

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. fax	Melissa Levine to Lissa Muscatine re: phone number [partial] (1 page)	06/23/1997	P6/b(6)
001b. letter	Melissa Levine to Lissa Muscatine re: address and phone number [partial] (1 page)	06/23/1997	P6/b(6)
001c. resume	re: Melissa Levine [partial] (1 page)	06/23/1997	P6/b(6)
002a. letter	Bernard Horn to June Shih re: phone number and address [partial] (1 page)	09/10/1997	P6/b(6)
002b. resume	re: Bernard Horn [partial] (1 page)	09/11/1997	P6/b(6)
003. resume	re: Laura Schiller [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
004a. paper	re: personal (5 pages)	04/27/1996	P6/b(6)
004b. note	re: personal (2 pages)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Bobbie Greene
OA/Box Number: 15627

FOLDER TITLE:

[Writing Samples] [1]

2012-0872-S

rc930

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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Washington

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS

Department of English

①

FAX TRANSMISSION

Date:

June 23, 1997

To:

Lissa Muscatine

Fax No.:

202.456.5709

NOTE: I did not put my name on the column, as I know the submissions will be read blind. Thanks, Melissa

From:

Melissa Levine

Fax No.:

Washington University English Department
314.935.7461

Phone:

(ML home)  [061a]Total number of pages (including cover page) 3

If you do not receive all pages, please call (314)
935-5190 as soon as possible.

FAX . SHT

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St. Louis, Missouri 63130-4899
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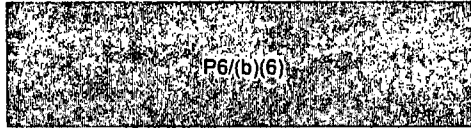
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Melissa Levine



0016]

Lissa Muscatine, Presidential Speechwriter
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Muscatine:

Thank you for responding to my inquiry about the job opening as a writer for Hillary Rodham Clinton. I am extremely interested in the position, and I hope to convince you that I am worthy of it. Enclosed please find my resume and several writing samples.

In our short conversation I elided perhaps the most relevant part of my experience. In 1996, I organized a conference on international women's rights at Washington University in St. Louis. To deliver the keynote speech, I selected former Congresswoman Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, the Director of the United States Delegation to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. I introduced Ms. Margolies-Mezvinsky's address at the opening ceremony, and afterward, she asked for a copy of what I had read. The enclosed writing samples include my introduction as well as my coverage of the keynote address, published in the graduate school newsletter.

In light of your expressed concern about my insufficient knowledge of Mrs. Clinton's views, I immediately purchased and read a copy of It Takes A Village. I am particularly impressed with the book's measured, inclusive approach to social and political issues. Mrs. Clinton is careful to include numerous scientific studies to support her claims (indeed, her opinions seem to be formed in response to scientific evidence) and brave enough to relate personal experiences. Her use of the proverb "It takes a village to raise a child" does not mean, as Bob Dole suggested during the Republican National Convention, that she promotes the role of the community above that of the family. Rather, she recognizes that both supportive families and involved communities are necessary to raise healthy children. It is precisely this kind of comprehensive thinking that I admire so much in Mrs. Clinton's approach.

Mrs. Clinton further encourages us to look beyond reductive soundbites and consider larger perspectives when she suggests we view the "nature/nurture" debate about child development not as an "either/or" proposition but rather as a "both/and" one (p. 59). Despite its obvious political expediency, she refuses simplification where simplification would be compromising or misleading. Further, It Takes A Village is written with admirable humility. The First Lady emphatically includes herself among the "we" of the village. Always mindful of other perspectives, she reminds us that "[w]e need to understand that there is no formula for how women should lead their lives. That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family" (p. 210).

Like Mrs. Clinton, I am concerned about the welfare of America's families. I believe that we have a moral obligation to rescue the children of this nation from the poverty, abuse and neglect with which so many of them now contend. We would be hypocritical to celebrate our country's political and economic power when our policies do not simultaneously demonstrate a vested interest our children--who are, as has been said so many times, our future.

For a long time, I have been committed to the investigation of social issues in my fiction and non-fiction writing. I have lobbied for health care reform, volunteered at a nursing home and tutored learning-disabled elementary school students. Eventually, I intend to pursue a career in education policy, where I believe I might have some effect on America's youth. Given my interests, the position as a writer for Hillary Clinton would be ideal. It would afford me the opportunity to convey her pro-family, pro-community message to a great number of people while making use of my own writing skills.

Throughout college and graduate school, I have written nearly every day and in nearly every genre. I am accustomed to creating a schedule for myself as well as forcing myself to write through any number of obstacles and any amount of resistance. (My master's thesis was a 200-page book of short stories, but I wrote at least 500 pages of completed material during my two years in the writing program.) I am a vigorous, careful researcher and thrive in intellectually stimulating environments where employees are working toward a common goal.

Finally, I would be thrilled to work for Hillary Clinton, whom I have long admired. I hope very much that you will consider me for the position. Thank you for your time and attention.

Sincerely Yours,

Melissa J. Levine
Melissa Levine

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Melissa Levine

P6(b)(6)

[001C]

Education

M.F.A., Fiction Writing, 1997, Washington University in St. Louis. P6(b)(6) Spencer T. Olin Fellow in The Writing Program. Studied fiction writing and English literature. Organized the 1996 Olin Conference "International Women's Rights: Cross-Cultural Perspectives." Introduced keynote speaker.

B.A., English, Yale University, 1995. P6(b)(6) Summa Cum Laude, Phi Beta Kappa, Distinction in the English Major. Senior editor, *The Yale Literary Magazine*. Winner of the Wallace Fiction Prize, the Veech Fiction Prize, the Willits Fiction Prize, the Bildner Prize for Portuguese Literature, and the Young Poet's Prize. Publication of three short stories in *The Yale Daily News Magazine*.

Shakespeare Folger Library, 1989-1990. High school fellow. Studied the life and works of Shakespeare with eminent scholars. Granted access to collection. Awarded prize for Best Paper.

Employment

Adjunct Professor of English Literature, Washington University in St. Louis (current). Designed and teach seminar on the contemporary American short story.

Instructor, Inroads (current). Teach expository writing and critical thinking skills to talented minority high school students.

Film Reviewer, *The Riverfront Times* (current).

Tutor, Elementary School (1996-present). Teach learning strategies and organizational skills to third- and fourth-graders. Instruct them in reading, writing, math, science, social studies and critical thinking.

Historian, Olin Conference (1995-present). Write accounts of addresses delivered at conferences as well as proceedings of panel discussions for archives and Olin and Graduate School newsletters.

Instructor, Fiction Workshop, University College at Washington University in St. Louis (1996-1997). Designed syllabus, led workshops of student stories and discussions of published stories.

Administrative Assistant, Design-Tech Builders, Silver Spring, Maryland (summer, 1995). Maintained files, word-processed letters and contract change orders, ran reception desk, answered phones.

Administrative Assistant, National Multiple Sclerosis Society (Public Policy Office), Washington, D.C. (1992-1994, seasonal). Visited senators and members of congress to lobby for health care reform, attended congressional hearings, drew up memos summarizing the proceedings. Learned internal word processing program and taught it to fellow employees. Assisted with organization of annual conference. Ran reception desk, maintained files, word-processed letters, answered phones.

Skills

Proficient in WordPerfect; able to learn other programs rapidly. Highly organized. Able to assume and complete large projects with limited guidance. Possess thorough knowledge of grammar, usage and mechanics and excellent interpersonal skills. Fastidious and persistent.

International Women's Rights: Cross-Cultural Perspectives
1996 Olin Conference Keynote Address
Introduction
Melissa Levine

The first time I met Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky was in 1993, in her office on Capitol Hill. At the time, I was working for the National Multiple Sclerosis Society. On a day in early June, we were to honor the MS Mother and Father of the year--two parents suffering from the disease who nevertheless managed to participate in the lives of their children and communities with inspiring energy and guidance. They had been flown to Washington for a day on Capitol Hill, where they would meet their senators and representatives and travel to the White House to meet President Clinton.

I was responsible for escorting the Mother of the Year, along with her two children, around the Hill. Mrs. Jones was from Pennsylvania, and her representative was Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky. The representative's office was crammed with desks and books, buzzing with ringing phones and chatting legislative assistants. The congresswoman, rushing in from a vote on the floor, greeted us warmly and somewhat breathlessly in the waiting area and brought us back to her office, where she kept a muted TV tuned to CSPAN's coverage of the House. She chatted with Mrs. Jones and her children for a long time, enthusiastically supporting their plea for long-term, home-based health care coverage and promising to vote accordingly (which she did). Ms. Margolies-Mezvinsky also invited conversation on a personal level, jotting notes to herself to call officials in Mrs. Jones' county in order to commission the installation of a ramp at the local community center. It wasn't until a good while into the conversation that the congresswoman admitted that she and her husband had eleven children between them.

Mrs. Jones gasped. "And they call me the Mother of the Year!" she said.

Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania as well as a CBS News Foundation Fellow at Columbia University. From 1971 until 1991, she was with NBC stations in New York City and Washington, D.C. She has been a contributing correspondent to Today, Sunday Today, A Closer Look, CNBC, and Real Life with Jane Pauley. Her reporting has won five Emmys, among other awards, and she has written four books, the latest of which is A Woman's Place...the Freshwomen Who Changed the Face of Congress.

From 1992 to 1994, Ms. Margolies-Mezvinsky served as the U.S. Representative from Pennsylvania's 13th Congressional District in the 103rd Congressional session, having been the first woman ever elected in her own right to the House from Pennsylvania. During her term in Congress, she sat on the Committee of Energy and Commerce, the Committee of Small Business and the Committee on Government Operations. In 1995, she was the Director of the United States Delegation to the United Nations

Fourth World Conference on Women. Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky currently serves as the President of the Women's Campaign Fund, the nation's oldest and largest nonpartisan political action committee supporting pro-choice women candidates running for office at all levels of government.

Her personal life is no less impressive. In 1970, Marjorie Margolies became the first unmarried U.S. citizen to adopt a foreign child. Four years later, this first child, from Korea, was joined by a second, from Vietnam. Their experiences are chronicled in the book They Came to Stay, which was published in 1976 and became a best-seller. In 1975, Marjorie Margolies married Edward Mezvinsky, and eventually the household increased to thirteen--the parents and their eleven children. Further, through the sponsoring of refugee families, the Margolies-Mezvinsky's have housed and cared for, at one time or another, a total of twenty-five children. The House of Representatives must have been a piece of cake.

Please join me in welcoming Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky.

International Women's Rights: Cross-Cultural Perspectives
1996 Olin Conference Keynote Address

Melissa Levine

The 1996 Olin Conference opened with the keynote address by Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky. A former broadcast journalist for NBC who represented Pennsylvania's thirteenth district in the United States' 103rd congress, Margolies-Mezvinsky currently serves as the president of the Women's Campaign Fund, a non-profit, non-partisan organization supporting female pro-choice candidates at all levels of government. In 1995, Margolies-Mezvinsky directed the U.S. delegation to the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.

She began her address with a discussion of her decision to run for Congress. "When I was growing up, I used to say two things," she explained. "I used to say that I wanted to make a difference and that I wanted to run off and join the circus. I think I got a chance to both of those things in 1992." She had been a broadcaster for twenty-five years when a small group of women came to her and asked her whether she would consider running in Pennsylvania's thirteenth district, a suburb of Philadelphia with a 2.48 to 1 ratio of Republicans to Democrats. The district had never elected a Democrat, and the state of Pennsylvania had never sent a woman in her own right to Congress. "I knew that it was an enormous gamble," she said. "And I said to my children, 'You have to be prepared to lose before you can win. In order to get into the game, you have to be prepared to lose, because you won't get on the field if you [aren't].'"

Margolies-Mezvinsky's victory was very narrow--she won with 50.2% of the vote--and it took her by surprise. "All of a sudden I realized I had to serve," she joked. She addressed her acceptance speech to Andrew, her youngest son, who was then eleven. Her wish for him was that "in the year 2000, when you walk into the voting booth for the first time, there will be no more talk of The Year of the Woman and The Year of the Outsider because we'll be there in numbers that count." Margolies-Mezvinsky reported that of the 10,744 people who have served in Congress since it first convened, 171 have been women. The 103rd Congress doubled the number of women, yet if the rate at which women are currently being elected continues, the United States will have equal representation only in 431 years. "It isn't that I think we are better or worse," she said. "It's that I think we are different enough that that should be somehow respected."

The 1994 Republican landslide returned Margolies-Mezvinsky's seat to the G.O.P. Whether her loss was a result of her controversial decision to support Clinton's budget bill (only after considerable deliberation) or the general trend which removed many freshmen (and female) Democrats from their seats, she remained optimistic. "Life is measured by the tough votes and not the easy votes," she told Andrew in her concession speech. To the conference audience she added, "What I learned

from my little term in Congress is that politicians have to be able to say what people need to hear and not what they want to hear. And that is very difficult, and we need community support."

After Margolies-Mezvinsky lost the election, First Lady Hillary Clinton asked her to lead the U.S. delegation to the Beijing Conference. The largest United Nations conference ever by several times, the Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing because China was the only nation in the Asian region, whose turn it was to host the conference, to place a bid. "The symbol for 'goodness' in Chinese is a woman with a child," Margolies-Mezvinsky explained. "The symbol for 'peace' is a woman with a roof and a chimney. And the symbol for 'trouble' is three women." The audience laughed. "So you can imagine how the Chinese felt about having 50,000 opinionated women come to China." Further, "the cultural divide was staggering." Margolies-Mezvinsky said that every police officer in Beijing held a white sheet, because they had been told that "these wacko women" would demonstrate nude in the streets, and it would be their responsibility to throw sheets over them.

The former congresswoman was very impressed with the level of commitment and knowledge on the part of the conference participants. There were 5,000 different gatherings and sessions at the conference, and "even if the venue was changed or the panelists didn't show up, enough experts were in residence that the discussion was fascinating." Women from all over the world and with varying financial resources were given the opportunity to voice their concerns, along with possible solutions. "I remember sitting in a room with one of the women from a little village in Africa," Margolies-Mezvinsky said. "She explained that in her village, a woman was abused regularly. And they didn't know what to do. So they decided that the next time it happened, they would encircle her hut and yell in to her husband, 'Give her a break, take one of us.' And they did it, and he never touched her again." This anecdote illustrates the importance of solutions which are particular to location. "If we're able to skillfully combine the knowledge that . . . we bring to these things and the wisdom that is so rich all over the world, then we can make a marriage, and we can forge the kind of worldwide understanding and sisterhood that would make us all so much better."

Margolies-Mezvinsky explained that every conference has a marker. Just as the 1985 conference in Nairobi was marked by the inclusion of the phrase "domestic violence" in the document, she believes that the 1995 conference will be marked by its focus on micro-loans. She referred in particular to the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, founded in 1976 by Mohammed Unis, who attended the conference. Unis originally intended to make small loans with no collateral to members of both sexes, but he discovered that women make payments at a much higher rate--98%. Now his bank loans almost exclusively to women. The bank encourages women to form borrowing groups, so that the amount they borrow is higher

(thereby lowering administrative costs and interest rates) and so a social network is formed. Margolies-Mezvinsky related the anecdote of a woman who was persuaded to borrow less than a dollar. She bought ribbons and made an ornament. When she went to a man's home, he assumed she was begging and told her to come back later. But when said she was there to sell him something, he offered her a chair. It was the first time she had been invited to sit in anyone's home.

It's crucial for the achievement of international women's rights that women be economically empowered. "Studies show that whatever a woman brings home, she spends a lot more proportionately on the family," Margolies-Mezvinsky said. "When girls are asked what they want to be when they grow up, 96% say they want to be a mommy and something else. Little boys just want to be the something else. They don't put the family into the equation. And that's what we have to do," she said. "We have to get the little boys to put family into the equation."

Margolies-Mezvinsky also stressed the need for revision of inheritance laws to include women, as well granting women around the world access to health care and education. And women have to be in on the process. "One thing I learned," she said, "is that without empowerment, without making sure that women are at the tables--the financial tables, the judicial tables, the legislative tables--that we will never make the kinds of moves that we need." In countries where women are equally represented in positions of power, more money is spent on education, children and health care. "Women handle things differently," she explained. "We tend to push the line a bit." Margolies-Mezvinsky summed up the context of her own political career in one sentence: "I never walked onto the floor of the House without thinking about my children."

Postmodern Love: Saint Clara

(Ari Folman and Ori Sivan, Israel, 1996, 85 min., Hebrew with English subtitles.)

Melissa Levine

The press packet for Saint Clara claims that the movie has been directed with "postmodern glee." However fortuitous a phrase (skirting, as it does, the dubious region of the oxymoron), "glee" is almost certainly the wrong word to associate with this eerie, haunting and affecting movie. Set in an apparently post-apocalyptic landscape (populated by telltale blocky cement buildings, yellowed fields, oil-black swamps and a volatile nuclear power plant--though the year, inexplicably, is 1999), Saint Clara tells the story of a class of rebellious thirteen-year-olds at Golda Meir Junior High. Their otherwise unpopulated school is run by a slick and devious principal who interrogates each of them after they've used the supernatural powers of Clara Charon to cheat on a math test. Clara, the angel-faced, doe-eyed muse of the movie, continues to predict test questions and winning lottery numbers with seductive nonchalance. Before long, all of the boys are smitten. Chief among her suitors are Eddie Tikel, leader of a band of terrorizing thugs, and his skinheaded sidekick Rosy, who carries a baseball bat and is not above using "You would have died in the Holocaust" as an insult. Considering that Clara's powers will evaporate the minute she falls in love, the question of whom she will choose carries particular weight.

It's no wonder that this movie swept the 1996 Israeli Academy Awards. The photography is stunning, the sets--especially the surreal interiors--inspired, and the editing provocative (as when the principal's interrogations bleed from one student into another). The conflict is cunningly complex, the locus of villainy shifting from the principal to the parents, the students and even the landscape so that eventually it's not clear where, exactly, the problem lies; or is it that Clara's powers are so transformative as to render everyone else harmless by the end of the film? And the consistency of the acting is especially impressive, considering the ages (and egos) of the people involved. Eddie, who looks like a member of Hanson, is played by an Israeli teen rock star, Clara by a fourteen-year-old who announced at her audition that she has won every part she ever wanted. But the movie's resolution, despite occurring in the midst of an earthquake, may be too gentle to neutralize the chilling power of the rest of it. If Clara's powers have rescued the town from utter disintegration, are we intended to rejoice when she relinquishes them? Then again, maybe the point is that love is even more salvaging than prescience--but that's a little tremor-inducing in itself.

01/01/91 MON 10:19 FAX

0006

0002

DRAFT

TALKING IT OVER: SAMPLE COLUMN (749 words)

(2) *Melissa*

This weekend, millions of Americans will gather at barbecues and picnics to celebrate the 4th of July holiday. As we relax and enjoy the vacation, perhaps the last thing on our minds will be the safety of the food we're eating--the hamburgers on the grill, the lettuce in the salad, the apples in the pie.

That's as it should be. America's food supply is not only the most bountiful in the world -- it's also the safest. For nearly a hundred years now, government regulations have protected us from diseases caused by bacteria which can grow in food.

But our food supply is still not as safe as it might be. Each year, millions of Americans become sick with foodborne illness, and over 9,000 lose their lives to it. Sadly, incidents of contamination are becoming more familiar. In 1993, four children died and five hundred people fell ill after eating undercooked hamburgers in a fast-food restaurant in the Northwest. This spring, 170 children contracted hepatitis A from contaminated strawberries.

The reasons for the increases are complex and varied. For starters, disease-causing bacteria are simply becoming more prevalent. In addition, Americans' eating habits have changed to include more fresh, rather than processed, foods. (Fresh foods, while more healthful, are more susceptible to contamination.) Further, the younger generations of Americans have grown up using microwaves and freezers, allowing them to become less vigilant about learning and practicing safe food-handling techniques.

Food safety is one area in which the government is undeniably essential to protecting its citizens -- especially children and the elderly, the two groups most harmed by foodborne illness. This spring, the President renewed our commitment to protection with the introduction of a program designed to improve all areas of food safety in the United States. It calls for more frequent inspections, greater use of the latest science to detect illness, increased investment in research, and thorough consumer education.

But food contamination can not be prevented by the government alone.

Businesses, too, must take responsibility for protecting their customers.

When I was in college, I spent a summer working in a salmon cannery in Alaska. I was appalled to discover that the company was canning rotten fish. When I raised

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DRAFT

my concerns with the owner, he brushed me off. Later, I reported the situation to local health officials, and the cannery was closed. Thankfully, thousands of people were protected from unsafe food.

Because of the pressures of the marketplace, companies may focus on profits at the expense of safety. When they do so, they take the lives of our children into their hands.

Perhaps no industry affects our children more directly than food service, which supplies them with the nourishment they need to grow into healthy adults. Parents depend on safe products to nurture their children's development. At the end of a long day of work, when they come home to prepare dinner, parents should be able to rest assured that the food they place on the table is sanitary.

The President's plan includes another key component: consumer education. While the government can regulate what happens to our food from the farm to the store, it can't protect us from unsafe practices at home.

Studies have shown that many Americans engage in risky behaviors such as consuming raw or undercooked eggs and meat. In order to put safe food on the table, parents must know how to handle it. And, once they know, they must be vigilant about practicing sanitary techniques.

I recently received a letter from a woman whose son died of E. coli poisoning after eating a hamburger barbecued in the backyard. Tragically, she thought she had cooked the meat through, but she had not.

Many of us take our safe food supply for granted. In the spring of 1995, I was reminded how lucky we are to be able to do so. On a trip to Nepal, I met a Peace Corps volunteer who worked in a remote village without running water or electricity. While she loved her experience in Nepal, she longed for safe drinking water and food she could eat without fear of contamination.

In order to keep our food supply safe, we must be active participants in the partnership which works so well to protect us. Our efforts in this area are most successful when government regulations, responsible business practices and informed consumer behavior interact to guard our children and families against disease. Together, we can continue to keep our tables safe, sanitary and wholesome.

M. Levine

①

TALKING IT OVER (749 words)

In a few weeks, the President and I will travel to Spain for a meeting of NATO. This organization, made up of countries that share a commitment to defending democracy throughout the world, has long been a vital protector of peace.

Our host in Spain will be a man I greatly admire, a king who brought peace to his own country through an unwavering commitment to democratic ideals. King Juan Carlos is a selfless, noble leader who has guided Spain's political and economic development with a gentle hand and a generous heart. His people, who suffered under a fascist regime for many years, now enjoy full participation in their government.

In 1975, after the death of General Francisco Franco, King Juan Carlos inherited absolute power. Unlike Franco, a tyrant who had usurped power from the monarchy and declared himself ruler, King Juan Carlos had the right to rule. According to the Spanish constitution, his will was law.

But Juan Carlos de Borbon y Borbon chose to be a different kind of king. Instead of governing the country single-handedly, he elected to strip himself of power in favor of creating a democracy for the citizens of Spain. Quite simply, he made himself subject to the will of the people. This was a truly great act of humility, and it led to unprecedented levels of prosperity and stability in his country.

Not only did King Juan Carlos create a democracy in Spain -- he also defended it with his life.

In 1981, a group of armed soldiers burst into the Spanish parliament and attempted to take it over. Threatening to kill anyone who stood in their way, they announced that the government would now be run by the military, just as it had been under General Franco.

The members of parliament, held hostage by the soldiers, had much to fear. The country was in danger of returning to fascism, and they might be killed in the process. The only government executive who was not in the building was the King, and if he surrendered or decided to flee, all would be lost.

Indeed, the rebels believed that the King would give in to their demands.

①

They were depending on it. The President of France, fearing for the King's life, offered to send a plane to fly him and his family out of Spain. If either of these things had happened, there might have been another civil war, perhaps as bloody as the one of forty-five years before, which killed one million Spaniards.

King Juan Carlos did not surrender, and he did not flee. He refused to abandon his people. He knew that the rebels might kill him in order to obtain power, but he was willing to die to preserve the democracy he had created.

As soon as he learned of the attempted coup, the King went on television to assure the people of Spain that their country was safe. He called army commanders throughout the country to confirm their loyalty. Within four and a half hours, the members of parliament had been released. The crisis was over.

As recent events in the Balkans and in parts of Africa have shown us, relationships among diverse groups can be fragile and volatile. Once ignited, a spark of resentment can flare into the kind of violent hatred that leads to war. Much as we might hope, shared nationality isn't always enough to maintain peace.

But, as King Juan Carlos clearly understands, the possibility for peace begins with the commitment to democracy. When he returned Spain to its citizens, the King knew that the surest way to create a stable, productive society was through a democratic government. The Basque people of northern Spain, whose ethnic roots are different from those of other Spaniards, once considered secession. Now that they have a voice in the government, they have no reason to do so.

Authoritarian leaders such as Francisco Franco try to keep peace by scaring their people into submission. They make strict laws prohibiting citizens from acting in ways that might threaten the government. But King Juan Carlos has shown us that peace is achieved by giving the people more power, not less.

King Juan Carlos's story is inspiring for people everywhere who care about peace and freedom. From it, we can take encouragement that, perhaps in the not-too-distant future, citizens of every country may enjoy the fruits of democracy. And where there is a commitment to democracy, there is hope for peace.

TALKING IT OVER: SAMPLE DRAFT

③

In the 1996 movie *Romeo and Juliet*, the character of Romeo -- portrayed as a glamorous rebel -- smokes continuously. In *Jerry Maguire*, rich, attractive characters light up cigars to symbolize their success. In the film *Marvin's Room*, a mother allows her teenaged son to smoke. Through movies such as these, Hollywood is sending our children a lethal message: Smoking is stylish, a sign of success, and perfectly acceptable, even for teens.

Young people -- especially adolescents -- mimic the behavior of people they admire. At a tumultuous time in their lives, they look toward role models for clues about how to be accepted. With so much exposure to glamorous images of smoking, it's no wonder that every day, 3,000 young people become regular smokers. Yet while Hollywood movies are replete with desirable portrayals of lighting up, they are less successful at showing teenagers the results of this behavior: 1000 of these same teens will die because of their habit.

Recently, members of the tobacco industry have begun to concede what they have known and concealed for years -- that nicotine is addictive. These companies are also aware that 90% of smokers become addicted before the age of eighteen. If they can hook a teen, they can have a customer for life. And they know that one of the best ways to reach young people is through the movies.

In its popular Thumbs Up! Thumbs Down! program, the American Lung Association recently rated 133 films for smoking-related content. Seventy-seven percent of the films they viewed showed incidents of tobacco use. In eighty-two percent of these films, it was the lead characters, played by the most famous actors, who smoked.

It's very difficult for kids -- and even adults -- to separate reality from fiction. Even if these actors don't smoke in real life, the movies show them smoking, and that is what young people see and wish to emulate. Who hasn't wanted to act like a character in a movie at one time or another? Yet when the character is a smoker, the result of this desire could be fatal.

According to recent studies, while smoking has decreased among adults in the last few years, cigarette use among teens has actually increased. Though most of us agree that smoking is a lethal behavior, teens don't seem to fully understand

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this fact. Clearly, influences such as the positive portrayal of smoking in the movies are having a greater effect on them than the health warnings many of us have worked so hard to spread.

Another disturbing trend is the emergence of cigar smoking -- not coincidentally, in both films and reality. Cigars are used to symbolize financial success in *The Associate*, *Jerry Maguire* and advertisements for *The First Wives Club*. In the blockbuster hit *Independence Day*, cigar smoking connotes style, bravery and triumphant success. It's no surprise that teens are now starting to smoke cigars. A recent *Newsweek* article reports that, whereas it used to be perceived as a stodgy behavior, cigar smoking is now considered "cool."

Is it really so important for movies to portray tobacco use as necessarily associated with a certain lifestyle? Movies such as *Twister* -- filled with vibrant characters and a great deal of tension, but no tobacco -- show that it isn't. And there are some movies which go even further, promoting anti-smoking messages. In *The English Patient*, when the wounded Englishman asks the nurse for a cigarette, she replies, "Are you crazy?" He then asks, "Why are you trying to keep me alive?" acknowledging that cigarettes could kill him. "Because I'm a nurse," she replies,

We can't regulate the content of Hollywood films, nor should we want to. But filmmakers must take their profound influence into account. They have a responsibility to portray smoking for what it is: a killer. One of the reasons that adolescents are so susceptible to glamorous images of smoking is that they are too young to fully comprehend the long-term health risks. If they were confronted with more realistic portrayals of this dangerous behavior -- such as characters who have contracted cancer and emphysema from smoking -- surely they would think twice before lighting up even once.

The movies are one of America's biggest and most popular industries. We take pride in exporting this form of entertainment all over the world. But, as some filmmakers have been willing to acknowledge, the glamorization of smoking is not essential to successful movie making.

Would Romeo have seemed any less romantic if he hadn't smoked throughout the movie? Probably not. And, more important, he might actually have saved some lives.

Noa-

Here are 2 more
Candidates - Their
| stuff should be sent |
to Lissa - by
Courier if possible.

P.S. Pls. ^{the} return ^{originals} to me. Thank, B

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002a. letter	Bernard Horn to June Shih re: phone number and address [partial] (1 page)	09/10/1997	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Bobbie Greene
OA/Box Number: 15627

FOLDER TITLE:

[Writing Samples] [1]

2012-0872-S

rc930

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

BERNARD P. HORN

P6/(b)(6)

[002a]

*Bohbi -
this applicant
was referred
to me via a
former
candidate for the job, ~~Whiston~~*

September 10, 1997

June Shih
Office of Speechwriting
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Shih:

Jane Caplan told me that you are looking for someone to help the First Lady research and write her weekly column. Please consider me for that position.

For the past fifteen years, I have been in the business of communications. From attorney to campaign manager, from lobbyist to communications director, I have helped express points of view.

I have written speeches, articles, fact sheets, briefing memos, newsletters, news releases, political brochures, fundraising appeals—just about every type of political communication.

I have read dozens of the First Lady's columns, and admire them—and her—very much. As a life-long Democratic activist, a lawyer, and more importantly as the father of two boys (aged eight and five), I feel a kind of kinship with her. Her concerns are timely and vital to families everywhere.

It would be a great honor to help communicate her message. I hope you will give me the opportunity to take a writing test and compete for this job.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,



Bernard P. Horn

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002b. resume	re: Bernard Horn [partial] (1 page)	09/11/1997	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Bobbie Greene
OA/Box Number: 15627

FOLDER TITLE:

[Writing Samples] [1]

2012-0872-S

rc930

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

BERNARD P. HORN

P6(b)(6)

[0026]

EXPERIENCE

- 1995-current *Communications Director, National Coalition Against Legalized Gambling.*
Write congressional testimony, articles, fact sheets, newsletters, news releases and advisories, reports and fundraising appeals. Handle national media relations.
- 1990-current *President, Strategic Campaign Initiatives, Inc.*
Write and design brochures and direct mail appeals, and act as general political consultant for Democratic campaigns and progressive causes.
- 1988-1994 *Various positions, Handgun Control, Inc.*
Wrote speeches, fact sheets, news releases, memoranda and legislation as Federal & State Legislative Director, Legislative Counsel, and Director of Strategic Planning and Policy. Served as one of the chief lobbyists for the Brady Bill, wrote and lobbied for the federal ban on semiautomatic assault weapons, and conceived the federal ban on firearm possession by children.
- 1988 *Campaign Manager, Peter Franchot for Congress campaign.*
Wrote speeches, op-eds, fact sheets, news releases, strategy memoranda and political advertising in an eight-month general election campaign.
- 1987-1988 *Staff Attorney, Manor Care, Inc.*
Wrote speeches for the Chairman of the Board. Wrote legal memoranda of all kinds for a Fortune 500 company.
- 1986 *Issues Director, Stewart Bainum for Congress campaign.*
Wrote speeches, position papers, issue briefs, letters-to-the-editor, and strategy memoranda.
- 1983-1986 *Associate Attorney, Long & Long, P.A.*
Wrote appellate briefs, pleadings and legal memoranda. Litigated cases in Maryland and the District of Columbia. Primary areas of practice were domestic relations, personal injury, wills and estates.

EDUCATION

- Georgetown University Law Center.* J.D. May 1981.
Graduated *cum laude*. Dean's list 1978-79, 1979-80, 1980-81.
- Johns Hopkins University.* B.A. May 1978.
Graduated with Departmental Honors in Political Science.

Newsday asked me to write a 750-word op-ed on the lottery.
It was published on June 8, 1997.

THE LOTTERY—A SUCKER BET

*Bernie Horn
Communications Director,
National Coalition Against Legalized Gambling*

Remember the Lottery *before* it became a fraud?

Thirty years ago, New York created a lottery. It was low-key, with no television ads and no casino-style games. The idea was simply to divert money into the state treasury that would otherwise be gambled illegally. State officials promised that public schools would gain, organized crime would lose, and there would be no harm done. Remember?

How times have changed. Now, the Lottery is omnipresent. It reaches out to us from bars and convenience stores on every block. It reaches into our homes through television ads that fill the airwaves. The Lottery seduces, cajoles and pleads with us to spend more and more money—for little pieces of paper.

Today, the Lottery plays us all for suckers. Both gamblers and non-gamblers are victimized by three basic frauds that underlie this state-promoted gambling.

First, for gamblers, the Lottery is no ticket to riches. The odds of winning a lottery jackpot are simply astronomical. In fact, the mathematical chances of winning a major jackpot are just about the same whether you buy a lottery ticket *or not*. Yet, the Lottery spends millions of dollars creating clever slogans and sophisticated advertising tactics to convince citizens that easy street is just around the corner.

Across the country, lottery agencies engage in advertising that is downright misleading. They get away with it because the federal law that mandates truth in advertising does not apply to them. Often lottery ads will entice players with the amount of the *highest* possible jackpot and then give the odds of winning the *lowest* possible prize, usually a free ticket.

It's true that last year Governor Pataki stopped the most misleading lottery ads: "All You Need Is a Dollar and a Dream," and "We Won't Stop Until Everyone's a Millionaire." But it's also true that state lotteries, New York included, pay out as prizes a far smaller percentage of the money bet than any casino or parimutuel gambling game. Lotteries are not designed to be fair to the bettor, they are designed to make the most money for the state.

Newsday op-ed, page 2

Second, the Lottery does nothing for education. The fact is that the legislature sets the level of school funding, not the Lottery. As a spokesman for the New York State School Boards Association told *Money* magazine last year, "If [legislators] want to use half the [Lottery] money to plug a hole in the budget, there's nothing to say they can't. Once it's in the general fund, it can be used for anything."

In fact, the percentage of the state budget devoted to education has declined while Lottery revenues have skyrocketed. This problem is common in lottery states. A fifty-state study by *Money* magazine found that "Despite marketing slogans such as New York's 'Supporting education since 1967,' lottery states spend less of their budgets on education than do states without lotteries, on average." The link between Lottery revenues and education funding is essentially a marketing gimmick.

Third, the Lottery makes everyone a little poorer. The Lottery turns the state from a protector into a predator. The state knows that poor citizens spend a much larger percentage of their incomes on the Lottery than do middle or upper-income citizens. Instead of protecting the poor, lottery agencies target them. Just a few weeks ago, *New Republic* ran a cover story on lotteries entitled "Gaming the Poor, How State Governments Make Big Bucks By Conning the Most Vulnerable." The magazine reported that "Some ads are aimed specifically at those most likely to gamble on the lotteries—the poor.... Lotteries also prey on the poor by timing ads to coincide with monthly welfare and Social Security checks."

Further, lotteries take advantage of gambling addicts. New York has one of the worst gambling addiction rates in the nation. Not coincidentally, only about 5 percent of adult citizens account for 50 percent of lottery revenues. But instead of trying to fight addiction, last year the Lottery began offering Quick Draw, a casino-style Keno game that is so addictive it's widely known as the "crack cocaine" of gambling. As addiction expert Dr. Valerie Lorenz said, "If anyone thinks that putting lotteries and video terminals on every block won't lead to addictive and criminal behavior, they're in outer space."

The Lottery concocts illusions—that gamblers win, education wins, everyone wins. But it's a fraud. As a public policy, the Lottery is a sucker bet.

As a political consultant working for Stewart Bainum's exploratory campaign for governor of Maryland, I wrote this editorial reply for Delegate Jim Campbell to sign.

March 1994

Have you ever noticed that sometimes we talk about candidates for public office as if they were a bunch of bananas? We examine them from every angle, just looking for bruises and imperfections. That works for bananas, because they're all basically alike. But the same can't be said of political candidates.

A recent column ("The Wallets That Launch a Million Votes," March 20), suggested that we should separate a certain bunch of candidates from the others, just because they are millionaires.

If the best candidate happens to have money, are we going to disqualify him/her for that reason? Aren't we looking to elect someone with financial savvy? Someone with a proven record of success in private life? Someone who can't be bought by the special interests?

I have been encouraging my friend Stewart Bainum to get in the race for Governor. He happens to be a millionaire. He also happens to have a unique blend of experience in business and government.

Over the past 21 years, Stewart Bainum helped turn a medium-sized family-owned business, called Manor Care, into one of the nation's biggest and best-run companies. Since becoming Chairman and CEO seven years ago, Stewart has doubled annual revenues from \$500 million to more than \$1 billion, tripled the value of the company, and created more than 6,000 new jobs while actually reducing the headquarters administrative staff and eliminating an entire layer of corporate bureaucracy.

Stewart Bainum also served in the General Assembly for eight years, where he had a reputation for taking on the special interests—and never giving up. He fought to end tax-supported discrimination, led the fight for environmental right-to-know legislation, took on the NRA on handguns before it was fashionable, proposed greater funding for child support enforcement, and enacted new disclosure requirements by public officials in the wake of Maryland's S&L crisis.

The *Sun* column noted "the public's lukewarm response to the present gubernatorial candidates." Maybe that's because, while the pundits try to choose from among the current crop of professional politicians, the public is looking for more than just another banana.

SARAH BRADY
CHAIR OF HANDGUN CONTROL, INC.
March 14, 1991

First, let me say that it is a real honor to stand up here with Attorney General Doyle, Mayor Norquist, Chief Arreola, and Sheriff Artison. These men are leaders in the fight against crime, and I don't think we ever fully appreciate how tough their jobs are.

I am here today to support these law enforcement officials.

Ten years ago, John Hinckley walked into a Dallas pawnshop, lied on a federal form, and within minutes walked out with the handgun he later used to shoot President Reagan, two law enforcement officers, and my husband Jim.

I could not begin to describe the agony suffered by the family of a gunshot victim. It is something that no one should have to endure.

But since the day that my Jim was shot, more than 200,000 Americans have been killed with handguns and millions more have been victimized.

It is time to act—before more and more families suffer the kind of pain which my family has had to endure. Unfortunately, the situation is only getting worse.

Police across America report that the drug epidemic has also become a gun epidemic. Drug merchants are more heavily armed today than they have ever been before.

It is sheer folly to believe that we can win the war on drugs while arming the drug lords with handguns. But that is exactly what we are doing.

Here in Wisconsin, anyone who fills out a federal form swearing that he's not a felon or fugitive can buy a handgun. The form is filed away in the gun store and never checked. In short, it's the honor system—for crack peddlers!

We have to work harder to keep handguns out of the wrong hands.

Representatives Bock and Carpenter, along with Attorney General Doyle, have proposed a bill to require a 7-day waiting period, and a mandatory background check, before the purchase of a handgun. Will this bill make a difference? Will it save lives? You bet it will.

Every year, thousands of felons are stopped from purchasing handguns in the states which require a waiting period and background check.

I urge the legislature to listen to these law enforcement leaders, and pass the waiting period bill—a simple measure that will help make Wisconsin safer for its citizens.

Thank you very much.

**Jim Brady
March 11, 1993
Trenton, New Jersey**

Good afternoon. It is a pleasure to be here today because New Jersey is one of my favorite states. I am very fond of your friendly towns, your beautiful beaches, and of course....your casinos.

But more important, I am very fond of your tough gun laws and the people who have fought year after year to defend them.

And no one has shown more courage and leadership in this fight than Jim Florio. I am proud to stand here today with the man who has enacted and defended one of the toughest assault weapon laws in this country.

Four years ago, a madman in Stockton, California shot 34 schoolchildren with a semiautomatic assault weapon. The whole country was shocked. But only a few courageous people, like the Governor, actually did something about it.

On the other hand, states like Texas did nothing about the threat of assault weapons, and look where it has gotten them. Four federal agents were killed in Waco with semiautomatic assault weapons. Texas law made it easy, and perfectly legal, for this cult to buy a whole arsenal of military-style weapons.

New Jersey's law has been a success. It has helped prevent these kinds of massacres. Why would any lawmaker want to repeal this tough, effective law?

The only reason is to bow down to the National Rifle Association.

The NRA never met a gun law it liked. And since enactment of the Governor's assault weapon bill, the NRA has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in a cynical attempt to buy the state legislature.

Despite the fact that New Jersey citizens overwhelmingly support the assault weapon ban, the NRA has nearly succeeded in repealing it.

I urge the citizens of New Jersey to call their State Senators today. Remind them just who owns this great state. It's not the gun lobby, it's the people.

MEMORANDUM

September 17, 1997

TO Melanne Verveer
Lissa Muscatine
From Bobbie Greene
RE Reference for Laura Schiller

I spoke today to Karen Olick, Administrative Assistant to Senator Boxer for whom Laura Schiller used to work. She raved about Laura's work, talent, and interpersonal skills. Specifically she said:

- Laura worked on the Senator's campaign, then joined the staff, first as a Legislative Assistant, and then as a speechwriter.
- She can take a complicated policy issue and turn it into an accessible public message. Other people they've hired have not been as successful at doing that.
- She is a very fast worker who meets deadlines without any difficulty.
- Laura's drafts hit all the important points on very short notice.
- She is extremely pleasant, personable, optimistic and upbeat. Her enthusiasm and lack of cynicism are refreshing. She clearly loves politics and is passionate about the issues. She also mentioned that Laura adores HRC.
- Laura has great "people skills" and is a "very good schmoozer", with a rare ability to transmit information that people don't necessarily want to hear with grace and tact.
- She concluded by saying that the Senator often says how much she wishes Laura was still working for her and that the Senator would be happy to speak directly to HRC, Melanne, or me anytime.

Terry & P

- Known 3-4 years, hired by Dan Porterfield. Quickly estab. herself as the best / quickest writer on the staff. Able to distill very complex issues into understandable message in Suzy's voice.
- Picked-up very quickly -- He was deputy Dir. of Speechwriting. She became indispensable to him & to Dan Porterfield. Raised some eyebrows because of her youth.
- Intellectually & emotionally very mature for her age AND VERY hardworking knows no bounds.
- He advocated for her when he was a candidate for WH speechwriting. Michael W. thought very highly of her (don't know why she didn't get the positn.)
- Very principled person, really cares about the issues.
- Regularly tells Donna Shalala where she disagrees.
- PS is much more assertive than June.

- He liked her very much, Thinks she's a team player, was well liked by everyone

- Says "She'll do as well as anyone" in

the pressure cooker of the FLOTUS

operation.

Melissa Skofield

690-9850

\$8.5m
+ leave + trip

Lynn has just been great! I can't stand the thought of her leaving.

- Excellent writer + mentor.

- Very conscientious, ^{will move heaven + earth to} ~~ensure~~ ^{ensure} that she meets her ~~dead~~ deadlines; has an unusual talent for capturing other people's voice; certain she'll do the same for HRC.

- Supervisor of Speechwriters + a secretary.
 - excellent interpersonal skills.
 - very good manager - lots of ^{in the dept} ~~turnover~~ but she's been able to recruit ^{to} ~~from~~ ^{good people} ~~from a pool~~
 - very good at getting the facts ^{right} ~~right~~, getting them right.

- No weak spots with mentoring, very intense, dives herself very hard but she's understood by

Sue

- Sets/meets very high standards.

- Pretty close to perfect.

San Porterfield

He was Donna Shalala's

- ▷ 1993 - 95, top Speechwriter, then Comm. Director. Laura, reported to him as chief speechwriter and then when he was Comm. Dir.

- ▷ Very hard working -- tremendous work ethic. Shalala is a tough task master -- Laura can rise to every occasion. Can do a magnificent job even when she

- cut to what's important
- up to a terrific product
- will never take

- completely trustworthy. Very, very very smart, ^{can} pull together all the necessary info. & do a wonderful job even when she knows very little.

- No one ^{more} I want in my foxhole. She'll be great for HRC & all the

- Very intense, can be a little

- Feels certain ^{Laura} can make the transition from DS to HRC's voice with much difficulty.

• ~~Laura~~ has been a very good job of managing her staff. Has worked skillfully with

- "It's not often you work with someone you know is the Best." If I were a Cabinet Secretary -- she'd be



David Shipley
Special Assistant to the President
Senior Presidential Speechwriter
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20503

Dear David:

It was great talking with you the other night. I've enclosed a variety of speeches and one op-ed. I've tried to include a few different types of remarks (topics and styles), but let me know if there is anything else you'd like to see.

I look forward to speaking with you soon. Thanks again.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Laura Schiller", is written over a horizontal line.

Laura Schiller

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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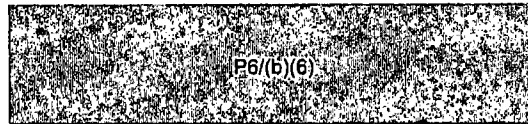
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LAURA E. SCHILLER



[003]

**RELATED
EXPERIENCE**

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

- Director of Speechwriting, HHS Secretary Donna Shalala, 1995-Present
- Speechwriter, 1994-1995

Manage five person staff. Work directly with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary to formulate and draft all speeches, articles, and op-eds. Help develop public affairs strategy for the Secretary. Direct the Secretary's "Girl Power" campaign designed to help adolescent girls stay healthy and confident.

UNITED STATES SENATOR BARBARA BOXER

- Legislative Assistant (and Speechwriter), 1993-1994

Drafted legislation; staffed and advised the Senator on issues ranging from crime to arts to telecommunications policy. Wrote and helped assure passage of major privacy law. As Senator's only speechwriter, worked with her to formulate and draft all speeches, op-eds, and major floor statements.

BOXER FOR U.S. SENATE • Los Angeles, California

- Field Director (and Political Director), 1991-1992

Designed and implemented statewide political and field program that included voter targeting and GOTV, persuasion mail, endorsements, and grassroots fundraising. Supervised 14 staff members and served as liaison to California Democratic Party and other political campaigns and organizations.

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY • Los Angeles, California

- Field Coordinator (California), 1991

Created California field program that emphasized legislative advocacy and education. Worked with California coalitions and Congressional offices on issues such as reproductive freedom and judicial nominations.

**OTHER
EXPERIENCE**

BET TZEDEK LEGAL SERVICES • Los Angeles, California

- Legal Aide (Internship), 1989-1990

Conducted initial client interviews in English and Spanish and handled cases ranging from housing discrimination to health benefit denials.

AMIGOS DE LAS AMERICAS • Michoacan, Mexico

- Community Organizer, 1986

On-site director of community health project in small village.

EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES

- B.A. English, 1991 (Double major with Communication Studies)

Honors: *magna cum laude*, Phi Beta Kappa, Highest College Honors

Activities: Teaching Assistant (UCLA School of Education); Counselor, UCLA Unicamp for underserved children and Orientation Program.

SKILLS

Spanish, Photography, Tennis, Soccer, Teaching, Writing

"WHAT SECRETARY RON BROWN WOULD HAVE TOLD YOU"

DONNA E. SHALALA, Ph.D.

UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

COMMENCEMENT AT FLORIDA A&M UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE, FLA.

APRIL 27, 1996

President Humphries, Regents, Parents, faculty, staff, alumni, honorary degree recipients, members of the Florida A&M community, and the graduating class of 1996: My congratulations to all of you.

In his first address to Congress after President Kennedy's assassination, Lyndon Johnson, with a heavy heart, told the American people: "All I have I would have given gladly not to be standing here today." I feel the same. It is with both pride and sadness that I join all of you today: pride at having the opportunity to honor my good friend Ron Brown's memory by bringing you a message he would have approved and deep sadness that he is not here to do so himself -- to give his challenge to Florida A&M's class of 1996.

Secretary Brown had a theory about commencement speeches. He said they should have a good introduction and a good conclusion -- and the two should be as close together as possible. I understand that a commencement address does not have to be eternal to be immortal -- and I will try to heed his advice.

Secretary Brown's tragic death was more than America's loss -- it was the world's loss. The best Commerce Secretary we've ever had, he was a devoted husband and father; a consummate politician; a role model for all; a passionate advocate for young African Americans; and a true citizen of the world. The columnist William Raspberry called him a "quintessential American."

Secretary Brown knew that "America was great, not in spite of our differences, but because of them." Always the "first," but never willing to be the last, he had that American audacity to dream big -- and the courage and skill to turn those dreams into reality all across the world.

Here was a global leader who moved with equal grace through the fast streets of New York and the small villages of South America. From his first trade mission to his last, he understood that the economic opportunities of poor children in rural Florida -- and of teenagers in Harlem -- are inextricably linked to the opportunities of children living thousands of miles away in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. And, he died believing government could -- and should -- be at the wheel of great change, anywhere in the world.

With infectious enthusiasm, Ron Brown played to win -- and he never ever gave up. As President Clinton so eloquently said: He "never saw a mountain he couldn't climb or a river he couldn't build a bridge across." Building bridges of understanding between different continents and cultures, races and religions. Building bridges from the narrow shores of "I" and "me" to the wide waters of "us" and "we." And, building bridges from America's communities -- where he dedicated his life -- to devastated regions like the Balkans --where he laid down his life.

Today, you must finish the journey he so enthusiastically and heroically began. Because if he were here, he would have challenged you to build the most important bridge of all -- the bridge leading you from here to your own future and to the future of our globe. He would have asked you to think about the distance we have traveled together. In a 1994 commencement speech at Wilberforce University, Secretary Brown talked about the "powerful and encouraging changes underway in the world."

Just a decade ago, who would have imagined that we'd see: The fall of the Berlin Wall. Nelson Mandela's glorious rise from prisoner to President in South Africa. And, the first seeds of peace -- however tenuous -- in the Middle East and Northern Ireland.

It was Secretary Brown who proclaimed: "I am an optimist. I have witnessed what belief and commitment can accomplish." Belief and Commitment: He saw their fruits in his own life achievements. And, he saw their fruits in his own life work, as he fought tirelessly at President Clinton's side: Bringing in billions of dollars in contracts for U.S. businesses abroad -- and, helping to create 8.5 million new jobs -- and real opportunity for our families and communities -- here at home.

For Secretary Brown, part of loving America was challenging America to do better. And, if he were with us today, this talented man of politics and history, would tell us that our struggle is far from over.

He would tell us that Dr. King's dream has not yet been realized -- that real equality and real freedom do not yet reign. Too many children still live in poverty. Too many teenagers are having babies. Too many young people are picking up guns and throwing away their futures. Too many African Americans still face enormous barriers to good health, good education, and good jobs. And, the ugly fire of racism still burns a hole in the beautiful tapestry that we call America.

In post Cold War America, Secretary Brown wrote that national security means economic security; that trade missions abroad mean jobs at home; and that the economic opportunities that we give poor children around the world today will determine all of our futures tomorrow. He liked to say: "If the 50s and 60s were about sitting in the front of the bus, and the 70s and 80s were about running the city and the public transit authority; the 21st century is going to be about owning the bus company; about getting capital and support and education into our community and helping people control their economic destinies."

We all expected Secretary Brown to help lead us into that more prosperous 21st century. But leaders are not always given enough time to finish their tasks. Moses brought his people to the River Jordan. But it was left to Joshua to take them across.

Dr. King, on the night before he died preached, "I've seen the Promised Land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know that we as a people will get to the Promised Land." When Dr. King died, it was Secretary Brown's generation -- your parents' generation -- that answered the call and carried on Dr. King's fight for justice and opportunity.

Now the challenge is in your hands. A great leader is gone -- but his vision and mission remain: A vision that says that "Democracy is not a spectator sport" -- and that the real power to create change lies within ourselves. It lies within you.

Right now, the debate that we are having in this country about the role of government -- is really a debate about who we are as Americans. It's about our nation's soul and character. It's about opportunity and hope. Whether the discussion is about health care or international trade, jobs or student loans, it's a debate about your future. You are the agents of change -- you are our nation's best hope for the future. Secretary Brown has said to your generation, "We are counting on you, the smartest and most talented among us, to blaze new trails and make a better world for the next generation."

I hope that you will work in his spirit and accept his challenge. Accept it by taking real pride in all you have accomplished -- and using your gifts to improve lives and communities around the world. Accept it by tearing down the walls that still divide us by race and gender, religion and disability, class and sexual orientation. Accept it by recognizing and loving everyone who held the door of opportunity open for you -- especially your parents and grandparents, uncles and aunts, sisters and brothers -- and by remembering to keep that door open for all who follow. Accept it by becoming citizens of the world -- and working to ensure social justice, political power and economic opportunity for all.

Accept it by speaking up. Listening up. And for justice -- standing up. Accept it by having fun. Yes, I said -- have fun. There's an old Doonesbury cartoon where a father complains about his son wanting to have fun. The father says to his wife: "Life isn't to be enjoyed. It's to be gotten on with."

That's not true. Life is to be enjoyed. It's to be pushed and pulled, twisted and turned, embraced, shared -- and then passed on. And no one knew that better than my dear friend and colleague, Ron Brown.

For if he were here today, he would have told you this: "If we plan and work and struggle together; if we keep the faith; if we empower others, liberate diversity, and fight for justice, then we can become all that we have historically been -- indispensable, constructive agitators for change."

So, Class of 1996 -- constructive agitators for change -- I know that you will meet Secretary Brown's challenge. And so for him I wish each of you uncomfortable lives -- full of adventure, great love, and good health.

Good luck and Godspeed.

REMARKS BY
DONNA E. SHALALA
SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

GIRLS IN THE MEDIA

MAY 1, 1997

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

I was giving a speech recently to the only audience tougher than the media: children. And they introduced me as one of the most powerful women in America. A kid in the front row shouted out, "Oh yeah, what channel are you on?"

The truth is, even before Peggy's uncle wrote that classic movie, "Mr. Smith Goes To Washington" Hollywood and Washington have always shared quite a bit. We both make people laugh. You do it on purpose. We have our own version of "All my Children." We call it Congress. In Washington, when people say, "Break a leg," they mean it. And you know you're having a bad morning, when you open the Washington Post and next to your name is the word, "Canceled." Just like Mr. Smith, moving to Washington has certainly taken its toll on me. I used to be 12 inches taller.

So, why am I here? Let me start with why I am not here. I am not here to make headlines by blaming you for all the ills in our society. I am not here to advocate that government should run onto the set yelling, "rewrite!" After all, in this nation, we have a precious First Amendment that we all must honor.

And besides, I come from a Washington world where people still think that if you have something really important to tell children -- hand them a brochure. I don't know one young person who has spent 5 minutes reading a brochure. What they do is absorb popular culture by the ton. Logging on. Calling up. And, watching -- no, yelling -- at their television sets. And that is why I am here.

When I told people that I was coming out here to talk to the media about the health of young girls, a lot of them said, "Why? The media has nothing to do with the public health. Forget it." And I will tell you what I told them. Believe it or not, you are part of the public health system. You increasingly fill the vacuum once occupied by traditional institutions -- like family and religion, schools and communities.

Young girls wear your clothes, tape your shows, read your magazines, buy your products with fierce loyalty. They are watching and listening for hours on end, absorbing life lessons about values; lessons about their lives and futures; lessons about how to deal with dangers -- like teen pregnancy, drugs, and depression.

You have their attention. The question is, what are you going to tell them? And the answer is up to you. So, as I said, "I'm not here to shake my finger at you. But, I'm not here to tell you everything is o.k. either. I'm here to challenge you as professionals, parents, and citizens to use your incredible power to help us transform the lives of young girls from a national tragedy into a national triumph.

I was thinking a lot about this speech last Thursday. It was Take Our Daughters to Work day -- and our department was hosting young girls from around DC. Anyone who has worked with young girls knows that they ended up hosting us.

But, the highlight of the day was an event we had with Gloria Steinem and the former Miss Black USA where the kids got a chance to ask questions. I wasn't exactly thrilled with the first question. "It was how old are you?" But, I was thrilled by the girls' responses. Especially their response to the posters we had of Olympic gymnast Dominique Dawes, who they say is a real role model.

It turns out that at age 6, when most kids are glued to the TV set, Dominique was writing this word, in crayon, over and over again on her bathroom mirror: Determination. That's what it takes to be a champion: determination. And determination is what it's going to take from us to ensure that every girl -- every single girl -- looks in the mirror and calls herself a champion.

Right now, that is not the case. Right now, too many girls are spending hours in front of the mirror. Any parent will tell you that's nothing new. What is new is that they're peering at their reflections through a modern-day looking glass. The distorted images that they see upset them. And as people who care about children, they should scare us too.

I'm going to be blunt. We have a generation of 9 to 14 year old girls at serious risk. All of us have seen it happen to girls in our own lives. Young girls once strong and full of resilience, somehow lose their very selves during adolescence and enter the second decade of their lives without the strength and confidence that got them there.

While growing up these days is tough for everyone, the research tells us that girls experience adolescence differently than boys. While boys often become more aggressive, girls often turn inward and self-destruct. While boys often smoke to be rebellious, girls often do it to stay thin.

Young girls become less likely to engage in physical activity. More likely to be depressed. More likely to attempt suicide. And more likely to have a negative body image. What we know is that all of these factors are related, that no one problem stands alone, and that girls with poor body images often have the riskiest attitudes about tobacco, drugs, and sex.

And we know from surveys that more than half of nine year-olds have dieted. That's nine year olds. Unbelievable? Not when so much of their self image is tied up with being thin and attractive. And not when we've all heard stories of anorexic girls who hear people say, "you look great" right up until the time they are hospitalized.

A social worker in Los Angeles told me a story about a 14 year-old girl she was interviewing. When she asked the girl what she likes about herself, the answer is all too typical, "I don't know." But she does know what she would change about herself and here she rattles off a whole list of physical attributes like her eyes and hair and weight.

The truth is, this young woman, and too many like her, are more worried about gaining weight and being accepted than they are about excelling in school or staying healthy.

Let me be clear: This isn't all your fault. But, it is your problem. It is my problem. It is our problem. It's an American problem. And, together we have a responsibility to help solve it.

That's the purpose behind our Girl Power! campaign: to team up with parents and other adults to help 9-14 year-old girls make the most of their lives. Not with a one-size-fits-all campaign of the past. The kind that treats problems in isolation and provides only one answer: Say no. We've taken a comprehensive approach. With targeted health messages about the behaviors -- like drugs, smoking and teen pregnancy -- that girls should avoid, yes. But also with strong positive messages about leadership, opportunity, and physical activity -- messages that tap into the strength girls have when they are younger. With PSAs, billboards and other materials, we are telling every girl: You are unique. You are valuable. And, if you put your mind to it, you can succeed.

So, what does Girl Power mean to young girls? I put that question to girls during Take Our Daughters to Work Day. And, as usual, they said it far better than I ever could. They wrote "Girl Power is being anything you want to be. Increasing your knowledge, helping others. Girl Power is standing up for what you believe in. Choosing right from wrong. Exercising. Being Drug Free." And finally, a young girl simply wrote, "I think Girl Power is special."

Our job is to ensure that every girl feels this way throughout her life. And that's what we're working to do. Let me give you just a few recent examples. Last month, I went to the Women's Final Four to release the first ever government report showing that sports and physical activity can have a positive impact on all aspects of a girl's life.

For the first time in history, a President is taking big steps to kick Joe Camel and the Marlboro Man out of our children's lives. Just last week, for the first time, a Judge said that yes, cigarettes are a drug delivery device. And yes, the FDA can regulate them. This is an historic public health triumph -- a triumph we should all be proud of.

And today, I'm also proud to be kicking off Teen Pregnancy Prevention Month by announcing some more good news. We are releasing a study today showing that for the first time in more than 20 years, 15-19 year old girls are less likely to have sex. And if they do have sex, they're more likely to use contraceptives.

These positive trends are the same for teenage boys. They're part of the reason we're finally seeing declines in teen pregnancy rates. And what they tell us is that teenagers are hearing the message that sex and pregnancy puts them on a fast track to a bad future. And they're hearing the message that condoms can prevent pregnancy, AIDS, and other STDs.

But these results also tell us that it's too late to start talking to girls at age 15. We need to reach them early. On this and every issue. That's why I am pleased to announce today two new grant programs that fill important gaps in our fight against teen pregnancy. First, we are dedicating one million dollars this year to communities -- so they can work with volunteers to give 9-14 year-old girls the confidence and opportunities they need to abstain from sex and other risky behaviors -- and make the most of their lives. I am also announcing today another million dollars in grants to educate and encourage young males to make responsible decisions.

But, whether the message is sports or teen pregnancy prevention, the government will never be able to deliver it alone. It's going to take each and every one of us. That was the message of the President's volunteerism summit. And that is why, as part of Girl Power!, Dominique Dawes is appearing in print and radio PSAs. It's why we're teaming up with the U.S. National Women's Soccer team to send clear messages to girls that tobacco and fitness just don't mix. It's why I joined with NIKE's P.L.A.Y. CORPS program last week to announce a new partnership aimed at training college-age coaches to work with young girls. And, it's why I am here today. To ask for your help and your leadership.

When I was growing up, I still remember how my parents and other caring adults encouraged me. By telling me I played a good game. That I delivered a good line. That I was special. Yet, while parents are still by far the most influential people in girls' lives, we know that girls too often turn away from them just when they need them the most. Instead, girls today often look to their peers and to our most powerful mirror -- the mirror of popular culture -- to tell them who they are and who they should be. But, when they look in that mirror, what do they see?

I am speaking to you as a talented and privileged few, with great power, but also great responsibility. And I am speaking to you as leaders who have already helped us make great progress in the last 20 years -- progress in the numbers and types of girls depicted in the media.

When girls click on the TV today, they see more women like Elaine on "Seinfeld" with good jobs and a good sense of humor. They see more girls like Claudia on "Party of Five" who not only shows great musical skills, but also strong personal skills as she navigates through real life issues like her brother's alcoholism and her violin teacher's homosexuality.

They see articles like the one appearing in Seventeen this month about choosing the right college. And they see girls like Lisa on the "Simpsons," whose intelligence and saxophone playing put Bart and the other boys to shame. I'm actually told that some teachers give Lisa credit for the recent surge in saxophone interest among girls in band class.

So, have we come a long way? Absolutely. But, we still have much to do. Because too often our culture still bombards girls with images that tell them that being unnaturally thin -- actually gaunt -- is sexy and healthy. They're told that smoking will make them thin and glamorous and cool and successful. That it's "a woman thing." And they're told that drinking will make them feel popular and grown-up.

What the Children Now/Kaiser Family Foundation survey showed is that, despite improvements, girls are still depicted more often talking about their appearances and romantic relationships and less often talking about their jobs. And many characters on shows are becoming thinner and thinner, actually reaching weights that are unhealthy and unattainable.

At the same time, about 70 percent of girls say they have wanted to look like a character on TV and almost a third of girls have changed their appearance to make it happen. And in an article about make-up, a young girl's magazine this month shows a girl's picture with these words: "Look sexy -- not silly."

I ask again: When they look in the mirror, what are girls seeing? Too often they are seeing that they don't measure up to the images created for them. That they're not good enough. Or thin enough. Or pretty enough. And boys are learning lessons too. Lessons about how to value and treat girls.

I know that many of you are entertainers and business people by trade. I know that you need to be ever mindful of the bottom line of ratings and profits. But, there is another bottom line that I'm asking you to pay attention to. It's your role as citizens and guardians of the public trust. And, it's the bottom line of young girls and their families.

You alone will probably never save or ruin a young girl's life. But what you show girls can have a tremendous impact on how they view themselves and how others -- boys and adults alike -- view them. That's why I'm asking you to take an even larger role in the great national drama to improve the health of American girls.

I'm asking you to think about the public health consequences of every thing you do. I'm asking you to join with us to send the right messages to girls -- the same messages we'd like our daughters or other family members to hear. Put simply, I'm asking you to hold up a more accurate mirror.

First, I challenge you to use your immense creativity to develop programming appropriate for 9-14 year-old girls. From Saturday morning cartoons to Seventeen, there is a wealth of programs and products for very young girls and for older girls. But, there is a gap in the middle. We all know that girls have a tendency to be attracted to images and problems faced by older girls. And that's especially true when they don't have many great, more age-appropriate alternatives. But, there is a big untapped market and an even greater social need for materials that really speak to 9-14 year old girls. And we must create them.

My second challenge is to create more characters, images, and role models that girls can reach and relate to. Girls who look like them and face everyday choices like them. Girls who make them proud of who they are and what they can become. Characters and images that teach both boys and girls to value girls who are smart and talented and confident and successful. All the things people want for their daughters.

Finally, and perhaps most important, we need to give girls and their parents information that will help -- not hinder -- their ability to navigate the rough waters of early adolescence.

If you're doing a story about a teenager getting pregnant, consider making the plot not just about passion, but about the consequences -- the poverty and lost futures that our research shows unwed mothers and their children are likely to face. If you're doing an article about eating disorders or depression or domestic violence, try giving girls and their parents places to turn for help. And if you're doing a show about smoking and drugs, you can find ways to show girls making the right choices and parents and peers sending the right messages. Messages that say smoking isn't cool.

I know -- and you know -- that education and entertainment can go hand in hand. And they must. I understand that you're production schedules are grueling -- and that up-to-date public health information isn't just lying around the office. So, I've come here this afternoon to offer more than a challenge. I've come to offer help.

At our department, we have up-to-date information about the use of drugs, alcohol and tobacco among girls. We have access to the best experts on issues ranging from depression to physical activity. We have information about approaches that work to cut down teen pregnancy and improve the health of girls. And, we have Girl Power! campaign materials that send girls the right messages about their bodies and minds -- indeed their futures.

You write the drama or develop the products, and we'll be there with the accurate information you need on any topic -- anytime. That's why I'm pleased to include in the packet you received today a number you can call at HHS -- and our web site address -- so you can get the facts you need when you need them.

I made the same offer when I spoke to talk show producers and then again to soap opera producers. Both times the naysayers said that the media leaders would simply put resources in the circular file. Both times they were wrong. After those conferences, the calls started coming in -- and information started pouring out. It is my hope that this conference will strengthen the dialogue between leaders in the public health and entertainment industry.

Because, we all know that government doesn't raise children. Our schools don't raise children. And the media doesn't raise children. Parents raise children -- but, as the President's summit made clear, all of us have an obligation to give them a helping hand.

We need to ask ourselves, "When given the choice and the power to influence girls' lives, did we choose to have a positive effect, a negative effect, or no effect at all?"

Because, somewhere a girl is looking in the mirror today. What will she see? Will she know that her health and future are more important than her image? That the size of her ambition is more important than the size of her clothes? That the dreams she creates for herself are more important than those created for her by others? Will she, like Dominique Dawes look in the mirror and see not defeat, but determination?

A 9 year-old named Cherlnell does. She wrote a poem called, "What makes me feel powerful." "When I get an A+ or an A on a test. When I get told I am smart. When people tell me I will become something big. That's what makes me feel powerful. Strong-willed is independent and brave. And I'll stay like that forever"....

It is our job to ensure that every girl in this country "stays like that forever."

Thank you.

REMARKS BY
DONNA E. SHALALA
U.S. SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
ONE YEAR AFTER BEIJING
UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK
SEPTEMBER 9, 1996

The last time I was here, I was addressing the United Nations General Assembly in 1994, the International Year of the Family. On that day, we made it clear that countries are only strong when families are strong and families are only strong when women are strong. That was the message of the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing -- and the reason why all of us are here today. I can think of no more appropriate subject for this great hall, for this extraordinary organization.

In the aftermath of World War II, the U.N. was born to bring order to a world of chaos, to bring peace to a world in turmoil. For President Roosevelt and Eleanor Roosevelt, the U.N. was a dream -- a dream where nations could become stronger standing together than we are standing apart, a dream that has lived here for more than 50 years.

For more than 50 years, this is the place where nations have reached across the boundaries of geography and race, of religion and culture to celebrate our collective humanity and reach our common goals. This is the place where we stamped sanctions on South Africa to protest the chains of Apartheid. This is the place where we offered a blanket of protection to refugees escaping war in Afghanistan and throughout the world. This is the place where we cleared new pathways to eradicate smallpox, to fight hunger in Somalia and the spread of disease in Zaire. And, this is the place -- here, today -- that we will reignite the spirit of the Beijing Conference -- and recommit ourselves to lifting up the lives of women and families all over our globe.

I will never forget how it felt to stand in strength and solidarity with the 40,000 women and men who gathered last year in Beijing -- many of whom are here today in this room. We were farmers and factory workers, we were scientists and social workers, we were parents and government officials. But, we were united around one belief, a belief eloquently expressed by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who told the conference and the world that "Human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights." That theme echoed throughout the conference and created the foundation for our Platform for Action.

Listen carefully to these words: A Platform for Action. Not a Platform for Platitudes or Rhetoric. Not a Platform to create a commission or commission a study. A Platform for Action. And, a mandate for results.

Why? Because too many women and their families still die of preventable diseases. Too many women and their children still face the terror and tears of domestic violence. And, too many women are still denied access to education, proper nutrition, reproductive health and economic security.

We went to Beijing to focus a spotlight on these global challenges. And, each of our nations brought home a promise to meet them. In the United States, under President Clinton's leadership, we are making good on that promise.

Last year, on the eve of the Beijing Conference, the President announced the creation of the Interagency Council on Women -- a council which I chair. For the last year, members of the Council have reached deep into every Federal department and agency -- to uncover new ways -- better ways -- of serving women and children. But, we have not only reached in, we have reached out -- working with the non-governmental organizations and other partners who planted the seeds of Beijing yesterday and will help them to grow and flourish tomorrow.

On September 28, the United States will be holding a satellite conference to talk to women throughout our nation about the distance we have traveled since Beijing and the mountains we have yet to climb. Because of your leadership, I'm proud to say that we will have a good story to tell -- a story of progress.

We are moving forward by insisting that women are part of every clinical research trial. Moving forward by dramatically increasing our commitment to breast cancer research, treatment, and prevention. Moving forward to ensure that all women have access to good reproductive health and full reproductive freedom. Moving forward with a new \$100 million effort to develop a female microbicide -- so that women everywhere can protect themselves and their families from the scourge of HIV and AIDS. Moving forward to empower women and families to lift themselves up from poverty. And, moving forward by teaching young girls to say "no" to tobacco, drugs, and pre-marital sex and say "yes" to their health, their education, and their future -- that's progress.

We are also making it easier for women to own their own homes and buy a piece of the American Dream -- that's progress. We're creating a toll free telephone hotline that victims of domestic violence can call from any place in United States, any day, any time -- that's progress. We're asking corporations -- large and small -- to improve the benefits and working conditions for women -- that's progress. We're ensuring that girls always have the opportunity to study math and science and learn in an environment free from sexual harassment -- that's progress. And, we're helping women all over the world reap the benefits of political participation, legal power, and educational opportunity -- that's progress.

And I want to expand on that point. We know that women and families will only be safe in the United States if they are safe everywhere in the world. And, we see our role as an international partner committed to ensuring the health and safety of our global community, committed to stamping out both human viruses and human violations whenever and wherever they rear their ugly heads.

Sometimes taking on these issues is tough. Sometimes it's unpopular. But, it is always the right thing to do. That's why, through words and actions, we have stood with our brothers and sisters around the world to lead on the tough issues, to make it clear that all children must have the basic necessities of life. And all women must have the tools they need to safeguard their reproductive health and control their reproductive destinies.

Whether it's happening to our daughters here or anywhere else in the world, we have condemned -- and will continue to condemn -- the horror and sheer inhumanity of genital mutilation. We have made it clear that rape as a weapon of war is a crime against all of humanity. And, we have said that we will do everything in our power to stop those who would dare to traffic women and children for prostitution and slavery. It is violence. It is exploitation. It is an atrocity. And, it must be stopped.

But, there is something else we all must do. Because, everyday in communities here and abroad these issues affecting women and families are being debated. The details are being ironed out. The deals are being brokered. And, the decisions are being signed, sealed and delivered. But too often, there is something very important missing -- women's voices. As we said so clearly in Beijing: That must change.

In the United States, women are 52 percent of the population -- not a "special interest" -- 52 percent of the population. When decisions are being made about our health, when decisions are being made about our families, when decisions are being made about our communities, and when decisions are being made about our countries, we must be sitting at the table. It is not that women are better than men or smarter than men. It's because we have unique voices that must be heard, valued and woven into every decision that affects our families and our nations.

We have been so successful in this Administration that we sometimes joke that we are finally in the age when a policy issue can be proposed by a woman analyst at a Federal department, funneled through a female Cabinet Secretary and a female policy advisor at the White House never touching a man's hands until it reaches the President's desk for his approval.

This quantum leap couldn't have happened without the leadership and commitment of this President and this First Lady. And, it certainly didn't happen overnight. Preparing a woman for a top policy position takes decades. It takes decades of women and men working together, decades of teaching young girls that they can aspire to anything and opening the doors of opportunity so that they can really do so -- from grammar school to law school, and from junior internships to senior partnerships.

Women's Sports are like that. Last month, the world watched in awe as the female Olympians took Atlanta -- and the entire world -- by storm. But, champions like Amy Van Dyken, Gail Devers, and Shannon McMillan didn't just stumble upon their Gold Medals. They had years of dedication, family, skill, character, and, of course, in my country -- a federal law -- Title IX on their side.

Enacted more than 20 years ago, Title IX had a simple goal: to ensure that resources dedicated to school sports are divided fairly between men and women. Fairness: nothing more, and nothing less. That simple act of justice opened the flood gates of opportunity for women in sports. Two decades later we are seeing the results -- not only at the Olympics, but on basketball courts, soccer fields and playgrounds all over America.

We need to ensure that all women in this country -- and in every country -- have the same opportunity to fulfill their dreams -- whatever they are. Whenever I am speaking to a group of young women, I like to remind them that they are the first generation that can aspire to be anything they want to be -- anything. Not only doctors and lawyers. Not only mothers and astronauts. Not only CEOs and Cabinet Secretaries. But Presidents and Prime Ministers. I believe that it is possible.

We have to make sure that every young girl believes that it is possible, that if they want it, and if they are willing to work for it, we will give them every opportunity to achieve it.

Just one year ago, I was on my way to hear First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton speak to NGOs in Hairou -- a speech that would turn out to be one of the highlights of the conference. But I almost missed it. There I was, standing drenched in the pouring rain, when we were confronted by Chinese guards determined to keep us out of the auditorium.

Well, I don't think they were counting on a Wisconsin Badger. I've seen enough Wisconsin football victories to know how to block effectively. When they pushed us, we pushed back. And, we got in.

As I said at the time, the woman's movement has overcome far bigger obstacles. And, we will again. We will again. But, only if we join hands -- all of us -- from government agencies to NGOs and from Business leaders to community leaders. Only if we push forward despite the setbacks, despite the obstacles.

Only if we reach out to men, especially young men, because our fight cannot -- and should not -- be won without them. And, because our issues are not women's issues. They are family issues. They are global challenges. Together we must meet them.

And, we must do it not only for the sake of women but for the sake of every person on this earth -- for every child who has a mother, for every man who has a daughter, for every family, for every nation. For all of our futures.

Thank you.

REMARKS BY
DONNA E .SHALALA
SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
TO THE
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON CEREMONY
MEDICAL SCHOOL RECOGNITION CEREMONY
MADISON, WISCONSIN

Dean Farrell, distinguished faculty, staff, families and most important, the 1997 graduates of the University of Wisconsin Medical School: My congratulations to all of you.

I know that all of you have thanked your families for their love, support and endless patience that got you to this day. I hope you will also thank the hard working people of Wisconsin -- citizens you will never meet -- who pay taxes to maintain this great academic health center.

Somebody once defined home as "not where you live, but where they understand you." Let me just say, it's great to be home. Not that, in my heart, I've ever left this great university or this remarkable state. I'm probably the only Cabinet Member to ever stop in the middle of a big speech to Washington journalists -- so I could put on my cheese head.

We have come together at a moment where the past and future meet. You are graduating on one of the most important days in the history of medicine and public health, a day when we formally close one door on the past and open another to the future.

Because, in less than five hours, at a White House ceremony, President Clinton will formally apologize to the survivors and families of the Public Health Service's study on the black men of Tuskegee.

And when the President speaks, he will help our nation heal from one of the ugliest chapters in public health history. A chapter tinged with racism, with ignorance, and with good intentions gone awry. And a chapter that could never have been written if those physicians involved in the study had remained true to the most important part of the oath you will take today: "The health of my patient will always be my first consideration."

Because when the practice of medicine becomes unhinged from the moral purpose of medicine, when the progress of science becomes unhinged from the ethics of science, anything can happen. And in Tuskegee, it did.

Let me set the scene. The year was 1932 and the United States Public Health Service began an experiment in Alabama on 399 African American men with untreated syphilis. They called it the "Tuskegee Study of Untreated Syphilis in the Negro Male." And their goal was to examine the course of the disease for about a year.

Forty years later, despite the discovery of a cure, these men were still untreated. Many died. Some even passed it on to their children and wives. And all were scarred. Indeed our entire nation was scarred. That was one message of the report issued by the Tuskegee Syphilis Study Legacy Committee, which is chaired by Professor Vanessa Gamble of Wisconsin.

As her report made clear, we still see the scars in the deep distrust many African Americans have towards medicine and research. Distrust that has led some Americans to avoid care or clinical trials, to refuse to donate organs or accept advice from doctors. And to even believe rumors of genocide. And distrust that keeps us from closing the health care gaps that still exist for minorities.

To end that distrust and heal old wounds, the Legacy Committee called for the President to apologize on behalf of the U.S. government. Today, he will. The President will formally tell the victims and our nation: This will never happen again.

But, as Dr. Gamble made clear, we must make amends not just with words, but also with deeds. Armed with tough standards for human research and additional steps the President will announce today, we must be eternally vigilant. We must ensure that our ethics are always as sophisticated as our science. And we must always remember the past and use these lessons to build a better future.

Which is the message I want to leave you with today.

Because, for me personally, this ceremony is also a moment where the past and the future meet. I have come back to a place of old friends and wonderful memories. And I have proudly come to see you -- a new generation of doctors that is better trained, and more skilled, than any previous generation. Medicine, perhaps more than any other profession, is about holding on to the sacred, while embracing the revolutionary. About tradition and change.

Yet, when I talk to young doctors and med students today, they often tell me that they're scared the profession they've trained for is not the same profession they dreamed about growing up; that the wonder years of *Marcus Welby* and *Rex Morgan* have been replaced by the frenetic years of *ER* and *Chicago Hope*; that the art of healing is losing its humanity. These fears are very real, and perhaps many of you share them. Indeed, they have are part of a great tradition of medical graduates -- where each generation looks back at the way it "used to be."

I'll never forget a story I read about a young man who dreamt of becoming a doctor. So, he sits down to talk it over with his uncle, who is already a doctor. And how does the uncle react? Let me quote the young man's own words. "Uncle Henri strongly advised against going into medicine. It wasn't what it had been in his day. Patients had become demanding. They pestered you for a yes or a no. You had to kill yourself just to make a living. In short, it had become a dog's trade."

Sound familiar? That conversation took place in the 1930s. The young man was Francois Jacob. And as it turns out, he didn't take his uncle's advice. Thank God. Instead he, like you, went to medical school, and in 1965 shared the Nobel Prize in Medicine for his work in genetics. And he, like you, was able to harness the health care revolutions of his day to improve the practice of medicine and the health of citizens all over the globe.

As the great Russian author and doctor Boris Pasternak once wrote: "The stake where we will stand will be the border of two different eras of history, and we are glad to be chosen." Standing at a border between the old and new, you too are chosen -- chosen to uphold the tradition of putting patients first, while at the same time facing real revolutions in health care. Revolutions that bring both great responsibility -- and great opportunity -- for you.

Revolutions that mean an explosion of information, technology, and new delivery systems -- but also an interconnected world of medicine where you'll be wired to computers, data bases, research centers and the best medical minds in the world. Revolutions that mean more integrated care -- but also more collaboration, more shared risk, and more shared accomplishments. Revolutions in biomedical research that yield not only new treatment options, but also new ethical dilemmas. Revolutions that have led to greater consumer demand for quality -- but also greater personal responsibility from citizens to take care of their own health.

Our responsibility is to invest in you, to make sure that our health care training remains the best in the world; and that you can spend the maximum amount of time improving health, and the minimum amount of time filling out forms. While our job is to invest in you, your job is to be the leaders, the architects, and the conscience of America's changing health care system. Because these revolutions in medicine are like a big ocean wave. You can ride it or wipe out. The choice is yours.

So, in the spirit of Boris Pasternak, I challenge you to stand at the border of history and choose to take the greatest ride of your life.

I challenge you to always live up to the words you will recite today: "The health of my patient will be my first consideration." Put your patients first by making your medical education a lifelong commitment. By never letting paper work be more important -- or even seem more important -- than healing the people under your care. Because the calling of medicine must always be higher than the business of medicine.

Put your patients first by always being their advocates; and by making sure that decisions about what is medically necessary are made by you, your patients and their families. Put your patients first by continuing to heal them both as individuals and members of a community; by making sure that women's health is never treated as a second class citizen; and, by exerting your leadership in medicine, public health, and the critical interplay between them.

That's the same commitment you showed in your MEDIC organizations -- offering primary care to uninsured working poor in South Madison. And it's the same commitment I know you will show throughout your careers.

Because remember, you are now entering a world where you will be judged not by your MCATs or your grades, but by your character. By whether you live by the oath you will take today. And by whether you make a stand and choose as Boris Pasternak chose; and conquer, like Dr. Jacob conquered, a revolutionary medical world.

Whatever path you take from here, walk it with pride. Walk it with honor. Walk it with courage. Walk it with wisdom. Walk it with humor. And, above all else, walk it with passion.

Thank you. Congratulations and God speed.

"Agenda (accomplishments)"
Speech

REMARKS

DONNA E. SHALALA

SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

ST. LOUIS, MO

FEBRUARY 12, 1996

GOOD AFTERNOON:

I'm very pleased to have this opportunity to come to America's heartland to talk about America's future. And, I am even more honored to engage in that dialogue with leaders who -- every day, individually and collectively -- are repairing lives, restoring hope, and ensuring justice.

As you know, I come from a city that gets beat up on quite a bit. Politicians condemn it. Comedians ridicule it. And, even Cabinet Secretaries have been known at times to express their frustrations with our nation's Capital.

But Washington has its moments and places of beauty. One of them is the Lincoln Memorial -- where the brooding, but loving President Lincoln looks out over the country he saved, surrounded by the words that save us still: "...We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain."

I mention Lincoln because today we celebrate his birthday. And I mention Lincoln, because, he was the first American president to be stolen away by an assassin's bullet. And now, to our international horror, that tragedy has been repeated in Israel.

President Lincoln and Prime Minister Rabin: both, men of incomparable intelligence and moral stature. Both fought wars to win. And, in the end, both laid down their lives in the name of unity and peace.

Lincoln and Rabin: both fought for a world without bondage -- of either the body or the spirit. Both knew, in Lincoln's words, that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." And, both brought people together across lines of division and hatred -- both in life and in death.

When President Lincoln's casket was taken by train back to Springfield, Illinois, millions of Americans lined the tracks to say goodbye. And when Prime Minister Rabin was laid to rest in Jerusalem, the entire world watched and mourned. Leaders from around the globe spoke about this noble warrior turned peacemaker. But no speaker at the funeral got quite the attention of the Prime Minister's granddaughter. In her eulogy, Noa said of her grandfather, "Your appreciation and your love accompanied us every step down the road, and our lives were always shaped by your values"

What were those values she learned from her grandfather? The values Prime Minister Rabin taught his family and his nation, the values he died for, are the long Jewish tradition of charity, righteousness and community. Those values pervade Halachah -- Jewish law including the Oral Tradition. Those values are the basis of English common law, and even American constitutional law. And, those values held the Jewish people together through the Inquisition, pogroms, the Holocaust, and 2000 years of exile.

Through disaster and disease, through Europe and Asia, there were always standards for the weakest in the communities -- caring for the sick, healing for the wounded and food for the hungry. Can we as a country do any less today?

Like Prime Minister Rabin and President Lincoln, we live in an era characterized by great possibilities -- with revolutions in technology, science, and information beckoning us towards the 21st century. But, like Rabin and Lincoln, our time also brings us to a crossroads -- with deep divisions about how to move forward to reach our common goals.

Make no mistake about it: This historic American debate about the role of the federal government is about much more than budgets and block grants, deficits and devolution. At its heart, this is a debate about what we stand for. It's about who we are as Americans. And, as we peer into the next century, this debate is about what kind of legacy we want to leave for our children.

Because, before I finish this speech, there will be more than 200 children born in communities throughout this country. The question is, what will their futures hold? Will their families have access to health care? Will they be able to break the chains of discrimination? Will they be free from the fear of domestic violence? They must.

If we are to be one great nation -- then justice -- fundamental justice -- must not depend upon geography. From Jews to Catholics, from African Americans to Arab Americans, throughout our history, members of minority groups have understood this point better than anyone: There must be laws of the land -- national standards that protect all Americans and weave us into one community -- each of us our brother's and our sister's keepers.

Let me be clear: I'm not talking about a stale defense of the status quo. Together, we must reject ideologues on all sides -- from those who think there's a program for every problem to those who think that government is the only problem. Yes, we must balance the budget in seven years. And yes we must shift responsibility to the states and local communities. But, we must hold them firmly accountable. Again, we must shift responsibility to the states and local communities. But, as the President has said time and time again: We can do that without slashing funding for Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. We can do that -- we can balance the budget and find common ground -- without turning our backs on everything this country stands for -- and we must.

In meeting today's challenges for tomorrow's children, we must do it with unity -- not division; with the heart of Abel -- not the mark of Cain; and by keeping our word -- not breaking our promise.

Our first challenge, I believe, is how to work with parents to guide our young people and keep families together. Woven deep into the fabric of Tzedakah is the interdependence of individual and community responsibility. It's the idea that the greatest gifts we can give our families are the tools they need to not only survive -- but thrive -- on their own. And, it's the idea of providing opportunity, but demanding responsibility in return. From our youth agenda to welfare reform, that's exactly what we're working to do.

That means fighting for an historic tobacco initiative that ensures that our young people get information about smoking from their parents and other caring adults -- not from Joe Camel. It means fighting for safer communities -- with the Brady Bill and the Assault Weapons Act -- the first two curbs on gun violence to be enacted in more than 25 years!

It means supporting a national campaign against teen pregnancy to teach young people to say "no" to premarital sex and pregnancy and "yes" to their educations and their futures. It means strengthening -- not slashing -- National Service and Student Loans -- twin engines that help young people study their way into the American Dream.

And, it means working with parents, businesses, schools, religious and civic organizations, and the media to counteract all the dangerous messages that our children hear, like: "Drugs are cool." "A Gun will get you respect." "Everybody is having sex." Together we must help parents provide their children with the compasses and the resilience they will need to bypass the dangerous minefields -- like drugs, tobacco, AIDS, and teen pregnancy -- and make safe passages into young adulthood.

But, that is not enough. I've visited child care centers and Head Start classrooms. I've seen the tragedy of crack addicted babies and the elation of college graduates. But, there's one thing I've never seen: young people who don't need caring adults -- especially parents -- in their lives. The best safety net for America's children is -- and will always be -- parents who want them and can take care of them. And, everything that we do must begin and end with that fact.

That's why President Clinton expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit -- to ensure that working families don't ever have to raise their children in poverty. That's why he wants to raise the minimum wage to make it a living wage. That's why, after seven years of Republican inaction, this President signed the Family and Medical Leave Act -- so that no American will ever have to make the choice between the health of their family and the security of their job. That's why he's fought to ensure that all children get the right start in life -- with better, stronger Head Start and child care. And, that's why he's strengthened child support enforcement -- increasing collections from about \$7 billion in 1991 to almost \$11 billion today.

While others continue to talk and talk, we've granted waivers to 37 states that are experimenting with welfare plans to invest in child care, require work, reward marriage, and crack down on deadbeat parents who try to walk away from their obligations to their families and their children.

This Administration has -- and will continue -- to fight for real welfare reform. But, let me be clear: It's not real welfare reform unless it combines tough work requirements with the resources for child care that women need to keep their children safe while they move to independence. It's not real welfare reform unless it empowers people to be good parents and good workers. It's not real welfare reform unless it helps people not only get jobs -- but keep them. And, it's not welfare reform if it simply tells teenage mothers to sink or swim. Instead, we need to throw them a lifejacket -- and demand that they stay in school, live at home or with a responsible adult, and give their children a better life. That's the right way -- the smart way -- the fair way -- to change welfare as we know it.

At the same time, we cannot create strong families unless women and children are safe -- especially in their own homes. It shouldn't take a high profile court case to wake up America about the terror and tears caused by domestic violence. About the tragedy of women bruised and beaten. About the calls for help that are made too late. And, about the emotional scars that stay with children for a lifetime.

The Europeans have a slogan for their domestic violence campaign -- which is, "We all have a right to be safe all of the time." Listen very carefully to these words: "All of the time." That is our challenge -- to make America's homes and neighborhoods safe -- all of the time. And, that's exactly what we're working to do. With tougher penalties for abusers. Better training for police, prosecutors, and judges. More community policing. And, before the end of this month, a national hotline that will operate 24 hours a day -- every day of the year.

Our second challenge is to make health care available to every American. While some in Congress continue to debate and delay, over the last two years, more than one million Americans in working families have lost their health insurance. For the family struggling to make ends meet, for the person living with AIDS fearful that she will lose her health insurance, for the elderly woman living in a nursing home -- there is no security without health security -- and we must never, ever forget that.

In America, the promises of Medicaid, Medicare, and Social Security have transformed what it means to grow old in America. They have transformed what it means to be a poor child in America. They have transformed what it means to be disabled in America. And, we cannot ever turn our backs on those contracts with our people.

I'm not saying that our health care programs don't need major reform -- they do. In the last three years, we lowered the growth of Medicare and Medicaid by more than \$200 billion; rigorously enforced nursing home standards; expanded health care options for seniors; and saved \$15 billion by cracking down big time on health care fraud and abuse.

The question is, will we keep moving forward, replenishing the Medicare Trust Fund, making Medicare and Medicaid more efficient and effective -- or will we go backwards? We believe we cannot go back. We cannot go back to the days when older Americans had to choose between paying the heating bills and the doctor's bills.

Let me be clear: We can and must maintain our guarantee of health care for our most vulnerable Americans -- for poor children, the elderly, the disabled -- whether they live in Seattle or Savannah. We must insist that health insurance is there for people when they really need it -- when they switch jobs or lose jobs or get sick. We must strengthen Meals on Wheels and other lifelines older Americans need to stay independent in their own communities. We must ensure that our seniors -- who built this country with their sweat and sacrifice -- are not forced to pay more and get less for health care. And, we must never ever privatize Social Security!

We can do no less -- and we must do no less.

Finally, as we fight for freedom abroad, we must ensure justice and fairness at home. Such is the mandate of NJCRAC -- and such is the legacy of the Jewish community. From the freedom riders who traveled south with their African American brothers and sisters to the leaders today standing up and speaking out against all discrimination, this community has always understood that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.

But, you have also understood that lasting victories are never won by one community -- Jewish or women, African American or Latino -- acting alone. We only win when we stand together as one America -- across the lines of race, religion, ethnicity, and sexual orientation.

And, that's how we must stand today: United to fight forced prayer in public schools. United to protect gays and lesbians against workplace discrimination. United to fight policies that would throw people out of the military just because they have HIV/AIDS. United to maintain vital funding for refugee resettlement. We need fair immigration and refugee policies that reunite families, protect refugees and value the critical role that legal immigrants play in the multicultural tapestry that we call America.

United to protect a woman's right to choose -- and make abortion safe, legal, and rare. United to create real opportunity -- to mend, not end, affirmative action. United to stand up and speak out against bigotry and Hate Crimes -- more than violations of individuals and groups, they are crimes against all of us.

But as you know better than anyone, from welfare reform to health care reform, and from building strong families to eradicating discrimination, these challenges will never be met by the government or non-profits acting alone.

I am reminded of the wisdom of Rabbi Shlomo of Karlin, who in the 18th century taught the following: "A man once saw a precious object very high up. Wanting to fetch it down he asked a number of people to make a 'tower' so that the topmost person could reach for the object. Supposing one of them, the lowest, for instance, had said, 'What's the point of my being here? After all, I'll never reach up so high in any case!' and so saying, had jumped aside. His action would have been extremely foolish and would have endangered the lives of others. We are all equally necessary -- if so much as one person fails, the whole will not reach the desired goal."

As all of us work in our communities: preventing youth violence, offering a warm shoulder for battered women or a hand-up to the homeless; and as we work to reform, not ruin government, to say good-bye to the status quo without abdicating our responsibility to national standards, we must remember that these battles will only be won when every single citizen stands on each other's shoulders -- linking the past and the present so that we can reach the future together.

It will not be easy, but as Elie Wiesel wrote in his recent Memoirs, "In my dreams, the impossible is not a Jewish concept." Doing the impossible today will take the same vision and moral strength that Prime Minister Rabin and President Lincoln brought to their tasks.

But, if this country had the courage to repair its wounds after the Civil War -- and if the people of Israel had the courage to lay down their weapons of war and reach out their hands in peace, then surely all of us can gather the courage to create a 21st century America that is a great country -- because it is good.

Thank you.

"policy"
speech

REMARKS BY

DONNA E. SHALALA

SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

AT THE

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

JULY 31, 1997

WASHINGTON, D.C.

I have returned to the National Press Club to talk about one of the most serious issues facing our health care system. Something that affects every single American – every single one of you. That’s the privacy of our most cherished and personal information: our medical records. Our family secrets.

Until recently, at a Boston-based HMO, every single clinical employee could tap into patients’ computer records and see detailed notes from psycho-therapy sessions. In Colorado, a medical student copies countless health records at night and sells them to medical malpractice attorneys looking to win easy cases. And, in a major American city, a local newspaper publishes information about a Congressional candidate’s attempted suicide. Information she thought was safe and private at a local hospital. She was wrong.

What about us? When we give a physician or health insurance company precious information about our mood or motherhood, money or medication what happens to it? As it zips from computer to computer, from doctor to insurance company to hospital, who can see it? Who protects it? What happens if they don’t? It all depends on the state you live in.

Every day, our private health information is being shared, collected, analyzed and stored with fewer federal safeguards than our video store records. Let me be frank. The way we protect the privacy of our medical records right now is erratic at best – dangerous at worst.

I will argue today that, to eliminate this danger to our citizens and our health care system, we must act now with national legislation, national education, and a national conversation.

As I was preparing this speech, I thought about a similar challenge faced by one of my predecessors, Secretary Elliot Richardson. The year was 1972 -- 25 years ago. America’s military involvement in the Vietnam war coming to a close -- and the first chapters of Watergate were being written. Public distrust of government was on the rise. And the computer age was just beginning.

It was against this backdrop that Secretary Richardson appointed an advisory committee to help the government figure out how to protect the privacy of data in this new world of technology. The report outlined a code of fair information practices -- including the need to eliminate secret data bases and give people more control over their personal information. It built the foundation for the landmark Federal Privacy Act, which protects the privacy of records kept by federal agencies. And, it helped lay out a vision for balancing our age-old right to be left alone with our desire to fulfill the promises of a new computer age. That is what we must do today -- this time for our private health records.

It is also what we, as nations and individuals, have always struggled to do. DeToqueville described how our Founding Fathers dealt with the tension between individual rights and public responsibilities. Great Americans like the late Justice Brennan dedicated themselves to protecting the individual against an all too powerful government and majority. Books like 1984 send a warning about lost autonomy – and lost humanity. Nations in the European Union recently enacted a Privacy Directive that will require them to protect personal data and only exchange it with other nations that have the same high standards.

Throughout time individuals have grappled with privacy -- whether they're getting an HIV test at a local clinic or complaining, as they did last week, about America Online's plan to sell its mailing list.

Yet, while our desire to be left alone has always remained constant, little else has. A lot has changed since Secretary Richardson confronted this issue. In the last 25 years, revolutions not only in computers, but also in biology and our health care delivery system have made our world dramatically different. Now, as Thomas Jefferson said "Our laws and institutions must keep pace with the progress of the human mind."

Twenty-five years ago, our health care privacy was protected by our family doctor -- who kept hand-written records about us sealed away in a big file cabinet. We trusted our physicians to keep their file cabinets locked and their mouths shut.

We trusted them not only because of the Hippocratic Oath and the fundamental ethics of medicine -- but because we knew them. They took care of our entire families. We asked their advice about our personal problems. We went to school with their children. We shopped at the same stores. They came over for dinner -- and yes, some even made house calls.

Today, the revolution in our health care delivery system means that instead of Marcus Welby, we have to place our trust in entire networks of insurers and health care professionals -- both public and private. The computer revolution means that our deepest and darkest secrets no longer exist in one place and can no longer be protected by simply locking up the office doors each night. And, revolutions in biology mean that a whole new world of genetic tests have the potential to help either prevent disease or reveal our families' most personal secrets. Because without safeguards that assure citizens that getting tested won't endanger their families' privacy or health insurance or jobs, we could, in turn, endanger one of the most promising areas of research our nation has ever seen.

We are at a decision point. Depending on what we do over the next months, these revolutions in health care, communications, and biology could bring us great promise or even greater peril. The choice is ours.

We must ask ourselves: Will we harness these revolutions to improve -- not impede -- our health care? Will we harness them to safeguard -- not sacrifice -- our privacy? And will we harness these revolutions to strengthen -- not strain -- the very lifeblood of our health care system -- the bond of trust between a patient and doctor.

For example, will health care information flow safely to improve care, cut fraud, ensure quality, foster research, and reach citizens in underserved areas? Or will it flow recklessly into the wrong hands -- and be used to deny our citizens health insurance, jobs, and the confidentiality they expect and deserve? It is up to us.

The Institute of Medicine has said that electronic health records should be the wave of the future and the Congress has asked us to develop standards to make it happen. Will they be used to help an emergency room doctor learn more about an unconscious patient -- like what diseases she has and which medications she's allergic to? Will it be used -- as it can be now -- to tell parents which immunizations their kids have -- and which ones they still need? Or will a pharmaceutical company use it to market the newest anti-depressant to someone with a family history of depression? Will a political group use it to embarrass a rival they believe once had an abortion or a child with a drug problem?

The fundamental question before us is: Will our health records be used to heal us or reveal us? The American people want to know. And, as a nation, we must decide.

Today, almost 75 percent of our people say they are at least somewhat concerned that computerized medical records will have a negative effect on their privacy. In one survey, about one-fourth of adolescents say they would not seek medical care unless their privacy and confidentiality were protected. And, how many people do you know -- do all of us know -- who have insurance but often choose not to use it because they're scared someone will find out about their therapy or other sensitive care?

If we don't act now, public distrust could deepen -- and ultimately stop citizens from disclosing vital information to their doctors, getting needed treatment for mental illness, going in for genetic tests, and participating in clinical research trials. We've already seen this happen with some groups in the aftermath of the experiments at Tuskegee. And we know that, if unchecked, distrust can undermine and stop progress in our entire health care system.

The question is, what can we do? There are some who say we have already lost the battle. They say privacy in this new electronic world is impossible. Just give it up. Then there are others who say that consumers should not only have control over their health care information. They should have complete control. They say that Americans should even have the power to ensure that their records are kept on paper, not in computers.

Both of these approaches are wrong. We can't turn back the hands of progress or turn our backs on public responsibilities like research -- and we shouldn't. But we can and must do what Secretary Richardson envisioned: To look ahead and safeguard privacy in this new world of progress. Health care privacy can be safeguarded.

To do that, we must, first and foremost enact national legislation -- to protect the privacy of our medical records -- and we must do it now.

We have federal laws that protect the privacy of video records, motor vehicle records, and credit records. But, when it comes to our private health care records that can reveal personality traits, Sexually Transmitted Diseases, and depression. When it comes to personal information that travels in real time across hospitals, doctors' offices, and state lines -- even international borders, we rely on a patchwork of state laws -- only about a dozen of which are comprehensive.

The fact is, we have no real federal health care privacy standards. We have no national standards. We do have a national interest -- now we must make a national commitment. That's why in the Kassebaum-Kennedy law, Congress asked our Department to make recommendations for federal legislation protecting health care information.

Our recommendations, which we will be sending to Congress next month, will be guided by five key principles:

First, the principle of boundaries. With very few exceptions, a health care consumer's personal information should be disclosed for health care and health care only. Our goal is to make it easier to use information for health care purposes and very tough to use it for any other purpose. For example, we will recommend that a hospital be able to use personal health information to teach, train, conduct research, provide care, and ensure quality. But, on the other hand, employers who gets health care information to pay claims cannot use it for any non-health purposes -- like hiring, firing, and promotions.

And, what about the third parties? Those who more and more often are hired to do billing and other services? They must be bound by the same tough standards. Even if they don't collect it, they still must protect it.

Second, the principle of security. When Americans give out their personal health care information, they should feel like they're leaving it in good safe hands. With information traveling from doctors to hospitals to insurers, at every juncture there exists the potential for greater care and graver privacy violations.

Think about all the ways that private information like your genetic tests could become public: People who are allowed to see it -- like those at the lab -- can misuse it either carelessly or intentionally. And, people who shouldn't be seeing it -- like marketers -- can find a way to do so anyway -- either because an organization doesn't have proper safeguards or they find an easy way around them.

If we are going to block this leakage, Congress must pass a law that requires those who legally receive health information to take real steps to safeguard it.

Third, the Principle of Consumer Control. No one should have to trade in their privacy rights to get quality health care. We will recommend that Americans have the power to find out who's looking in their records, what's in them, how to get them, and what they can do to change incorrect information.

Let me give you an example of why this is important. According to the Privacy Rights Clearinghouse, a physician in private practice was having trouble getting health, disability, and life insurance. She ordered a copy of her report from the Medical Information Bureau -- a clearinghouse used by many insurance companies. It included information about her heart problems and her Alzheimer's disease. There was only one problem. None of it was true. What if she hadn't requested her records? With electronic data, mistakes can multiply -- and sunlight is still the best disinfectant.

Fourth, the principle of accountability. If you're using information improperly, you should be severely punished. And we will be making recommendations to ensure that you are. Most parents save the threat of punishment for their teenagers' worst offenses. When someone's health care privacy has been violated, it's not enough to say it's wrong. We need to show it's wrong.

We can't just tell a hospital worker to stay away from private medical records. We can't just tell a private investigator not to lie about their identity in order to see a patient's records. We need to enforce our messages with real criminal penalties for abuse.

At the same time, our nation needs to address another legal issue that has a tremendous impact on how people view their privacy: health care discrimination. For some, the privacy issue didn't really catch their eye until the AIDS epidemic unfolded. Remember the outrage when someone leaked a list of people with AIDS from a public health clinic in Florida? With AIDS, citizens don't just have worry that people will know they're sick. They also have to worry that people will make assumptions about their sexual orientations -- and use that information or their health status to discriminate against them.

The fact is, we will never fully address the issue of health care privacy until we give all Americans confidence that information in their medical records will not be used to deny them jobs or affordable health insurance. That's why we are fighting to enforce the American with Disabilities Act. It's why the Kassebaum-Kennedy law says you can't deny someone health insurance just because they have a pre-existing condition. And it's why the President recently announced his support for Congresswoman Slaughter's proposal to wipe-out genetic discrimination in health insurance.

But, as we work to protect Americans from breaches of privacy, we must recognize that we have other critical -- yet often competing -- interests and goals.

And, that brings me to my fifth and final principle: the Principle of Public Responsibility.

Just like our free speech rights, privacy rights can never be absolute. We must balance our protections of privacy with our public responsibility to support national priorities -- like public health, research, quality care, and our fight against health care fraud and abuse.

For example, public health agencies use health records to warn us of outbreaks of emerging infectious diseases. Our Inspector General uses health records to zero in on kick-backs, over-payments and other fraud -- so we can bring the perpetrators to justice and the money back to the taxpayers. And researchers have used health records to help us fight childhood leukemia and uncover the link between DES and reproductive cancers.

In these cases, it's not always possible to ask for permission. And, in many cases doing so could create major obstacles in our efforts to fight crime and protect public health. But, that doesn't give us a free pass. Allowing access doesn't mean that we can forget about protecting privacy. And we shouldn't.

Take the case of research. We already rely upon institutional review boards to limit access to personal information and determine if it's necessary and advisable to waive the normal informed consent required to use medical records. Our new recommendations go even further. They will make it clear that all researchers must carefully protect the privacy of the personal information they receive -- and we recommend penalties if they don't.

That's important. As I said earlier, if we don't protect health records soon, we may no longer be able to trade valuable research data with Europe, under the EU's new Privacy Directive. And, as Dr. William Lowrance made clear in a recent report I requested: if people don't trust the research community to protect their personal information, they may refuse to participate in clinical trials and they may even oppose the use of their records for all research -- no matter what the circumstances. That could be devastating.

But, national standards alone will not inspire trust in one's rights or commitment to one's responsibilities. To protect health care privacy and instill trust in the American people, we need a major commitment to education. Which is my second point.

Every single health care professional, every insurance agent, every researcher, every member of an IRB, every public health official, every pharmacist, and yes, every member of the press -- every single person who comes in contact with health care records must understand why it's important to keep them safe, how they can keep them safe, and what will happen to them if they don't. And we need to enlist their help -- your help -- in educating all consumers not just about the privacy risks in this new health care world, but also the rewards.

We need to help them understand not just their privacy rights, but also their responsibilities to ask questions and demand answers -- to become active participants in their health care. We need an informed public -- because, as the National Research Council recently pointed out, we need an informed public debate. A national conversation to answer the tough questions. Which is my third and final point.

Take the issue of law enforcement. Should auditors be able to peek through your private medical records looking for fraud committed by a doctor? Most people would say yes. Should law enforcement officers be able to search through emergency room records looking for someone who has just fled the scene of a crime. Most people would say yes.

But, what happens if law enforcement officers are looking through insurance records for fraud and stumble upon information about a totally unrelated crime -- say drug usage. What then? Or, for that matter, what happens if researchers, stumble upon information about someone who may have exposed you to HIV. Is their obligation to your safety? Or the other person's privacy?

What happens if drug companies know you suffer from heart disease and send you information about their new treatment. Is that helpful or offensive? Does that change if the disease is depression? What about venereal disease?

These questions will sometimes be wrenching. They will always be changing. But, they are not going away. We can't expect to solve this problem all at once. We need to be flexible, to change course if our strategy isn't working -- and meet new challenges as they arise.

When the Human Genome Project was created, we didn't know what miracles it would uncover. But, we did know we needed to devote real resources and energy to examine the legal, ethical, and social implications of all that we find. So that our ethics would always be just as sophisticated as our science. So that, as Jefferson said, our laws and institutions would always keep pace with the human mind.

Twenty-five years ago, Secretary Richardson looked into an uncertain future and tried to chart a course where individual rights and privacy would prevail. That challenge is now before us.

Twenty five years from now, what will they say about the footprints we left? Will we leave the next generation with real federal privacy standards based on fundamental principles? Will we have boundaries to ensure that, with very few exceptions, our health care information is used only for health care? Will we have assurances that our information is secure? Will we have control over what happens to it? Will those who violate our privacy be held accountable? And, will we be able to safeguard our privacy rights while still protecting our core public responsibilities like research and public health?

In short, will we harness these revolutions in biology, communications, and health care to breathe new life into the trust between our patients and their doctors, between our citizens and their government, between our past and our future?

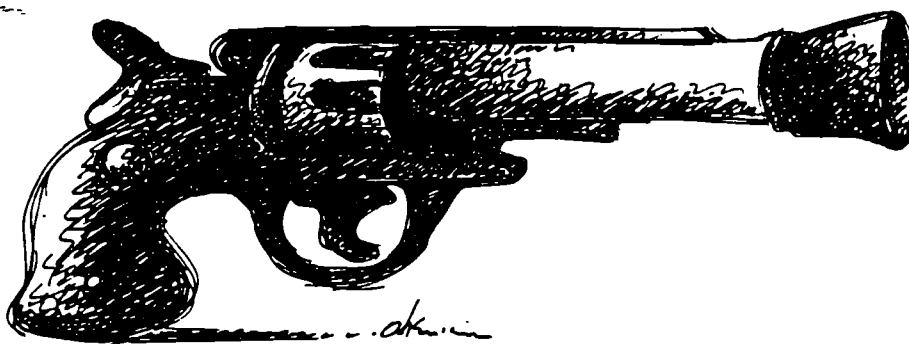
We can. We must. And, if we act today, we will.

Thank you.

Bill offers second-chance plans

THE CRIME BILL

*Is there too much detention
and not enough prevention?*



NANCY CHABNAN

By DONNA E. SHALALA

In 1992, almost 250,000 juveniles were arrested in California. Brian Duber could have been just another statistic.

By age 15, Duber had dropped out of high school, had begun using drugs and alcohol and was on a downward spiral toward a future filled with prison terms and little hope. So, the next time he got in trouble, the court gave him a choice: Spend time in the San Diego juvenile justice system or attend the Phoenix Academy, a residential high school for drug offenders and substance abusers.

He chose school — and turned his life around.

Since coming to the Academy 11 months ago, Duber has caught up on his schooling, is in the final year of studying for his high school diploma and is learning to live drug-free.

Before he entered the Phoenix Academy, no one would have even given him a second look. Now, he's got a second chance.

Programs like the Phoenix Academy are about second chances. They're about giving young people a hand up, steering them along the right path and, as President Clinton likes to say, giving them something to say "yes" to.

When the crime bill is implemented, more young people like Duber will get second chances. That's because this legislation puts in place a comprehensive strategy for our exploding crime rate and makes prevention a real part of our fight against crime.

Of course, there's no single solution to the wave of

senseless violence that has engulfed our country. It's a delicate balance — and this bill strikes it just right. This bill creates tough new penalties for federal offenders and builds additional prisons around the country — but that's not all it does.

The new police officers that the crime bill puts on the street will dramatically enhance public safety and help law enforcement officers and communities work together in innovative ways to stop crime.

The ban on military-style semiautomatic assault weapons will remove weapons of mass destruction from our communities and save the lives of people from every walk of life.

But police officers across the country tell us that good law enforcement, tough penalties and measures to curb gun violence by themselves are not enough — we also need to break the vicious cycle of crime and violence before it starts.

That's why one of the most critical parts of the crime bill's balance is its investment in prevention. The bill includes:

- The Violence Against Women Act, which includes a national hotline, rape prevention education and support for safe places that help battered women and children get out of harm's way.

- Community centers to provide young people safe havens in their neighborhoods where they can go for healthy activities and for help with their problems after school and on the weekends and during the summer.

- Drug courts that use the leverage of the court system to make sure that nonviolent drug offenders receive treatment, get off drugs and stay out of trouble.

- Community youth academies, like the Phoenix House, that give dropouts and troubled youths second

chances at an education and a future.

- And flexible funding for communities so they can choose the best crime prevention strategies to meet local needs.

Opponents of the crime bill called the prevention programs "pork," but I call them "smart." Smart because prevention is about making an investment in our children. It's about reweaving the fabric of our communities in troubled areas instead of giving up. And it's about ensuring that young people today become responsible adults tomorrow.

The crime bill is a substantial step forward, but it is not a cure-all. The fact is, government alone will never solve our crime problem. It's going to take every single citizen — especially parents, teachers, clergy, businesses, the media, community leaders, health care professionals and institutions, both public and private — locking arms to take back our streets and, child by child, adult by adult, and block by block, turn our communities around.

Crime prevention is a matter of personal responsibility. We all must help teach our children nonviolent ways to solve their problems. We all must do our part to address our friends and colleagues who are suffering from domestic violence. And we all must watch out for the safety of the people around us, whether we know them or not, and work with the police to make our communities safe and crime free.

That's critical for our country. And it's only going to happen when we crack down on crime and lift up the next generation.

Lifting them up is much tougher than writing them off, but it's far more productive. Just ask Brian Duber.

SHALALA is U.S. secretary of health and human services.

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004a. paper	re: personal (5 pages)	04/27/1996	P6/b(6)

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OA/Box Number: 15627

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2012-0872-S
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RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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Drafts done for
Mark Shields

November, 1995

REPORTER'S SOURCE BOOK INTRODUCTION

MARK SHIELDS

If there is a single premise (a premise is what some of us prefer to call our prejudices) on which my more than thirty years either working in or covering campaigns is based, it's an abiding affection for American politics and politicians. Politics--which should be nothing less than the peaceable resolution of conflict among legitimate, competing interests--is an important public occupation and it deserves to be respected. That the practice of politics is not uniformly esteemed in our nation can be mostly ascribed to the practices of politicians, in whose roguish company I have been lucky enough to spend most of the past three decades.

But we in the press need to stand up and accept some of the blame. Despite (mostly) good intentions, we've done more than our part to contribute to the growing public cynicism--earned and unearned--about our political process. And we've undoubtedly contributed to the growing unwillingness of some of the best public citizens to enter the process, or to stay in it.

Acknowledging our culpability in some of the unedifying aspects of recent campaigns, we have engaged in multiple rounds of self-flagellation that have produced some welcome changes: more coverage of campaign ads; more emphasis on issues and maybe a little less on the horse race; more attention to where the money is coming from to pay for campaigns and the winning candidates they produce; more effort to expose the conventional wisdom, if not success at escaping it.

Here are some of my personal prejudices or premises on how to cover the assorted races in 1996:

CAMPAIGNS MATTER.

It's hard to remember sometimes when campaigns get mean, trivial, bogged down or downright embarrassing, but they do count for something important.

The outcome of the 1992 campaign put the economy and health care front and center for the Clinton Administration. The Contract with America, derided by many of us until the 1994 election returns came in, has dominated the political landscape in 1995 and is likely--either positively or negatively-- to shape this year's as well.

The 1996 election will be a referendum not just on Bill Clinton's leadership, but on how far America wants to shrink the role of government to bring the budget into balance. But it's also likely to propel some other issues to the forefront for the next four years. Among the ones to watch:

entitlements (especially Medicare and welfare); immigration; affirmative action; regulation of health, safety, and the environment; job security; campaign reform; term limits. The role of U.S. troops in Bosnia should spark a healthy debate over what we believe America's role in the world to be and what price we're willing to pay for it, personally and collectively.

If no big issues or agenda-setting ideas surface in the 1996 campaign, see it as a red flag. Ronald Reagan was most successful as president in his first term when he ran on a blueprint for what he planned to accomplish: cutting the size and scope of government; cutting taxes by a third; and increasing the defense budget. His victory stood for something and gave him a mandate for the next four years. Contrast that with 1988, when the main campaign themes in George Bush's victory were pollution in Boston Harbor, Willie Horton, and the pledge of allegiance to the flag--besides a negative agenda of "no new taxes."

THE PRESIDENCY IS THE MOST PERSONAL VOTE WE CAST.

Having just said that campaigns are about issues, they're also about leadership and character, which issues often serve to illuminate. Voters have sent repeated signals they're less interested in a candidate's personal life and predilections than they are in what he stands for. They want to know whether he cares about the issues that matter most to them; whether he sticks to his convictions under pressure, and delivers on his promises.

TELEVISION AND TV SPOTS AREN'T ALL BAD.

In 1996, as in past years, you can expect many fervent indictments of television for having ruined American politics. Don't you believe it. On balance, television has made our presidential campaigns more honest and our candidates more accountable. No longer can a candidate say one thing in Birmingham, Michigan and safely say something different in Birmingham, Alabama. Television can expose trimming and position-altering far more devastatingly than any other medium.

I will also defend television commercials by candidates where the message is right there on channel 4 or 44 to be seen by everyone, including the opposition. That's not the way it is, for example, with direct mail, where the candidate can write me as a white, Irish, Catholic, middle aged homeowner with a family and a mortgage and never speak to the neighbors with a different demographic profile on either side of me.

We need to cover TV commercials fully and critically, for what they tell us, both good and bad, about the candidates and the themes that are catching on. Voters may not like political advertising, but they respond to it. We

perform a valuable service in alerting the people to distortions and untruths in both negative ads and positive ones (which are just as prone to mislead). We can also expose direct mail to the light of day so the message reaches not only the intended narrow target audience to whom it's tailored, but the broader public, which may be less receptive.

MONEY COUNTS MORE THAN EVER in 1996.

As the candidates, who are spending far more time fundraising than campaigning, are painfully aware, money will play a bigger--and probably more pernicious role than ever in 1996. The frontloaded primaries have meant that candidates have to amass huge treasuries to be ready to capitalize on early victories or survive early defeats. Fundraising obstacles have already forced some promising candidates to forgo the race (and others will follow).

The press has an opportunity--and, I think, an obligation-- to make sure the public knows who's buying access to the candidates they're voting for at every level. We need to do all we can to draw attention to the so-called "soft" money--where it's coming from and where it's going. That's the trove of unregulated contributions from corporations, unions, and individuals that aren't given directly to candidates so they can circumvent the \$1000 limit in federal elections.

THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES HAVE A LOT MORE AT STAKE IN 1996 THAN WHO WINS THE WHITE HOUSE

The intense appeal of General Colin Powell and the apparently enduring influence of Ross Perot suggest that both major parties may find voters in an independent frame of mind this year that could make 1996 a harbinger of upheavals to come for Democrats and Republicans in 1998 and beyond.

Some of the most interesting questions 1996 may answer for the parties:

- Will the GOP consolidate and extend the sway over the formerly solidly Democratic South that it achieved at all levels in 1994?
- Can Democrats succeed in using Speaker Newt Gingrich as a target to nationalize state elections as they did with some success in 1995-- and as the Republicans used Clinton in 1994?
- Will the House GOP freshmen class fall victim either to the same anti-incumbent sentiment that brought them in or to doubts about the revolution they fueled and personified?
- Will the public's habitual reliance on divided government to curb the excesses of both parties return this year? Does

that mean Bill Clinton benefits from a desire to provide a check on Congress at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue? Or is Bob Dole helped by the lingering perception he's got moderate tendencies despite all efforts to prove otherwise? --Will Pat Robertson prove prophetic that the Christian Right would have "working control" of the Republican Party by 1996? And how will it affect the party's fortunes at the presidential, Congressional, state, and local levels? --Have values displaced economic concerns as the dominant voting issues? --Do people care as much about balancing the budget as they profess to in the polls when it comes down to cutting specific programs that affect their lives? --Will Americans split decisively along generational lines or gender lines in 1996 as they have in some elections in the past?

OPTIMISM IS A DEFINING AMERICAN TRAIT.

Traditionally, the party and the candidates that have been able to capture and convey a sense of optimism about America's future have been successful at the polls. In 1992, Clinton was far better at projecting an image of change and giving voters reason for optimism. In 1980, the optimistic voice was Ronald Reagan's, and in 1994 it was Congressional Republicans'.

In 1996, growing numbers of Americans seriously question whether they and the nation they love have reason for optimism about the future. They see their jobs and benefits disappearing and their wages slipping behind. They see family life eroding and juvenile crime on the rise. The party and the candidates who project a sense of confidence and offer a believable, understandable roadmap to a better future will have the upper hand.

Running for president, for Congress, and for offices at the state and local levels is strictly a voluntary activity on the part of those who do so. It's also the bold act of a strong ego. Few captains of industry, academe, or journalism would be willing to expose their egos or themselves to the scrutiny, the indifference, and the heartbreak of a campaign where most everyone the candidate ever double-dated with knows the morning after the election whether their old friend is among the many who lose or the few who win. For that alone, we owe them the tribute of coverage that is full, accurate, fair-- and respectful of the difficulty and the importance of the political work they seek to do.

Draft of a Shields Column

Mark Shields' Column May 1, 1997
Misusing the Race Card

When the court-martial jury's verdict in the rape trial of Army drill Sergeant Delmar G. Simpson was announced, local NAACP official Janice Grant called it "an attack on the leadership of the African-American male." Congresswoman Maxine Waters (D-CA) said the investigation raises concern "because of the history in this country of black men having lost their lives because of charges of rape."

By injecting race into the investigation of the terrible events at Aberdeen Proving Ground, these and other black leaders ignore one central fact: the Army, in the view of both blacks and whites who serve in it, is the most successfully integrated institution in American life. What happened at Aberdeen was not about race; it was about power. The jury's verdict reflects its belief that the unique power a drill sergeant holds over enlistees under his command means that consensual sex can constitute rape if the women were afraid to say no. The verdict is open to debate. But the situation is made worse, not better, by innuendoes the Army is targeting black officers by prosecuting aggressively those charged, whether their accusers are black or white.

The country's leading military sociologist, Charles C. Moskos of Northwestern University, has recently come out with a book with John Sibley Butler of the University of Texas on affirmative action in the Army entitled "All that We can Be." While acknowledging that racism and ignorance

exist in the military as elsewhere in American society, they maintain the Army comes closer than any other institution to the ideal of providing opportunity to all and rewarding performance. And they point to a dozen key lessons higher education and other organizations can learn from the Army's approach.

As former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and retired Army four star general Colin Powell points out often, the Army is one of the few places where whites regularly report to blacks who outrank them. Blacks now make up 27% of the military. Nearly 12% of the Army's officers are black. At Aberdeen, almost half the drill sergeants are black. Army secretary Togo West is the second African-American to have the job.

It's sadly predictable that some, though not all, black leaders would seek and find a racial dimension to the crisis of confidence facing the Army over the events at Aberdeen and elsewhere. Charlie Moskos pointed out in an earlier article in the Atlantic Monthly that relations between black organizations and blacks in the military have always been uncomfortable. Black organizations don't trumpet the achievements of black in the services. One senior black officer told Moskos: "It galls them that of all the institutions, it is the Army that is really making a go of integration." Moskos has outlined some of the reasons for the tensions: 1) Blacks in the military have chosen to pay their dues in the white system, not the black one and,

therefore, feel less affinity to black organizations. 2) Black leaders outside the military don't generally believe most of America's foreign policy goals are relevant to blacks and don't back high defense spending; black officers' support for these goals put them at odds with civilian black leadership.

Moskos explains one of the main reasons blacks see the Army as such an appealing option: there are enough other blacks to give both social ease and professional support. And there are also enough non-blacks so the Army isn't perceived as a "black" institution. Blacks who complete their tour of duty have served with and competed successfully with whites.

Moskos and Butler make a crucial point in "All that YOU Can Be:": "Race Relations can best be transformed by an absolute commitment to nondiscrimination, coupled with uncompromising standards of performance." All Americans, white and black, should want to see the reprehensible conduct of Delbert Simpson and others punished, and the Army examine and confront the culture and that lets it happen. The Army owes its volunteer recruits and the American people the most fair and rigorous investigation possible of the charges made by women at Aberdeen. Protecting vulnerable enlistees from shameful misuse of authority won't be accomplished by a diversionary sideshow alleging racial bias. The tragedy at Aberdeen isn't about sex, gender, or race. It's about the abuse of power.

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SPEECH FOR MARGARET WILLIAMS

drafted by Christy Macy

Good morning. My name is Margaret Williams, and I'm executive director of Friends of the Family. But before I tell you what we do, and who we serve, I want to talk to you about why we're needed, and why Friends of the Family can play such a pivotal -- and positive -- role in Maryland's future.

President Clinton has often said that "When families thrive, communities flourish, and our nation reaps the benefits." I heartily agree. I also believe there's no mystery about what makes families thrive: it takes quality and affordable housing; good nutrition; quality health care; good schools; and effective pre-school programs like Head Start. We also know how important it is for children to grow up in a family where parents are loving, supportive, educated and productive; and in a community where there's a network of family and community support.

But unfortunately, there are far too many children and families across the nation who do not live under these conditions; who do not have these opportunities; and who cannot get the services they need to be successful.

And here in Maryland, the number of those at risk families has been growing. By the mid 80s, Maryland's mortality and teen pregnancy rates were among the highest in the nation, and child abuse and foster care placements were increasing at an alarming pace. The "family" was in crisis. And today -- even with major new initiatives to support families and revitalize communities -- that crisis continues.

According to the 1996 "Kids Count," the Annie E. Casey Foundation's annual report on the wellbeing of children around the nation, Maryland is failing -- in some cases quite dramatically -- to meet the needs of its families. While the state's median income of families with children is above the national average, Maryland ranked near the bottom for major indicators of family health and stability -- 43rd nationally in low birth weight babies, 42nd in infant mortality rate, and 47th in juvenile violent crime arrest rates.

And the report's indicators show we're not only doing badly -- we're losing ground. Maryland was worse off in 1993 than it was in 1985 in areas like the rate of low birth weight babies, teenage violent deaths, teen births, percent of children living in poverty, and percent of families with children headed by single parents.

But if all I talked about today was the trouble we're in, and the problems not solved, then this would be a dreary talk indeed -- and we might as well give up before we start. And that is definitely not my purpose here this morning.

Yes, the challenge to improve the lives of at-risk children and families is daunting, but there's growing reason for optimism. First of all, we are beginning to provide the kinds of services across Maryland that are filling in the gaps in the continuum of care needed to build stronger families and children. The most effective services are those that are community-based; aimed at strengthening the entire family; and that place a strong emphasis on intervening during the crucial early years of parenting and childhood.

Second, our knowledge about those early years -- particularly ages 0-3 -- is exploding. Revolutionary research in the field of neurology, in particular, is shedding new light on how a child's brain develops, and what that child needs to grow and thrive. I will be talking about some of those scientific breakthroughs in more depth in a few moments.

And finally, this growing area of knowledge and scientific research provides important guideposts for how we, as parents, community advocates, policy makers and business leaders, can better serve our at-risk children and families. Today, I hope to persuade you that a major investment in a child's early years is not only justified but critical to the future of this community and this nation. And that Friends of the Family -- and its network of support centers for children and parents -- is exceptionally well suited to carrying out that mission here in Maryland.

To lay the groundwork for my argument, I want to spend a few minutes describing some of the new scientific research that has come to light over the past few years that deals with the early development of a child -- and more specifically, the evolution of a baby's brain. Since I'm no scientist myself, I will try to explain it in a way I hope we can all understand.

In some ways, the stunning developments of the past few years, particularly in the area of neuroscience, confirm what we've always known. As parents and care givers, we instinctively knew that hugging babies, talking to them, and playing with them, was a good thing to do. Doctors and scientists had also recognized, mostly anecdotally, that early nurturing or early trauma effected the development of a child. Now, thanks to powerful new tools of technology, we finally have scientific proof that confirms the importance of those early years in the development of the brain, and in the formation of the child.

As Dr. Bruce Perry of Baylor College of Medicine in Houston puts it, "Experience is the chief architect of the brain." Babies don't come into the world genetically pre-programmed. They're not blank slates. The brain, in fact, starts developing in the 3rd week of gestation, and continues its major spurt of development during the first few years of life. During that time, genes and the

environment interact, in a way that's been described by one noted psychiatrist as "not so much a competition as a dance."

What is much clearer now, thanks to these scientific breakthroughs, is the extent to which electrical activity -- or stimulation -- of the brain cells actually changes the physical structure of the brain. We can now literally see -- in colorful images -- which areas of the brain develop and which don't, depending in large part on the early experience of that baby, and the raising of that child.

Let me explain. Even before a baby is born, the development of its brain is affected by changes in the environmental womb -- whether caused by a mother's malnutrition, drug abuse, or viral infection. Some forms of epilepsy and mental retardation, for example, appear to be the results of changes during this early pre-natal formation period -- the natural process gone haywire.

By the time a baby is born, its brain contains about 100 billion neurones -- or as many brain cells as there are stars in the Milky Way. In fact, the brain already contains virtually all the nerve cells it will ever have. But it is also producing at an extraordinary rate trillions more connections -- or synapses -- than it can ever use.

This means that the pattern of wiring between the cells has not yet stabilized, so there's extraordinary flexibility in how it all gets put together. At these early stages of life, the brain can wire, and rewire, given the stimulation it receives. In other words, the way a child is held, or talked to, or neglected determines in large part which connections are made, and which are eliminated.

Here's where the "use it or lose it" rule comes in. When a baby gazes intently on a face, for example, or listens to a lullaby, tiny bursts of electricity shoot through the brain, knitting neurons into circuits. Repeated experience strengthens those positive connections. And just like memory, synapses that are not used, wither away. And when the brain doesn't receive the right information, or shuts it out, the result can be devastating.

Studies show, for example, that children who have been severely neglected have certain areas in their brains that are 20-30% smaller than in nurtured children. And those are areas that affect both intelligence and emotional health. If you don't get touched and held early in life, then that part of the brain is not organized in the same way as a nurtured child. It literally looks differently. Also, the connection between the right and left hemisphere of the brain -- what's called the information super highway -- is smaller in abused kids than in non abused ones.

But we should also remember that the brain's extraordinary flexibility in the way it develops during the first few years of life also enables it to be resilient to trauma. Research shows, for example, that children who suffer strokes or injuries that wipe out an entire hemisphere in their brains can still mature into highly functional adults. And that well designed pre-school programs can help many children overcome major inadequacies in their home environment. But it's clearly more difficult, and certainly more costly, to reverse the consequences of an abused or neglected childhood.

Trauma and abuse also disrupt the brain's stress response system. When something traumatic happens, the brain responds by elevating certain kinds of stress hormones that wash over the tender brain and burn it like acid. When high levels of stress hormones are released during the first three years particularly, the brain becomes wired to be on hair-trigger alert. The slightest stress unleashes a new surge of stress hormones -- which can lead to impulsive, often uncontrollable behavior.

New scientific studies are also showing more clearly how the relationship between parent and child affects the success rate of both. Children whose fathers help to care for them, for example, are less likely to become violent, and more likely to have higher IQs. And according to recent studies at the UCLA School of Medicine, men living in urban areas who are involved in caring for their children -- particularly in the first three years -- are less likely to join gangs, or commit violent crimes. Involved fathers, according to research, are also less likely to sexually abuse their children.

A final point. Obviously not every abused or neglected child ends up as a child molester or an ax murderer. And not every individual who has suffered birth trauma or brain damage is incapable of leading a healthy, productive life. But when you combine abuse with other vulnerabilities like physical brain damage or head injuries, the statistics for crime and violence jump dramatically.

The point I want to make is really quite simple. Today's cutting edge science confirms that young children need lots of time and attention from significant adults in their lives. And when children are damaged or abused, their brain development clearly reflects that reality. So while there are many social and economic factors at play in a child's development, the interaction between parents or caregivers and the child is a powerful force in determining whether that child grows up to be successful, fearful, loving, or violent.

The question then becomes: how can we ensure that more children and families receive the positive reinforcement and

support they need to be successful and productive members of society? And how can we create a sense of urgency about solving this crisis? Dr. T. Berry Brazelton, a renowned child expert warns "We are already paying a terrible price for our nation's inattention to the increasing stresses on children and families."

Much has been written recently on this "terrible price" we are paying, and what to do about it. In 1994, for example, the Carnegie Corporation of New York published "Starting Points: Meeting the Needs of Our Youngest Children." This landmark study describes what it calls the "quiet crisis" in America's families -- including the soaring teenage birth rates, the growing number of children living in poverty, the increase in infants and toddlers spending less time with their parents, and the fact that one in three victims of physical abuse is a baby.

Carnegie also documents some of the costs of our societal neglect. Those costs include the more than \$120 billion estimated to be spent in public outlays between 1985 and 1990 related to teenage childbearing. More than \$48 billion could have been saved if the mother had postponed these births until she was 20 or older. Another cost: initial hospital care for each low-birthweight infant averages \$20,000, with total lifetime medical costs estimated at an average of \$400,000. The broader economic and social costs -- including crime, violence, drug abuse, and generations of dependency -- are more difficult to compute.

What are the strategies to reverse this crisis? Again, the Carnegie's task force provides leadership in this area. They developed four key areas that this nation must undertake -- starting points to build strong families and healthy children. And I agree with their priorities. They are: to promote opportunities for responsible parenthood; guarantee quality child care choices for children under three; ensure good health and protection for infants and toddlers; and mobilize communities to support young children and their families.

Today, here in Maryland, Friends of the Family plays a crucial role in this mission to improve the outcomes for families and children. We don't claim to do everything. Improving and expanding child care, and developing pre-school programs that help get children ready to learn, are at already viewed as significant needs in the community, and already receive at least some public and private funding.

But there's a costly void of services in the area of parenting and family support -- particularly during those first three years of a child's life. And there's not enough public understanding of the problems -- or sufficient community mobilization to resolve them. And those are the gaps that Friends of the Family is committed to filling.

I want to give you a brief overview of the Friends of the Family, what we've accomplished since we began in 1985, and how we focus our attention and resources on those particularly formative years of a child's life between birth and three years of age.

Friends of the Family is a statewide non profit organization, which provides funding, technical assistance, and evaluation to a network of 27 family support centers across Maryland. We're funded by a combination of federal, state and local public funds, as well as crucial support from the private sector. In addition to coordinating these support centers around the state, Friends of the Family also trains hundreds of professionals and paraprofessionals in various aspects of family and infant development, and serves as a powerful advocate for children and families -- in community meetings, in the halls of government, and in the corporate boardrooms.

Our work is guided by the philosophy that the best way to provide for infants and toddlers is through their parents. And our goal is to reach adolescent parents and others before they are in crisis, and give them the parental and life skills to raise healthy children, and lead productive, self sufficient lives. Our target audience: Maryland's most vulnerable families, particularly young, poor, and undereducated parents with children ages 0-3 years.

Since our goals are comprehensive -- helping young parents provide a stimulating, stable, responsive, and loving environment for their children, and ensuring fewer of them have more babies -- our services are comprehensive as well. We provide formal and informal parenting education, ongoing child development assessment, education and job skill development, health education (both on site at the centers and at home); and social and emotional support. We also focus heavily on pregnancy prevention.

Through a creative mix of public and private funding, some centers have expanded the scope of their services to include substance abuse prevention, programs to get fathers involved, homework clubs for pre-teens and teens, and support groups for grandparents, foster parents, and others involved in raising children.

Friends of the Family believes that all families need support at some time in their young lives, and that that support should be easily accessible in the community. Our family support centers offer flexible drop in services as well as structured classes, and are housed in schools, storefronts, and community centers, close to those who need them. We also want to strengthen a local community's capacity to help families. So the centers are operated as public/private partnerships, through grants to local public and private non-profit agencies. And we want to build on the strengths of those families and communities, so our model is one of

empowerment, with participants treated as equal partners, not clients or cases.

We do more than say we want to be open to change and improvement. We ensure we remain responsive to the needs of the community by involving parents, sponsoring agencies, staff and members of the community in designing and implementing each program.

As business and civic leaders, most of you probably have a healthy skepticism about most do-good social programs. They mean well, but are they effective? Are they efficient? I believe that Friends of the Family is both.

To prove my point, I want to tell you what we accomplished last year. We served over 6,000 parents, young children, and non parent participants. But more importantly, we changed how they cared for their children, and how they cared for themselves. About 88% of those who visited our family support centers reported their child's immunizations were up to date, compared with 56% for all young children in Maryland. Over 1550 participants received employment readiness preparation. Almost 80% of our teens who are not high school graduates are currently enrolled in school or GED classes. And -- very significant -- only 2.12% of the women who visited family support centers declared a pregnancy during their time of participation.

So yes, we are outcomes oriented, and we can show how we meet our goals. We're also proud of our commitment to quality control. I'd like to think we're big hearted but tight fisted. Since Friends of the Family acts as an intermediary, we have the flexibility to close centers that aren't working. People vote with their feet, so it's no mystery to figure out which centers are meeting the needs of the community. We also make sure that the centers that are being effective are using their resources efficiently. As proof: 97% of the private and public funds collected by Friends of the Family go to participant services. The cost: less than \$1,000 per participant for one year of intensive services.

Ironically, Friends of the Family may be better recognized for its achievements at the national level than right here in Maryland. In 1991, Friends of the Family was awarded the most prestigious honor in the nation for community service programs, the Innovations in State and Local Government Award. Bestowed by the Ford Foundation and the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, the award recognizes "Ten Shining Examples of Government at its Best." We were chosen from over 1900 applicants.

Friends of the Family was also highlighted in the 1994 Carnegie report "Starting Points" that I've already discussed. We were named as a model of how states and communities can support parenting education, particularly for young teen mothers. I also

think it's significant that our expertise is sought out by service providers and child advocates from states across the country -- as well as from countries around the world. They recognize that our focus on the early years of childhood; our commitment to being community-based; and our watchful eye on the bottom line -- makes Friends of the Family a model for communities everywhere.

I'd like to conclude my remarks by talking about the risks this nation and this state faces if we don't make a major investment in the first three years of a child's life. We now have the knowledge -- and the scientific facts -- that show how infants and children thrive when they grow up in healthy and supportive families, and how they are at great risk for failure when they don't. The answer to how to ensure healthy children and good parents is -- I hesitate to say it -- a no brainer. We must provide comprehensive, community-based support services that help parents be better parents, and help our youngest citizens grow up healthy, safe, and ready to learn.

This vast new body of knowledge -- not only about the development of the brain but also about the crucial role of parenting -- has major implications for how parents raise their children. But it's just as relevant to day care workers, teachers, doctors and nurses, police officers, television producers, business leaders and government policy makers. In other words, it affects the priorities for all of us.

If we don't make a serious commitment to those early years now, we will continue to face the consequences. And those consequences of inaction are all too apparent in Maryland today. We see them in our low test scores and high crime and drug abuse rates. We see them in our pockets of unemployment and unrest, and in the growing number of unprepared teenage mothers. The deeper legacy of early neglect and abuse permeates our lives in different ways -- like the ongoing presence of incompetence, ignorance, violence, and hatred in our communities.

The alternative to this scenario --- and the one that I obviously hope will prevail in Maryland -- was articulated by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton at a recent White House conference on childhood and brain development. "If we, as a nation, commit ourselves now to modest investments in the sound development of our children, including especially our very youngest children, we will lay the groundwork for an American future with increased prosperity, better health, fewer social ills, and ever greater opportunities for our youngest citizens to lead fulfilling lives in the next century." I couldn't say it better myself.

Thank you.