief of Staff, Corporation for National Service

REQUEST: To have the President (and potentially other White House principals) participate in a service project that promotes service and literacy on the Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Holiday, January 19, 1998. The President would participate in assembling single shelf bookcases with children, decorating the bookcases, and reading to children.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this event is to promote the King Holiday as a day of service to others, advance national service and the America Reads Challenge. Overall, children who participate in the event would receive their own a bookshelf and a collection of approximately five books to begin their own home library. The service would involve children working with adults to assemble (simple) home bookcases and to decorate and personalize the bookshelf. In addition, there will be reading circles for children.

This is an excellent opportunity to promote key presidential initiatives. The most obvious are national service and America Reads. But this events also encompasses other presidential initiatives spearheaded by the Corporation for National Service. For instance, many of the children and adults who will participate in this service project are tutors and participants in the DC Reads initiative, and many of the college students involved are doing their tutoring as part of the work study initiative.

BACKGROUND: Three years ago the President signed legislation designating the Martin Luther King Holiday as a day of service. The Corporation for National Service has lead responsibility, along with the King Center for making this day of service a reality. As the President announced in his radio address on November 29, the Corporation has just made \$225,000 in grants to support service activities on the MLK holiday.

We have made very good progress in establishing the King Holiday as a day of service. This year our national partners in this effort are the King Center, the United Way, Do something and the



Points of Light Foundation. The President's participation in a service project marking the King Holiday will (1) be an appropriate way for the President to publicly recognize the Holiday; (2) bring new attention to the Holiday as "A Day On, Not a Day Off;" (3) advance the specific Presidential initiatives of national service and the America Reads Challenge.

#### PREVIOUS

**PARTICIPATION:** The President actively supported the bill making the King Holiday a day of service and signed the legislation at a Rose Garden ceremony on August 23, 1994. The President announced the new MLK Day grants 10 days ago on November 29, 1997.

**DATE/TIME:** Monday, January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1:00 - 2:00 p.m.

**DURATION:** Travel Time 5 minutes  
Event - 60 - 90 minutes

**LOCATION:** TBD - possibly the MCI Arena; possibly the Martin Luther King library.

**PARTICIPANTS:** AmeriCorps members from the National Civilian Community Corps; AmeriCorps Alums; reading tutors and participants in the DC Reads Initiative and Everybody WINS; Corporation for National Service, Points of Light Foundation, and United Way Staff; and possibly representatives of the National Basketball Association (NBA) and team members from the Washington Wizards.

#### OUTLINE OF EVENT:

The service project would have various stations working simultaneously. Children and parents or tutors would work alongside AmeriCorps members assembling single shelf bookcases, decorating and personalizing the bookcases, participating in the reading circles and watching book dramatizations. When they depart, children would receive 5 books along with their bookshelf to start their home library.

The President would participate in the project by helping to assemble and decorate bookcases with children, reading and enjoying performances with the children, encouraging the joy of reading and setting the example of participating in service to others.



REMARKS  
REQUIRED:

Optional, depending on how we structure the event.

MEDIA  
COVERAGE:

We intend to make the Washington event the focus of national media coverage on the MLK Day of Service. We expect a high degree of interest.

PROPOSED  
ATTENDANCE:

Approximately 1000 - 1500 people (500 children with parents or tutors)

RECOMMENDED  
BY:

Harris Wofford

CONTACT:

John Gomperts  
Chief of Staff  
Corporation for National Service  
202-606-5000 x121



President Clinton, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
12-29-97

I agreed to give you this (trip weary) portfolio because I respect the credentials of the firm. They have a lot of experience with libraries and technology. They have expressed a willingness to simply provide support to another lead firm. I therefore thought it merited your attention.

My friend Richard Koshalek, who is director of MOCA in L.A., thinks Roach is very talented. I believe the success of the library project and its multi-layered elements, depends on a team effort. Of course I want to be part of the team. Design in your administration has been my mission and I see your library as the artistic and historic monument to

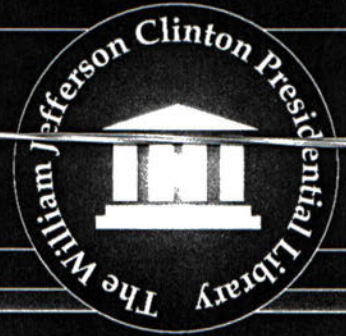


Exhibit Design Services

ENGINEERING

INTERIORS



Be

copied  
Lindsey  
Bowles

Kali gave me this  
apparently didn't  
bring the rest

There's a letter inside  
you or think seemed  
Rash —

Be



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

President Clinton, <sup>12-29-97</sup>

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# The William Jefferson Clinton Presidential Library



Qualification for Architectural, Engineering & Interior / Exhibit Design Services  
November 1997

**LEO A DALY**

PLANNING

ARCHITECTURE

ENGINEERING

INTERIORS





# LEO A DALY

PLANNING

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EST. 1915

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OMAHA  
HOUSTON  
DALLAS  
SAN ANTONIO  
PHOENIX  
LOS ANGELES  
HONOLULU  
TOKYO  
HONG KONG  
DUBAI  
BERLIN  
MADRID

November 1997

Committee for The William Jefferson Clinton  
Presidential Library  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20500

RE: Qualifications for Architectural, Engineering and  
Interior/Exhibit Design

Ladies and Gentlemen:

This preliminary booklet of LEO A DALY'S related experience and qualifications is meant to express our genuine interest in becoming involved with this most prestigious project.

LEO A DALY was founded in 1915. We are an international, multi-disciplined planning, architectural, engineering and interior design firm with sixteen offices worldwide. LEO A DALY is currently ranked as the second largest design firm in the United States, according to Building Design & Construction magazine. Recipients of both national and international awards and citations, the firm is currently staffed by more than 700 dedicated design and engineering professionals.

There are completed DALY projects in more than 50 countries, as well as in all 50 states and the District of Columbia. It is this wealth of experience that we will bring to the Clinton Presidential Library and to its visitors from around the world.

We are very excited about this project and feel we are well suited for the challenge. We have extensive state-of-the-art library experience, a creative exhibit team and excellent design credentials. We hope to have the opportunity to present specific details when it becomes appropriate.

1201 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW  
TENTH FLOOR  
WASHINGTON DC 20036  
TEL 202.861.4600  
FAX 202.872.8530

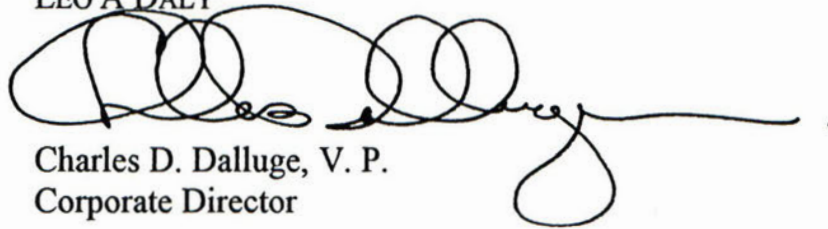


As always, please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions or would like additional information.

Thank you for your time. We look forward to the opportunity to be of service.

Sincerely,

LEO A DALY

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several loops and a long horizontal stroke ending in a small dot.

Charles D. Dalluge, V. P.  
Corporate Director



**The  
William Jefferson Clinton  
Presidential Library**

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

97 DEC 29 PM 1:27

KENNETH E. BENTSEN, JR.

December 24, 1997

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton  
President  
The United States of America  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20500

No form  
done

Dear President Clinton:

I hope you and your family will enjoy this grapefruit from the Rio Grande Valley in South Texas, which we believe is the finest in the world. I appreciate the assistance you have provided to me throughout the year on issues of importance to Texas and the 25th District, and I look forward to continuing to work with you on our many mutual concerns.

I hope you have a happy and restful holiday season and a year ahead that is as productive and successful as 1997.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,



Kenneth E. Bentsen, Jr.  
Member of Congress

12-24-97  
C. WALKER  
TO BURNETT  
FOR REPLY?  
YES ☒  
NO ☐



A FLAME OF HOPE  
THROUGH DECADES  
OF REMEMBRANCE

1750 NEW YORK AVENUE, NW  
WASHINGTON, DC 20006  
WEB SITE: <http://www.ngl.org>  
E-MAIL: CLASPADA@wow.com  
PHONE: 202-783-4665  
FAX: 202-783-1168

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JOHN SWEENEY  
U.S. SEN. STROM THURMOND  
JOHNNY UNFPA  
JAKE WEST  
MORT WALKER  
ALFRED WHITEHEAD  
ELIE WIESEL

NO  
GREATER  
LOVE

December 19, 1997

'97 DEC 29 PM 1:27

The President  
The White House  
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

I hope you are enjoying this hectic holiday season. I'm sending a few presents for Chelsea-- the No Greater Love pillowcase and calendar. These same gifts have been sent to the children of Americans who lost their lives in service to our country or by an act of terrorism. Also, enclosed is a small gift for you.

I appreciate your support for our cause. I enjoy working with your fine staff members, John Podesta, Bob Bell and Jim Seaton and look forward to our continued relationship in 1998 in serving our great country.

I wish you a very Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Sincerely,

*Carmella LaSpada*  
Carmella LaSpada  
Founder/CEO  
No Greater Love

P.S. Socks may feel he has been upstaged lately by Buddy so I'm sending him a Christmas sock.

12-29-97  
TO BURKHARDT  
FOR REPLY?  
YES ☒  
NO ☐



Patricia Parisi  
434 Spring Avenue  
Ridgewood NJ, 07450

December 4, 1997

The White House

'97 DEC 29 PM 1:27

Dear Mr. President,

Congratulations on the fantastic town hall meeting in Akron. Not surprisingly you were so able to articulate the core issues. You brought out the heartfelt concerns of the community. This is an excellent beginning.

I want to share with you the parallel events that took place at the high school in Ridgewood, NJ.; Stephanie Jones went to high school here. I organized the event for the ED regional office. Students from the high school civics class and the Martin Luther King Jr. club watched the broadcast. The principal, the mayor, and the committee for racial healing also participated. The students sat through their lunch period and listened intensely, as did the adults. At the end of televised portion our group opened for discussion. The group of fifty or so would have stayed all day, if we could have. Our students echoed the opinions of the students in Ohio. They agreed that all people want to be thought of and treated as individuals. The individual hates to be seen as spokes person for an entire race, black or white. I am waiting to get their written comments.

Like you, the adults were not thrilled to know that age thirty is old. They were, none the less, delighted to participate. The mayor spoke of working to improve relationships for all people in town. At the end of his comments he offered to open up our town hall to the larger community and continue the dialog. Could you hope for a better result? By the way, these same students will be visiting Washington in January. They would love to thank you in person for opening this dialog.

You should also know that your education agenda is taking root. In the three and one half years that I have been working in the regional office of the ED I have seen important changes. New York and New Jersey now embrace high standards for all students. Both states have committed new resources to literacy and early learning. Your plan for technology in the classroom has taken off like wild fire, it never would have with out your leadership. Secretary Riley is loved and respected by all.

As we approach the holiday season take pride in the fact that you have improved the quality of life for young Americans. Your policies increase opportunities available to so many disadvantaged. Your vision for a better America is germinating.

Thank you for letting me participate in the building of this grand vision.

Your friend,



12-29-97

D BURKHARDT  
FOR REPLY?

YES

NO