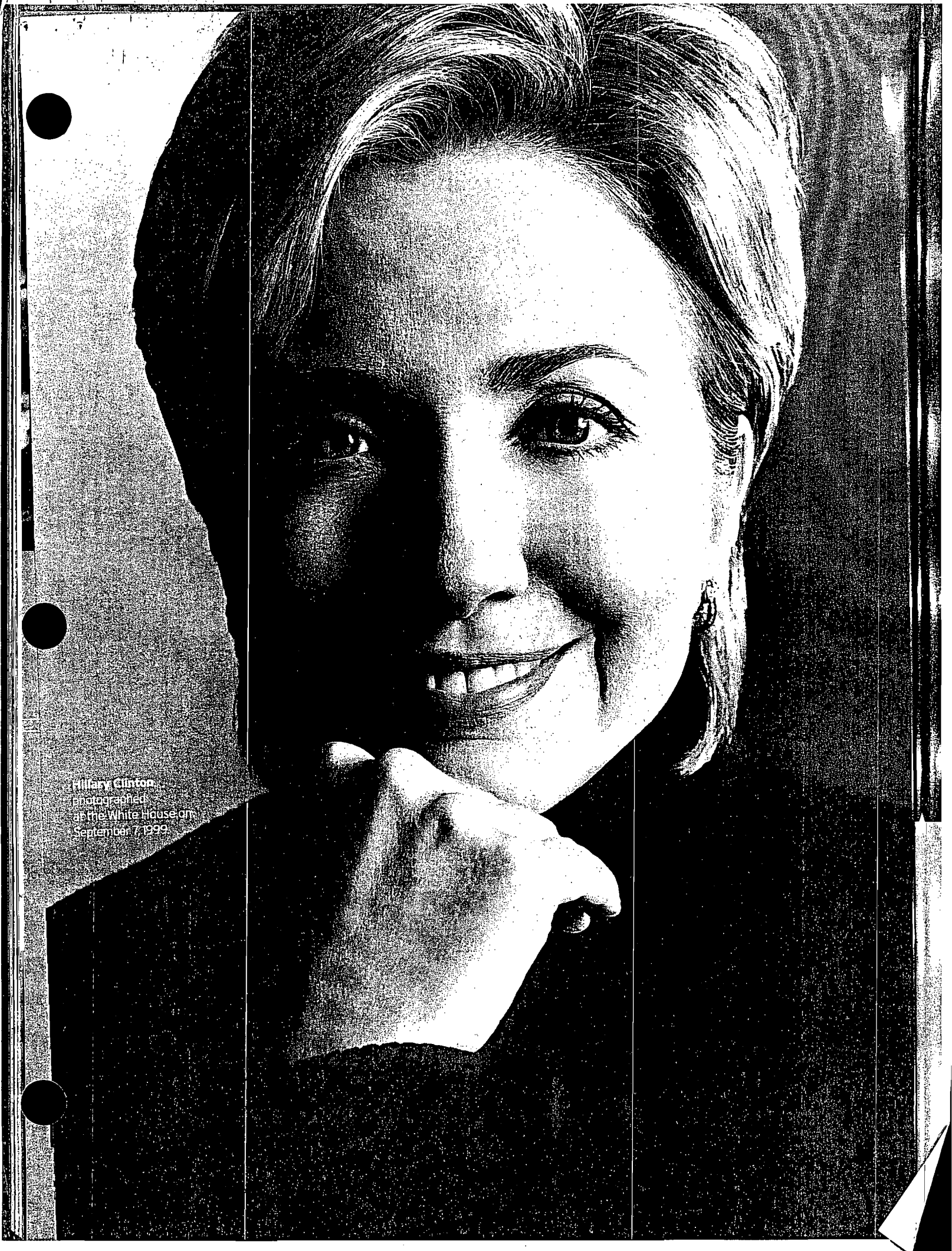




Hillary Clinton
photographed
at the White House on
September 7, 1999.

After the crushing defeat of Hillary Clinton's health care reform bill in 1994, few expected the first lady to play a prominent role in Washington. While the press and her Republican enemies moved on to other targets, Hillary lowered her profile and used subtler channels to wield power within the White House and on Capitol Hill. Running for Senate just makes it official.

*By Carl Sferrazza Anthony
Portraits by Michael Thompson*

hillary's hidden power

GEORGE
NOVEMBER 99

On November 29, 1994, three weeks after the Republican party seized control of Congress for the first time in 40 years, Hillary Rodham Clinton addressed a symposium on the role of first ladies. In the gold-encrusted ballroom of Washington's Mayflower Hotel, a hushed audience had gathered expecting to hear Hillary ooze contrition—the congressional defeat of her ambitious agenda for health care reforms and the Republicans' massive victory had become synonymous in the public's imagination.

But when a poised and confident Hillary began to speak, it was obvious that the first lady had no intention of offering the expected mea culpas. She would continue to be active in public life, she declared. If she did otherwise, she added, "my husband and friends would probably have me committed. I, for better or worse, have spoken out on public issues for 25 years. Some kind of first lady amnesia would not have been very credible."

Such conviction was not isolated to large gatherings in front of television cameras. At a White House dinner a few weeks later, Hillary was in a similarly feisty mood, telling a guest, "Listen, I'm a big girl. I can take the hits. I don't mind a real debate on issues."

Yet, of course, things would change after November 1994. And in the months that followed, even the stubborn Hillary had to recognize that all the criticism and vitriol was not really about her health care plan—it was about Hillary herself. The role she had assumed as the engine of reform had sparked a national debate on the power she wielded within the White House. Her harshest enemies—the Hillary-hating crowd of newly elected Republicans on Capitol Hill—were determined to cast her as the most Machiavellian presidential spouse since Edith Wilson took control of the presidency of her infirm husband, Woodrow Wilson, in 1919. To them, she was Lady Clinton, whispering in the ear of her vacillating husband as the couple lay down to sleep at night, ignoring her husband's infidelities because she was more interested in acquiring power for herself.

In the face of such adversity, Hillary recognized that she would have to adapt. She could hold her head high at functions and deliver hollow bromides about issues, but that wasn't why she had come to Washington. If she was going to get anything done, she would have to change the way she was doing it, to make sure that the controversy surrounding her persona would not doom the changes she wanted to make. As Hillary says today, "This was the time of the most intense attacks from Congress—so it was not likely that I was going to testify on anything then." No longer could she act as a sort of unofficial cabinet member, empowered by her husband to take on the administration's biggest challenges. Instead, she would master the behind-the-scenes levers of power, building relationships with the White House staff, cabinet agencies—particularly female cabinet members—and trustworthy friends on Capitol Hill.

Flush with their victories over Hillary and congressional Democrats, the Republicans failed to realize just how successful she would become in this evolution. The inside-the-Beltway media—unable to get close to Hillary and bored by the serious issues she was working on—never paid her doings much attention either. "She has been floundering around in the last couple of years to

try to find some project for herself," Washington social doyenne Sally Quinn said on *Meet the Press* in February 1998. "The real problem for Hillary is her record," *Newsweek* pundit Jonathan Alter wrote in March 1999, assessing her Senate campaign. "She doesn't have one."

Yet by appearing more like a traditional first lady and removing herself from the glare of the media, a former staff member says, "she could get things done." Since 1994, Hillary has accomplished more than many—perhaps most—members of Congress, particularly in the areas of child care, human rights, and health care. But so adeptly has she disguised her influence in Washington that as she prepares to run for Daniel Patrick Moynihan's New York Senate seat next year, there has been no sustained review of exactly what Hillary Clinton has achieved in the White House.

"I think one of the reasons there hasn't been much coverage of what I've done is that there hasn't been one theme to my work," she explains. "It would take a certain amount of effort to follow what I've done, and that's just never been part of political reporting. But in terms of how I spent my days and what I did, I thought that it was pretty much a continuation of what I have always done, working on the same kind of issues, trying to raise them, trying to be strategic in thinking about how to be effective in promoting them, looking for allies. And I resist labeling myself because it's so limiting. I'm realistic, I'm pragmatic, I'm optimistic, and I think I'm patriotic."

Hillary's beliefs and her commitment to them haven't changed since 1994. But her tactics have. And unlike her plan to reform health care, they have succeeded.

The solarium on the third floor of the White House has long been the most private preserve of America's first families. Here in the glass-windowed parlor, Mamie Eisenhower played bridge and Caroline Kennedy had kindergarten classes. There's a terrace surrounding it, where President Eisenhower liked to grill steaks and where Hillary grows her own tomatoes. Cut off from public view, the solarium is decorated with comfortable furniture and political memorabilia, and is the Clintons' favored spot for intimate dinners, birthdays, family gatherings, and games—cards, Boggle, Scrabble. There are cushy, periwinkle-blue sofas and chintz-covered chairs. Scattered about are a rocking chair, homey throw blankets—including one that features an image of Buddy, the president's Labrador—a green-marble-topped coffee table, and another table crowded with Russian nesting dolls featuring the president, Hillary, and Chelsea. Apparently for visiting children, the Clintons have a collection of Beanie Babies, including a husky dog and a bald eagle.

This is where Hillary, wearing a canary-yellow pantsuit and perfect makeup, greets me for the first of two recent interviews in which she agreed to discuss her role in the White House. "We feel very comfortable and extremely well provided for here," she says. But sometimes she has to escape: She sneaks out for occasional walks along the Mall with a single Secret Service agent; and now that Chelsea is in college, she and the president retreat to Camp David more often. When their daughter was in high school, they liked to spend weekends in

town because Chelsea wanted time with her friends.

After the health care debacle in 1994, one of Hillary's challenges was distinguishing her work from her husband's. Her enemies have long maintained that what makes the first lady powerful is the authority she exerts over Bill Clinton, either from intellectual domination or some sort of crass sexual quid pro quo. That misogynistic canard misses the reality of a give-and-take between intellectual partners. The Clintons are so mutually reliant upon each other's political thinking that it is impossible to say where one's ideas stop and the other's begin. It is "very hard to dissect" her influence on the president, Hillary says. "We talk about everything, and have for as long as we've known each other... particularly on issues where we share a common commitment," such as welfare and education. They have their disagreements—for example, Hillary was unhappy with some of the provisions of Clinton's 1993 welfare bill. "I supported the bill," she says, "but I was very concerned about specifics." To fully support Clinton's legislation, Hillary insisted on a continuation of federally supported child care and Medicaid programs. "For her, those two components were absolutely essential to any kind of reform," says Melanne Verveer, the first lady's chief of staff. "Hillary made her views very clear."

When it comes to more formal discussions of policy, Hillary recognizes she is just one source of ideas. "Bill is someone who solicits opinions and advice from a broad range of people," she says. "And I'm one of those people. But depending upon the issue, I could be one of two or one of 100. It's just the way he makes decisions. All you can do is say, 'This is a really important issue, I'm hearing a lot about it, here's what I think about it, and I wish you would take that into consideration.' My perspective might not be as informed as someone else's. So I would not want a president who listened only to one person. It would be a very dangerous situation for the country."

Only if she "thinks it's really important or gets new information" will Hillary persist with her opinion on an issue. "A lot of times, I'll mention it once and that's it," she says. When pressed on issues that she and her husband have disagreed on, she demurs. "Well, you know, I just wouldn't talk about those things." She's starting to talk about them more, but it isn't easy: Hillary's recent criticism of the president's recommendation of clemency for jailed Puerto Rican terrorists was a political fiasco that infuriated Hispanic leaders in New York.

Another reason it's hard for Hillary to talk about policy is that she doesn't believe the press is truly interested. The day after she attended the premiere of *Shakespeare in Love* in December 1998, Hillary delivered a two-hour speech on international violations of children's rights. Her remarks received no coverage and were studiously ignored by the *New York Times'* Maureen Dowd, who devoted a Sunday column to the exploits of "Hollywood Hillary"—the first lady who had attended a movie opening. "There was a time when there were large and real ac-

From top: **Hillary** on her listening tour of New York in September; key advisers (from left) **Jacob Lew**, head of the White House's Office of Management and Budget, **James Wolfensohn**, World Bank president, and **Melanne Verveer**, Hillary's chief of staff; **Hillary** with President **Jerry Rawlings** of Ghana, in 1998.

When Hillary
was 15, she wanted to be an
astronaut
but her mother hoped she would
be the first woman
to serve on the
Supreme Court





how bobby did it

Like Hillary Clinton, Robert F. Kennedy was called a carpetbagger when he ran for Senate from New York in 1964. Here's how he shed that label and won the race—and what lessons his campaign may hold for the first lady. *By Michael Knox Beran*

Robert F. Kennedy addresses a large crowd during the New York election in August 1964.

He didn't really want the job. That's what made his campaign so different from what hers will be. Bobby Kennedy's universe had been blown apart the November before he announced his intention to run. He was still coming to terms with the world that rifle fire in Dallas had brought into being when, in the summer of 1964, he made up his mind to seek a Senate seat from New York. He owed it, he believed, to his brother's memory and to his family's traditions; he saw no other way to remain true to both. On a July weekend in Hyannisport, Massachusetts—four months before Election Day—Bobby huddled with Arthur Schlesinger, Averell Harriman, and an old school chum, Dave Hackett, and decided that he would make the race. He qualified his decision only by insisting that Robert Wagner, New York City's mayor and the most prominent Democratic politician in the state, be persuaded to endorse him first. When Wagner endorsed him, the race was on.

His diffident body language revealed the extent of his ambivalence. He half shrank from the new world that Dallas had made for him, half shrank from the klieg lights, the crowds, the cameras. The outward festivities of a campaign were too weirdly incommensurate with his own interior grief. On the day the Warren Report was released, he couldn't bring himself to campaign. He secluded himself in the darkness to mourn alone. How different his almost undesired race was from Hillary Clinton's liberating quest. She runs, in part, to escape the shadow of a presidential husband. Throughout his campaign, Bobby mourned the absence of a presidential brother and dwelled constantly on the memory of a time when he had lived contentedly in the shade.

The term *carpetbagger* doesn't quite capture the problem. Bobby faced 35 years ago, or the one Hillary Clinton confronts today. He wasn't the only senatorial hopeful in New York's history to have hailed from another state. One of New York's first senators, Rufus King, had originally been a Massachusetts man. Since Bobby's time, two other out-of-staters have managed to capture his seat. James L. Buckley (William F.'s brother) was a Connecticut resident before he assumed the seat that Bobby held. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Buckley's successor in the Senate, was a Massachusetts resident before he ran for the seat in 1976. Few people cared. The animosity that a candidacy like

Bobby's or Hillary's provokes has as much to do with power as with carpetbagging. What kind of power could the gains become the critics ask, when an influential citizen had to devote too dispose of a Senate seat with the same means and nerve with which an eighteenth-century warlord defended a border borough? Power corrupts, the cynicist argues, and the dynastic power of a family like the Kennedys corrupts to a lesser extent the Clintons, even when they are the best of the civic faith.

In 1964, the *New York Times* took issue with the candidate of the civic faith. The paper's editorial board was condemning the "Kennedy blitzkrieg" and posing many of the same arguments that are today being leveled at Hillary's presidential run. Was New York "so densely packed with political and campaign material," the *Times* asked, that it had to import a candidate obviously nonresident that he might stand in the way of a better delegate to the Democratic National Convention? Bobby's wife, Hillary, was able to counter his critics by pointing to the years of childhood spent in New York. But he never did so. Instead, he said, on where he had come to regard as the highest levels—his service in Washington, the knowledge of national problems it had given him, the methods of problem solving it had taught him—was his greatest asset. On the late August day on which he officially introduced his candidacy, Bobby, standing in front of Grace Church in Manhattan, argued that New York was not separate from the nation. "Because he understood the national problems," he explained, he automatically understood New York's problems too. Unabashed, Kennedy was in effect saying that he was the candidate, national problem solver, too valuable a national political commodity—not to be given preference by the voters of New York. Presumptuous, perhaps, but at the same time incredibly candid and a good deal more compelling than the well-trodden rhetoric of public service. The "boy of the press" romances that he and his older brother had shared were such national statesmen as Franklin Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman. Convinced or not, Bobby's strategy worked. Citizens had in the past relied on the ambition of families like the Astors and the Kennedys, and in 1964 New York voters were similarly willing to provide

Bobby Kennedy for his family's latest act of dynastic audacity. Where power carpetbagging is concerned, Hillary can take comfort in the example of Bobby's campaign.

He came late to the race; she comes early. She has not evinced the slightest interest in any other office; he had been tempted by the vice presidency and had looked seriously at the New York race only after Lyndon Johnson refused to make him his running mate. She has the luxury of large stretches of time in which to attend to the details; he had to scramble. In his rush to find a house in New York, Bobby ended up taking a 25-room Dutch Colonial in Glen Cove, Long Island, that he didn't really like and only rarely used. (As senator, he spent far more time in an apartment he found in Manhattan's United Nations Plaza.) Hillary and the president, on the other hand, looked at houses in a half dozen Westchester County towns before settling on an 11-room Dutch Colonial in Chappaqua.

Questions of timing ended up mattering in Bobby's campaign. They may matter no less in Hillary's. A famous person who decides to make a controversial race can count on two things to shape the way his or her candidacy is received: the power of celebrity—star power, the ability to draw a crowd—and the reality of a past, the record of a life, the thousand little things—words, deeds, sheer idle gossip—that collectively add up to a reputation. Very often famous candidates' reputations will offset the benefits they derive from their celebrity, and at no time will their reputation be more dangerous than at the moment that the effect of celebrity begins to wear off, as it inevitably will when it is subjected to the pressures of a campaign. What famous candidates learn to dread most is that the dazzling glow, which made the entry into the race so strangely, exhilaratingly easy, will begin to fade just as the heat of the campaign itself intensifies. In early to mid-October, leaving them alone with their past during the final, excruciating weeks of the contest. That is what happened to Bobby Kennedy in 1964, and it nearly cost. CONTINUED ON PAGE 140

complishments that she wished to achieve," Dowd wrote mockingly. "Historians will long wonder how Mrs. Clinton came in as Eleanor Roosevelt and left as Madonna."

Hillary is clearly exasperated by such portrayals. "You know, people ask me all the time, 'What has it been like for you here?'" she says. "Certainly, there have been some painful times, some challenging times. But when I look back, what I remember and what I have enjoyed are all the incredible opportunities. I feel blessed about that. I had an opportunity and I had an obligation, and I enjoyed what I did every day. I liked trying to help other people."

That desire to be perceived as a public servant who can transcend personal crisis is not disingenuous. Though her sense of duty can come across as patronizing noblesse oblige, Hillary has been devoted to public service since her teens. She learned the virtue of service from her Methodist father, Hugh Rodham, who took the family on tours of the ghettos of their hometown of Chicago.

Hugh Rodham died in April 1993, but his memory permeates Hillary's life. In October 1997, I joined the first lady and her two brothers, Tony and Hugh, on their first visit to Park Ridge, Illinois, since their parents sold their home 10 years earlier. As we went from room to room, the Rodham children laughed and reminisced about their childhood arguments and their father's carpentry work in the basement. After looking about Hillary's modest bedroom, everyone else turned to leave, but Hillary stayed behind for a moment. She peeked into the narrow closet, then peered through a small window that had once been her view on the world and in a low but audible voice said, "Wow." She had come a long way, but here were her roots.

Since her teenage years, when she spent summers babysitting for the children of Mexican migrant workers, Hillary has worked to make money. When her father declined to pay her full tuition at Yale Law School, she went out and earned it. In the summer of 1969, before starting law school, she shocked her family by getting a job in an Alaskan fish-canning factory. She was fired after she questioned the manager about some tainted product. "They were really dark and spoiled," she recalls. "But I guess nobody wanted to know that."

Hugh Rodham may have instilled in Hillary the importance of working, but it was her mother, the earthy Dorothy Rodham, who taught her to be ambitious. "You may be a girl," her mother told her, "but you can do whatever you choose to do." When Hillary was 15, she wanted to become an astronaut, but Dorothy hoped she would become the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court.

Hillary was not a hippy of the '60s. The wildest personal thing she ever did was paint a flower on her arm, only to wash it off a few hours later. There are no stories of any kind suggesting that she used drugs or indulged in free love—even by association. Devastated by the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., she joined other Wellesley students in a memorial march and wore an armband—but she never took part in sit-ins or riots. During the 1968 Chicago Democratic convention, she went to observe the riots between anti-war demonstrators and the police, not to participate. She did not want to destroy the status quo; she wanted to wake it up and have it take responsibility. She wasn't anti-establishment; she was reestablishment, recognizing that instead of insisting women be given power, they should be allowed to work to get it. She had an essentially conservative faith in proce-

ture. In the early '70s, with Watergate and the Vietnam War, masculine power had never seemed so fragile. Hillary saw an opportunity to prove herself, and that could only be done as she always did things—by working. Rather than drop out as a '60s radical, she got a degree, a briefcase, and a job and went to work as that icon of a later era, the '70s career woman.

When she arrived at the White House, Hillary was eager to break with precedent. She took an office in the West Wing with the president's staff, and placed her aides (except for employees of the Social Office) in the Old Executive Office Building next door. Then, in the winter of 1993, the president announced that his wife would head a White House task force to reform health care. Hillary would marshal the advice of more than 500 experts and a host of aides and present legislation to Congress that would guarantee health care for every American. The message was clear: Hillary was involved in the executive branch of the U.S. government. She had yet to learn that Washington wasn't ready for what critics would sneeringly call a "dual presidency." Nor could she have realized that the Republicans would make her role as reformer more contentious than the legislation itself.

To support her agenda, Hillary hired a group of aides—almost all are women—with similar political inclinations and policy backgrounds. Today her chief of staff is Melanne Verveer, a gentle-voiced, humorous, recent grandmother who started working for Hillary in 1993. A Washington veteran who worked for the liberal interest group People for the American Way from 1984 to 1992, Verveer is less interested in the fripperies that come with heading the first lady's secretariat than with realizing her boss's vision. She is Hillary's pilot, the person in her corner office until 10 at night, hammering out a meeting plan, a speech, or a policy-development proposal.

While her husband has had his problems with staff loyalty, Hillary has not. Key players, such as White House social secretary Capricia Marshall, director of scheduling Patti Solis, special assistant Pam Cicetti, director of special projects Kelly Craighead, director of correspondence Alice Pushkar, and policy adviser Nicole Rabner have been with her since Clinton's inauguration. Although Hillary demands excellence, her solicitousness toward her staff is also famous—whether listening to their personal problems, singing happy birthday to them over the phone, or calling sick relatives. Her closeness with the staff promotes a collegial atmosphere. "She'll just dial around sometimes until she finds the person she wants," Verveer says. "She operates as a staff person. It's not the commandress in chief."

Hillary masterminds much of her own policy research. Rather than delegate to staff, she meets with experts in specific fields, many of whom she has known since the mid-1970s. In her "Eleanor Roosevelt room" in the residence, where she has collected all the ER memorabilia sent to her throughout the years, the first lady keeps the research she has accumulated—"vast pillars of paper," a former aide recalls. "She'll just go through the piles, and she'll say, 'Oh, here, somebody gave me this. Can you look into that?'"

Few of the directions and instructions are conveyed in

writing by Hillary. She rarely uses a computer, and unlike Barbara Bush or Lady Bird Johnson, she has kept no White House diary. "I don't put anything in writing that I don't have to," she explains. The investigations of independent counsel Kenneth Starr have made sure of that.

Hillary thinks out loud with her staff, posing questions, asking for follow-ups. A staff member will return with answers, and Hillary will reply with "five smart questions," a former aide says. "Hopefully, you can answer at least three of them." Then comes the question of whether the issue can be handled through the White House or a cabinet agency, or if it needs congressional support. If the latter is determined, Hillary may seek a sponsor on Capitol Hill, a like-minded Democrat to write legislation or push for its passage. But she's just as likely to decide that an interest group or a foundation is a less controversial—and hence more effective—public face for the policy push. "By determining the best avenue," one aide says, "we get a better result."

Hillary has never restricted herself to the views of policy wonks, and she is determined to meet ordinary Americans. Those meetings usually occur during visits to factories and schools and hospitals and rallies, and to a certain extent they fulfill the traditional "eyes and ears" role of a first lady. On October 28, 1997, after two days of parties in Chicago to mark her fiftieth birthday, Hillary attended one such event in a stale hotel hall. A long line formed at a microphone, and each person related a tale about child support or food stamps or Section 8 housing. Not until the final question from the floor had been answered did Hillary signal her readiness to leave. When at one point someone suggested that she might cut short the Q&A, she responded, "They came out for me. They told me their story. They sat here with me for an hour. The least I can do is listen to them with the same respect that they have given me."

Sometimes she can help. While meeting with Kosovo refugees in Macedonia last May, Hillary ran into Danica Georgieva, who had started a clothing company in Kocani with a U.S. government loan. She showed the first lady some of the high-quality linen blouses she was producing. Georgieva then said that Liz Claiborne was cutting back on orders because of the war in Kosovo, and that she would be forced to lay off much of her workforce. Within three days, Hillary had phoned Claiborne CEO Paul Charron, who remembers the incident vividly.

"I had not known Hillary before," he says. "I had never met her, and I'm not a contributor to the Democratic party. My secretary comes into my office and says, Will you speak with Hillary Clinton? I said something to the effect of, 'You're kidding me.' So I picked up the phone, and she introduced herself and said she had just taken a trip to Macedonia.... Was there anything that could be done there? I said, 'I'm not sure, I can't afford production disruption, but let me see what I can do.' She said, 'I've got another question, Is there any way that we can convert the Macedonian apparel industry to producing goods or providing services in support of the refugees?' I said, 'That's a very good question. Let me get together with some of my friends and see what I can do.'"

Hillary wound up coordinating a joint effort between her office, the State Department, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and Liz Claiborne. Not only

From top: **Hillary** with her closest cabinet ally, **Madeleine Albright**, at the twentieth-anniversary celebration of the Congressional Caucus for Women in October 1997; Hillary announces her listening tour at **Senator Moynihan's** farm in July 1999.

did the company maintain the contract, it enlisted industry colleagues to help some of the other threatened factories in Macedonia. "If she had never used the power of her office to raise the questions," Charron says, "quite frankly, we would never have thought of it."

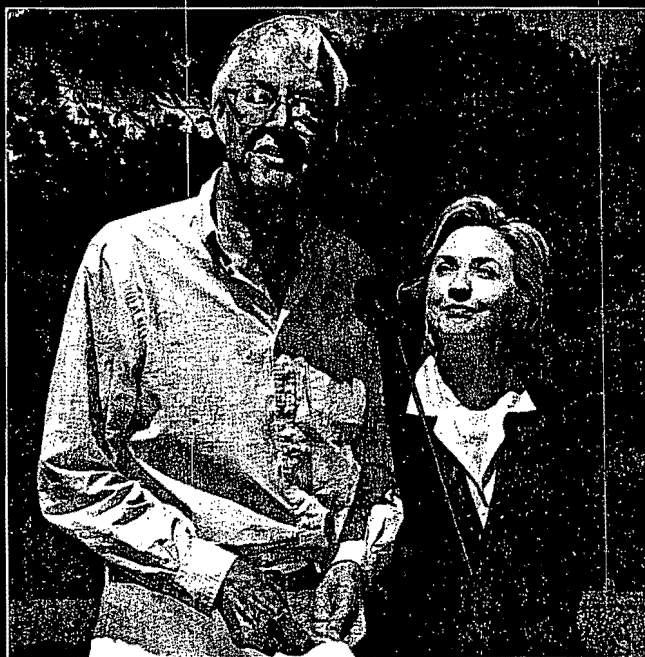
Closer to home, children's health has been a priority for Hillary. On one occasion in 1998, a couple on a rope-line told Hillary about their epileptic child and the paucity of new research to improve the lives of people with the condition. Back at the White House, Hillary fired off questions to her staff about the state of government research on epilepsy. "Just what's the story here?" she asked Verveer. A dossier on epilepsy research was hastily assembled, and when the findings confirmed what the couple had told Hillary, Verveer was asked to make a case for increased funding at a senior staff meeting. Thanks to Hillary's prodding, the National Institutes of Health's budget for epilepsy was increased in the 1999 federal budget.

The work is satisfying for Hillary, but it can take its toll. Onstage before a live audience at the Chicago Historical Society in 1997, Hillary was her typical energetic self. After the session, before heading out to a mammoth party for several thousand people in another part of town, she disappeared into a waiting room. Walking into the room moments later, I saw her collapsed on a folding chair, her head resting against the wall, her eyes shut. She seemed to be hardly breathing. I called to her to make sure she was all right, and when she didn't answer I became alarmed. I looked around only to see the Secret Service and her aides calmly going about their business—this was nothing more than a restorative catnap. Half an hour later, she was on her feet again, giving another speech.

One reason Congress was able to kill Hillary Clinton's health care reform in 1994 was internal White House confusion. The president's staff was preoccupied with the federal deficit and NAFTA, which left the first lady's team to fight for health care on its own. Ira Magaziner, a friend of the Clintons who served as Hillary's chief consultant on health care reform, recalls that the president's "economic, political, and legislative advisers didn't want anything to do with health care," until Clinton's economic programs had passed through Congress. It was "a very awkward situation," one aide reflects now.

Five years later, consultations between the East and West Wings are a much smoother process. Jacob Lew, the director of the Office of Management and Budget at the White House, who worked with Hillary on health care reform, says that she "fits into that better-established set of relationships." So does her staff: Verveer attends key morning meetings in the West Wing with the president's senior staff; several of Hillary's aides work on the Domestic Policy Council, attending the thrice-weekly meetings of the group, which coordinates all the president's domestic initiatives.

"If Hillary feels strongly about something and you're sitting with her in a meeting, you'll know that she feels strongly about it," Verveer says.



Hillary's views
are one of the most
important
factors as you think through
an idea," says a high-
ranking White House
official.

FOR A WONDERFUL FIRST LADY, HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

-EDWARD A. HANNA, MAYOR



"I don't think there's ever been a feeling that the first lady's staffers are outsiders or intrusive," says Sidney Blumenthal, who has been a senior adviser to the president since 1997. "They're considered integral. They have a certain esprit de corps, a staff of mostly women who have had enormous political and policy experience."

Hillary herself will occasionally attend senior staff meetings in the West Wing when the issues under discussion are strongly related to her expertise, such as children and health care. She will "listen to somebody saying that's not going to work. Then she will say, 'Well how do we make it work?'" Verveer says. "If she feels strongly about something and you're sitting with her in a meeting, you'll know that she feels strongly about it." In one session with a cabinet secretary this year, Hillary said flatly, "It's unconscionable that the regulations aren't out yet. Why don't we have this done? What are they going to say in two years' time?" She takes these gatherings seriously. "Well, we had the meeting," she'll say. "There were promises made. Let's see what happens now."

The exchange of information between the president's staff and Hillary flows both ways. The president's domestic-policy aides keep her informed of pending legislation that they know will be of interest to her. Or if they're working on an issue that they know she has strong feelings about or expertise in, they'll request her opinion, as they did last spring in the wake of the shooting in Littleton, Colorado. "When a tough decision has to be made, she's going to have the opportunity to offer strategic advice," Lew says. "Her views are one of the important factors as you think things through." Still, there's no evidence that the West Wing capitulates to please the boss's wife. What's more likely is that the president's advisers will meet with Hillary to get a read on how the president is thinking about an issue. One presidential aide says, "The Clintons think so similarly on important issues that she can be a good sounding board to the way he'll approach an issue."

Bill Clinton is an encyclopedia of policy, but even he concedes that his wife is better versed on children's issues than he is. "He sees this as one area where she has tremendous expertise," says Matthew Melmed, who is an informal adviser to Hillary and the director of Zero to Three, an organization that focuses on child-development issues. "He defers to her on this stuff."

Hillary's interest in children dates to her first year at Yale Law School, when she read an article in *Time* about Marian Wright Edelman, the children's-rights advocate who headed a fledgling Washington lobby called the Washington Research Project. When Edelman spoke on the New Haven campus in 1970, Hillary was there. Impressed by what she had heard, Hillary wrote to Edelman asking if she could work for the group over the summer vacation. Edelman had no budget but offered to take her as an unpaid intern. But Hillary secured grant money and went to work. Recognizing a promising student, Edelman recommended Hillary to Senator Walter Mondale's subcommittee on migrant CONTINUED ON PAGE 135

From top: Hillary at a New York hospital at the start of her listening tour in July; at a Kosovar refugee camp last June with the president.

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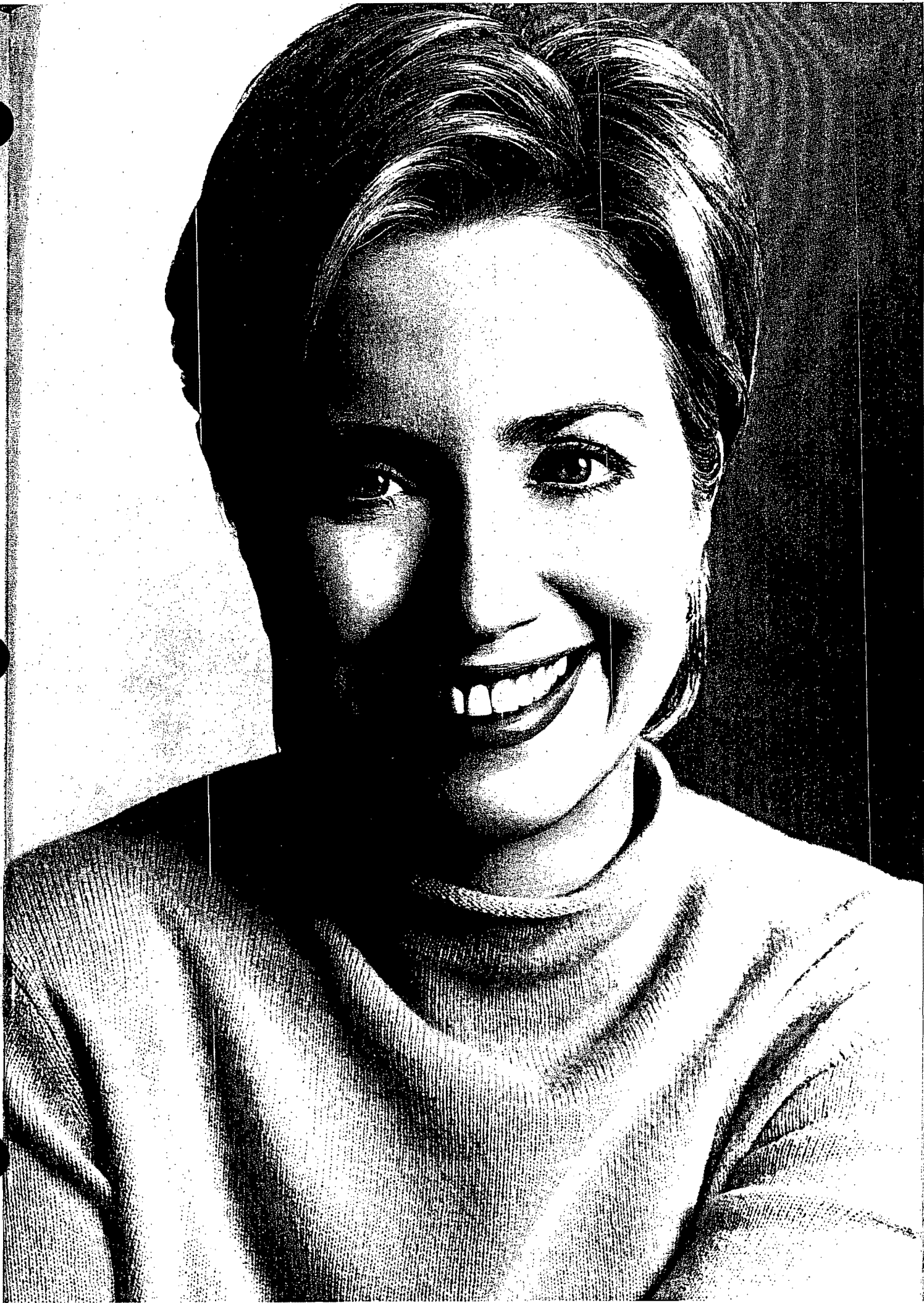
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FROM TOP: AL EDDIE MULLHOLLAND/LIAISON AGENCY



SMOKING

done. All this happened a year ago. Mann finally sent me a copy of the script a year ago, and I read this bullshit." You mean, the scene with the Shiite Muslim? "Of course." But it's not in the movie. "I know that it's not. But in the movie, [Bergman] is still sitting blindfolded in front of the sheikh." So? "It never took place. He had nothing to do with setting up the interview." We discuss his correspondence with Mann. "I sent him a nice letter. Where the fuck is it?" he says, rustling papers. "Here it is. The file. [It was] a nice letter..." Is it true that the Wigand affair was *60 Minutes'* lowest point? "It wasn't a low point for me. It was a high point because we finally got the piece on the air, and we never, never, never would have gotten it on the air without me. Lowell had nothing to do with getting it on the air. Nothing." (Bergman says that his dogged protests eventually led Wallace to fight for the story again.)

We also discuss Bergman's contention that Hewitt and Wallace are blackballing him from getting work on *60 Minutes II*. First he says it's "laughable." Later on, he adds, "You can rest assured Hewitt ain't going to hire him." That doesn't sound so unreasonable. Why would Bergman, who is now working for PBS's *Frontline* and the *New York Times*, want to return to a network that he has so little respect for?

It is doubtful that a supporting role in a Hollywood movie will erase the reputation of a heavyweight like Mike Wallace, though it may very well deify Bergman. But whatever Michael Mann leads his audience to conclude about these two men, the Wallace-Bergman wars have illustrated one sure truth: In life, as in great journalism and great art, one can be right yet wrong, have integrity yet be fallible, tell the truth yet lie, be well intentioned yet be a traitor.

Last April, Bergman's contract with CBS News expired. The producer, who is participating in the film's publicity campaign and may write a book about the Wigand affair, has not talked to Wallace since then. "There is no relationship," Wallace says. At the end of our interview, Wallace concludes with his uncannily familiar bluntness, "Lowell is a good reporter. Some people have penis envy, some have microphone envy. I hope he finds a job. I just don't want to work next door to him." ☐

MILLENNIUM MAN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 123 back the [budget surplus] because the schools would suffer; we want to build new schools in this country. Excuse me. Since when has the federal government ever built schools?"

He never trusted Democrats. Problem is, he's now losing confidence in Republicans. No vision. No answers. No hope of recapturing the White House unless they change. "We want to know what our party really stands for other than, you know, trim the budget and balance the budget. I understand all that," Arnold notes. "But say what you really stand for rather than going from one convention to the next talking about what we're against—guys like [Pat] Buchanan going up there and speaking about, 'We are anti-gay and we're anti-lesbian and anti-immigration. We are anti-taxation and anti-federal government.'"

Don't forget anti-Clinton. He was not impressed by the sight of so many Republicans foaming at the mouth during the impeachment proceedings and Lewinsky scandal. "That was another thing I will never forgive the Republican party for," he sputters. "We spent one year wasting time because there was a human failure. I was ashamed to call myself a Republican during that period. Instead of devoting all this energy and all these hearings to how we're going to solve the problems of the inner cities.... No, it's like, 'This man has to be removed from office because he's a national threat.' Yeah, that's a good one."

Arnold refusing to pile on Bill Clinton. Arnold bashing Pat Buchanan. Arnold saying good things about decaying neighborhoods and minority kids, talkin' equal opportunity and tolerance. To Keith Rhodes, a New Yorker raised by a single mother and who believes Mike Tyson has a heart of gold, Arnold sounds like Conan the Humanitarian. He told him that when the two sat down for a drink last September.

"Arnold, you so-called Republican," Rhodes says. "You look and smell and taste and feel so much like a Democrat."

Arnold puffed on his cigar, blew some smoke in Rhodes's face, and gave him that Terminator stare that says, "Don't poosh it."

The pilot tells us to prepare for touchdown in San Antonio. Thousands of feet below, pulses are quickening at Edgar Allen Poe Middle School. Banners are being hung. Badminton players and pint-size gymnasts are loosening up to strut their stuff. Arnold is coming.

He checks his notes and asks if the mayor will be meeting their plane. "No," Reiss says. "He's gonna be at the school."

There will be many more mayors and many more schools and many more kids. Arnold is a driven machine. He brings Big Dreams. Someday soon, he vows, every city in the country "that suffers problems because of crime, teenage pregnancy, drug sales, gangs, and all those things" will be part of the Inner-City Games family.

"That's a lot of cities," someone observes.

The former Mr. Universe strikes a muscleman pose and triumphantly checks himself out. "Dat's a lot of brain," he says. "And a lot of body!" ☐

HILLARY'S POWERS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 116 workers, and through her work for Mondale, the young Hillary was soon researching migrant problems in housing, sanitation, health, and education.

Returning to Yale for her second year, Hillary volunteered at the university's Child Study Center, where she befriended Sally Provence, who was pioneering research on brain development in early childhood. She also volunteered at New Haven Hospital, where she worked on cases of child abuse, and at the city's Legal Services, providing free legal aid to the poor. At Yale, Hillary put in a post-graduate year focusing on law and medicine at the Child Study Center. One of her professors in family law was Joseph Goldstein, who was in the process of co-editing a book titled *Beyond the Best Interests of the Child*. Hillary was soon reviewing for Goldstein the history of children's legal rights. Her chapter for the book would be among the first writings to chronicle the judicial system's failure to address child abuse. It also laid down a new paradigm of adoption law: that a child's happiness mattered more than considerations such as wealth, birth family, race, or his or her potential adoptive parents. One of Hillary's first legal-aid cases involved a black foster-care child who was up for adoption. Hillary successfully argued that an older, low-income white woman who had been the foster parent for the child for two years should be able to adopt the girl. The woman and child had clearly become a family, Hillary said. Rather than be shuttled off to another foster home to wait for wealthier adoptive parents of similar racial makeup, the girl should stay in that home.

HILLARY'S POWERS

I asked Hillary what she considers to be her greatest achievements during her years at the White House. Without hesitation, she cited her role in initiating and shepherding the Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997 through Congress. Helping to pass that bill has given her, she says, "as much satisfaction as anything that I've done."

The genesis of the bill can be traced to the aftermath of the 1994 midterm elections. Soon after he became Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich declared that orphanages—like so many institutions of the Victorian era—weren't as grisly as novelists and liberals had made them out to be. Sensing an opportunity to

private discussions with the Children's Bureau, part of the Department of Health and Human Services Administration, about the federal government's role in child welfare. Just before the 1996 Democratic convention in Chicago, Hillary convened a meeting with about 20 foundation leaders to review the ideas that the policy experts had presented to her. It was, someone who was present says, the "bigger picture" she was interested in, and the opinions she heard in Chicago became "critical" to Hillary's thinking. The upshot of the meeting, according to one staffer, was what the government could do. Later that month, with Hillary's sup-

and Health and Human Services began hashing out recommendations and the specific legislative language to be used. The first lady and her longtime friend, Donna Shalala, the secretary of Health and Human Services, worked together closely, talking through some of the tougher issues. In early February 1997, Hillary combed through the emerging report, considering and re-considering every detail. Among the most wrenching decisions was the issue of terminating parental rights. Hillary wanted to ensure support for families when appropriate. But as she had long advocated, she also wanted to guarantee that the health and safety of the child remained the paramount concerns during placement proceedings.

Mindful that health reform had been portrayed as byzantine and bureaucratic, Hillary also wanted to make certain that the effort would be simply and co-gently understood. At her direction, an aide worked through the night on a terse executive summary of the report.

The formal presentation of the report, "Adoption 2002," released on Valentine's Day 1997, was staged around an Oval Office event. The Kansas girl whom Hillary had invited to speak at the White House in November 1995—who had been adopted in the interim—introduced the president. Her transformation was stunning. "She stood up straight. She was poised. She smiled. She talked. She looked you in the eye. She clearly had found so much confidence that stemmed from her new home," an observer says.

That summer, the White House found co-sponsorship interest on the Hill from Representatives David Camp, a Republican from Michigan, and Barbara Kennelly, a Democrat from Connecticut. They introduced a bill consistent with Hillary's recommendations, including one idea that had been lifted directly from the draft of her report. The government would give a per-child financial bonus to those states that increased adoption rates from the previous year. That summer, the legislation sailed through the House and was sent to the Senate. In the fall, Hillary continued to make speeches and appearances. By November, however, the Senate clock was ticking. The president's trade-negotiating authority had become the priority of the White House. There was a risk that Hillary's bill would die until the next session of Congress.

So Hillary herself began working the phones, calling friends on the Hill to get progress reports and rally sup-

"Every time Hillary goes on a trip," Vice President Al Gore says, "that's all we hear about from the president."

damage Gingrich politically, Hillary seized on the remark. In an article she wrote in *Newsweek* in January 1995, she declared that Gingrich's comment was absurd. Orphanages had become extinct, she said, because they were terrible places for children. Searching for ways to make herself relevant again, Hillary asked her staff to review government policy toward adoption. In the summer of 1995, she convened a White House meeting of policy experts to discuss the most pressing issues, such as long-term foster care and institutional barriers within the child welfare system, including cross-racial adoptions.

During National Adoption Month in November 1995, Hillary hosted the first in a series of events on the issue at the White House. With her on the dais that day was Dave Thomas, founder of the Wendy's fast-food chain and an ardent supporter of adoption: Thomas himself had been adopted. Also at the gathering were dozens of children waiting to be placed with foster families. One Kansas teenager—overweight, withdrawn, with clunky eyeglasses—read a poem about longing for a family and a room of her own. "Everyone was in tears," an observer recalls. Then Hillary spoke, challenging both the public and private sectors to do more to expedite adoptions.

As the public events continued throughout 1995 and '96, Hillary and her staff also plunged into a series of

port, Bill Clinton signed legislation that strengthened the 1993 Multi-Ethnic Placement Act and provided new tax credits for those who adopt.

Hillary then directed her staff to begin drafting more specific recommendations. Weeks before the 1996 election, some insiders thought that adoption was such a political winner that it could become part of Bill Clinton's reelection platform. But Hillary, wary that her husband's political enemies might use the issue as a way of attacking her influence in the White House, fought to keep it out of the platform. "So we waited," an aide says. After the elections, Hillary staged a forum on adoption that was broadcast from the Oval Office on November 14. Some children waiting to be adopted were invited. Hillary announced that the president was about to sign an executive memorandum, directing Health and Human Services to develop a plan within 90 days to double the number of adoptions by 2002 and to allow more children to be adopted more expeditiously.

Hard questions and policy negotiating followed. What was the five-year plan for doubling the adoption numbers from child welfare? How could new per-child incentives be created for states? The "reasonable effort" requirement to attempt to reunify a birth family before terminating parental rights differed from state to state—how could it be standardized? The White House

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port. Some of her aides assured her that the legislation would pass, but an hour later a senator told her it was dead. "It was a roller-coaster," says a member of the first lady's staff.

Hillary and Verveer were in constant conversation with Erskine Bowles, then the White House chief of staff, who was negotiating with Senate majority leader Trent Lott down to the wire. The senator refused to comment on Hillary's efforts to help the bill through, but an aide recalls that Bowles made it clear to Lott that the president was intent on seeing his wife's proposals become law.

Bill Clinton's push for Hillary's legislation—reminiscent of LBJ's support of Lady Bird's national highway-beautification bill—is the exception to the general truth that Hillary has no particular spousal pull to elevate her issues above any other adviser's agenda. "You're never going to say that she doesn't get some special dispensation," says an aide who works for both of them. "Or that she shouldn't."

When it came time to call Senator Carl Levin, Hillary was particularly careful. The Michigan Democrat supported a national voluntary registry for people who wanted to locate birth children or birth parents, and had attached the measure to the adoption bill. The influential and conservative National Council on Adoption opposed Levin's amendment, and that meant trouble: For the adoption bill to pass, the support of all Democrats and a handful of sympathetic Republican senators was essential. The National Council's concern could turn some votes against the bill. White House aides talked to Levin aides, who informed the White House that the senator wouldn't budge. So Hillary called Levin and invited him to the White House. According to Levin, "I spent about 45 minutes with the first lady. She very strongly and very powerfully argued her case." Hillary promised Levin that after the bill was passed, she would support his registry plan and see if it could be created through Health and Human Services. After their conversation, the senator agreed to remove his measure. (To date, Levin's proposal has yet to be adopted.)

On November 13, Congress passed the bill. Four days later, in a huge White House ceremony, the president signed it.

More than a year later, Hillary unveiled part of the president's 2000 budget—\$300 million to support unadopted, aging children with housing, daily chores, and health coverage. Since then,

a new bill sponsored by Nancy Johnson and Benjamin Cardin has passed the House in a near unanimous vote; the Foster Care Independence bill, which will help older unadopted children make the transition to adulthood, was introduced by senators John Chafee of Rhode Island and Jay Rockefeller of West Virginia, and awaits debate in the Senate. "It's a powerful subject if you're into it," Rockefeller says. "But it's one in which you need someone to take you into it. Hillary does that. When it comes to children and family issues, I don't think there's a more informed, passionate person in the country.... We just had a meeting with some of these older children. They don't know how to run a washing machine, how to pay bills, how to find an apartment to live in, or pay rent—or how they can afford to pay rent." Hillary, one staffer says, is determined to "make this proposal a reality."

If Hillary's adoption legislation is not well known, her role in it is even less known. That suits her fine. "It is always the prerogative of the press to follow what they think is newsworthy," Hillary says when asked about her low profile on the issue. "Adoption has never commanded the kind of attention that something like health care has, because it only affects a small number of Americans. We have half a million children in foster care, but it's not an issue that's going to have much newsworthiness."

Hillary's defeat on health care hasn't changed her mind about the need for its reform. But it did teach her that trying to reform one of the country's largest economies all at once wasn't going to happen. "Our country is just not yet resolved on how it's going to deal with the health care needs of the population," she says. "The only way to make progress in this kind of environment" is incrementally. One colleague observes, "Even though health care was portrayed as this crushing blow, I don't think she ever stopped. It was immediately, 'Well, what about doing it this way?'"

At the very least, Hillary was determined to get coverage for low-income children. It was an area she knew; she could regain her confidence there. And politically, children's issues were a gold mine. "She was quite pragmatic," an aide says. "She understood that this was something we actually might be able to get done because people care about children." Hillary considered advocating an extension of Medicaid but realized that

some Republicans would detest the idea—more money, more big government, more Hillary as a tax-and-spend liberal, they would say. She had to find a way to achieve the same goal that would be politically palatable to Republicans.

"We needed to create this hybrid," she says, "where some states would do this through Medicaid and some would use their own funds. You've got to give them choice."

So Hillary began an all-out push within the administration, and in her speeches and writings, for what is now known as the Children's Health Insurance Program. The program allows the federal government to provide health insurance for low-income children through state grants, a popular idea with Republicans. Hillary pushed to make it an administration priority and, through the legislative process, continued to fine-tune it. "Nobody intuitively knows the importance of coalition better than Mrs. Clinton," says Rockefeller, who has worked with Hillary on CHIP. "She will treat [conservative senator] Phil Gramm with courtesy and respect. She might not walk arm-in-arm with Jesse Helms as Madeleine Albright did, but she will put out a similar sort of courtesy. She will reason with people." Administered through Health and Human Services, CHIP passed on August 5, 1997.

When an issue moves her, the first lady has no compunction about calling members of Congress to lobby, though she's careful about whom she calls and what she says. Verveer admits, "These are not things you will read about in any newspaper. She does not want to make waves, because she does not want to jeopardize the outcome."

Following President Clinton's 1998 State of the Union address on the creation of a historic preservation project called Save America's Treasures, Hillary felt that private funds could be leveraged more easily if Congress shook loose some money first. "Republicans who were in a pivotal position to help with this weren't necessarily there from the beginning," Verveer recalls. "The first lady made some calls: 'I really think this would make a huge difference,' she said. 'It has no ideological component to it. It's not special for Democrats or Republicans. It's something that every American would applaud.'" Ralph Regula, chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the Interior, was persuaded by Hillary's arguments. "She

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was pragmatic about the federal funds, very much in agreement with me that matching private and state funding would indicate support in the community," he says. Congress allotted \$30 million of federal money, and Hillary went on the road to raise the private donations—an additional \$30 million.

Much of what Hillary Clinton has proposed in the last five years does not involve federal policy but rather the creation of public-private partnerships. Through her role as honorary chair of the president's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, she makes the case that the arts are an especially useful tool in providing at-risk children with a creative venue for emotional development. She helped find corporate sponsors, such as VH1, Binney & Smith (manufacturers of Crayola Crayons), and the General Electric Fund, for the Arts Education Partnership, a program to install music and painting classes in inner-city public schools. She has helped create such partnerships by exploiting the physical power of the White House, inviting representatives of charities and corporations to ceremonies and meetings—invitations that are almost never turned down. "Often it is not what we can do directly so much as the work we can put into motion that will affect people's lives," she says.

During her White House years, Hillary has not hesitated to call on the cabinet. She has worked on issues with Richard Riley at the Department of Education, Bruce Babbitt at the Department of Interior, and Andrew Cuomo at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. In October 1997, she persuaded Robert Rubin, secretary of the treasury, to convene a meeting of corporate CEOs. She wanted their advice on how American companies could be persuaded to adopt better child care measures for working parents. There are other, less obvious choices. "On child safety and domestic violence issues, Attorney General Janet Reno is a kindred spirit," Verveer says. The first lady helped establish the Department of Justice's Violence Against Women office, a way of addressing a social problem without resorting to Congress: Since many Republicans resist the idea of specific efforts targeted at hate crimes, Hillary knew that she could accomplish more by working with Reno.

Hillary's closest cabinet ally is Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. Their relationship is "a partnership, a tag

team," Albright says. "We lay out the policy, and she is probably the best unofficial ambassador we have. When she comes back from a trip overseas, she always writes a report, and we'll discuss it and distribute it in the State Department." Since 1993, Hillary has made 51 trips to foreign countries, usually on her own. She is the most widely traveled first lady in history.

Together, Hillary and Albright have made women's rights a tenet of U.S. foreign policy. But Hillary presents the issue using more conservative language than the Hillary of Yale Law School would have. "If women aren't achieving their role in society, if they can't participate in the economy, if they can't have their basic needs met or be educated, then there's little chance that those countries are going to prosper," she says. "So it is in our interest to pay attention to women's issues if we want to see democracy flowering." This is not women's lib for the rest of the world; it's human rights as a path to capitalism and democracy. Again, the goals are consistent with what Hillary has long sought, but they're presented in a way that an opposition party might accept.

One of the specific programs she has helped shape is Vital Voices, a U.S.-sponsored initiative to promote the participation of women in politics around the world. It's more than a high-minded coffee klatch, as some have dismissed it. When the first lady held a Vital Voices conference in Northern Ireland in 1998, it was her status, Albright says, that drew 400 female leaders from all over Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom, Unionists and Nationalists alike. "Out of that," Albright says, "came a bunch of new projects, training, and exchanges that are visible evidence of our support for the Good Friday peace agreement." It's grassroots activism—from the top down.

Before departing on an overseas journey, Albright often briefs the first lady. They keep in frequent contact, mostly by phone, Albright says. When Albright and Hillary travel together, they'll hold joint meetings with women's groups. If Albright meets with a foreign minister, Hillary will have a follow-up conversation with staffers from nongovernmental organizations. Albright explains, "When she meets with them, she gives them credibility and legitimacy, and they can go out and really push for an agenda for getting more women into the various political levels within a country."

In the spring of 1998, amid rising tensions in Kosovo, Hillary made a trip to Bulgaria. She arrived at six in the morning and went straight from the airport to give a televised speech. Later in the day, she met with President Petar Stoyanov, then with Prime Minister Ivan Kostov. She also met with an unprecedented gathering of first ladies from Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, Rumania, Slovenia, and Turkey.

During her solo trip to South Africa in March 1997, Hillary met with a group of women who had sought a loan from U.S. Agency for International Development to build houses and had completed three of them. She has been an ardent supporter of loans provided by USAID. A year later, during their joint trip to Africa, Hillary insisted that President Clinton visit the town. She was delighted to see that more than 100 homes had been built by the women.

Later, at a Washington lunch for Ghana's president, Jerry Rawlings, President Clinton turned to USAID administrator J. Brian Atwood and said, "I just talked to Hillary. And every time she calls, she wants to see your budget increase." Al Gore chimed in, "Yeah, every time Hillary goes on a trip, you know, that's all we hear about from the president."

Jim Wolfensohn, president of the World Bank, believes that women in developing nations have an "intuitive respect" for Hillary. "When she travels, there tends to be so much hoopla that it is difficult to establish the human contact. But somehow she manages to do that. It's gone beyond the photo opportunity to substantive discussions." That is the same technique Hillary has shown in New York in recent months on her listening tour: traveling, meeting with groups of people, trying to draw out their concerns. The New York media have been skeptical of Hillary's listening campaign, but that may be a mistake: She has been perfecting this strategy for years on overseas trips, and she has used it to master complicated policy issues that put most reporters to sleep. If she can do it in Macedonia, her thinking seems to be, she can do it in New York.

The first lady's months on the campaign trail in New York might just be a leave of absence from the world scene. As Wolfensohn adds, "She tells me that one of the reasons she wants to run for the Senate is so that she can deal directly with America's concerns abroad."

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New York is no longer the most populous state in the Union nor the wealthiest nor the most cosmopolitan. Those states are, respectively, California, Connecticut, and California again. Yet New York remains the most powerful symbol of American life around the world, and with Hillary eager to play a role beyond the shores of the United States, no Senate seat in the country matches her political ambitions quite as well as the one that will be vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year.

Several factors prompted the first lady to run. "For the last couple of years, I had intended to live in New York after the White House," she says. "My mind had already moved to that—long before anyone talked to me about running for office. I just imagined I would be living there and working there. It seemed serendipitous that what I intended to do—live in New York—coincided with what people were urging me to do."

Hillary has also come to realize the

me out of the blue. It's not anything I planned. It's not anything I thought actively about." It is, instead, a continuation of the work that she has been doing since 1994—indeed, since her childhood in Chicago. In that context, a Senate run for Hillary doesn't seem surprising; it seems almost inevitable.

Hillary flatly disavows the charge that she can't be a candidate and a first lady at the same time: "Most people who run for political office have another job. A member of the House who runs for the Senate has to continue to be a member of the House. A governor who runs for president has to continue to be a governor. I see it in a similar light."

In fact, Hillary says, her new role as candidate is a boost to her work as first lady, not a hindrance. "Whether it's campaigning on behalf of someone else or whether I go forward on my own, I will always be furthering the work that I have done in the White House."

Some pundits have suggested that

edge that even some of the more obscure and seemingly docile first ladies affected policy. Although she has been most commonly compared to Eleanor Roosevelt, who was similarly ambitious and controversial, Hillary has also focused on another legend: Dolley Madison.

"There is a special feeling I have about Dolley," Hillary says of the woman whose reputation is fixed as the ice cream-doling party girl but who was, in reality, adept at subtle lobbying for the Madison administration. "Her strength, her character, her skill, her sheer energy really set her apart. She was not only a wonderful hostess but also a skilled diplomat who could bring people together and help them work on behalf of common causes." At a White House costume party several years ago, Hillary dressed herself up as Dolley. It cannot be coincidental that in 1844 the former first lady was awarded an unprecedented honorary congressional seat.

Ironically, the woman who had to adjust from her very public responsibility for health care reform to working more discreetly on policy must now revert to taking credit for what she's done. It isn't easy. Between trips to New York for her listening tour, Hillary told me of her reluctance to use the word *I* in reference to achievements she's been behind. She is used to speaking out on issues, she says, but "really doing it for myself has taken some getting used to." She admits that this self-consciousness may be "a sense that it's not appropriate to be the person in the spotlight saying, 'Hey, look over here,' as opposed to just looking at the results. I like being part of a team. I like having everyone feel that they have a stake in what we're doing. Maybe that's more of a personal attitude, or maybe it has something to do with gender. I'm not sure."

It's not over yet. In the next 12 months, the first lady-cum-candidate has an ambitious agenda. She reels off "sensible gun control...doing what needs to be done on Social Security and Medicare...laying the groundwork for diminishing and then eliminating the national debt...the pension proposal...raise the minimum wage again."

The last time I spoke with her, the first lady seemed increasingly more comfortable mentioning her own work than she had in previous conversations. On issues close to her, such as adoption, child welfare, and the welfare-to-work transition, she will "continue to push." But there are new is-

Hillary flatly disavows the charge that she can't be a candidate and the first lady. "Most people who run for political office have another job," she says.

role of the Senate in many of the issues that she has already begun work on. "I have seen in the last few years the importance of what goes on in the Senate," she explains. "Time and again, important decisions about our future were made by one vote or a handful of votes in the Senate." She names Vice President Gore's tie-breaking vote for the administration's deficit-reduction plan in 1993 and the slim margin on the 1994 crime bill as examples of the chamber's role.

"These decisions have a direct impact on how people live in New York," Hillary says. "So I decided I should be part of that debate. If I'm fortunate enough to persuade the people of New York that I could be their representative, I want to be in the thick of it."

Hillary is clearly excited by the prospect of getting back to work after having been a volunteer, and she denies the suggestion that it's time for her career, rather than her husband's, to be primary. "I just don't feel that way," she insists. "[Running for Senate] came to

Hillary isn't prepared for the rough-and-tumble of a campaign in which she, rather than her husband, is the candidate, but she sounds almost eager to leap into the fray. Whether it's New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani fundraising in Arkansas, historian Doris Kearns Goodwin questioning Hillary's loyalty to the Yankees, or comedian Jackie Mason accusing her of exploiting her step-grandfather to get the Jewish vote, she is unflustered. "Most voters in New York are more interested in what their senator can do for them, not in the political back-and-forth that plays out in so much of the political commentary these days," she says. "That is just a diversion to drown out what I would do for the economy or what I would do for education or how I would try to continue to help people with health care."

More than any first lady since Lady Bird Johnson, Hillary Clinton has steeped herself in the history of her predecessors. She takes comfort in the knowl-

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sues as well. "I've seen how important farming is in my travels around New York, because upstate New York has been lagging behind the rest of the state in job creation and income growth," she says. After all the years of listening, Hillary is finally finding her own voice. ☐

HOW BOBBY DID IT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 113 him the election.

At the beginning of the campaign, he was the fifth Beattle; the size and enthusiasm of the crowds made up for his own lackluster style on the hustings. Bobby hardly ever even mentioned his opponent, the Republican incumbent Kenneth Keating, a grandfatherly figure from Buffalo, and he was reluctant to comment on Keating's record. Kennedy's campaign, R.W. Apple observed in the *Times*, resembled a "personal-appearance tour by a movie star," and relied on glamour and nostalgia to insulate the candidate from the uglier realities of a Senate race. True, a certain section of the liberal intelligentsia was from the first suspicious about Bobby's past, about his uneasy relationship with postwar liberalism, about the brutal, bullying way he'd pushed around liberal idols like Herbert Lehman, the former New York governor and senator, and Eleanor Roosevelt's good-government protégés. But the grumblings of Gore Vidal had little effect on Bobby's strong showings in the early polls. Vidal and his allies might revive old stories about Bobby's apprenticeship under Joe McCarthy, but in the war of liberal wits, such Kennedy supporters as Arthur Schlesinger, John Kenneth Galbraith, and George Plimpton were more than equal to the task of parrying their opponents' blows—sometimes literally. Plimpton pushed playwright Arthur Kopit over a sofa in the Manhattan apartment of Kennedy aide William vanden Heuvel when Kopit pronounced himself unable to vote for Bobby.

If Vidal and his compatriots failed to undermine Bobby's commanding lead in the polls, they nevertheless succeeded in painting a damaging picture of the candidate as a ruthless opportunist, a "little Torquemada," in Vidal's words, a creature of McCarthy. The picture was just plausible enough to limit Bobby's ability to maneuver in important ways. Although Bobby had been forced to turn to New York's Democratic party bosses for support early in the campaign, he was determined to do nothing else

that could justify the reproaches of his liberal critics. This left him in a quandary when, in October, the novelty of his glamour began to wear off and the polls suggested that his popularity was slipping. Afraid to do anything that might lend credibility to the idea that he was a cruel and unfeeling adventurer, Bobby at first refused to strike out at his Republican opponent. Keating, a white-haired teddy bear of a man, was gaining strength, but Kennedy believed that if he took the offensive against his courtly adversary, it would confirm all the old perceptions that Vidal & Co. had worked to keep alive.

Keating himself came conveniently to the rescue. In September, in a bid for the Jewish vote, Keating made the outlandish charge that as attorney general Bobby had been sympathetic to the plight of former Nazis. The ploy backfired. In Arthur Schlesinger's view, Keating's miscalculation marked a turning point in the campaign. The charge gave Bobby the excuse he needed to attack Keating without looking like a bully himself—and it revived, too, Bobby's own fighting spirit, which had been overwhelmed by his continuing melancholy, by the as yet uncompleted processes of mourning. On October 12, Columbus Day, Bobby, speaking in Buffalo, responded to Keating's charge with the kind of righteous indignation that elicits voters' sympathy. Keating's decision to go negative, together with a successful advertising blitz and the help of LBJ's coattails, enabled Kennedy to beat Keating by more than 700,000 votes on Election Day. "If he hadn't attacked me," Kennedy later said of his opponent, "I would have had a hell of a time."

The realities of a modern Senate campaign have forced Hillary to show her hand earlier than Bobby did. With the 2000 elections still a year away, Hillary will have to spend more time in the earthy morass of local politics than Bobby did, and she will find it even harder to maintain the pristine glow of her celebrity as she wades through those unpromising bogs. She must worry that she will find herself, next October, in precisely the same position in which Bobby found himself 35 Octobers ago—that of a candidate who possesses all the liabilities of a public reputation and none of the compensating assets of a celebrity. The burden of Hillary's public reputation is, of course, very different from Bobby's, but a questionable commodities trade, the convoluted finances of Whitewater, and an ill-conceived attempt to reform the health care system could nevertheless prove damaging in the unpredictable ways that past mistakes often do. If

Bobby's 1964 race demonstrates anything, it's that it is easy for even a shrewd politician to wind up at the mercy of his public reputation.

The specific lessons of Bobby's race may mean less to Hillary than the things Bobby was able to do with the office after he won it. Some people have speculated that Hillary wouldn't really like being a senator, wouldn't really like being just another lawmaker in a crowded chamber. But if she succeeds in following Bobby's example, Hillary will be something more than an ordinary senator. She will easily be the most famous person on Capitol Hill, and she will be treated accordingly. When, three decades ago, a senator complained that one of the committee chairmen was giving Bobby preferential treatment, the chairman denied it. "I treat him the same way I'd treat any future president," the chairman said. Like Bobby, Hillary too will command a certain deference in the Senate, and she will find it easier than her colleagues to draw attention to the causes she chooses to champion. She will attract the brightest staffers, just as Bobby did; when she travels abroad, she will take with her, as he did, a media entourage that a sitting president might envy. True, it will be difficult for her to hold the kind of court that Bobby held at Hickory Hill, a shadow government that at times rivaled the White House in influence and often outshone it in glamour. Hillary lacks the capital to do that, but she could very well end up being the most visible senator since R.F.K.

Hillary undoubtedly sees herself as the natural heir to Bobby's supercharged senatorial career, and a number of old Kennedy hands have come forward to validate her claim. In September, William vanden Heuvel hosted a fundraiser for Hillary in his New York home. It was just like the good old days, only this time there were no reports of wavering playwrights being pushed over sofas. Still, Hillary will not be able to claim Bobby's senatorial mantle without a fight; her most likely opponent, Rudy Giuliani, has an equally plausible claim on R.F.K.'s legacy. The mayor, after all, turned New York City around with precisely the kind of tough, innovative politics that Bobby himself most admired. But if in the end she succeeds in capturing Bobby's legacy and his seat, Hillary, too, will have done something that Bobby could wholeheartedly approve: She will have proved herself to be, like him, as tough as they come. ☐

Michael Knox Beran is the author of The Last Patrician: Bobby Kennedy and the End of American Aristocracy.

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Children & Families: Foster Care and Adoption

Leadership in Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997 and Adoption 2002 Initiative

- Received HHS National Progress Report on Adoption which demonstrated significant increases in the national adoption rate (9/24/99) **
- Bill signing ceremony of Adoption and Safe Families Act (11/19/97) **
- Leadership in enactment of Adoption and Safe Families Act incorporating key recommendations for Adoption 2002 report (including internal meetings and congressional outreach)
- Berkeley, CA speech on significance of Adoption and Safe Families Act (11/24/97)
- Leadership in development of HHS Adoption 2002 report- with legislative and administrative recommendations- as required by POTUS Executive Memorandum
- Adoption 2002 Report Presentation by HHS to the President at Valentine's Day event (2/14/97) **
- Leadership in development of Executive Memorandum on improving foster care and adoption
- Executive Memorandum issued at Oval Office POTUS radio address with foster care families (12/14/96)
- Convened Foundation Leaders to discuss foster care issues (8/2/96) **
- Columns on bill (11/20/97 & 11/18/97)

Leadership on Foster Care Independence Act of 1999

- Bill signing ceremony of Foster Care Independence Act (12/14/99) **
- Leadership in development and enactment of Bill
- Event with Mrs. Gore announcing new support for Transitioning Foster Care Youth (1/29/99) **
- Destination Future Conference speech on emancipation from foster care (9/11/98) **
- Roundtable discussion with California Youth Connection members on emancipation from foster care (11/24/97)
- WH Event to Unveil FY2000 Budget Proposal

Adoption Promotion and Foster Care Improvement Campaign

- Appeared on the Rosie O'Donnell Show on Foster Care (5/8/00)
- Children's Action Network Adoption Event (12/20/99)
- Participated in the Jewish Child Care Association's 175th Anniversary Celebration, New York (4/19/99)
- Dave Thomas Adoption Law Symposium Video (2/5/99)
- White House event to mark Adoption Month (11/24/98) **
- National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse award and speech (10/6/98)
- Speech at Kellogg Foundation Family for Kids Conference (6/25/97)
- National Council on Adoption Speech (4/16/97)
- Mother's Day Adoption Roundtable with adoptive mothers and children (5/10/96)
- National Adoption Month event at the White House (11/13/95)

- Sustained theme in books and various columns (2/3/99, 9/29/99, 9/23/98, 2/10/98, 11/25/98, 11/18/97, 6/24/97, 12/17/96, 5/14/96, 7/30/95) **

Leadership on other key legislation

- Adoption Tax Credit and MEPA strengthening (1996)
- FMLA covering time off for adoption (1993)
- Multi-Ethnic Placement Act (1994)

MEMORANDUM ON FOSTER CARE

The First Lady has worked tirelessly for more than 30 years to reform our nation's foster care system and promote adoption. She has devoted her time to numerous child advocacy groups, including the Carnegie Council on Children, the Children's Defense Fund, and Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, and as an attorney she has represented both prospective parents and foster children. As First Lady, she has been the Administration's most prominent advocate on these issues, and her leadership has been instrumental to the passage of groundbreaking legislation to make it easier for children to move from foster care to permanent homes and to increase the number of adoptions. Her deep commitment to children in foster care also has been key to raising public awareness of the importance and rewards of adoption.

The First Lady's interest in foster care and adoption dates to her first year at Yale Law School. After reading an article in Time magazine about child advocate Marian Wright Edelman and her lobbying group, the Washington Research Project (which later evolved into the Children's Defense Fund), Mrs. Clinton contacted Edelman and secured an internship with the organization for the summer. Her experience there would set the stage for a lifelong commitment to a wide range of children's and family issues.

Returning to New Haven her sophomore year, Mrs. Clinton volunteered at Yale's Child Study Center and the New Haven Hospital, where she worked with the staff to draft guidelines for the treatment of abused children. She also volunteered at Legal Services, a legal aid group that provided free assistance to the poor.

One of Mrs. Clinton's first legal aid cases left an indelible imprint on her thinking about the needs of children in foster care. The case involved a black child and her low-income, white foster mother, who wanted to adopt the girl. Mrs. Clinton argued successfully that the mother should not be denied permanent custody simply because of racial or financial reasons. She argued that the child's best interest was to stay with her foster mother, who had provided a safe, stable home and family for more than two years. The many foster care cases she handled at Legal Services would give her a deep appreciation for the importance of ensuring the best interests of the child remain paramount during placement proceedings.

During a postgraduate year at Yale's Child Study Center, Mrs. Clinton wrote a chapter for a family law professor's book, *Beyond the Best Interests of the Child*, that documented her conviction that America's judicial system had failed abused and neglected children. She also challenged deeply rooted traditions about the factors that should inform adoption decisions, presenting a legal argument that a child's happiness should outweigh considerations such as wealth, race or birth family.

After her husband was elected governor of Arkansas, Mrs. Clinton continued to press forward to protect children from abuse and neglect. In 1977, she founded Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, an organization dedicated to providing parenting skills and health and education services for Arkansas children. She also joined the Board of Directors of the Children's Defense Fund in 1976, and chaired the board from 1986 to 1992.

Throughout her husband's presidency, Mrs. Clinton has used her position as First Lady to champion a host of children's and family issues, focusing on some of our nation's most vulnerable children – those trapped in the foster care system. In the summer of 1995, she convened a meeting of policy experts to examine some of the most pressing issues surrounding adoption, including long-term foster care and institutional barriers within the child welfare system, including cross-racial adoptions.

That year, Mrs. Clinton, together with the President, launched a national public awareness campaign to promote the benefits of adoption and improvements to foster care. During National Adoption Month in 1995, she hosted the first in a series of events on the issue at the White House. She held numerous meetings and public events with adoptive families and children in foster care, and devoted a significant number of speeches and writings to the cause of adoption. Her efforts during this period would culminate in one of her most rewarding achievements, passage of the Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997, landmark legislation that reformed our nation's child welfare system by putting considerations of children's health and safety first.

Throughout 1995 and 1996, Mrs. Clinton quietly convened a series of meetings with officials at the Department of Health and Human Services, foundation leaders and other policy experts to discuss ideas for reforming foster care and speeding up adoption procedures. Publicly, Mrs. Clinton also pressed for passage of new tax credits for those who adopt and the Multi-Ethnic Placement Act, which would remove race or ethnicity as an obstacle to adoption. She also strongly supported an extension of Family and Medical Leave Act benefits to adoptive parents who wished to take time off work to care for their children. Her vocal advocacy helped usher these key bills through Congress.

As a result of her meetings with adoption policy experts, Mrs. Clinton and her staff in 1996 began to formulate specific proposals for legislative reforms. In November, she held a White House forum on adoption that was broadcast live from the Oval Office. At the event, she announced that the President would sign an Executive Order directing his administration to develop a plan to double the number of adoptions by 2002.

Mrs. Clinton was deeply involved in the development of the report and worked closely with Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala to craft policies that would ensure the health and safety of the child remained the guiding principles during placement proceedings. The formal report, "Adoption 2002," was unveiled on Valentines Day 1997 and included a series of incentives for states to expedite adoption procedures and limit the amount of time children spend in foster care. The goal was to double the number of children moving into permanent homes from 27,000 a year in 1996 to 54,000 a year by 2002. The report was based on three key principles; that every child deserves a safe, permanent family; that children's health and safety should be the paramount concern; and that foster care is by definition temporary.

With the unveiling of the report, Mrs. Clinton turned to Capitol Hill to pursue legislative reforms. The White House secured bipartisan co-sponsors in the House who introduced a bill based on Mrs. Clinton's recommendations, and she began holding numerous private meetings with members of Congress on both sides of the aisle to generate support for the measure. The legislation, backed by Reps. David Camp, R-Mich., and Barbara Kennelly, D-Conn., easily passed the House that summer.

Throughout the fall of 1997, Mrs. Clinton continued to work quietly behind the scenes, holding countless meetings and personally lobbying lawmakers to ensure the bill had bipartisan sponsors in the Senate. She also continued to deliver speeches and hold other events to draw public support for the measure. The First Lady's strong leadership on behalf of the Adoption and Safe Families Act led to its passage on November 14, and it was signed into law four days later. The bill took historic steps to prevent children from languishing in foster care by dramatically speeding up adoption procedures, limiting the amount of time children can spend in foster care to 12 months, removing institutional barriers to adoption and including innovative financial incentives for states to improve adoption rates each year.

The First Lady's most recent efforts on foster care have focused on addressing the unique challenges faced by older, unadopted foster children as they age out of the system. She provided key leadership in the development and enactment of the Foster Care Independence Act of 1999, a bill designed to assist older teens in foster care as they transition into independent living as adults. She worked very closely with Republican and Democratic sponsors in the House and Senate to shepherd the legislation through Congress. The bill, signed into law in December 1999, will help ensure that young people who leave foster care have the tools they need to succeed, including better educational opportunities, access to health care, training and housing assistance, counseling and other services.

Mrs. Clinton's efforts to make foster care work better, to find and assist adoptive families, and to break down barriers to adoption have transformed our nation's child welfare system. Between 1996 to 1998, the number of adoptions nationwide rose 29 percent and is on pace with the President's goal of 56,000 adoptions in 2002. This is the first significant increase in adoptions since the national foster care program was established nearly 20 years ago.

Children & Families: Child Care

White House Conference on Child Care

- Organized and hosted Conference with POTUS- two panel discussion, luncheon and reception (10/23/97)
- Press Roundtable, morning shows with POTUS (10/22/97-10/23/97)
- Ramp-up speech at the University of Maryland (10/3/97)

President's FY 1999 Child Care Initiative

- White House announcement of child care budget proposals (1/7/98)
- Leadership role in policy development
- Leadership in securing in FY 1999 budget negotiations \$200 million for after school programs and \$180 million in child care quality
- Advocated to strengthen background checks on child care providers; President signed National Crime Prevention and Privacy Compact to facilitate background checks
- Pushed for improvements to federal child care; President signed executive memorandum (3/10/98)
- Op eds in women's magazines (i.e. *Parents*) and column (1/6/98)

Selected Appearances/ Campaigning to Promote Child Care Investments

- Fight Crime Invest in Kids Event (4/28/00)
- Participated in Families Agenda Roundtable, Duncan YMCA, Chicago (4/14/99)
- Child Care Announcement and Tour at *Just Us Kids* Child Development Center, DC (4/12/99)
- Speech in New York for *Parents Magazine* child care awards (9/23/98)
- Release of grants to promote after school programs through the 21st Century Learning Centers in Rose Garden ceremony (6/17/98)
- White House luncheon with Redbook magazine on child care (6/2/98)
- Capitol Hill announcement of House Democratic child care bill with sponsors (6/98)
- Child care roundtable with Rep. Tauscher (5/26/98)
- Rosie O'Donnell Show appearance on child care and meeting with leaders of Reiner child care campaign, New York, NY (5/11/98)
- White House meeting with Treasury Working Group on Child Care and Rose Garden event with POTUS to release working group report (4/23/98)
- Milwaukee Child Care Conference keynote address (3/27/98)
- Hartford, CT Roundtable discussion on child care quality (1/28/98)
- Harlem, NY Virtual Y after school program visit and remarks (1/26/98)
- White House announcement of Mott Foundation commitment to after school programs (1/26/98)
- Quantico Marine Base Child Care Center visit and roundtable (9/31/97)
- Florida Business Commission on Child Care discussion in Miami (9/30/97)
- Speech in DC to *Parents Magazine* child care awards (5/22/97)
- White House luncheon with *Working Women Magazine* and child care honorees (2/10/97)
- Column: Treasury Working Group on Child Care Report (4/22/98), Affordable Child Care (2/2/2000)

Children & Families: Early Childhood & Development

White House Conference on Early Childhood Development and Learning

- Spoke to the Society for Neuroscience (3/18/98)
- Follow-up speech to Conference: Keynote address at Princeton Symposium on Early Childhood Education (4/25/97)
- Hosted Early Learning Conference with President- two panel discussions, luncheon and reception (4/17/97) **
- Press Roundtable and morning shows (4/16- 4/17/97) **
- Ramp-up speech: Keynote at the Society for Research in Child Development (4/3/97) **
- Columns: Care in Early Years (2/10/98), Conference (4/15/97) **

Leadership in securing in FY 1999 budget \$10 million for Safe Start Initiative, announced at Conference (10/98)

Leadership in Head Start quality improvements, continued budget commitment and strong 1998 reauthorization

Prescription for Reading **

- 10th Anniversary of ROR, Boston (6/4/99)
- New York City launch of PFR/ROR (12/1/98) **
- Chicago launch of PFR/ROR and Release of PFR Partnership's Annual Report (4/98)
- Event celebrating "Read Across America" and culmination of campaign sponsored by publishers and health professionals to give coupons for free books to children (3/2/98)
- Baltimore City launch of PFR/Reach Out and Read (ROR) (6/10/97)
- Prescription for Reading Partnership (PFR) lunch at White House (4/16/97) **
- Called for Prescription for Reading effort in speech at Georgetown University Medical Center (1/10/97)
- Column: Literacy (3/3/98) **

Home Visitation/ HIPPY

- Toured HIPPY Program in Israel (12/13/98) **
- National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse award and speech (10/6/98)
- Roundtable discussion/ home visiting event (2/10/98)
- Proposed Early Learning Fund invests in home visitation (1998)
- HIPPY DC Commencement (5/15/97)
- Column: Home Visiting (2/10/98) **

California Proposition 10

- Campaigned for CA ballot initiative to promote early childhood development with tobacco tax revenue (10/30/98)

Received NYU Child Study Center's first annual Child Advocacy Award (12/1/98)

Received *The For All Kids* Advocacy Award (12/1/98)

Health: Children's Health

Children's Health Initiative

- Led Administration efforts to develop a children's health insurance proposal; Mrs. Clinton was the lead advocate for including a children's health insurance proposal in the letter outlining the Administration's priorities that President Clinton sent to House Speaker Newt Gingrich in 1994.
- National Governor's Association Speech to stress the importance of CHIP (6/97)
- Recognizing the importance of implementation of CHIP, Mrs. Clinton published an op-ed in *The New York Times* on CHIP implementation on the very day that the President signed the bill enacting the legislation (8/5/97)
- Participated in signing of Balanced Budget Act of 1997, including new Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) (8/5/97)
- Met with corporate sponsors and non-profit organizations to generate support for CHIP media campaign (7/10/98)
- Participated in CHIP outreach event with POTUS (2/23/99)
- Advocated for children's health insurance in numerous speeches, book, and columns (2/24/98, 8/5/97, 5/20/97)

Convened a meeting to urge study on the safe use of prescription drugs, including Ritalin, for children with behavioral and emotional problems and announced a conference to take place in the fall of 2000 on the findings (3/20/2000); wrote follow up column (3/22/2000)

Leadership on role in protecting Medicaid from cuts and block grants (1996)

Support for children's hospitals

- Urged inclusion in the FY 2000 budget of an initiative to support the graduate medical education of children's health specialists.
- Met with CEOs from children's hospitals on FY 2000 proposal to cover children's health specialists' education under Medicare (1/28/99)
- Participated in event at signing of the Children's Hospitals Education & Research Act authorizing funds for children's hospitals (12/6/99). Wrote column: Medicaid and Children's Hospitals (8/5/97); Children's Hospitals Education & Research Act (12/1/99)
- Led efforts to support children's hospitals; Circle of Care dinner for children's hospitals at White House (9/27/95)
- Delivered Hickman Lecture, Arkansas Children's Hospital (10/9/98)
- Dedication of Hillary Rodham Clinton Neonatal Intensive Care Unit (3/3/98)
- Proceeds from ITAV to children's hospitals

Health: Pediatric Labeling and Pediatric AIDS

Leadership on Pediatric Labeling and Pediatric AIDS

- Leadership role in development and issuing regulations on testing and labeling of drugs for pediatric use including those used for treatment of HIV/AIDS (8/97); final rules published (11/27/98)
- Launch of Pediatric AIDS Foundation's PSA campaign at White House (5/22/95)
- "Commitment to Children" Award from Pediatric AIDS Foundation (12/1/97)
- Pediatric AIDS Foundation "Kids for Kids" event (1/96)
- Strong voice in encouraging all pregnant women to get tested and treated for HIV to reduce prenatal AIDS transmission – a course of action that has led to dramatic declines in rates of transmission and reduction in number of pediatric AIDS cases
- Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation Scientists' Awards Ceremony (1/28/99)

Promoted increase in funding for AIDS research, prevention, housing and treatment

Columns: (9/8/99, 3/4/97, 2/17/96)

Health: Asthma and Environmental Health

Public events highlighting asthma problem and developing solutions

- Urged Administration investment in asthma prevention and treatment, including developing and launching the Administration's unprecedented \$68 million initiative to help children effectively manage their asthma, invest in research, develop new strategies to reduce children's exposure to asthma triggers.
- Event launching New York City Asthma Initiative (12/11/97)
- Asthma Budget Announcements with Secretary Shalala (1/28/99)
- Announcement of partnership among Sesame Street, NACCRRA, and American Lung Association and of new initiatives by EPA to fight asthma (5/21/98)
- Event with Senator Boxer on children's environmental health and asthma (5/26/98)
- Asthma Screening at Draper Elementary School in Washington D.C. (5/4/99)
- Column: Asthma and the Environment (6/10/98)

Health: Disease Prevention and Research

- Advocated for increased research budgets, leading to historic FY 1999 increase
- *Good Housekeeping* and *Today Show* White House event announcing commitments to raise awareness about colon cancer (9/10/98)
- Advocated for and won increased research funding specified for epilepsy research (6/98)
- Advocated for Medicare preventive benefits, including annual mammograms and screenings for colorectal cancer, prostate cancer, and osteoporosis (passed as part of Balanced Budget Act of 1997)
- Spearheaded effort for Presidential proclamation for "Ovarian Cancer Awareness Week" (9/14/98)

Health Care Initiatives Following Health Care Reform Initiative

- Attended CURE Dinner (1/13/99)
- Columns: Epilepsy (1/13/99), Christopher Reeve- Paralysis Research (2/11/96)

Health: Gulf War Illness

- Meetings with VA and DOD hospital patients, veteran's groups and families to respond to the health concerns of Gulf War veterans (1994)
- Internal and interagency meetings and discussions (1994-95) led to Report to President on Gulf War health issues
- Instrumental in establishment of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans Illnesses, including memorandum to the President (2/10/95)
- Testimony to the first meeting of Presidential Advisory Committee (8/14/95)
- Formal presentation of Committee final report to the President (1/7/97) and announcement of continuation of the Committee; these actions resulted in new research on Gulf War-related illnesses and health benefits for veterans.
- Special Committee report release and Committee completion (10/97)
- Column: Special Committee Report (1/7/97)

Health: Immunizations

Promoted Vaccines for Children (VFC) program

- Launched Childhood Immunization Initiative (2/12/93) and helped to secure passage of Vaccines for Children (VFC) program (1993)
- Visits to model immunization programs around the country
- Participated in announcement by President of highest immunization rate ever and of year 2000 goals (4/10/96)
- Column: Immunization (7/22/97)
- Worked on regulations to ensure that children in federally funded child care settings are properly immunized.
- Strengthened connection of immunization programs to WIC
- Recognizing the critical role vaccine registries can play in helping parents, pediatricians, public clinics and other health care providers to keep track of vaccinations children need, Mrs. Clinton fought for a new Medicaid program to provide support to states for childhood immunization registries.

Health: Women's Health

Led Medicare Mammography campaign

- Met with Breast Cancer prevention and treatment advocates in 1993, and led Administration efforts to support and develop proposals to fight the disease and promote awareness.
- Launched Medicare Mammography Campaign (5/1/95) highlighting importance of proposal for no co-pay in Medicare Mammography annual benefit (5/1/95)
- Advocated for Medicare preventive benefits, including annual mammograms and

Health Care Initiatives Following Health Care Reform Initiative

screenings of colorectal cancer, prostate cancer, and osteoporosis (passed as part of Balanced Budget Act of 1997)

- Participated in annual Medicare Mammography Campaign launch (1996-98)
- Medicare Mammography Campaign PSA (9/23/99 & 10/2/97)
- Met with private sector partners

Leadership in promoting research and awareness

- Helped to promote and safeguard existing DOD investment in breast cancer research and imaging technology
- Release of report on breast cancer advancements/ new announcements on research and prevention (10/21/98)
- Met with CIA officials to hear about the benefits of applying intelligence technology to breast cancer detection (7/14/95)
- National Breast Cancer Coalition Event (3/4/98)
- Participated in Presidential radio address for Breast Cancer Awareness Month (10/97)
- Oberstar Lecture (1/28/99)
- Dedication of breast cancer awareness stamp (7/29/98)
- Taped PSA for Take Time to Care Campaign to raise women's awareness of the importance of using medicine wisely (3/17/98)
- Various columns (7/29/98, 9/24/96, 12/30/95, 10/22/95)

-- Family Planning/ Reproductive Health

- Led efforts to increase funding for Title X domestic family planning funds and met with advocates.
- Key advocate in White House for international family planning policy; emphasizes importance of family planning for better health and reduction of abortions
- Keynote to UN Population Forum (NGO forum), as a follow up to the Cairo +5 (2/9/99)
- Address to International Conference on Population and Development + 5 (2/7/99)
- Stimulated foundation support for family planning in Haiti, announcement (11/98)
- Visited reproductive and family planning centers/ programs around the world including those in Brazil (10/14/97), Mexico (5/6/97), Bolivia (12/96), Tanzania, Russia (1/14/94), NIS, and Egypt.
- Columns: World Health Day/Cairo+5 (4/12/00), UN Population Forum/Cairo+5 (2/10/99)

International Health Care

- Convened AIDS Meeting at White House with international agency heads, foundation leaders, drug corporations and others to explore strategies to better address international crisis (9/7/99). This meeting led to significant follow up announcements by the Administration and related developments, including a meeting with the President.
- Participated in USAID Vitamin A convening on the importance of Vitamin A for children's health and urging private support (3/16/99)
- Convened major international funders of TB treatment for a White House meeting on the

Health Care Initiatives Following Health Care Reform Initiative

- urgent TB crisis in Russia and beyond (10/98)
- Convened WH meeting on malaria which led to African initiatives (3/98)
- Announced CDC partnership with Chinese Ministry of Health on medical research affecting children (6/27/98)
- Facilitated delivery of health supplies to Ukraine, follow up meetings to deal with the health crisis (11/97)
- Launched the humanitarian airlift of hospital supplies to the former Soviet Union- 500th Airlift (6/17/97)
- Instrumental in raising awareness of female genital mutilation through events in Senegal, which led to banning the practice. (3/97)
- Keynoted WHO conference in Geneva (5/98)
- Keynoted Safe Motherhood Conference at the World Bank (4/98)
- Pan American Health Organization Convention (PAHO) Keynote Address in Chile (4/98)
- Keynote to World AIDS Day Symposium (12/1/99)
- Inaugurated USAID supported maternity operation room at Ibn Khatib Hospital in Fes, Morocco (6/17/99)
- Visited hospital partnerships programs in NIS & Eastern Europe (7/96)
- Commemorated Chernobyl Anniversary at the White House and commitment of assistance, column (4/30/96)
- Led Bosnia Landmine and Hospital Partnership event in the White House (1/29/96)
- Convened discussion at White House with Mrs. Yelstin on state of health care in Russia (96)
- Spearheaded Latvia Hospital Partnership with U.S. hospitals and held White House event (6/28/95)
- Column on 50th Anniversary of WHO (5/13/98)

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: A CHAMPION OF BREAST CANCER RESEARCH AND DETECTION, PREVENTION AND AWARENESS

SUPPORTING BREAST CANCER RESEARCH. Hillary Clinton has been a champion of significant budget increases for the National Cancer Institute and other agencies to support research on breast cancer detection, treatment, and to seek a cure for the disease. Investment in research has led to historic advances, including the identification of new breast cancer genes and promising new treatments. In October of 1998, Mrs. Clinton hosted an event at the White House to announce budget increases in breast cancer research and new initiatives supported by the research. From fiscal years 1993 to 1999, discretionary funding for breast cancer research, prevention and treatment at the Department of Health and Human Services has more than doubled – from \$283 million to \$599 million.

PROMOTING THE APPLICATION OF THE LATEST IN DEFENSE AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY TO BETTER DETECT CANCEROUS TISSUE AND DEVELOP LESS INTRUSIVE SURGERY METHODS FOR PATIENTS. Hillary Clinton championed budget investments to enable the Department of Defense, the Center Intelligence Agency, NASA, and other public and private entities to explore ways in which imaging technologies from other fields can be applied to the early detection of breast cancer. In particular, the computer technologies that have been used to improve imaging satellites have been used to improve breast cancer detection, as well. And, imaging technologies from the defense community – originally used for missile guidance and target recognition – is also being used to better detect breast cancer.

CHAIRING MEDICARE MAMMOGRAPHY CAMPAIGN TO URGE OLDER WOMEN TO GET MAMMOGRAPHY SCREENING. Early detection of breast cancer is crucial for successful treatment. In 1995, Hillary Clinton launched the Medicare Mammography Campaign to urge older women to get mammograms and to promote the use of Medicare coverage for mammography. Mrs. Clinton efforts have included:

- Travelling the country listening to seniors and raising awareness of the importance of mammography screening;
- Taping Public Service Announcements encouraging older women to get mammography screening; and
- Convening business leaders at the White House to build a public-private partnership to promote mammography. Private sector partners have included American Greetings, which included in its Mother's Day greeting cards an insert urging women to get mammograms and directing them to a toll-free number for more information.

With Hillary Clinton's strong leadership, the President proposed and Congress adopted, the expansion of Medicare coverage to help pay for annual mammogram screenings for all Medicare beneficiaries age 40 and over. Under this new benefit, which became available January of 1998, Medicare will waive the Part B deductible for screening mammograms.

PROMOTING BREAST CANCER AWARENESS. Hillary Clinton has been a chief advocate in the Administration for raising awareness of breast cancer issues and putting them at the top of the Administration's agenda. Mrs. Clinton's activities have included:

- Receiving at the White House in 1993 the National Breast Cancer Coalition petition with recommendations on breast cancer policy and awareness;

- Helping to develop and implement the National Action Plan on Breast Cancer, a public-private partnership coordinated at the Department of Health and Human Services;
- Supporting the National Action Plan on Breast Cancer web site to serve as a gateway to information on breast cancer research, treatment, and prevention (<http://www.napbc.org>);
- Hosting White House events to mark October as Breast Cancer Awareness Month;
- Dedicating "Talking it Over," Mrs. Clinton's syndicated column, to breast cancer issues (10/95, 12/95, 9/96, 7/98); and
- Unveiling at the White House the official breast cancer awareness stamp, which helps to fund breast cancer research.

CHAMPIONED PENDING LEGISLATION TO SUPPORT PATIENTS WITH BREAST CANCER AND OTHER DISEASES. Mrs. Clinton has been a strong advocate for legislation pending before the Congress to ensure that women who have mastectomies are entitled to sufficient hospital stays from their HMOs. And, Mrs. Clinton has fought for a strong Patients Bill of Rights to ensure that cancer patients have the right to see a specialist, are not forced to change doctors in the middle of a cancer treatment if an employer changes health care providers, and have an independent appeals process if critical treatment is delayed or denied. In addition, Mrs. Clinton has strongly supported legislation that would outlaw discrimination based on the results of genetic screening. Mrs. Clinton also advocated for the initiative to help provide comprehensive health insurance to low-income, uninsured women diagnosed with breast and cervical cancer.

PROMOTING AWARENESS OF OTHER CANCERS. Hillary Clinton has been a champion of increased awareness of colorectal cancer, prostate cancer, and ovarian cancer by advocating successfully for Medicare preventive benefits such as annual screenings. Mrs. Clinton has hosted events at the White House to raise awareness of the importance of screenings for these diseases and to urge research to improve detection and treatment.

June 8, 2000

MEMORANDUM TO THE FIRST LADY

FROM: Chris Jennings
RE: Health Security Act Links to Administration Health Care Achievements
cc: Melanne Verveer, Jennifer Klein

In 1994, the President wrote the attached letter to Speaker Gingrich and Senator Dole reaffirming his commitment assuring "insurance coverage for every American". He urged the Congress to take the first steps towards addressing the public's insecurity about the health care system by: (1) prohibiting unfair insurance practices and reforming the market; (2) expanding affordable coverage for children and working families; (3) assuring quality and efficiency in the Medicare and Medicaid programs; and (4) containing health care costs to help reduce the Federal deficit.

Since writing this letter, the Administration has compiled an extraordinarily impressive record of health care achievements, arguably reaching every one of the goals he set out in the 1994 letter. These and numerous other legislative and administrative health care accomplishments can be traced back to many provisions of the Health Security Act. Highlights include:

Enacting legislation, including the Kennedy-Kassenbaum insurance reform legislation; the Children's Health Insurance Program; and comprehensive Medicare reform that extended the solvency of the Medicare program by 26 years, instituted anti-fraud, waste, and abuse measures, and added a range of new preventive benefits.

Taking executive action, including providing the 85 million Americans in Federal health plans receive critical patient protections; and developing privacy protections for electronic medical records.

Proposing major new health reforms, including the investment of \$110 billion over 5 years in a comprehensive coverage proposal that includes parents, individuals aged 55-65, and 19 to 20 year olds; financing a new voluntary prescription drug benefit for Medicare; and investing over \$28 billion over 10 years in a new long term care initiative to support individuals with long term care needs family caregivers.

Attached is the first draft of a summary documenting those health care achievements with a clear link to the Health Security Act. Jennifer Klein has reviewed this document and is now in the process of adding specific cites of relevant Health Security Act provisions. We both feel confident, however, that each listing has a legitimate Health Security Act lineage.

We wanted to forward you this document to make certain that it reflects the type of presentation that is of interest to you. We will forward you the updated version of this document, along with the specific cites, as soon as it is completed. Please don't hesitate to call if you have any questions or suggestions about this document.

Enacted legislation prohibiting discriminatory underwriting practices by insurers through the use of genetic information (Public Law 104-191). This legislation, which applies to the insured and self insured markets but not to the individual market, prevents group health insurers from using genetic information to deny individuals health insurance benefits.

Established and endorsed the recommendations of the historic Quality Commission. In 1996, the President created a non-partisan, broad-based Commission on quality and charged them with developing a patients' bill of rights as their first order of business. In October of 1997, the President accepted the Commission's recommendation that all health plans should provide strong patient protections, including guaranteed access to needed health care specialists; access to emergency room services when and where the need arises; continuity of care protections; and access to a fair, unbiased and timely internal and independent external appeals process. The work of the Commission lay the foundation for subsequent administrative and legislative initiatives to improve patient protections and quality improvement.

Issued executive memorandum requiring that the 85 million Americans in Federal health plans receive critical patient protections. In the absence of Congressional action, President Clinton directed HHS, OPM, DOL, DOD, and DVA to ensure that their employees and beneficiaries had the important new benefits and rights that are guaranteed to health care consumers in the Administration's proposed Patients Bill of Rights, including choice of providers and plans, access to emergency services, participation in treatment decisions, confidentiality of health information and a fair complaint and appeals process. Medicare, Medicaid, S-CHIP, the Indian Health Service, FEHBP plans, the Veterans Administration facilities, and the Military Health System are responding by ensuring that all protections that can be extended under current law be provided.

Endorsed the bipartisan Norwood-Dingell Patients' Bill of Rights and worked for its passage. This legislation, endorsed by over 200 health care advocacy groups, is the only proposal that meets the Administration's fundamental criteria: that patient protections be real and that court enforced remedies be accessible and meaningful. The legislation includes: guaranteed access to needed health care specialists; access to emergency room services when and where the need arises; continuity of care protections; access to a fair, unbiased and timely internal and independent external appeals process; and an enforcement mechanism that ensures recourse for patients who have been harmed as a result of health plan's actions.

Issued executive order preventing genetic discrimination in Federal hiring and promotion actions. In February of 2000, President Clinton signed an executive order prohibiting every civilian Federal Department and agency from using genetic information in any hiring or promotion action. This historic action prevents critical information from genetic tests used to help predict, prevent, and treat diseases being used against them by their employer. Since 1997, the Administration has called for legislation that will guarantee that Americans who are self-employed or otherwise buy health insurance themselves will not lose or be denied that health insurance because of genetic information.

Endorsed legislation to prohibit unauthorized use of genetic information by health insurers and employers. President Clinton has endorsed the Genetic Nondiscrimination in Health Insurance & Employment Act of 1999. This bill would extend the protections for genetic information included in the President's executive order preventing discrimination on the basis of genetic information by Federal employers to the private sector. HIPAA prevents group health insurers from using genetic information to deny individuals health insurance benefits. The Daschle-Slaughter legislation finishes the job begun by HIPAA and ensures that genetic information used to help predict, prevent, and treat diseases will not also be used to discriminate against Americans seeking employment, promotion, or health insurance.

II. EXPANDING COVERAGE

The Health Security Act was designed to ensure that every American had affordable, quality, health insurance. Subsequent achievements and proposals by the Clinton Administration provide targeted coverage expansions. Since 1995, the President has enacted the Children's Health Insurance Program, the Work Incentives Improvement Act, and the Foster Care Independence Act. In addition, he has proposed several major health care expansions that would represent the largest investment in health insurance coverage since the enactment of Medicare.

Enacted single largest investment in children's health care since 1965 (Public Law 105-33). The Balanced Budget Act included \$48 billion for the State Children's Health Insurance Program – the single largest investment in health care for children since the enactment of Medicaid in 1965. This new program, together with Medicaid, will provide meaningful health care coverage for up to five million previously uninsured children – including prescription drugs, vision, hearing, and mental health services. Within three years of enactment, all 50 states have implemented S-CHIP programs, and over 2 million children have been covered. In addition, the number of states covering children up to 200 percent of poverty increased by more than 7 fold – to 30 states – during that time.

Enacted landmark legislation providing new health insurance opportunities for working people with disabilities (Public Law 106-70). The Jeffords-Kennedy Work Incentives Improvement Act creates important new health insurance options provided to people with disabilities. This landmark new legislation creates two new options for states to offer the Medicaid buy-in for workers with disabilities and provides \$150 million in grants to encourage states to take this option; establishes a new Medicaid buy-in demonstration to help people with whose disability is not yet so severe that they cannot work; extends Medicare coverage for an additional 4 and a half years for people in the disability insurance system who return to work; and enhances employment-related services for individuals with disabilities.

Enacted new legislation to help young people leaving foster care (Public Law 106-169). Today, when young people emancipate from foster care, they face numerous health risks, but too often lose their health insurance. The new law grants states the option for these young people to remain eligible for Medicaid up to age 21. HHS issued guidance to all State Medicaid Directors encouraging them to take up this option.

Approved waivers expanding health insurance coverage for Americans. The Clinton Administration has approved 17 state-wide Medicaid waivers linking public health financing with private health plans, providing an estimated 1.4 million low income Americans with critical health insurance coverage for the first time.

Issued Executive Directives to target and enroll uninsured children and launched the national Insure Kids Now Campaign. The President issued two executive directives to enhance current efforts to identify and enroll uninsured children in Medicaid and S-CHIP; one requiring Federal agencies to implement over 150 new actions to enroll eligible but uninsured children, and one directing Cabinet Secretaries to develop strategies to integrate children's health insurance outreach into schools. These Executive Memoranda cut across jurisdiction and traditional agency inflexibility by directing Federal agencies to work together to design collaborative initiatives that build on state innovations. The Insure Kids Now Campaign was designed to build on Administration actions to further promote outreach and enrollment. This bipartisan, public-private education and information campaign includes: the "1-877-KIDS NOW" Hotline, a toll free number to provide information about Medicaid and CHIP to families in all 50 states; running PSAs on national television and radio about Insure Kids Now; printing the toll free number on common products; and reaching out to enlist every school in the country in a children's health outreach campaign.

Proposed \$110 billion in FY 2001 budget to extend coverage to over 5 million currently uninsured Americans and provide more affordable coverage to millions more. This initiative would help cover parents of S-CHIP children, 19 and 20 year olds, 55 to 65 year olds, workers in between jobs, and small businesses and their employees. It addresses the nation's multi-faceted coverage challenges by building on and complementing current private and public programs. Specifically, the initiative would:

- **Provide a new, affordable health insurance option for families.** This proposal invests \$76 billion over 10 years to provide health insurance to the uninsured families. S-CHIP would be expanded to provide higher Federal matching payments for expanding health insurance to parents of children eligible for or enrolled in Medicaid and S-CHIP. FamilyCare: provides higher Federal matching payments for expanding coverage to parents; increases S-CHIP allotments and makes them permanent to ensure adequate funding for parents and their children; enrolls parents in the same program as their children; covers lower income parents first; and requires all states to cover at least all poor parents by 2006, providing the same coverage their children have today.
- **Accelerate enrollment of uninsured children eligible for Medicaid and S-CHIP.** The President's budget, which will invest \$5.5 billion over the next five years in this initiative, will: (1) promote school-based outreach by allowing states to use information on school lunch applications to find uninsured children and to automatically enroll children in the school lunch program in Medicaid and SCHIP while their applications are formally processed; (2) allow additional sites such as child care referral centers to enroll children while their applications are formally processed; (3) require states to synchronize Medicaid and SCHIP eligibility processes.

- **Expand health insurance options for Americans facing unique barriers to coverage.** Some vulnerable groups of Americans often lack access to employer-sponsored insurance and insurance programs like Medicare or Medicaid. This proposal: expands state options to insure children aged 19 and 20 through Medicaid and FamilyCare; establishing a Medicare buy-in option and making it more affordable through a tax credit equal to 25 percent of their insurance premiums; providing a 25 percent tax credit to make COBRA continuation coverage more affordable for workers in between jobs; improving access to affordable insurance by providing tax incentives and technical assistance to establish voluntary purchasing coalitions for workers in small businesses; and extending transitional Medicaid for people leaving welfare for work as well as restoring state options to insure legal immigrants.
- **Strengthen programs that provide health care directly to the uninsured.** This historic new grant program invests \$1 billion over 5 years to support community providers of services to the uninsured. These grants will allow providers to deliver the full range of primary care services to the uninsured, rather than treating only the most emergent problems. Currently, many uninsured individuals do not have access to primary care, mental health, and substance abuse services. Funds will be used to preserve access to critical tertiary care services while holding providers accountable for health outcomes.

Invested \$220 million in the FY 2001 budget for Medicaid coverage of certain uninsured women with breast and cervical cancer. President Clinton included \$220 million in his FY 2001 budget for a new Medicaid option to provide needed insurance coverage to the thousands of uninsured women with breast and cervical cancer detected by Federally supported screening programs. This new proposal will help eliminate the current and frequently overwhelming financial barriers to treatment for these women. The Vice President and the First Lady, national advocates for the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of breast cancer, strongly advocated for this initiative, which has been endorsed by the National Breast Cancer Coalition and other cancer groups.

III. ELIMINATING TAX INEQUITIES IN HEALTH CARE

The Health Security Act included a number of provisions to eliminate tax inequities in health care, including limiting the exclusion for employer provided health benefits, increasing the deduction for self-employed workers, and providing tax breaks on long-term care insurance premiums.

Enacted legislation to eliminate the discriminatory tax treatment of the self-employed (Public Laws 104-191 and 105-33). HIPAA law increased the tax deduction from 30 percent to 80 percent for the approximately 10 million Americans who are self-employed. The President also signed into law a provision to phase it in to 100 percent in the BBA.

Enacted legislation to provide consumer protections and tax incentives for private long-term care insurance (Public Law 104-191). The HIPAA legislation took steps to make long-term care more affordable by guaranteeing that employer sponsored long-term care insurance receives the same tax treatment as health insurance; implemented new consumer protections to assure that any tax favored product meets basic consumer and quality standards.

Proposed a new 25 percent tax credit for COBRA premiums. COBRA allows workers in firms with greater than 20 employees to pay a full premium (102 percent of the average cost of group health insurance) to buy into their employers' health plan for up to 18 months after leaving their job. This proposal would provide a 25 percent tax credit to make COBRA continuation coverage more affordable for workers in between jobs.

IV. STRENGTHENING AND MODERNIZING MEDICARE

The Health Security Act would have made a significant contribution to extending the life of the Medicare Trust Fund through a series of improvements and program efficiencies, as well as added a new Medicare prescription drug benefit.

Enacted Medicare reforms that extended solvency, provided new preventive benefits, and added new plan choices (Public Laws 105-33 and PL 103-66). The Balanced Budget Act of 1997 contained major new Medicare reforms including:

- **Payment and structural reforms that extend the life of the Medicare Trust Fund until 2025.** When the President came into office, Medicare was projected to become insolvent in 1999. The President's 1993 economic package included policy and structural changes that extended the life of the Medicare Trust Fund by at least three years, and the Balanced Budget Act extended the life of the Trust Fund by an additional 10 years. The Administration's stewardship of Medicare and efforts to combat fraud, waste, and abuse in the program has resulted in the longest Medicare Trust Fund solvency in a quarter century, extending the life of the Medicare Trust Fund by a total of 26 years and offering premiums that are nearly 20 percent lower today than projected in 1993.
- **New structural reforms to modernize the program.** The BBA included a series of structural reforms which modernize the program, bringing it in line with the private sector and preparing it for the baby boom generation. These reforms: increased the number of health plan options; improved Medicare managed care payment methodology and informed beneficiary choice; implemented a prospective payment systems for skilled nursing home facilities, home health, and hospital outpatient departments; and adopted private-sector oriented purchasing.
- **New preventive benefits.** The BBA also: waived cost-sharing for mammography services and provided annual screening mammograms for beneficiaries age 40 and older to help detect breast cancer; established a diabetes self-management benefit; ensured Medicare coverage of colorectal screening and cervical cancer screening (early detection of cancer can result in less costly treatment, enhanced quality of life, and, in some cases, greater likelihood of cure); ensured coverage of bone mass measurement tests to help women detect osteoporosis, and increased reimbursement rates for certain immunizations to protect seniors from pneumonia, influenza, and hepatitis.

Enacted legislation and took administrative action to fight fraud and waste in Medicare (Public Law 104-191). Since 1993, the Clinton Administration has assigned more federal prosecutors and FBI agents to fight health care fraud than ever before. As a result, convictions have gone up a full 410% saving more than \$50 billion in health care claims. In addition, HIPAA law created a new stable source of funding to fight fraud and abuse that is coordinated by the HHS Office of the Inspector General and the Department of Justice. Since its passage, nearly \$1.6 billion in fraud and abuse savings has been returned to the Medicare Trust Fund.

Enacted legislation to help remedy the reimbursement concerns of health care providers (Public Law 106-113). The Administration advocated strongly for the Medicare, Medicaid and SCHIP Balanced Budget Refinement Act (BBRA) of 1999, which addresses flawed policy and excessive payment reductions resulting from the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. This legislation invests \$16 billion over 5 years to moderate the impact of the BBA by placing a moratorium on therapy caps; increasing payments for very sick patients in nursing homes; restoring funding to teaching hospitals; and easing the transition to the new prospective payment system for hospital outpatients.

Issued an Executive Memorandum directing Medicare to reimburse providers for the cost of routine patient care associated with participation in clinical trials. The President issued an Executive Memorandum directing the Medicare program to revise its payment policy and immediately begin to explicitly reimburse providers for the cost of routine patient care associated with participation in clinical trials. HHS was directed to take additional action to promote the participation of Medicare beneficiaries in clinical trials for all diseases, including: activities to increase beneficiary awareness of the new coverage option; actions to ensure that the information gained from important clinical trials is used to inform coverage decisions by properly structuring the trial; and reviewing the feasibility and advisability of other actions to promote research on issues of importance to Medicare beneficiaries.

Proposed new, comprehensive plan to strengthen and modernize Medicare for the 21st century. This historic initiative would:

- **Make Medicare more competitive and efficient.** The President's plan adds price competition and successful private-sector management tools to Medicare. These policies manage cost growth and allow flexibility to adopt innovative private practices to improve quality and efficiency.
- **Modernize Medicare's benefits, including a long overdue prescription drug benefit.** The current Medicare benefit package does not include all the services needed to treat health problems facing the elderly and people with disabilities. The President's plan would take strong new steps to ensure that Medicare beneficiaries have access to affordable prescription drugs and preventive services that have become essential elements of high-quality medicine by establishing a new voluntary Medicare "Part D" prescription drug benefit that is affordable and available to all beneficiaries and proposal eliminates all cost sharing for all preventive benefits in Medicare. The benefit also provides financial incentives for employers to develop and retain their retiree health coverage if it provides a prescription drug benefit to retirees that was at least equivalent to the new Medicare outpatient drug benefit. In addition, the President's FY 2001 budget also includes financing for protections against the cost of catastrophic drug expenses.

- **Strengthening Medicare's financing for the 21st century.** The President's Medicare plan would strengthen the program and make it more competitive and efficient. However, no amount of policy-sound savings would be sufficient to address the fact that the elderly population will double from almost 40 million today to 80 million over the next three decades. Without new financing, excessive and unsupportable provider payment cuts or beneficiary cost sharing increases would be needed. The President proposes to dedicate \$299 billion over 10 years from the non-Social Security surplus to the Medicare Trust Fund, improving its financing and reducing debt.

V. PROTECTING MEDICAID AND IMPROVING LONG-TERM CARE

The Health Security Act ensured that Medicaid beneficiaries received the same stable, high quality health care coverage as other Americans. It also assured that former Medicaid beneficiaries continued to receive all additional specialized services that they received under Medicaid. The Act provided for a new program to deliver home and community based care, as well as tax incentives for quality long-term care insurance.

Vetoed Republican proposals to block grant Medicaid, which threatened insurance coverage for millions of low income people and nursing home residents. The President protected the Medicaid guarantee for children, elderly, pregnant women, and people with disabilities. The President vetoed the Republican proposal to block grant the Medicaid program, and protected the guarantee of meaningful health care coverage or benefits to 37 million beneficiaries.

Enacted new actions to modernize the Medicaid program (Public Law 105-33). The Balanced Budget Act of 1997 (BBA) included several provisions to modernize the Medicaid program and increase state flexibility, including:

- **New steps to increase provider payment flexibility.** The BBA repealed the Boren Amendment and the cost-based reimbursement requirement for Federally qualified health centers and rural health clinics, providing states with greater discretion in establishing their provider payment rates. It also eliminated the burdensome administrative standards for payment to obstetricians and pediatricians, freeing providers from completing up to 300 pages of paperwork before being able to be reimbursed for their services.
- **New flexibility for Medicaid managed care programs.** The BBA allowed states to implement managed care programs without Federal waivers if beneficiaries have a choice of plans. States are permitted to enroll Medicaid beneficiaries in a health plan for up to six months and to guarantee Medicaid eligibility during this enrollment period. It also established Federal guidelines for new state-based quality improvement programs to ensure that managed care providers maintain reasonable access to quality health care.
- **Simplifies state options to expand eligibility and design community based long-term care programs.** States able to manage costs below their per capita limits can expand coverage to any group of people with incomes below 150 percent of the Federal poverty level without a waiver. States can also scale back their coverage expansions to the minimum required by law if they wish. In addition, states can now provide home and community based services to elderly and disabled Medicaid enrollees below 150 percent of the poverty level without a Federal waiver.

Launching a comprehensive nursing home quality initiative. The Clinton Administration has made ensuring the health and safety of nursing home residents a top priority and has issued the toughest nursing home regulations in the history of the Medicare and Medicaid programs, including increased monitoring of nursing homes to ensure that they are in compliance; requiring states to crack down on nursing homes that repeatedly violate health and safety requirements; and changing the inspection process to increase the focus on preventing bedsores, malnutrition and resident abuse. The Administration also established the Nursing Home Compare website, which provides prospective consumers facility specific information on nursing homes. Finally, the Administration recently instructed states to impose immediate sanctions, such as fines, against nursing homes any time that a nursing home is found to have caused harm to a resident on consecutive surveys, in order to put additional pressure on nursing homes to meet all health and safety standards. In addition, the implementation of provisions in the BBRA will invest over \$2.7 billion over 5 years in these critical providers, a \$500 million increase in reimbursement in 2000 alone.

Approved state waivers to help seniors and individuals with disabilities to stay in their communities. The Clinton Administration has approved over 200 home and community based waivers nationwide, helping hundreds of thousands of people receive the critical health care services they need to function at home rather than requiring them to enter nursing homes in order to receive care.

Proposed new assistance for individuals with long-term care needs and their caregivers. In 1999 and 2000, President Clinton's budgets included an historic long-term care initiative. The President's 2001 budget included a \$3,000 tax credit for people with long-term care needs or their caregivers – tripling the credit over last year's proposal and increasing the total investment in long-term care to \$28 billion over 10 years. This credit is the centerpiece of the President's historic long-term care initiative. The initiative tackles the complex problem of long-term care that affects millions of elderly, people with disabilities and families who care people in need. In addition, the initiative will:

- **Establish a commitment to provide services to assist family caregivers of older persons.** Recent studies have found that services like respite care can relieve caregiver stress and delay nursing home entry, and that support for families of Alzheimer's patients can delay institutionalization for up to a year. This nationwide program would support families who care for elderly relatives with chronic illnesses or disabilities by enabling states to utilize a visible, reliable network to provide: quality respite care and other support services; critical information about community-based long-term services that best meet a families' needs; and counseling and support.
- **Improve equity in Medicaid eligibility for people in home- and community-based care settings.** This proposal would enable states to provide services to nursing-home qualified beneficiaries at 300 percent of the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) limit (about \$15,000) without requiring a complicated and frequently time-consuming Federal waiver. This proposal contributes towards this goal of giving people with long-term care needs the choice of remaining in their homes and communities.

Proposed that the Federal government serve as a model employer by offering quality private long-term care insurance to Federal employees. The Office of Personnel Management (OPM) to use its market leverage and set a national example by offering non-subsidized, quality private long-term care insurance to all federal employees, retirees, and their families at group rates. This proposal will provide employers a nationwide model for offering quality long-term care insurance. OPM anticipates that approximately 300,000 Federal employees would participate in this program.

VI. PUBLIC HEALTH

The Health Security Act included major developments in public health, including significant new investments in biomedical and behavioral research related to health promotion and prevention of disease and health services research. In addition, the Act provided grants to states for core public health functions, a focus on health care for the traditionally underserved, and support for health care professionals and institutions that work in this area.

Enacted unprecedented investments in biomedical research. Funding for NIH has increased by \$7.3 billion since 1993 – an increase of 73 percent. In 1997, the President made a commitment to increase the NIH budget 50 percent over the next 5 years. Since that time, the NIH budget has increased by over \$4.3 billion, for an all-time high of \$18 billion. Last year, NIH received \$2.3 billion, a 15 percent increase over FY 1999 funding levels, to build on the President's commitment to biomedical research. With the \$1 billion increase proposed by the President in the FY 2001 budget, the Administration will be one year ahead of schedule in reaching the 50 percent goal. As a result, NIH now supports the highest levels of research ever on nearly all types of disease and health conditions, making new breakthroughs possible in vaccine development and use and the treatment of chronic and acute disease.

Enacted historic investments in reproductive health. Since the Clinton-Gore Administration took office, funding for domestic family planning services has increased by 58 percent. During his Administration, President Clinton has taken a number of steps to provide safe and effective family planning services to women, including launching a National Task Force on Violence Against Health Care Providers to coordinate the investigation of violence against women's health care clinics nationwide. In addition, President Clinton has: reversed the ban on the importation of RU-486 and threatened to veto a provision that would have prevented the FDA from using government funds to test, develop or approve drugs that may induce medical abortion; defeated Republican proposals to require minors to obtain parental consent prior to receiving any Title X family planning services and make it illegal to transport a minor across State lines for the purpose of avoiding parental consent or notification laws; and upheld his veto of a bill banning certain late-term abortions without an appropriate exception to protect the life and health of women.

Enacted new investments in mental health prevention and treatment. Since the beginning of the Clinton Administration, funding for mental health services has increased by 65 percent for a total of \$631 million in FY 2000. In addition, the President's FY 2001 budget includes a new investment of \$100 million for mental health services, an increase of 16 percent over last year's funding level and a 90 percent increase since 1993. This includes a \$60 million increase for the Mental Health Block Grant, which provides integral support to States for services for people with severe mental illnesses and \$30 million for new Targeted Capacity Expansion grants to assist those with mental illnesses that the Mental Health Block Grant is not authorized to serve.

WE.

104788
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 27, 1994

Dear Newt:

While we could not achieve broad-based agreement on a health reform initiative last year, there can be little disagreement that we still face the enormous problems of increasing health care costs and decreasing coverage. We need to confront these problems on a bipartisan basis and address the insecurities that too many Americans have about their health care. I am writing to reiterate my strong desire to work with you in this regard.

I remain firmly committed to providing insurance coverage for every American and containing health care costs for families, businesses, and Federal, State, and local governments. In the upcoming session of Congress, we can and should work together to take the first steps toward achieving these goals. We can pass legislation that includes measures to address the unfairness in the insurance market, make coverage more affordable for working families and children, assure quality and efficiency in the Medicare and Medicaid programs, and reduce the long-term Federal deficit.

We look forward to talking with you in the upcoming weeks about a bipartisan effort to deliver health care reform to the American public. Hillary and I send our best wishes for a safe and happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

COPY

Youth: At Risk Youth

Accomplishments:

Organized and Hosted White House Conference on Teenagers (5/2/00) & Column (5/3/00)

Gun Violence, Youth Violence and Violence Prevention

- Million Mom Rally on South Lawn and subsequent march (5/14/00)
- "From Violence to Dialogue" Conference, Tel Aviv (11/10/99)
- Violence PSA Event with POTUS (8/17/99)
- Participated in Youth Violence Event at Fisher Middle School, NJ (6/10/99)
- Participated in Good Morning America Discussion on Youth Violence (6/4/99)
- Called for an FTC/DOJ Study on Violence in the Media (6/1/99)
- Met with families of Columbine High School Victims, CO (5/20/99)
- Participated in White House Strategy Session on Children, Violence and Responsibility w/POTUS and launched National Campaign Against Youth Violence (5/10/99)
- Participated in Mother's Day Event highlighting the importance of keeping kids safe from guns (5/8/99)
- Announced introduction of gun control legislation affecting children's access to guns (4/27/99)
- School Violence Conference- hosted three panels and lunch (10/15/98)
- White House Dinner on At-Risk Youth (8/3/98)
- Boys and Girls Club event in NY City (4/14/98)
- Columns: Million Mom March (5/10/00), Common Sense Gun Laws (3/8/2000), Youth Violence (8/18/99), Guns, Kids and Youth Violence (5/12/99), Columbine (4/28/99), School Shootings (4/8/98)

Juvenile Justice

- Received award at NYC's Police Athletic League's Women of the Year luncheon (12/2/98)
- Leader in advocating for juvenile justice legislation that doesn't harm children (Fall 1998)
- Column: Juvenile Justice Legislation (10/8/98)

Arts Education and At-Risk Youth

- Launched PCAH report *Coming Up Taller* on arts programs around the country geared toward at-risk youth (4/26/96) and participated in Coming Up Taller Event (10/7/98)
- Visited programs for youth at risk at the Manchester Craftsman Guild in PA (6/7/96) and Gallery 37 in Chicago (8/27/96)
- Columns: Activities for Youth (6/15/96), Art Education (5/21/96)

Hosted Children's Conferences to hear youth perspective on effective services for children

- Youth Talk: A City Listens to Children (6/14/96)
- Colorado Listens to Kids, Denver, CO (5/22/96)

Save the Children Mentoring Event (2/3/99)

Youth: National Service

Accomplishments:

Events highlighting National Service

- Led Administration efforts on National Service and her staff was key point of contact for Service Initiatives in the White House. Hosted the 5th Anniversary of AmeriCorps and the AmeriCorps Anniversary Committee Luncheon at the White House (10/20/99)
- Participated in City Year's 10th Anniversary Celebration (6/4/99)
- AmeriCorps Alums Fundraiser (9/10/98)
- Jumpstart Rally at Mazique Head Start Center, DC (6/18/98)
- Reauthorization Rally on Capitol Hill (3/19/98)
- MLK Day of Service Literacy Fair at MCI Center (1/19/98)
- Rhode Island City Year event (6/9/97)
- Learn & Grow child care initiatives (1/7/98; 10/24/97)
- National Service Summit in Philadelphia (4/27/97- 4/29/97)
- DC School- Service Learning event at Cordoza High School (4/97)
- Senior Service event (6/17/96)
- New York AmeriCorps event (4/25/95)
- Columns: Fifth Anniversary of AmeriCorps (10/20/99), White House Volunteers (4/29/98), Service (1/13/98 & 3/17/98), Summit for America's Future (4/23/97), US Relief Workers Overseas (2/3/96)

Youth: After- School Opportunities

Accomplishments:

HRC led Administration efforts on after school and her staff was main point of contact for Administration's after-school initiatives. Leadership in securing \$200 million in FY99 budget and \$450 million in FY00 budget for after-school programs.

Events Highlighting After-School Programs

- Chicago Afterschool Event (1/13/99)
- White House Event to announce after school budget proposals (1/7/99)
- Visit to DC Learning and Tennis program (9/18/98)
- Visit to Chicago Lighthouse program, release of report on effective programs (4/24/98)
- Announcement of Mott Grant of \$50 million to after-school programs (1/26/98)
- Visit to Virtual Y Program In NYC (1/26/98)
- Columns: Girls and Sports (3/10/99), After-School (11/18/98), Activities for Youth (6/15/96)

Participated in HBO's Women in Sports Event in New York (3/4/99)

CHRONOLOGY OF THE FIRST LADY'S INVOLVEMENT IN PROMOTING MICROENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT

- 1986 Mrs. Clinton and then-Governor Clinton met with Mohammed Yunus, the founder of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, in Arkansas to discuss the relevance of the model of the Grameen Bank to rural Arkansas communities.
- 1988 Mrs. Clinton was involved in the creation of, and served on the board of, the Southern Development Bank Corporation and its non-profit affiliate, the Good Faith Fund -- one of the first rural microenterprise funds in the United States. Modeled after the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, the Good Faith Fund provides small loans, training and technical assistance to low- and moderate-income entrepreneurs in rural communities in Arkansas. Several U.S. foundations, through program-related investments, have partnered with the Good Faith Fund.
- March, 1995 Mrs. Clinton visited the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India and the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh to highlight these important microcredit programs enabling poor women to become self-sufficient.
- May 14, 1995 Mrs. Clinton's op-ed in the Washington Post, "Investing in Sisterhood," underscores how microcredit helps women overcome poverty.
- July 26, 1995 Mrs. Clinton visited Mi Casa, a program in Denver, Colorado, promoting microenterprise development, which has received support from the Small Business Administration. She also spoke to the Women's Foundation of Colorado Conference on microenterprise as a tool of opportunity.
- August 28, 1995 President Clinton directed the Secretary of the Treasury to develop an awards program to honor excellence in microenterprise development, and to coordinate all microenterprise programs within the U.S. government. This was announced as part of the U.S. commitments to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women.
- September 5, 1995 Mrs. Clinton spoke in Beijing, China, at the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) panel discussion on "Women's Economic Empowerment." Other panelists included Ela Bhatt of India's SEWA, and Mohammed Yunus of the Grameen Bank.
- October 12, 1995 Mrs. Clinton visited a FINCA bank, "Mothers United," in Nicaragua (which was subsequently re-named "Mothers United *with Hillary*"), and an Accion microenterprise project, "PenaSol," in Santiago, Chile. Both projects serve very poor women and have been successful in providing economic opportunity.

June 26, 1995 Mrs. Clinton was the keynote speaker at the RESULTS Dinner in Washington, D.C., honoring Dr. Yunus.

November 8, 1995 Mrs. Clinton spoke at the "Beyond Beijing" World Bank Conference, where she highlighted microcredit and economic opportunity. The World Bank has committed itself to microenterprise lending, which is of great importance to women's economic development.

March 19, 1996 Mrs. Clinton spoke about the importance of microenterprise in development to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

May 2, 1996 Mrs. Clinton and Secretary Rubin announced the details of the Presidential Awards for Excellence in Microenterprise Development via video to the Association for Enterprise Opportunity Conference in Rhode Island.

September 16, 1996 Mrs. Clinton spoke at the USAID "Lessons Without Borders" Conference in Baltimore, Maryland, where she described how lessons learned through international assistance can be applied to solve problems at home.

December 3, 1996 Mrs. Clinton visited BancoSol in La Paz, Bolivia -- Bolivia's largest commercial bank and the world's only commercial bank dedicated solely to micro lending. (The BancoSol borrowing group that Mrs. Clinton met with re-named itself the "Hillary" group in honor of her.)

December 19, 1996 The First Lady addressed the Community First Bank in Washington, D.C. The First Lady applauded the efforts of HUD, HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros, and the Bank for all their efforts for community empowerment.

January 30, 1997 The President, joined by First Lady and Secretary Rubin, presented the Inaugural Presidential Awards for Excellence in Microenterprise Development at the White House.

February 3, 1997 Mrs. Clinton gave the keynote address at the International Micro Credit Summit in Washington, D.C.

February 3, 1997 Mrs. Clinton visited a Foundation for International Community Assistance (FINCA) borrowing group in Washington, D.C.

March 21, 1997 Mrs. Clinton met with borrowers from the Zambuko Trust Microfinance Program, a microenterprise institution supporting 4,000 Zimbabwean businesses -- 75% of them owned by women.

March 29, 1997 Mrs. Clinton visited a FINCA microenterprise borrowing group outside

Kampala, Uganda.

- May 5, 1997 Mrs. Clinton visited with indigenous and peasant women involved in various microenterprises in Mexico, who displayed their products and discussed their work.
- May 7, 1997 Mrs. Clinton participated in a roundtable in Costa Rica with microcredit entrepreneurs and Mrs. Figueres, the First Lady of Costa Rica. Eight microentrepreneurs from throughout Costa Rica spoke with the First Lady and displayed their merchandise.
- May 8, 1997 Mrs. Clinton spoke to the Regional Consultative Forum on Microenterprise Development in San Jose, Costa Rica. The Forum brought together 70 entrepreneurs from Central America to exchange ideas and ask for support from the region's political leadership. The Forum was supportive of the Plan of Action of the Summit of the Americas.
- May 10, 1997 Mrs. Clinton participated in the Caribbean Regional Microenterprise Forum in Bridgetown, Barbados. The event was sponsored by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Caribbean Development Bank. Mrs. Clinton announced \$500,000 in assistance for microenterprise assistance to the four Windward Islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Dominica.
- July 24, 1997 Mrs. Clinton made remarks at the launching of a new Microenterprise Development Initiative on Capitol Hill.
- February 2, 1998 Mrs. Clinton made remarks at the Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, where she discussed the need for corporate responsibility and her support for microcredit.
- March 24, 1998 Mrs. Clinton, along with the President, made remarks to FINCA in Uganda.
- April 18, 1998 Mrs. Clinton met with female entrepreneurs who have received money, training and support through microcredit. The First Lady listened to the women share their personal stories in Cunco, Chile.
- April 24, 1998 At the Association for Enterprise Opportunity Conference, Mrs. Clinton discussed the importance of microcredit. Several organizations were acknowledged by the First Lady, including USAID, FINCA, and several entrepreneurs.
- June 18, 1998 On Capitol Hill, Mrs. Clinton, along with Senators Kennedy and

Domenici, participated in an announcement of the PRIME Act of 1998. The "Program for Investment in Micro-Entrepreneurs Act" provides grants to organizations that aid microentrepreneurs.

June 27, 1998

In Beijing, China, the First Lady participated in a dialogue with Chinese women entrepreneurs.

October, 1998

Mrs. Clinton attended the Central and Eastern Europe Regional Forum on Women in the 21st Century in Sofia, Bulgaria, where she encouraged the cultivation of women as business leaders.

December 14, 1998

Mrs. Clinton announced the USAID grant recipients at the Women's Empowerment Center in Beach Camp, Gaza.

February 5, 1999

Mrs. Clinton and the President presented the 1998 Microenterprise Awards at the White House.

March 25, 1999

Mrs. Clinton toured the Enda Inter-Arabe Urban Development Center in Tunisia.

November 13, 1999

Mrs. Clinton and Her Majesty Queen Rania of Jordan presented the first annual Jordan Microenterprise Awards in Amman, Jordan.

Updated January, 2000

Goodwill Ambassador for the United States

Objective:

To continue to visit foreign countries advocating for human rights and investments in tools and opportunity with special focus on women, children, and families, and building a civil society. Highlights USAID programs.

Accomplishments:

COUNTRIES VISITED

- 1999- Israel, Jordan, Turkey, Greece, Italy, Poland, Slovakia, Italy, Iceland, France, Switzerland, Germany, Slovenia, Jordan, Holland (the Hague), Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Ireland, Northern Ireland, England, Macedonia
- 1998- Chile, Uruguay, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Russia, Northern Ireland, Ireland, China, France, Switzerland, England, South Africa, Senegal, Ghana, Uganda, Rwanda, Nicaragua, Honduras, Haiti, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Israel, Palestine Region
- 1997- Netherlands, England, Eritrea, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Senegal, South Africa, Uganda, Mexico, Barbados, Costa Rica, Spain, Austria, Portugal, Panama, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Russia, Ukraine, England, India, Ireland and Northern Ireland
- 1996- Greece, Turkey, Republic of Korea, Japan, France, Romania, Estonia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Finland, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, Hungary, Thailand, Australia, Philippines, Bolivia
- 1995- Pakistan, Nepal, India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Denmark, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Nova Scotia, Canada, Guam, China, Mongolia, Japan, Chile, Paraguay, Brazil, Nicaragua, Germany, Spain, UK, Ireland, Northern Ireland
- 1994- Russia, Norway, France, Germany, Poland, Latvia, Italy, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, UK, Philippines, Indonesia
- 1993- South Korea
- Columns on various trips (3/24/99, 2/10/99, 12/16/98, 7/9/96, 4/2/96, 11/26/95, 9/16/95)

NATO Summit Meeting (4/99)

Columns advocating foreign aid and work of UN (9/10/96)

Human Rights

Objective:

Accomplishments:

- Human Rights Day Events with President (12/6/99)
- OSCE Event on Trafficking in Human Beings, Turkey (11/18/99)
- Tour of the Center for Rehabilitation of Land Mine Victims, Slovenia (6/21/99)
- Met with Algerian Mothers of the Disappeared (4/30/99)
- Keynoted Physicians for Human Rights Luncheon (4/28/99)
- Millennium Lecture on Human Rights by Elie Wiesel (4/12/99)
- Keynoted the United Nation's International Women's Day (3/4/99)
- Private Meeting with International Court Tribunal- Yugoslavia (2/7/99)
- Human Rights Day Event (12/10/98)
- Highlighted rule of law in China (7/98)
- Round table with genocide victims from Bosnia (12/22/97)
- Human Rights Speech to UN on 50th Anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights (12/10/97)
- Roundtable with genocide victims from Rwanda (3/28/97)
- Meeting in Arusha to promote work of International Court on War Crimes (3/24/97)
- Participated in UN Conference on Social Development (3/95)
- Column: Human Trafficking (1/19/2000), Elie Wiesel Millennium Evening (4/14/99)

Work on Behalf of Kosovar Refugees

- Participated in unveiling of Superman comic book designed to warn Kosovar children about landmines (8/2/99)
- Toured Stenkovich I Refugee Camp with POTUS (6/22/99)
- Announcement of Relief Aid in Macedonia/Liz Claiborne (6/22/99)
- Kosovo Refugee Relief Event at White House (5/18/99)
- Trip to Macedonia to meet with Refugees, NGOs and High Level Macedonian Officials (5/14/99)
- Met with Kosovo Refugees in London (5/13/99)
- Greeted Kosovo Refugees at Fort Dix (5/5/99)
- Foundations Meeting at UN concerning relief efforts (4/19/99)
- Participated in Kosovo Humanitarian Relief Effort at Dover Air Force Base (4/9/99)
- Columns: Stenkovich I Refugee Camp (6/23/99), Trip to Macedonia (5/19/99), Letters on Kosovo (5/5/99), Kosovo Refugees (4/7/99), Kosovo and Tolerance (4/5/99)

Convention on the Rights of the Child/ CEDAW

Objective:

To support the initiative established in the convention on the rights of the child and CEDAW.

Accomplishments:

- Announced the US signing of CRC at Jim Grant's memorial service (2/10/95)
- Planned and hosted several human rights events at the White House with POTUS
- Human Rights Day speech on children's human rights (12/10/98)
- Eleanor Roosevelt Lecture (12/4/98)
- Speech in Uganda on children's rights (3/25/98)
- Speech in Thailand (11/25/96)
- Column: CRC (12/9/98)
- In July 2000, the President signed and transmitted to the Senate the U.N. Protocols on the Rights of the Child

Women, Children & Families

Objective:

To highlight the critical importance of investments in human capital, especially women's human rights and social development, and investments in women and girls.

Accomplishments:

Women's Rights and Empowerment

- Recorded video of support for Beijing Plus 5 Review Conferences (1/7/2000)
- Raise issues and participate in events relating to women's health, domestic violence, educational opportunities, credit and human rights in travels around the world
- Honorary Chair of the US Delegation to the Fourth World Conference on Women
- Chair President's Interagency Council on Women
- Vital Voices Roundtable: Central Asia and Turkey, Istanbul (11/19/99)
- Addressed Vital Voices Democracy Initiative in Reykjavik, Iceland (10/10/99)
- Recorded opening for Vital Voices Trinidad (9/23/99)
- Attended American Ireland Fund Reception- funds raised went to Vital Voices Northern Ireland (8/20/99)
- Vital Voices Roundtable in Palermo, Italy (6/18/99)
- Participated in Vital Voices Follow Up Conference in Belfast (5/13/99)
- Met with Women Politicians/Members of the Assembly in Belfast, Northern Ireland (5/12/99)
- Met with Chinese women participating in USIA Women in Leadership Project (5/5/99)
- Addressed Women's Conference at the Palais de Congress, Tunisia (3/26/99)
- Meeting with Vital Voices Participants in Meridia, Mexico (2/15/99)
- Drop by at Northern Ireland Political Opportunity for Women Event (1/22/99)
- Addressed "Women in the 21st Century" Conference in Bulgaria (10/98)
- Speech and roundtable in China (7/98)
- Annual implementation and participation in International Women's Day events, column (3/11/98)
- Addressed international Microenterprise Summit (2/97)
- Initiated efforts to deal with Taliban constraints on women in Afghanistan (3/97)
- Led planning efforts for, attended, and keynote speaker at UN Fourth Conference on Women in Beijing (9/14/95)
- Keynote at Vital Voices Conferences in Montevideo (10/2/98), Belfast (9/2/98), Women's Conference in Almaty, Kazakhstan (11/12/97), Philippine Women's event (11/96), Vienna (6/95)
- Columns: Vital Voices (2/16/2000), China (7/1/98), Africa (4/1/98), Universal

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Declaration of Human Rights (12/9/97), Ireland (11/4/97), Panama (10/14/97), Vital Voices Central Europe (7/15/97), Latin America (5/13/97), Africa (4/2/97), Bolivia (12/3/96), Thailand (11/26/96), Australia (11/19/96), Beijing (10/1/96, 9/9/95, 9/3/95), Ireland (12/9/95)

Children & Families

- Participated in Hearing Children's Voices Conference with Cherie Blair in London (5/13/99)
- Participated in launch of the International Center on Missing and Exploited Children with Lady Meyer (4/23/99)
- Highlighted the problem of street children in Bulgaria (10/98) and Brazil (10/95)
- Initiated efforts to battle trafficking in Ukraine and Russia (3/97)
- Columns: Children in Sudan (3/24/98), Children in Bosnia (10/21/96)

Building Democracy and Civil Society/ Rule of Law

Objective:

To promote the successes of a democratic society by sharing the tools and structure of opportunity with young democratic countries.

Accomplishments:

- Speech on Cultural Preservation, Aspendos, Turkey (11/18/00)
- Rabin Annual Lecture: Building a Secure Peace, Tel Aviv (11/11/99)
- Participated in NGO Roundtable in Slovakia (10/6/99)
- Keynoted Partners in Transition Conference in Poland (10/5/99)
- Recipient of the National Democratic Institute's 1999 W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award (9/23/99)
- Addressed the Civitas Palermo World Congress: Making Education for Democracy an International Priority (6/18/99)
- Participated in an NGO Roundtable on Civil Society, Fes, Morocco (6/17/99)
- Addressed evolving globalization at the Sorbonne, Paris (6/17/99)
- Voice for democracy and the building of civil societies around the world, stress the importance of NGO's
- Addressed human rights activists at the American University in Cairo, Egypt (3/23/99)
- Addressed the Forum 2000 Conference in Prague (10/98)
- Met with representatives of free Serbian press (9/98)
- Address to World Economic Conference on civil society, Davos (2/2/98)
- Articulated the "Alliance of Value," Prague (7/4/96)
- During trip to Eastern Europe focused on the importance of building a civil society (5/8-12/95)
- Columns: Democracy in Poland (10/5/99), Ireland (4/15/98), Former Soviet Union (11/25/97), Marshall Plan (5/27/97), Africa (3/18/97), Seeds of Peace Program (9/3/96), Central Europe II (7/9/96), Central Europe I (7/2/96), Ireland (12/9/95), South Asia (11/26/95), Mongolia (9/16/95)

International Engagement

Objective:

Accomplishments:

- Bridging the Rift Event, Amman, Jordan (11/13/99)
- Hadassah's 85th Annual National Convention Banquet (7/27/99)
- Keynoted Campaign to Preserve Global Leadership's Washington Action Day (4/12/99)
- USAID Dedication of Ronald Reagan International Building's Lobby in your name (3/16/99)
- Foreign Policy Association Speech (10/98)
- Convened White House Meeting on expanding public support for international engagement (9/98)
- Center for National Policy- receive Ed Muskie award (9/17/98)
- UNICEF 50th Anniversary speech (1/98)
- Hosted WH event to promote Bradley scholars and international exchanges
- Slide presentations on Africa, Central and Eastern Europe, South Asia, Latin America and NIS trips to reach out to ethnic and foreign affairs community
- InterAction speech (96)
- Met with Carnegie Commission on Conflict Resolution
- Speech at Council on Foreign Policy (96)
- Column: United Nations Dues (11/10/99); US Aid to Turkish Earthquake Victims (11/17/99)

Girls Education

Objective:

Accomplishments:

- Announce USAID grants for girl's education in foreign visits
- Keynoted National Moroccan Education Conference, follow up to 5/98 USAID Conference (3/31/99)
- Keynoted USAID Girls Education Conference (5/7/98)
- Promoted girl's education at events in India (3/28/95), Pakistan, Uganda (3/28/97), China (6/26/95)

Western Hemisphere Initiatives

Objective:

To work towards the goals of the Summit of the Americas on issues effecting women and children, particularly through work with the First Ladies of the region.

Accomplishments:

- Ottawa First Ladies Conference: announced USAID initiative to protect effectiveness of drugs against infectious diseases, particularly those that threaten children, and spoke of your vision for the hemisphere's women and children's agenda in the 21st Century
- PAHO speech in Chile (98)
- Keynoted Latin America Vital Voices Conference in Montevideo, Uruguay (10/98)
- Chile First Ladies Conference: gave remarks on the importance of women's participation and civil society building, and announced new USAID grants to support local governments in Latin America and a new scholarship program (Santiago, 9/30/98)
- Panama first Ladies Conference: gave remarks on women's political participation and human rights, and announced a new USAID grant to the Inter-American Institute on Human Rights (Panama City, 10/8/97- 10/9/97)
- Hosted roundtable with Sec. Albright with the Inter-American Institute on Human Rights (Costa Rica, 5/8/97)
- Bolivia First Ladies Conference: gave keynote and announced new US funded hemispheric partnership to reduce maternal mortality (La Paz, 12/3/96)
- Broke down barriers to US adoption of Paraguayan children through direct intervention with Mrs. Wasmosy, First Lady of Paraguay (12/95)
- Paraguay First Ladies Conference: helped to set agenda on maternal mortality reduction, measles elimination and education reform, and announced new USAID initiative on education (Asuncion, 10/12/95)
- Launched Pan American Health Organization measles elimination campaign and announced new USAID assistance to the campaign (4/7/95)
- Hosted the Symposium on Children of the Americas at the Miami Summit of the Americas to convene the First Ladies of the Western Hemisphere to work on reaching the Summit's goals for children (12/10/94)
- Addressed issues in columns (10/14/97, 5/13/97, 12/3/96, 10/15/95)

Health Care

Objective:

To promote the importance of international health care with a special focus on family planning, international family plans and hospital partnerships.

Accomplishments:

- Convened AIDS Meeting at White House to explore strategies to better address international crisis (9/7/99)
- Inaugurated USAID supported maternity operation room at Ibn Khatib Hospital in Fes, Morocco (6/17/99)
- Participated in USAID Vitamin A Luncheon (3/16/99)
- Convened major international funders of TB treatment for a White House meeting on the urgent TB crisis in Russia and beyond (10/98)
- Announced CDC partnership with Chinese Ministry of Health (6/27/98)
- Keynoted WHO conference in Geneva (5/98)
- Keynoted Safe Motherhood Conference at the World Bank (4/98)
- PAHO Speech in Chile (4/98)
- Convened WH meeting on malaria which led to African initiatives (3/98)
- Facilitated delivery of health supplies to Ukraine, follow up meetings to deal with the health crisis (11/97)
- Launched the humanitarian airlift of hospital supplies to the Soviet Union- 500th Airlift (6/17/97)
- Worked to raise awareness of FGM through events in Senegal (3/97)
- Visited hospital partnerships programs in NIS & Eastern Europe (7/96)
- Commemorated Chernobyl Anniversary and commitment of assistance, column (4/30/96)
- Participated in Bosnia Landmine and Hospital Partnership event in the White House (1/29/96)
- Convened discussion at White House with Mrs. Yelstin on state of health care in Russia (96)
- Spearheaded Latvia Hospital Partnership/ held event in the White House (6/28/95)
- Column on 50th Anniversary of WHO (5/13/98)

Family Planning/ Reproductive Health

Objective:

Accomplishments:

- Key participant in White House international family planning policy discussions
- Continually highlights importance of family planning for better health and reduction of abortions
- Participated in New Horizons Roundtable, Telal Zeinhom Youth Center, Egypt (3/22/99)
- Keynote to UN Population Forum (2/9/99)
- Address to International Conference on Population and Development + 5 (2/7/99)
- Stimulated foundation support for family planning in Haiti, announcement (11/98)
- Visited reproductive and family planning centers/ programs around the world including those in Brazil (10/14/97), Mexico (5/6/97), Bolivia (12/96), Tanzania, Russia (1/14/94), NIS
- Columns: World Health Day/Cairo+5 (4/12/00), UN Population Forum/Cairo+5 (2/10/99)

Microenterprise

Objective:

To promote understanding of the significance of small loans to empower women and families around the world.

Accomplishments:

- Recipient of FINCA's first Village Banking Award (4/6/00)
- Jordan Microenterprise Awards (11/13/99)
- Tour and discussion at Enda Inter-Arabe Urban Development Center, Tunisia (3/25/99)
- 1998 Microenterprise Awards with POTUS (2/5/99)
- Announcement of USAID grant recipients at Women's Empowerment Center, Beach Camp, Gaza (12/14/98)
- Encouraged the development of women as business leaders at the Central and Eastern Europe Regional Forum on Women in the 21st Century, Sofia, Bulgaria (10/98)
- Did WH Press Round table (10/13/97)
- Honorary Chair and keynote speaker at International Microcredit Summit (2/3/97)
- UN Fourth World Conference on Women, remarks on microcredit panel (9/4/95- 9/15/95)
- Visited Microenterprise projects around the world including Central Asia (98), Kyrgyzstan (11/97), Uzbekistan (11/97), Panama (10/97), Venezuela (10/97), Costa Rica and Barbados (5/97), Mexico (5/97), Uganda (4/97), Bolivia (12/96), Nicaragua (7/96), Chile (10/95), Bangladesh (5/95), India (5/95)
- Columns: Latin America (5/13/97), Africa (3/18/97), Microcredit (2/4/97), Bolivia (12/3/96)

Religious Freedom

Objective:

Accomplishments:

- Religious Tolerance Speech at El Badi Palace Ruins, Morocco (3/30/99)
- Met with US Commission on Human Rights and Religious Tolerance (97)
- Ramadan events at the White House (1/99, 1/98, 1/97), column (2/22/96)
- Visited synagogues in China (6/98), Ukraine (11/97) and Uzbekistan (11/97) to highlight freedom of religion
- Speeches in Uzbekistan (11/97) and Turkey (3/96) on religious tolerance
- Muslim event in Los Angeles (4/96)

Leadership PCAH, NEA, NEH, IMLS

Objective:

To continue to provide leadership on the federal role in the arts and humanities, promote national recognition of the arts and humanities, and advocate for continued funding and support of the NEA, the NEH, the IMLS and PCAH.

Accomplishments:

- White House leading spokesperson on arts and humanities
- Chief White House liaison with Arts and Humanities Endowments, PCAH and IMLS on all relevant matters
- Hosted 25th Anniversary of the Hirshorn Museum (10/12/99)
- Participated in dedication of Shapiro Sculpture, US Embassy in Ottawa (9/30/99)
- Presented 1999 NEA Heritage Fellowship Awards (9/28/99)
- Presented 1999 NEA and NEH National Arts and Humanities Medals with POTUS (9/29/99)
- Hosted National Arts and Humanities Medalists' Dinner (9/29/99)
- Presented 1999 IMLS National Museum Service Awards (9/29/99)
- Attended National Arts Awards Gala at Lincoln Center (5/24/99)
- Attended First Ladies Library Dinner (3/16/99)
- Hosted Marine Band's 200th Birthday event at White House (7/98)
- Announced Sara Lee donation of corporate arts collection in Chicago (6/98)
- Hosted Pritzker Prize Ceremony for architecture at White House (6/98)
- Speech at Living Arts Downtown event to promote downtown DC revitalization with emphasis on cultural complex (5/98)
- Speech at American Ballet Theater Spring Gala (5/98)
- Speech at University of Michigan on centrality of arts and implications in public policy (4/98)
- Speech at Decatur House event for First National Dallas Women's Museum (3/98)
- Speech at the National First Ladies Library Website event (2/98)
- Participated in transmittal of *Creative America* to POTUS in a press conference (1/97)
- Convened meetings with cultural leaders on meeting ongoing national cultural needs (10/96, 10/97)
- Hosted National Heritage Awards ceremony at the White House (9/27/95- 10/98)
- Speech at 125th Anniversary of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (6/6/95)
- Hosted Presidential Design Awards with the President to honor the best in federal design and construction (3/9/95)
- Event at State Department to mark Jefferson's Birthday (4/11/94)

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- Oversee MOA/MOH awards, ceremony and dinner at White House (annual)
- Arts and Humanities Month Proclamation (annual)
- Hosted event to honor Nobel laureates (annual)
- Presented the National Award for Museum Services (yearlong)
- Supported through participation, events, and White House leadership, major cultural institutions and their programs: National Gallery, NSO, Kennedy Center, Carnegie Hall, the Metropolitan, Library of Congress
- NYT Op-ed about the importance of public support for the arts
- Worked to save USIA's International Arts Exchange program from elimination
- Hosted WETA events at White House
- Supported and hosted FAPE events at White House
- Column: Arts and Humanities Month (9/30/97)

Arts Education & Youth At Risk

Objective:

To highlight the importance of the arts in education and for youth at risk.

Accomplishments:

- Video greeting for *Coming Up Taller* 2nd Annual Awards Presentation at OEOB (10/26/99)
- VH1 Concert of the Century highlighting music education (10/23/99)
- VH1 *Save the Music* Today Show appearance with VH1 President, John Sykes (6/10/99)
- VH1 *Save the Music* event at New York Public School (6/10/99)
- Launched release of PCAH and Arts Education Partnership Joint Report- "Gaining the Arts Advantage: Lessons from School Districts that Value Arts Education" (3/3/99)
- Taped video for announcement of NAEP Report (11/10/98)
- *Coming Up Taller* Awards event at the White House (10/7/98)
- Hosted Arts Education Call to Action event at the White House (9/98)
- VH1 *Save the Music* arts education event at the Marie Reed School (9/17/98)
- Chicago School Principal's Luncheon (6/3/98)
- Scholastic Tea at White House (6/98)
- Speech at Martin Luther King Jr. Library CD-Rom event (4/98)
- Poetry Slam at Johnson Junior High (4/98)
- Visited programs for youth at risk at the Manchester Craftsman Guild in PA (6/7/96) and Gallery 37 in Chicago (8/20/96)
- Launched PCAH report *Coming Up Taller* on arts programs around the country geared towards at-risk youth (4/26/96)
- Column: Arts Education (3/3/99 & 5/21/96)

Millennium Project

Objective:

To issue a call to the nation to honor the past and imagine the future leading up to the turn of the century and the new millennium.

Accomplishments:

Leadership in Welcoming the Millennium

- Delivered Millennium Lecture at National University of Galway, Ireland (5/12/99)
- Announcement of Millennium Project at National Archives (8/15/97)
- Convened first millennium working group meeting (6/97)
- Leadership and formation of inter-agency group and WH office
- Millennium themes in HRC speeches
- Support White House Millennium Council projects through letters, videos, etc.
- HRC columns: Initiative (2/25/97), Yellowstone Anniversary (8/19/97), Treasures (1/27/98, 6/17/98, 7/15/98, 5/26/99), Millennium Council (12/30/98), Millennium Evenings (2/17/98, 10/13/99), Millennium Green (12/25/99), Moment of Remembrance (5/00), Millennium Trails (5/31/00)

Millennium Evenings at the White House

- Dr. Vinton Cerf and Dr. Eric Lander, "Informatics Meets Genomics" (10/99)
- Elie Wiesel, "The Perils of Indifference: Lessons Learned from a Violent Century" (4/99)
- Ruth Simmons, Nancy Cott and Alice Kessler-Harris, "Women as Citizens: Vital Voices through the Century" (3/99)
- Martin Marty and Natalie Davais, "The Meaning of the Millennium" (1/25/99)
- Wynton Marsalis and Marian McPartland, "Jazz: An Expression of Democracy" (9/98)
- Robert Pinsky and Poets Laureate, "Celebration of American Creativity through Poetry" (4/98)
- Stephen Hawking, "Imagination and Change: Science in the Next Millennium" (3/98)
- Bernard Bailyn, "The Living Past- Commitments for the Future" (2/98)

Save America's Treasures

- Honored at the National Trust's 50th Anniversary Gala for leadership on *Save America's Treasures* (10/21/99)
- Second Annual Meeting with Save America's Treasures Millennium Committee (6/99)
- Announcement of Save America's Treasures federal grants to 62 projects of national, historical significance (5/19/99)
- Planning meeting with President of National Trust for Historic Preservation and Save

America's Treasures Administrators (1/99)

- Announcement of Trust's private Millennium Committee to Save America's Treasures and acceptance of honorary chair position (5/98)

Raising Awareness/Save America's Treasure Tours

- Highlighted local Treasure Sites on visit to Buffalo, New York (1/00)
- Established "Honor the Past- Imagine the Future" theme for White House holiday decorations, used models of "Save America's Treasures" sites to adorn White House Christmas tree, mantelpieces and tabletops
- Cultivation Event for Angel Island (11/99)
- Save America's Treasures visits in Chicago (10/99)
- Visit to Nantucket United Methodist Church (8/20/99)
- Visit and tour of National First Ladies Library and McKinley Memorial (7/23/99)
- Charters of Freedom gift announcement at National Archives with the President (7/1/99)
- Save America's Treasures Southwest Tour of NM, AZ and CO (5/99)
- Dolley Madison Commemorative Coin event to announce issuance (1/11/99)
- Save America's Treasures visits to Boston, New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles (12/98)
- Montpelier gift announcement (7/98)
- Save America's Treasures visits to DC, Maryland, New Jersey, Massachusetts and New York (7/98)
- Monacacy Aqueduct 1998 11 Most Endangered List announcement (6/98)
- Opening of Thoreau Institute at Walden Woods with the President (6/98)

Preservation Efforts

Sites visited:

- African Meeting House (Indiv. & Corp. gifts; \$30,000)
- Breed Street Shul (Getty; \$15,000)
- Charters of Freedom Project (AT&T; \$1,800,000)
- Chess Records
- Conservatory of Flowers (Goldman and Indiv. Gift; \$6,523,000)
- Cornerstones Community Partnership (\$240,898)
- Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, GA (\$500,000 anonymous private gift)
- Edison Invention Factory (GE Fund; \$5,000,000)
- Founding Fathers Papers (Norman Lear; \$1,000,000)
- Ganondagan State Park (Individual gifts; \$20,000)
- Key Monument (Target/NEA through SOS!; \$ 1,425,000)
- Longfellow House (Fidelity; \$305,000)
- Louis Armstrong House and Archives (Indiv. & Corp. gifts; \$125,000)

- M'Clintock House (\$10,000)
- Mesa Verde (Individual gifts; \$1,324,379)
- Pullman Warehouse District
- Robie House
- Southwest Pieta (SOS!; \$4,000)
- Star-Spangled Banner (Polo/Pew; \$15,000,000)
- Harriet Tubman (Individual gifts; \$10,000)
- Edith Wharton, The Mount (Individual gifts; \$100,000)

Other contributions:

- FY 2000 Federal Appropriations for Save America's Treasures (\$30,000,000)
- 1999 Federal Appropriation for Save America's Treasures (\$30,000,000)
- Getty: Grants for Preservation Planning (\$1,085,000)
- Polo Ralph Lauren: Public Awareness Campaign (\$3,000,000)
- Proceeds coming from Warner Brothers CD and Dolley Madison Commemorative Coin

Millennium Trails

- Announcement of Millennium Legacy Trails, NEA grant for "Arts on Trails" and unveiling of trail marker (10/21/99)
- Video announcement of sixteen National Millennium Trails (6/99)
- Met with newly created Millennium Trails Celebration Committee (5/99)
- Preservation efforts resulted in \$1 million contribution to Millennium Trails
- Announced first portion of Grand Canyon Greenway funded by DOT/Millennium Trails (5/99)
- Secretary Slater announced \$4 mill in Millennium Trails grants (11/9/98)
- Announcement of program and partnership with Department of Transportation at B&A Trail (10/5/98)

The MARS Project

- Taped video greeting for Mars Project participants (9/15/99)
- Taped video greeting for Back to School events (8/99)
- Announced Department of Education's Millennium project with NASA, Getty, M&M Mars and other partners at Air and Space Museum (1/14/99)

Millennium Communities

- Participated in Teleconference with Pioneers, grassroots volunteer organization, and the Presidents of the National League of Cities and the National Association of Counties (10/1/99)
- Hosted conference call with nine elected officials representing newly designated Millennium Communities (4/99)

- Announced national program to recognize communities pursuing projects that "Honor the Past – Imagine the Future" at U.S. Conference of Mayors (1/29/99)
- Introduced WHMC Community Handbook (1/99)

My History is America's History

- Column (12/21/99)
- Contributed letter for "My History" kit, distributed to 100,000 individuals
- Wrote letter for *Seventeen Magazine* contest on family histories

Millennium Green

- Launched new environmental millennium initiative with Secretary Glickman, Secretary Richardson and other partners and accepted the dedication of a White Oak in Mrs. Clinton's name on the lawn of the Agriculture building (12/15/99)
- Column (12/15/99)

Turn of the Century New Year's Celebration

- Participated with the President in two large outdoor, public events to commemorate the millennium: Opening Ceremony with the District of Columbia and America's Millennium Gala at the Lincoln Memorial (12/31/99)
- Participated in Millennium on the Mall workshops at the Smithsonian with the President (12/31/99)
- Participated with the President in Millennium Around the World, an international event celebrating our youth and diverse culture (12/31/99)
- Hosted with the President, the White House Dinner and Millennium Celebration (12/31/99)
- Announced plans for New Year's Eve events with Mayor Williams and George Stevens (10/28/99)
- Began discussion with Stephen Spielberg, Quincy Jones, Jeffrey Katzenburg (8/98)
- Began planning Mall, Gala, and House events
- Column: America's Millennium (12/15/99)

International Activity

- Joined the President in hosting Nordic country leaders for a luncheon at the White House in honor of the opening of the Smithsonian's "Vikings: The North Atlantic Saga" exhibit (4/28/00)
- Sent video greeting to 2nd Rutgers University Franco-American Conference, "Two Forums on Democracy" (10/28/99)
- Announced U.S. participation in UK Millennium Dome at British Millennium Ball (10/21/99)
- Toured historic millennium sites in Reykjavik, Iceland (10/9/99)
- Gave keynote address at World Bank/UNESCO Conference, "Culture Counts" in

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Florence, Italy (10/6/99)

- Announcement of Viking Exhibit, Leifur Eriksson Millennium Commission
- Reception for Commissioner General for Expos 2000 (10/98)

White House Conference on Philanthropy

- Remarks to Women's Technology Cluster in Silicon Valley (3/29/00)
- Hosted conference at White House to discuss the new trends in American giving and volunteering with President.

White House Stewardship

Objective:

To continue to create national awareness of the importance of preservation, and to continue to bring new acquisitions and improvements to the White House and the permanent collection.

Accomplishments:

- Participated in the CNN/Ovation Tour of the State Floor with J. Carter Brown, a tour and discussion of the White House Art Collection (7/28/99)
- Brought White House endowment fund to over \$25 mill goal through NYC and LA Fundraisers (1/98)
- Created 20th Century American Sculpture exhibits in the Jacqueline Kennedy Garden; eight exhibits through 2000
- Acquired the Tanner (10/29/96) and O'Keeffe (10/23/97) paintings for White House permanent collection and held events marking significance of acquisitions
- With the Committee for the Preservation of the White House, refurbished rooms and objects in the White House (redecorated the Blue Room, East Room, Cross Hall, State Dining Room)
- Promoted WH Historical Association CD Rom
- Columns: Tanner acquisition (10/29/96), White House Endowment Fund (1/20/98)

Working to Bring Justice to Holocaust Survivors and their Heirs

"We all have much to do to bring this tragic chapter of European history to a just end. And we owe it to the victims, not only of the Holocaust, but we also owe it to ourselves, to complete that task. The spotlight of history, whether it is on race and slavery in the United States, or apartheid in South Africa, or the Holocaust here in Europe, can be harsh, but it is only through facing that history that we can strengthen our commitment to democratic ideals and to keep working together to fulfill those ideals. And we shall learn the lessons of the past, because we ignore them at our peril."

Address by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
University of Zurich, 1/31/98

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton was instrumental in ensuring that the Administration worked to bring some measure of justice to Holocaust survivors and their families. When Edgar Bronfman, Sr. ran into problems in 1996 in his efforts to see that Swiss banks returned funds to Holocaust victims, he asked the First Lady for help. Mrs. Clinton responded immediately, and the White House got involved.

The President and his Administration have achieved the following steps:

- Established a Presidential Commission headed by Edgar Bronfman to research Holocaust assets that came under the control of the US government during and after WWII.
- Launched two comprehensive studies on Nazi gold and the role of neutral countries in supporting Nazi Germany.
- The US joined with other nations to establish a fund totaling \$60 million to aid needy survivors.
- Secured a \$1.25 billion settlement in the case against the Swiss banks responsible for withholding the savings of Holocaust victims.
- Created an International Commission for Holocaust-Era Insurance Claims and some of Europe's largest insurance companies have agreed to establish a fund to deliver on policies they sold to victims and refused to pay to heirs.
- Convened a 1998 conference where 44 nations agreed by consensus on principles to guide the identification and return to rightful owners of Nazi-looted art.
- Brokered a \$5.1 billion agreement for slave and forced laborers and others injured by German companies during WWII. This agreement was reached as a result of the direct intervention of President Clinton and Chancellor Schroeder.

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Negotiating Human Capitalism

BYLINE: John Hoerr

BODY:

As Bill Clinton decides how to carry out his "Putting People First" slogan, he might consider Frances Perkins's introduction to her new job in March 1933. On the day that she assumed her post as Franklin D. Roosevelt's secretary of labor, Perkins found the office of her predecessor, William N. Doak, surprisingly dingy and grimy. She opened a drawer to find the secretary's own desk infested with cockroaches -- symbolizing how Herbert Hoover's Labor Department had become a nest of corrupt inactivity.

Perkins quickly cleaned house and reorganized the department. As labor secretary, she played a major role in developing New Deal legislation that for the first time thrust government deeply into private employment matters: relief and public works programs, unemployment insurance, wage and hour laws, and Social Security. In 1935, though belatedly, Perkins and FDR supported the landmark Wagner Act, giving collective bargaining rights to workers.

Under Presidents Reagan and Bush, the Department of Labor may not have quite plunged to Hooverian depths -- but it was certainly shunted aside, along with its constituent workers and unions. Reagan did his best to emasculate unions, Bush ignored them, and both presidents abandoned workers -- unorganized as well as organized -- to market forces.

If Clinton is to pursue his widely advertised long-term strategy of economic growth based on high skills and high wages, he must do much more than resurrect the Labor Department and bring the outcast labor unions in from the cold. To make the U.S. more competitive in the global economy, the Clinton White House must lead the way toward major workplace and educational reforms such as greater worker participation in management, continuous employee training on the job, and a comprehensive apprenticeship system.

Moving in this direction will require the U.S. to adopt labor and employment policies more aggressive than any since the 1930s. Although the recent decline in U.S. living standards is not as abrupt as that of the 1930s, it is just as real. Between 1979 and 1989, the hourly compensation of American production workers fell at a rate of 0.6 percent a year, while equivalent wages and benefits rose in other industrialized countries.

It is now widely accepted that the U.S. can no longer dominate world trade, or even its own domestic markets, with mediocre-quality, standardized goods and services produced by mass-production methods. With much better schooling and training systems, and a more productive organization of the workplace, America's competitors are taking these markets away from the U.S.

In most other advanced countries, work force entrants receive a basic education far superior to young Americans, and employers engage in extensive on-the-job training. By contrast, U.S. high schools turn out a poor product -- especially the bottom half of the class. About half of adults aged 21 to 25 cannot handle even moderately complex literacy problems. American business spends about \$30 to \$40 billion a year on job training, but most of these expenditures go to executive, professional, and technical employees. Less than 10 percent of training funds are allocated to blue-collar workers, who have the most influence over the quality of goods produced and services delivered.

The daunting challenge facing Clinton is to increase investment in both the classroom and the workplace, and -- more importantly -- to improve how these institutions fit together, emphasizing human skill as today's key competitive factor.

Ray Marshall, secretary of labor in the Carter administration, and educator Marc S. Tucker, in their new *Thinking for a Living* call this approach "human-resource capitalism." This model, Marshall and Tucker write, "abandons the notion that the key resources are natural resources and that the key policy factors are adequate consumer demand and slow growth in the money supply. Instead, the crucial factors turn out to be an adequate supply of high-quality human resources, business strategies that emphasize quality and productivity, and a pattern of work organization that fosters both of these goals."

Putting People First

What would a strategy of human resource capitalism really entail? For one thing, the Clinton administration must find a way to soften the hostility between management and organized labor at the national level. Unions have been demonized in some of the management literature as enemies of the new, flexible workplace. But, as we shall see, unions can be essential allies of a high-skill strategy.

The other elements of a Clinton human resource strategy can be discerned in his campaign themes. One central theme is lifetime worker training and upgrading. Under his "play or pay" worker-training idea, roughly modeled on a French program, all employers would be required either to invest 1.5 percent of annual payroll in their own training programs or to contribute a like amount to a training fund.

Clinton's plan to create over the long term a national youth apprenticeship system for occupations in all major industries could fill a gaping hole in the current nonsystem for school-to-work transition; it would help the 50 percent of high school graduates who do not attend college to learn skills for high-paying jobs.

The Clinton-Gore platform also included multifaceted plans to shore up manufacturing industries, promote the use of new technology, and help small businesses. One idea is to establish 170 Manufacturing Extension Centers around the country to help firms adopt new technologies, reorganize work, and set up employee-training programs. Partially funded by the federal government, the centers could build on existing state and local efforts in some areas and serve as "teaching factories." Unions and employees should be involved in planning the centers, the proposal says, and enhancing worker participation should be a goal along with modernizing technology. Industrial extension and worker training logically fit together. It takes better trained workers to work with advanced technology; plus it only makes sense to increase investment in worker training if industry is prepared to use it.

The crucial common element is democratization of the workplace and empowerment of workers. This involves far more than seating a few employees around a table and asking them how to get more work out of their colleagues. Rather, the work process itself must be revolutionized to allow workers significant control over what they do and how they do it. As Clinton himself said in a 1991 speech, "We need a whole new organization of work, where workers at the front lines make decisions, not just follow orders, and entire levels of bureaucratic middle management become obsolete."

The best-tested instrument of worker empowerment is, of course, a union.

High Skills or Low Wages?

As it happens, several of the famous "Friends of Bill" have a particular interest in the crucial connections between education, job training, workplace reforms, wage and skill levels -- and the payoff in improved competitiveness and living standards. These include, of course, Robert Reich and Ira Magaziner, but also Marshall and Tucker, and less well known thinkers like Thomas J. Schneider, who runs a labormanagement consulting company that works with unionized firms interested in improving work organization. Schneider authored a key campaign memo on workplace restructuring; he and Magaziner are influential sources of Clinton's workplace concepts. Magaziner, Marshall, and Tucker were central figures in the 1989-1990 Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce, which conceived much of the rationale for the high-skills, high-wage strategy adopted by Clinton.

The Commission had been established by the National Center on Education and the Economy, a nonprofit organization set up by the Carnegie Corporation of New York to link educational and workplace reform. The Center's president, Marc Tucker, was the principal author of a noted 1986 report, "A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century." Tucker and his advisory board, which included Ray Marshall and Hillary Clinton, chose Magaziner to chair

the commission. Two former labor secretaries, the Democrat Marshall and the Republican William C. Brock, were named cochairmen. The rest of the membership also had a strong bipartisan cast and consisted of educators, union leaders, and company executives. Commission teams conducted some 2,000 interviews in the U.S., Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Ireland, Japan, and Singapore to compare policies on skill development in schools and workplaces.

In June 1990, the commission's aptly titled *America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages* concluded that schools in general were unlikely to improve unless business, the biggest customer of the education system, demanded a better product. Although companies were grouching about the "poor attitudes" of newly hired workers, the great majority were not demanding higher technical and problem-solving skills because their production methods required only low-level, low-wage skills.

Despite their rhetoric, the commission found, most American companies were still caught in the old mass-production mode. They turned out mainly standardized goods, ignoring growing market demands for high-quality, customized products and quick delivery. The division of labor into narrow, functional tasks requiring little worker discretion and heavyhanded supervisory control -- first espoused a century ago by Frederick W. Taylor -- still holds sway in the U.S., while the most competitive companies overseas have switched to team production systems of one version or another in which front line workers perform many tasks and largely manage themselves.

These "high performance work systems," as *America's Choice* called them, required workers with good basic skills in math and English and, especially, the ability to learn continuously. Higher skills would mean higher wages. But only five to ten percent of American companies have embraced this approach. Without a reversal of course, the education system would have little incentive to improve the supply of workers, and the U.S. would increasingly become a low-skill, low-wage society.

In comparing the U.S. system with that of our most advanced competitors, the Skills Commission emphasized two main structural weaknesses: school-to-work transition and the inadequacy of skills training throughout working life. Nowhere is the U.S. further behind than in preparing high school students for the world of work. The most important recommendation in *America's Choice* is to begin building a national youth apprenticeship system much broader than the long-established apprenticeship programs used to train people for the construction trades and a few industrial occupations. Apprentices in these programs, currently about 300,000, have an average age of twenty-seven. The commission's new youth apprenticeships would help high school students make the transition from school to work in two-to-four-year programs combining classroom study and real work for an employer (as opposed to traditional "shop" work in vocational schools).

The youth apprenticeship movement has grown rapidly in the last few years, though strictly on a regional basis. Hillary Clinton, an education expert in her own right, has lobbied for the Skills Commission's apprenticeship proposals in Washington and several state capitals. Arkansas, Oregon, and Wisconsin already have passed legislation to start programs. In Arkansas, for example, about 245 student-apprentices are enrolled in training programs for various manufacturing and service occupations. Pennsylvania, moving without a law, is now in the second year of a statewide program with 105 students learning metalworking trades. Jobs for the Future (JFF), a nonprofit organization in Cambridge, Massachusetts, has funded 10 apprenticeship projects in various states. A total of 1,000 to 2,000 youth apprentices are now in training throughout the U.S., estimates JFF President Hillary Pennington.

The Skills Commission urged establishment of regional systems that could be fused into something resembling a national system with national testing and certification standards. Since American education is decentralized, local flexibility could be maintained by setting up local employment and training boards. With representatives from high schools, community colleges, companies, unions, and government agencies, these boards would manage the school-to-work transition in all its phases. For example, the boards would oversee youth centers for school dropouts and manage a labor-market information system to help guide student trainees into apprenticeship and job openings.

None of this will come easily. "Why should we assume that business will engage in structured learning for huge numbers of student-apprentices if it isn't engaging in structured learning for workers already on the job?" says Tony Sarmiento, of the AFL-CIO's Education Department. Unless existing workers can climb promotional ladders through training, he predicts, "youth apprenticeships could deteriorate into a source of cheap labor for employers on the low-wage path."

Moreover, Americans dislike the idea of formally "channeling" students away from college preparatory courses and into apprenticeship programs. For many decades, of course, high schools have used informal tracking systems to push students from lower income families into vocational schools. As Bill Clinton said at a 1990 conference on apprenticeships, "We're doing that already and we're doing it in the cruellest possible way -- by pretending we're not doing it." But in individualist America, most apprenticeship advocates insist that the academic component of apprenticeship training be rigorous enough to enable trainees to switch tracks if they choose and go on to a four-year college.

Innumerable studies of industrial organization lend dramatic support to the Skills Commission's findings and the associated caveats. For example, in a study last year of twenty-four metalworking firms in Wisconsin, Joel Rogers and Wolfgang Streeck, codirectors of the Commission on Wisconsin Strategy, found that while all of the companies were trying to adjust to the new competitive environment, few had reorganized operations toward "decentralized automation and competence." Why? Largely because a highly trained work force was not available. "They were adapting their product strategy and strategy of work organization to a low-skill environment [emphasis added]," Rogers and Streeck concluded.

This is the chicken-and-egg problem that confronts America -- and Bill Clinton. Which comes first: skilled work or skilled workers? The answer is that both must be nurtured simultaneously.

In *Thinking for a Living*, Marshall and Tucker describe how the successful mass-production era laid a rock-hard foundation for harmful practices and beliefs that resist change in a new competitive atmosphere. Employers came to believe that price, not quality, was the key to profits; that machinery, not highly motivated and trained labor, was the source of productivity improvement; that prices could be maintained in a downturn by laying off workers; that authoritarian management produced the best results; and that frontline work should be deskilled and the skilled work be left to professionals and managers.

— In this environment, unions had learned that steady rises in living standards for their members had little or nothing to do with workers' skills but everything to do with organizing and bargaining power. Educators had learned that they could get funding and public support "if half the students left school with only the equivalent of an eighth grade education." The administrators of government employment and training programs had learned that they were not expected to offer a comprehensive set of services to provide high-level skills to employers. And economists had learned that physical, not human, capital was the key to productivity growth.

Can the U.S. escape this systemless but still systemic trap? Possibly, but only through government action to create incentives and goals for all sides. The Wisconsin metalworking firms, for example, might not be expected to invest individually in expensive training programs, only to see competitors lure away the newly-trained workers with higher pay. But consortia of companies, schools, government agencies, and unions can eliminate the "poaching" problem by creating local and regional systems in which all firms invest in training. The Milwaukee-Waukesha Training Partnership, recently organized by Rogers and Streeck, is such a group. It will develop skills standards, training programs, and help member-companies (a half dozen at startup) redesign work systems. Yet it is unlikely that such regional efforts will reach their full potential without an overarching federal strategy of the sort envisioned by the Skills Commission.

To make the vision of humanresource capitalism a reality, Clinton will need to exercise real leadership to bring together business and labor. He also must develop a combination of macro- and microeconomic policies to deal with America's need for technological innovation and structural reforms in the workplace, coupled with continuous training of the existing work force. His most concrete proposal so far, the "play-or-pay" training plan, would send a mighty jolt through industry. But the question is whether this jolt would trip the right switches.

For one thing, it will be very difficult to guarantee the quality of training given by employers who choose to "play" by investing in their own training programs. Left to their own devices, managers likely will install a very narrow job-related training that suits the traditional hierarchical workplace instead of a broader career-related approach for workers. Moreover, since the economy is "stuck in a low-skill equilibrium," as Lawrence Mishel of the Economic Policy Institute puts it, it's not entirely clear what higher skills workers ought to be trained for.

A new commission was named in 1991 by the Labor Department to follow through on a recommendation in America's Choice for establishing national skill standards. The National Advisory Commission on Work-Based Learning concluded that it would be foolish to set such standards or mandate new business spending based on the low skills currently required in American industry. The same problem faces government-mandated training. Congress, of course, could write guidelines into the training legislation. But the more intrusive the regulations, the more employers will oppose footing the bill, estimated at \$21 billion the first year.

For the best results, training should be driven by demand emanating from highperformance workplaces. To this end, the National Advisory Commission has refocused its sights on ways that government can promote workplace reform. Interestingly, this bipartisan group, which has many business executives among its twenty members and is headed by retired US West chairman Jack MacAllister, does want the federal government to take a strong leadership role in helping the private sector develop human resource policies and programs.

In the 1980s the highest echelons of the Labor Department became a political dumping ground. Of the five labor secretaries who served during the twelve Republican years, only one, Bill Brock (1985-87), displayed a knowledge of labor issues and tried to improve relations with unions. But the antiunion ideology in the White House hemmed him in.

Morale in the department plunged as Reagan and Bush scuttled many programs, including the Bureau of Labor Management Relations and Cooperative Programs. While never large or well-funded, the bureau had collected information about and promoted new work systems in the labor and business communities. It also upheld the idea that collective bargaining is good for the economy, resisting ideological guidance to the right under the Republican administrations.

"We at least kept the collective bargaining torch lit," says John R. Stepp, who once headed the bureau as deputy undersecretary. "But there was no intellectual argument in the Bush administration around the need to upskill the work force."

Elsewhere in the department, the stillborn Office of Work-Based Learning is collecting critical information about the most efficient ways to train workers. It appears that Clinton's choice of Robert Reich as Labor Secretary means that the post will have the same high policymaking status that it had when Frances Perkins held office in the New Deal.

Labor's Movement

Finally, how will the labor movement react to the new emphasis on human resources? Some employer groups, having recently come round to the view that workers should be trained and given more voice on the job (after a century of rejecting such demands), now contend that the U.S. should give up the corpse of unionism and allow management to impose these things on workers. But even managers now acknowledge that workers know best how to perform their own jobs, a knowledge that they also can use in redesigning work systems and training new workers. They are unlikely to share this knowledge if they suspect that management will use it to improve profits at their expense by displacing workers or lowering skills and wages. Unions have the unique ability to protect worker interests while tapping their job lore. Only a union-management partnership based on trust can make this happen.

A leading example of such an arrangement was negotiated by the United Steelworkers in the basic steel industry. A contractual provision setting up a national training institute states that the union and companies "are implementing a shared vision that workers must play a significant role in the design and development of their jobs, their training and education, and their work environment." Jointly administered training efforts also exist in the construction, auto, and communications industries and "represent the fastest growing segment in the nation's learning system," according to Anthony Carnevale, chief economist of the American Society of Training and Development.

There is also abundant evidence that workplace restructuring produces better results in unionized companies than in nonunion firms. Unions provide workers with an independent source of power and a meaningful voice in organizing largescale change efforts.

As Barry and Irving Bluestone observe in their new book, *Negotiating the Future*, if employee involvement "is promoted unilaterally by management, employee commitment is likely to be weak." The Bluestones's book should be

read by all those, including some Democratic moderates, who contend that unionism represents backward thinking. The Bluestones, father and son, bring impeccable credentials to the argument that unions and managements can and must together modernize their relations to meet the global economic challenge. Irving Bluestone, the father, is a retired vice president of the United Auto Workers; he served as an assistant to Walter Reuther and later as the UAW's chief negotiator at General Motors. He bargained contracts in the days when the press never described union-management relations as "adversarial": they were that by definition.

Irving Bluestone, however, was far ahead of his time. In 1973, at his prodding, GM finally agreed to start a joint "Quality of Worklife Improvement" program in an effort to engage workers' brains as well as their hands. His son Barry, the well-known political economist and writer, is a professor at the University of Massachusetts, and coauthor with Bennett Harrison of *The Deindustrialization of America*.

Instead of viewing the company as a mortal enemy, the Bluestones urge, labor should focus its energy "on achieving a better life on the job while concurrently improving the competitiveness of the enterprise." In their vision of the future, the union and company would join in an "Enterprise Compact" to make their firm globally competitive in terms of productivity growth, quality, and constant innovation. Management would have to accept joint decision making, the Bluestones argue, on strategic issues at the board level as well as in shop-floor operations. There can be no full economic partnership if the partners do not have equal voice.

Negotiating the Future shows by example how this new form of labor relations is evolving, though much too slowly. Organized labor should play a much more aggressive role in demanding a more democratic, competitive workplace -- even if unions themselves must modify long-cherished work rules involving seniority and job classifications. The labor movement fought the introduction of Taylorism, then accepted it as part of the mass-production scheme, and now it must lead the way in de-Taylorizing factories and offices (with appropriate protections) for the good of their members and the country.

-- Some unions are moving in this new direction. Others are not, partly because of the implacable hostility that business, with the aid of U.S. labor law, displays toward unions, forcing them to fight defensively. Politically, this is one of the most difficult issues facing the Clinton administration.

Two days after the election, the AFL-CIO executive council endorsed many of Clinton's macroeconomic programs and called for early passage of the family medical leave bill vetoed by Bush, a law banning permanent striker replacements, and amendments to the Occupational Safety & Health Act (OSHA) and the Hatch Act, which prohibits political activity by federal employees. All are much-needed, particularly an OSHA change that would mandate establishment of worker-management safety committees in most work sites.

Yet there is a danger that a too aggressive pursuit of many traditional union objectives on a piecemeal basis will divert Clinton from the wider path leading to Marshall's and Tucker's human-resource capitalism. The ban on striker replacements, for example, could be rolled into a broader initiative for comprehensive labor law reform. A thorough rewriting of labor law is needed, not merely to remove unfair barriers to union organizing but also to modernize obsolete concepts dating from the 1930s to enhance U.S. competitiveness in the twenty-first century. Here are the seeds of a grand bargain with industry, if Clinton can bring it about.

Labor had little outward influence in the Clinton campaign, which resisted a visible union presence for fear of seeming beholden to a "special interest." As governor, he occasionally had angered union leaders in Arkansas. Like most southern states, it had a right-to-work law, and a low rate of unionization, and Clinton sometimes seemed to take industry's side in disputes. Nor did the Clinton campaign enunciate a "labor policy," a term that in America implies a "pronoun policy." Labor leaders crunch their teeth when they hear the special interest charge; no organized group in the country has done more to win legislation benefiting all American workers, union or nonunion. But unions also helped create the lingering public perception that "Big Labor" acts only out of self-interest. Union officials had to take a strong dose of political pragmatism to swallow their annoyance when Clinton seemed to ignore their problems.

Nonetheless, a few unions did sign on enthusiastically. One was the American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees (AFSCME), most of whose national and district leaders endorsed Clinton even before the New Hampshire primary vote. He had appeared before the AFSCME executive board, as had Senators Bob Kerrey and Tom Harkin. Of the three, Clinton seemed the most "presidential" and the best prepared. Says one participant: "He made a

stunning impression. He had charisma and broad shoulders and answered questions effectively and in depth." Clinton presented a letter of support signed by 840 AFSCME members in Arkansas and even displayed an AFSCME membership card showing that he himself was a paid-up member. In ensuing days, AFSCME President Jerry McEntee assigned three staff members to work for Clinton in New Hampshire.

Richard Trumka, president of the United Mine Workers, spent two days on the Clinton-Gore bus tour of Pennsylvania in August and talked privately with Clinton. Trumka discovered that as a lawyer Clinton had represented black lung victims in Arkansas. On broader issues, Trumka says, "Clinton understands the folly of a low-wage strategy. He understands that if you're serious about rebuilding the middle class, there's only one institution capable of delivering a higher standard of living, and that is collective bargaining. He understands that a strong worker group and a strong management group make better decisions than if one or the other is dominant." Lynn Williams, the progressive president of the Steelworkers, as well as McEntee of AFSCME came to essentially the same conclusion.

Clinton's strategy of courting Reagan Democrats based on pocketbook issues but keeping a polite distance from the labor movement paid off. The AFL-CIO's general board endorsed Clinton, and several unions worked hard for him in the final weeks of the campaign, organizing phone banks and get-out-the-vote drives. Several, including the USW and AFSCME, contributed large amounts of money. Exit polls on election day showed that about 60 percent of voters from union households voted for Clinton.

Unions, of course, had little choice but to go for Clinton. Yet as the campaign gathered momentum, many unionists supported him with mounting enthusiasm. More than any recent major party nominee or president, Clinton is well positioned to reject the false choice of a modernized workplace or a support for unionism. As the Bluestone and Marshall-Tucker books suggest, the labor movement and its friends understand the stakes, and in many cases they are well ahead of their management counterparts. Clinton, with the right team and the right strategy, could broker farreaching reforms that could revive both the competitive workplace and the union movement.

-- As Massachusetts Institute of Technology labor relations scholar Thomas Kochan urges, Clinton should lay out a broad agenda on human resource issues. He should make it clear that labor law must be reformed, with or without a labor-management consensus. "The strategy," Kochan argues, "should be to give workers a real voice in improving productivity and quality and ending business's protracted warfare with the labor movement." Moving the nation toward a high-skill, high-wage society requires a broad new vision, one that integrates an aggressive human-resource policy with technological innovation and economic growth for all Americans. That approach, not incidentally, would be very good for the labor movement too.

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BYLINE: Brand, Horst

BODY:

America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages

Setting new standards

for skills in the workplace

A commission chaired by former U.S. Secretaries of Labor Ray Marshall and William E. Brock has published the third, and in many ways, the most alarming of recent reports about the plight of the U.S. work force.

— The report, America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages, deals with workers without a college education (roughly 70 percent) and youngsters not college-bound—a group the commission calls the "frontline workers" who are "ill-equipped to meet employers' current needs and ill-prepared for the rapidly approaching, high-technology, service-oriented future."

The commission's concern is heightened by the fact that it found little awareness of these skills problems during visits to hundreds of firms in all sectors of the economy and interviews with thousands of employers, personnel managers, production supervisors, and ordinary workers.

Although more than 80 percent of employers did express concern about skills shortages, "they generally mean a good work ethic and social skills." The commission says that "only 15 percent of employers report difficulty finding workers with appropriate occupational skills," but these were in underpaid "women's" occupations and traditional craft trades. The commission found little evidence of a far-reaching desire for a more educated work force.

Outmoded model

It is easy to determine why employers find their workers' skills and training adequate to the needs of the jobs being held. The commission reports that more than one-third of American workers have only an eighth grade education, and fewer than 30 percent are 4-year college graduates.

This, the commission argues, is adequate for an organization of work "largely modeled after the system of manufacture made famous by Henry Ford in the early 20th century," and conceived by Frederick W. Taylor—with complex jobs fragmented into many simple, repetitive tasks requiring little skill and education, albeit supervised by a knowledgeable planning and managerial staff. (1)

The Taylor system came to be virtually synonymous with mass production; its influence has not been limited to manufacturing but "still determines the way we organize our schools, our offices, our hospitals, and our banks." (2) But while the "America of the 1950's and 1960's prospered with the Taylor model," mass production has come to be outdated. (3) It is no longer adequate to today's needs, which require higher quality products and greater product variety. The automated systems spells greater complexity, and make it increasingly difficult for small groups of managers to

centralize control in their hands. "The reason why we have no skills shortage today," writes the commission, "is because we are using a turn-of-the-century work organization."

As the report's title indicates, the commission views low wages as a major problem for American society. For the past two decades, it says, economic growth has stemmed mostly from additions to the labor force rather than from increases in productivity. "Because our economic growth has not come from improved productivity our...wages have not improved." (4) Moreover, the failure of real wages to rise--or their decline--has affected workers unequally, so that the gap between the upper 30 percent of earnings recipients and the lower 70 percent has widened over the past decade and a half. For example, the pay differential between white-collar professionals and skilled trades people has grown from 2 percent to 37 percent; that between professionals and clerical personnel from 47 percent to 86 percent. (5)

In arguing for a more participatory work force, the commission confines itself to detailing two examples of strikingly contrasting company work organizations. One company has sought to deskill its work force by replacing higher paid workers who have seniority, with younger, lower paid workers, and subcontracting work to overseas establishments. Unit costs were thus reduced but no clear gain in productivity was attained. The other company trained its work force to become "multiskilled" and enabled it to partake in shopfloor decisions hitherto reserved for management. It also reduced the ratio of support to "frontline" employees. (6) Higher productivity resulted, but at the cost of substantial investment in training. The large majority of American firms, as the report states, cannot afford (or believe they cannot afford) such investments.

The MIT Commission on Industrial Productivity characterized the mass production system as among the "outdated strategies" of American business, contrasting it, for example, with the Japanese automobile industry, which "is based on a system different in almost every feature from Detroit's mass production system." Being based on "technologies, product development methods, and patterns of workplace organization that allow them to reduce the volume of production and increase the speed with which new products are brought to market," this system "has required the creation of a highly skilled work force." (7) The MIT Commission calls for "cultivating a new economic citizenship in the work force," and states that "effective use of new technology will require people to develop their capabilities for planning, judgment, collaboration, and the analysis of complex systems." (8)

Human resource policy

The Skills Commission writes that "... (W)ork organization is pivota," and that "Work organization drives the demand for high skills." (9) The reasons it cites why American business has tended to adopt a low-wage rather than a high-productivity policy lie outside the realm of technology altogether; and its proposals for raising productivity focus entirely on human resource policy, examples of foreign success with such policy being given great weight in the argument. The commission's report suggests that human resource policy drives technological and hence productivity advance. And the commission's concerns are evidently fed by the conviction that social progress and political balance in the United States hinge on such advance and the elevation of the human factors that underlie it.

According to the commission, American business has followed the "low-wage" path over the past two decades for three reasons: (1) The initial investment for retraining personnel and upgrading technical skills required by the "high productivity path" is costly, and companies run the risk of losing this investment when trained employees leave. (2) Such investment, moreover, demands a long-term horizon, but this approach is vitiated by the "perverse short-term financial horizons by which most American companies operate." (3) There is the overarching problem of the lack of a public policy commitment to full employment, which encourages the low-wage path by making it easier for business to employ part-time or temporary workers who can be laid off at will. (10)

Education and training

The commission presents a brief analysis and critique of the educational preparation for work in the United States. "The educational performance of those students who become frontline workers is well below the average performance of their counterparts in some newly industrializing countries where labor costs are only a small fraction of our own. Our frontline workers...are fast becoming unemployable at American wage levels." (11) American high school students "anchor the bottom" on most international tests. In Japan, close to 80 percent of the students take algebra, and score at the top; in the United States, little more than 40 percent of students choose algebra, and score the lowest. The American educational system, the commission asserts, "is almost wholly oriented towards the needs of the college-bound," and the

property tax, which mostly funds the system, favors those most likely to go to college. (12) Almost one-half of all high school students are relegated to general curriculum courses, which are of little value to their subsequent pursuits. One-fourth of these students attend vocational courses, with only a small proportion going into occupations that relate to these courses. Employers as a rule do not even expect particular proficiencies of high school graduates applying for jobs; "most employers look at the high school diploma as evidence of staying power, not academic achievement." (13)

Furthermore, the commission says, no assistance is offered to youths not bound for college in their transition from school to work; many of them mill about in the labor market from dead-end job to dead-end job. Guidance services are inadequate, there are no employment services to aid them, and there are very few apprenticeship programs. By the time they reach ages 24 or 25, they are "no match for the highly trained German, Danish, Swedish or Swiss youth of 19." (14)

The education and training (or retraining) of more seasoned workers is also lagging, according to the commission. Of the estimated \$30 billion spent by employers on formal training, about one-third is apportioned to frontline workers, and only 8 percent of them benefit by it. Moreover, approximately 15,000 firms account for nine-tenths of business spending on training, and fewer than 200 firms spend in excess of 2 percent of their payroll for this purpose. "The fact that employers in this country do not spend much money on training of frontline workers is not surprising. The 'Taylor' model of work organization still followed by most of our companies does not require skills from the vast majority of their workers." (15)

The force of the commission's argument regarding the inadequacy of the education and training of frontline workers is to an extent lessened by its review of the many initiatives that have been taken by the Federal Government and many States to overcome such inadequacy. Its survey of these initiatives--for example, the community college system that began in 1947; Pell Grants and Guaranteed Student Loans for postsecondary education; the Job Training Partnership Act; and the many "customized training" efforts made by individual States to attract industry--is all too brief, and its criticism that "The network of public training activities...has...been created as a result of unrelated educational, social and economic development goals rather than from any overall vision of human resource development" is not argued in sufficiently searching detail. (16)

The commission's recommendations draw upon the relevant programs and policies in Germany, Japan, Sweden, and Denmark, outlined in one of the report's chapters. First, the commission would set a new, national educational performance standard for all students, to be met by age 16. Based on an assessment of the student's performance in meeting the standards, a Certificate of Initial Mastery would be awarded. This certificate would be required for all subsequent schooling, and would attest to the student's ability to read, write, compute, and, generally, perform "at world class levels" in general school subjects. (17)

The States would be responsible for its students achieving the certificate, and would also create and fund alternative learning environments for youths unable to meet the standard at age 16. This inability often arises from a youth's preference for taking a job to earn money over continuing his or her education. Hence, local employers should provide jobs for such youth on the condition that their education continue. The commission is particularly concerned that the problem of high school dropouts be overcome, in part, by establishing strong ties between educational achievement and the provision of private or public employment.

At the center of the commission's vision of a coherent human resource policy lies the professionalization of the work force not bound for college or college-educated, by means of a system of educational certificates, associate degrees, and part-time work and training by cooperating employers as part of a general curriculum. The certification system would be supervised by a national board setting standards, and serving under the Secretaries of Labor, Commerce, and Education. The program would encompass all occupations as defined or redefined by the proposed board. The commission strongly argues for governmental financing of its recommendation, citing the G.I. Bill as having paid for itself many times over in increased income. "Our goal is to establish a structure that will give our frontline workers the systematic skills, professional qualifications, and respect that their counterparts enjoy in other countries. (18)

The final recommendation would integrate American business in the proposed national education and training effort. It would do so by requiring all employers, regardless of size, to spend an initial sum of at least 1 percent of their payroll on certified education and training programs; or to remit that sum to a national skills development fund, devoted to training disadvantaged or dislocated workers. (19) It cites a number of foreign examples in amplifying this

recommendation. For example, German corporations contribute close to 3.5 percent of their payrolls to training and employment schemes through the national unemployment insurance fund, the apprenticeship system, and to local chambers of commerce (which often mandate such schemes as a condition of membership). Likewise, Japanese firms contribute 1 percent of payrolls to the National Employment Insurance Fund; and about one-half of the tax goes to finance employment and training initiatives. (20) The commission also urges government-run technical assistance services to promote the high-performance work organizations which it believes necessary to supersede "Taylorism." (21)

It is patent that the commission's recommendations would radically revamp existing institutions of education and training, and require new ones as well. Those recommendations are perhaps more far-reaching than any others pertaining to the advancement of the majority of the American work force that is not bound for college. (22) Although other responsible panels that have examined the issues discussed here may not agree with the commission's recommendations, all seem to agree that fundamental changes in human resource policy are urgently needed. The MIT Commission on Industrial Productivity put it this way: "... without major changes in the ways schools and firms train workers over the course of a lifetime, no amount of macroeconomic fine-tuning or technological innovation will be able to produce significantly improved economic performance and a rising standard of living." (23)

(1) America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages! The Report of the Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce (Rochester, NY, National Center on Education and the Economy's Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce, 1990), p. 37.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., pp. 37, 38.

(4) Ibid., p. 19

(5) Ibid., p. 20.

(6) Ibid., p. 31.

(7) See Michael L. Dertouzos and others, *Made in America: Regaining the Productive Edge* (Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press, 1989).

(8) Ibid., pp. 134-35.

(9) America's Choice, pp. 41-42.

(10) Ibid., p. 40.

(11) Ibid., p. 43.

(12) Ibid., p. 44.

(13) Ibid., p. 45.

(14) Ibid., p. 46.

(15) Ibid., p. 50.

(16) Ibid., p. 53.

(17) Ibid., p. 69.

(18) Ibid., p. 77.

(19) Ibid., p. 82.

(20) Ibid., pp. 115, 117.

(21) Ibid., p. 84.

(22) Ibid., p. 84.

(23) Dertouzos and others, Made in America, p. 82.

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HEADLINE: Skills gap? What skills gap?

BYLINE: Wilcox, John

BODY:

Skills Gap? What Skills Gap?

American businesses in the 1990s need not worry about declining worker skills, according to the National Center for Education and the Economy's Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce. Its report, *America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages!*, present a view of U.S. business and educational policy alternatives that is clearly designed to shock.

Contrary to the ominous rublings that routinely emanate from the nation's economists and business pundits, the commission's July report contends that most of this country's current jobs don't require a vastly more versatile sort of worker, don't demand dramatically improved skills, and don't warrant wholesale reform of public-education and training systems. In short, the group maintains that if business-as-usual continues, the future will pretty much resemble the present.

If people took any comfort in that fact, it would horrify the commission's members, a group that includes Apple Computer CEO John Scully, Corning CEO James Houghton, Kodak CEO Kay Whitmore, United Automobile Workers President Owen Bieber, former Labor Secretaries (and commission co-chairs) Bill Brock and Ray Marshall, New York Governor Mario Cuomo, and former Governors James Hunt (North Carolina) and Thomas Kean (New Jersey).

Based on eight months of research, including thousands of interviews with workers and managers in the U.S. and other nations, *America's Choice* paints a bleak picture on a broad canvas.

At the center is a warning from the Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce that if the U.S. continues down its current business path then the nation will "face a challenge similar to that faced by many Third World countries."

The U.S. will falter if it tries to compete with emerging nations, because they will be able to match machine capital spending while significantly undercutting American firm's labor costs. Americans will then face a continuing descent into a low-skill, low-wage, low-productivity economy.

There can be little doubt that the low wage and low productivity portions of the prophecy have already come true. Americans' real average weekly earnings have dropped 12 percent over the last 20 years, and a dozen nations now pay higher average wages. It now takes three years to make the same productivity gains the workforce used to achieve yearly before 1973. Economic growth, the report says, has only continued because baby boomers and women entering the labor market have boosted workforce participation from 40 percent in 1973 to 50 percent in 1989.

"If productivity continues to falter and real wages decline, we can expect one of two futures. Either the top 30 percent of our population grows wealthier while the bottom 70 percent becomes progressively poorer or else we may all slide into relative poverty together," the report says.

"To ensure a more prosperous future, we must improve productivity," it continues. The commission urges American employers to abandon "outmoded styles of work in which unskilled workers perform simple tasks by rote," and argues that a new system is needed, one that prepares front-line workers to act as skilled professionals and technicians unencumbered by stifling bureaucracy. At the same time, schools must improve.

Americans will have to compete on the basis of superior skills rather than strong backs.

The commission found models for such a system when study teams toured Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Japan, Singapore, and Sweden. According to commission head Ira Magaziner, these nations "share an approach to the education and training of their workers and to high-productivity work organization that the United States lacks." * They insist that virtually all of their students reach a high educational standard. * They provide professionalized education to non-college-educated workers to prepare them for their trades and to ease the school-to-work transition. * They operate comprehensive labor market systems that provide unemployed people with training, labor market information, job search assistance, and income maintenance. * They support employer-based training through general revenue-or payroll-tax based financing schemes. * They have built a national consensus around the importance of moving toward high-productivity work forms and of building high-wage economies.

America's Choice prescribes five proposals that the commission says will help the United States develop its own high-productivity work forms and high-wage economies:

1. Require students to attain a high national standard of educational performance by the age of 16.

Students who attain this standard, benchmarked to the highest world standards, would receive what the commission calls a "Certificate of Initial Mastery," qualifying them to continue on to college, technical and professional education, or paid employment.

The certificate would warrant that students have demonstrated the ability to read, write, compute, and perform at world-class levels in subjects such as mathematics, the physical and natural sciences, history, geography, politics, economics, and English. Also certified would be the capacity to learn, think, work effectively alone and in groups, and solve problems.

2. Assure that virtually all students achieve this certificate.

According to America's Choice, states should create and fund alternative learning environments for those who cannot achieve the standards of initial mastery in regular school. Federal funding would help states set up these alternatives.

3. Establish a comprehensive system of professional educational certifications for the majority of students and adult workers who do not pursue college degrees.

This proposal, aimed at smoothing school-to-work transitions and promoting ongoing work-related education, would have several elements. Nationally agreed-upon standards of occupational performance would be set with the cooperation of industry representatives, and a certification system would demonstrate various levels of mastery. Programs designed to build these occupational skills would operate in high schools, community colleges, trade schools, and other training institutions. Employers would support these programs by offering part-time paid jobs, much like an apprenticeship system.

Such an industry-based skill certification system would be attractive for many reasons, the commission contends:

"It would facilitate communication between schools and industry about employer and union expectations and goals. By setting criteria for hiring, it would help employers find qualified applicants. For employees, it would establish clear knowledge and skill-based standards for career progression, help prevent hiring discrimination, and improve transferability of skills."

4. Have all employers ensure a high-skills future by allocating at least 1 percent of their payrolls to educating and training their workers and pursuing high-productivity forms of work organization.

Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Japan, Singapore, and Sweden all have laws requiring companies to invest at least 1 percent of payroll in internal or government-provided training.

The commission urges the U.S. to adopt a similar system, although it acknowledges that it would be unpopular with employers. Companies that fail to spend 1 percent of payroll on their own workers would instead have to pay 1 percent to a national Skills Development Fund, which would use the money to train dislocated and disadvantaged workers.

This use-it-or-lose-it incentive would encourage employers to think seriously about improving their internal training programs, the commission argues, simply because most companies would choose to spend money on their own workers rather than on somebody else's.

The commission also suggests that up to 15 percent of the required training investment be devoted to studying better ways of organizing work. Such activities as job redesign, departmental stream-lining, and the development of cooperative work teams would thus be encouraged.

5. Create a system of Employment and Training Boards to organize and govern the new high-performance education and training system.

During its study of training systems nationwide, the commission identified hundreds of American programs that are as imaginative, effective, and efficient as any in the world. The U.S., however, lacks a cohesive system for linking together the education and training community's diverse and widespread elements. State-established but locally based and organized, Employment and Training Boards could be that link.

Current Private Industry Councils, organized under the provisions of the Job Training Partnership Act, could form the basis of a board network that would coordinate services at state and regional levels. The commission also proposes a national body organized at the Cabinet level that would coordinate federal training policy.

America's Choice acknowledges that enacting these proposals would involve a wholesale change in the way that American employers and policy makers approach education and training. But the commission argues that nothing short of wholesale change will enable U.S. companies to compete effectively with those based in other nations.

Although many of the proposals contained in the report seem unlikely to be adopted anytime soon, others are already in place. Several school systems, for example, now guarantee to employers that high-school graduates possess adequate basic skills, a concept akin in spirit to the Certificates of Initial Mastery proposed in America's Choice.

In addition, Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole recently convened a panel that will explore the idea of national competency guidelines for work readiness. Dole directed this group, headed by commission member Brock, to use the America's Choice proposal concerning industry-based skills certification as a starting point. The panel will work with school systems, labor groups, and businesses to determine how public education can actually ensure practical proficiency.

That America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages! has already provoked action at the Cabinet level is an indication of the report's importance, and of the importance high-level decision makers are starting to place on skills as a competitive advantage. If only a handful of the ideas it contains actually come to fruition, the publication of America's Choice will mark an important milestone in the United States' march toward higher productivity and worldwide competitiveness.

To order a copy of America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages!, send a check for \$18 to National Center for Education and the Economy, Box 10670, Rochester, NY 14610. For more information, phone 716/546-7620.

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HEADLINE: Will Americans Work For \$5 a Day?;

Former Labor Secretary WILLIAM BROCK warns that we must either provide better training for our workers or risk paying Third World wages

BYLINE: By GISELA BOLTE;
William Brock

BODY:

Q. Do we have a work-force crisis?

A. Yes, but it pales in comparison with the management crisis. Workers work with the tools they are given. Workers do not reorganize the workplace. Managers do. It has to tell us something if Japanese and German and Swiss firms come to the U.S., put up a plant, hire American workers and produce a competitive product that is better than one produced in an American plant. It happens too often.

-- We can make our workplace so much more fun, and we can get rid of so much overhead. We have as much bureaucracy in some of our businesses as we have in Washington, because by de-emphasizing the quality of workers, we have to increase the number of supervisors. What a waste.

Q. What kind of labor force does America need?

A. All my life people have talked about the global economy in prospect. Suddenly it is here. We are moving in the most fundamentally different world in history, a world in which individual nations are increasingly vulnerable. Governments are going to be faced with increasing pressures to deal with issues like global growth or the environment or drugs that are almost invariably subject only to an international solution.

In economic terms, the world is moving beyond multinationals to firms that are truly transnational. The successful firm will be one that is very fast on its feet, capable of short production runs, short product life cycles, very creative, very flexible. That will drive them to have a work force that is equally flexible and responsive and that can adapt to rapidly and even radically changing economic demands.

Q. We have had economic growth for seven years. Why worry?

A. We increased our production significantly. We did it in part by investing in more productive equipment. But the biggest single source of growth came from the surge of women, young people and immigrants into the work force. That pool of low-skill, low-wage labor is going to dry up. If we are going to have growth, it has to come from greater human productivity.

Q. And what has happened to productivity?

A. The rate of improvement is half of what it was 20 years ago. The only reason family income is up is because we've got two-earner families. Wages in real terms are lower today than in 1973. Business tried to pull wages down and put in laborsaving machinery because so many workers who are coming in from our educational system cannot read and write. The easy answer is to buy the most idiot-proof machinery so business can continue to compete.

Today every country in the world can buy the same machinery. If there are people in other parts of the world who will work for \$5 a day and they have the same equipment as Americans who want \$10 or \$15 an hour, either we have to change the way people work here -- not only work harder but smarter, more effectively -- or we have to compete on the

basis of wages. The choice is between high skills and low wages. We seem to be continuing to compete on the basis of wages, which means that the effort will constantly be to pull wages down instead of building skills up. We are making the wrong choice.

Q. What is the consequence of going the low-wage route?

A. We take on the characteristics of a Third World country after a while. We will gradually have less and less net real income in the U.S. Our savings will continue to be inadequate, and businesses will have to either shut down because Americans won't work for Third World wages or go overseas for their production. The net effect is an economy that goes downhill very fast.

Q. What are businesses doing about upgrading the skills of their workers?

A. Less than 1% of our businesses are spending 95% of the training money. Most are doing very little, and the ones that are doing very much are using their funds to train management. There is almost nothing in most companies for the great majority of workers, but the workplace is changing underneath their feet. The average young person coming out of high school today will have at least four to six jobs in his working life, two to three different careers. If workers are given continuing training and education by the firms they work for, that is not going to be a problem. If they are not, we are going to leave 15% to 30% off to the side of the road every year. We proposed in our Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce that those firms that do not train their workers pay a 1% tax so that we as a country can train them and that those employees are not disadvantaged by working for those companies.

Q. Is this the fault of the public schools?

A. We have put our emphasis on the college bound, who are 30% of our young people. We have the finest university system. We have public education at the elementary and secondary level that ranks below every industrial competitor we have in the world. Everybody knows what it takes to get into college. Has anybody ever told a teacher what it takes to be productive if you don't go to college? The answer is no. We have not dignified alternatives to college. We are the only country in the industrial world that says to 1 out of every 4 of its young people, We are going to let you drop out of sight; we are not going to give you the tools to be productive. No wonder they drop out, because the market signal says to them, We don't care about you, so leave school. If you haven't got anything, \$4 an hour sounds like a lot of money. The trouble is that they are still making \$4 an hour when they are 30, and then they cannot feed and clothe their own children.

Q. Why haven't the schools made better use of the money they have received?

A. Education is the most backward single institution in all the U.S. I don't know of an industry that spends less money on research and development. It is not for lack of money. It is a lack of intelligence and will and competence. It is a bureaucratic inertia that is unbelievable and inexcusable. Between 38 cents and 41 cents of our education dollar gets to the classroom. That is an act of irrationality. We are not putting our resources where the kids are. In the city of New York there are more school administrators than there are in all of France. In the state of New York there are more administrators than there are in all of the European Community, and the E.C. has 12 countries and 320 million people.

Q. You don't sound very optimistic.

A. It is way too early to condemn the U.S. to doom. We are dealing from strength, not weakness. We are still the most productive country in the whole world, in part because we are efficient in other things like distribution, marketing and all the services we have that are world class. We invested more in the past, and we are still living off those investments. We have the capacity to change, but it takes a conscious decision, and change is painful. The storm clouds are out there.

One of the nice things that has happened is that we have got international competition, and it is sending us urgent signals to get with it. The good companies have heard the message. Look at Xerox, Motorola. You can just see the surging excitement of those companies. They don't take any garbage. They are not going to take any unfair competition from overseas. They are willing to fight for their rights. But they have no fear about competing on any playing field anywhere with anybody, because they think they and their people are that good and they are willing to commit resources to research and development. But they are the minority, and that's the concern.

GRAPHIC: Picture, NO CAPTION descColor: William Brock., KURT WILSON

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

June 25, 1990

SECTION: LABOR; Commentary; Number 3166; Pg. 71

LENGTH: 1037 words

HEADLINE: BUSINESS SHARES THE BLAME FOR WORKERS' LOW SKILLS

BYLINE: John Hoerr

BODY:

THE LOW PRIORITY COMPANIES GIVE SKILLS
PRODUCTIVITY

Less than 10% plan to spur output by reorganizing work in a way that calls for employees with broad-based skills and adaptability

SKILLS SHORTAGES

Only 15% worry about shortages of skilled workers such as nurses and construction workers

SPECIAL TRAINING

Less than 30% are planning to have special programs for women, immigrants, and minority youth who will make up 85% of new workers

ATTITUDES

-Over 80% are more concerned about workers' attitudes and personalities than about basic skills

DATA: SURVEY OF 400+ COMPANIES, COMMISSION
ON THE SKILLS OF THE AMERICAN WORKFORCE

America, once the home of the world's most skilled labor force, now may be throwing it all away. Schools continue to turn out poorly educated young people. Employers continue to reject the idea of spending large amounts of money to train workers and upgrade skills. The easiest -- but most damaging -- way to remain competitive is to downgrade skills and cut wages. Indeed, the U. S. is on a de-skilling binge for the sake of short-term productivity growth that could prove disastrous for business and the economy in the long run.

So concludes a major new study by a group called the Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce. Most companies, it finds, accept the idea that they must live with a low-skilled work force. Less than 10% of employers surveyed are creating jobs that call for workers with broad-based skills and the ability to adapt to fast-changing technology and markets. In other words, business by and large is not demanding -- and the society is not delivering -- the large-scale improvements in education and training that American industry needs.

The commission's study, titled "America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages," will be issued on June 18. Established by the nonprofit National Center on Education & the Economy, the 32-member commission is a bipartisan group of business, academic, and labor representatives chaired by Ira C. Magaziner, a business strategy consultant who is president of SJS Inc. The commission co-chairmen are Ray Marshall and William E. Brock, who served as Labor Secretaries in the Carter and Reagan Administrations, respectively. The report is funded by the Carnegie Corp. of New York, New York State, Towers Perrin, and the German Marshall Fund.

'THE WORST.' The commission conducted in-depth studies of workplaces and education-training systems in the U. S., Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Japan, Ireland, and Singapore. It concludes that, except for Ireland, the foreign countries provide far better schooling and job training for noncollege-bound youth than the U. S. As a result, American youth rank near the bottom in comparisons of school performance. The other nations also have well-organized national systems for moving high school graduates into industry. The transition from school to work in the U. S. is described as "the worst of any industrialized country."

The study focuses on some 82 million jobs in the U. S. that do not require a four-year college education. These include skilled employees, such as nurses and construction workers; as well as line workers such as machine operators, assemblers, retail clerks, and health service employees. According to projections, most recruits for these jobs will be deficient in such basic skills as reading and writing. Even so, the skills commission found, relatively few employers plan to sharpen their employees' skills through remedial training. Although all the U. S. companies surveyed complained about a lack of skills, most were concerned more about workers' attitudes and personalities than educational skills (table).

In contrast, America's competitors tend to upgrade line workers' jobs and fill them with well-educated young people. Most important, a high percentage of foreign companies is achieving large productivity gains by reorganizing work to eliminate tiers of managers and give workers more of a say. The resulting "high-performance" workplace calls for multiskilled line workers who have good reading, math, science, and problem-solving skills. These workers can readily absorb new skills as technology and production requirements change. With workers who adapt quickly to new conditions, manufacturers can introduce new products on short cycle times and frequently switch production runs.

HIGH ROAD. In the U. S., however, the commission discovered that fewer than 10% of the 400-plus companies interviewed are reorganizing work in this fashion. Instead of investing in workers, most companies are pursuing other strategies to remain competitive: cutting wages, exporting production jobs to low-wage countries, or de-skilling jobs through automation. All of these methods are based on what Magaziner calls a "high-turnover, low-wage model." Many employers, he says, assume that the U. S. will have a large pool of uneducated, unskilled people. That being the case, the companies are using automation to create very simple work tasks -- jobs described by some critics as "idiot-proof" -- with low wages and no employment security.

Companies that take this path may be successful, but only in the short term, the commission says. The nation faces a choice. "We can choose forms of work organization which achieve cost competitiveness in the short run based upon low skills, low wages, and ultimately a society with a low living standard," Magaziner says. "Or we can choose forms of work organization which require more investment but which result in cost competitiveness based upon higher skills, higher wages, and a higher living standard."

The commission wants the U. S. to take the high-wage path. It recommends fundamental changes in the way the U. S. educates and trains the 70% of young people who will not graduate from four-year colleges. It urges the government to encourage companies to adopt high-performance work systems. Employers would be required to invest 1% of payroll in either their own training programs or a national fund to upgrade worker skills. These are controversial proposals, but the U. S. needs strong action to upgrade its work force to world-class standards.

URL: <http://www.businessweek.com/index.html>

JUNE 19, 1990, TUESDAY, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 964 words

HEADLINE: US Worker Training Criticized
Panel urges joint assault on low level of education

BYLINE: John Eckhouse, Chronicle Staff Writer

BODY:

The United States will sentence the bulk of its workforce to a low-wage future unless it radically alters the way work is organized and students are educated, a panel warned yesterday.

The Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce said the nation has a choice between giving its workers high skills or low wages and that "gradually, silently we are choosing low wages."

The panel, chaired by two former secretaries of labor, proposed an idealistic, multibillion-dollar program -- to be financed by both government and industry -- to reverse the trend.

Already a dozen countries provide higher average wages than the United States. U.S. children rank at the bottom on most international educational tests and the U.S. poverty level is higher than in many industrial countries, the panel's report said. The only way out of the downward spiral is to increase U.S. productivity by upgrading the skills of U.S. workers, the report said.

"America today is faced with a workforce crisis that most of us are unaware of," said John Sculley, chief executive of Cupertino-based Apple Computer Inc. and chairman of the National Center on Education and the Economy, which created the commission.

Among other things, the commission recommended that:

- * All U.S. companies spend at least 1 percent of their payroll educating and training workers.
- * American students be compelled to reach the world's highest educational-performance level.
- * To prevent students from dropping out of high school, those under the age of 18 should be prohibited from working unless enrolled in a program to meet the increased education standards.
- * Extensive technical and professional training be provided for the 70 percent of the population that does not go to college.

An appendix to the report suggested the proposals could increase federal and state educational spending by \$36.2 billion. Panel Chairman Ira Magaziner said corporate spending on training would jump by almost \$25 billion to meet the 1 percent requirement.

Although few U.S. companies come close to spending the recommended 1 percent of payroll on training, Magaziner said, West German companies already are required to spend 3.5 percent, Swedish companies pay 2.5 percent and the governments of Singapore and Ireland require a 1 percent spending level.

"Yes, it will cost, but I think the return will be far beyond whatever is paid," said commission Co-chairman William Brock, a Washington consultant and former secretary of labor. Two former governors, James Hunt Jr. of North Carolina and Thomas Kean of New Jersey, said they thought state governments would back the proposals.

The panel suggested that the government could pay to train workers and then be repaid through a 1 percent income-tax surcharge levied on the people who receive the training.

Brock said the commission's eight months of research and more than 2,000 interviews conducted at domestic and foreign companies produced one major finding that startled him.

"We thought we had a severe shortage of skilled workers, but we found something much different and much more troubling," he said during a New York press conference that was broadcast to several other cities. "Managers are largely satisfied with the skill levels of their workers, because most jobs require low skills."

That creates a vicious cycle, according to the report. Business defines jobs narrowly and requires little real skill, and consequently little is required of U.S. schools.

Achieving a high-school diploma today means little in the way of educational achievement, commission members stated in the report and reiterated at the press conference. A diploma simply indicates to employers that the holder had the intestinal fortitude not to drop out of school -- the national dropout rate is 20 percent -- and thus might be reliable on the job.

BLUE-COLLAR FOCUS

The panel called for a major reorganization of work practices. It would give much more responsibility to blue-collar workers, who would receive a far better education and more on-the-job training than they get now.

That, in turn, is supposed to sharply increase productivity by reducing the number of supervisors, quality checkers, production schedulers and maintenance people.

The commission criticized what it described as the shortsightedness of business management which, it says, spends little on training workers or upgrading their skills. Only 8 percent of blue-collar workers in the United States receive training, and most of that is basic orientation and safety instruction.

Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, who was specially invited to attend the press conference, called the report "the richest and most important" of the more than 100 educational-reform proposals he has read, because it deals with the relationship between the economy and education.

FIVE STEPS

The Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce's five recommendations for ways to educate and train a highly skilled, productive workforce:

Require every U.S. student to meet by age 16 educational standards as high as those of any other country.

Ensure that virtually every student achieve this level by creating and paying for alternative learning environments as necessary. Prevent dropouts by prohibiting children under the age of 18 from working unless enrolled in a program to meet the educational performance requirement.

Provide extensive technical and professional training for the 70 percent of the population that does not go to college.

Require every employer to spend at least 1 percent of its payroll to educate, train and improve the skills of its workers.

Create a single federal-state system to manage the proposed new education and training system.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

The Associated Press

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June 18, 1990, Monday, AM cycle

SECTION: Business News

LENGTH: 792 words

HEADLINE: Commission Calls for Radical Overhaul of U.S. Job Training

BYLINE: By LEE MITGANG, AP Education Writer

DATELINE: NEW YORK

BODY:

A majority of U.S. workers could face lifetimes of low-paying jobs and America will lose its global economic race unless drastic changes are made in training average workers, a commission warned Monday.

"What we are facing is an economic cliff of sorts. And the front line working people of America are about to fall off it," said the bluntly-worded study produced by a 34-member Commission on the Skills of the American Work Force.

The commission was led by Bill Brock and Ray Marshall, respectively U.S. labor secretaries under presidents Reagan and Carter.

Seventy percent of the workforce - the clerks, secretaries, machinists, drivers, farm workers and other non-college educated "front-line" workers - "will see their dreams slip away" unless society invests far more in improving their skills in school and on the job, concluded the report.

The report - "America's Choice: High Skills Or Low Wages!" - called on business, schools and government to totally overhaul the "haphazard, incoherent and bureaucratic" system of job training now in operation.

Among key recommendations:

- A federal requirement that all U.S. firms devote at least one percent of payroll to skills training;

- A mandate that no one under age 18 be allowed to hold a job until meeting a new set of national educational standards as tough as any in the world;

- Establishment of a network of "youth centers" designed to ensure that dropouts and others unable to meet the standards on time in regular schools are helped to do so later on.

Such a system of alternative education centers could cost \$8 billion annually if all current dropouts were served, the report estimated.

The study was co-written by international business expert Ira Magaziner, and Marc Tucker, president of the National Center on Education and the Economy, a Rochester, N.Y.-based group widely credited with shaping the current direction of U.S. school reform.

It was based on 2,000 interviews at more than 550 companies and agencies since July in the United States, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Ireland, Japan and Singapore.

Business groups, education leaders and politicians immediately hailed the report as a landmark.

Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, called it "the most significant report of the whole reform movement."

"In terms of breadth, accuracy and complexity, it has no match," said the president of the nation's second largest teacher's union.

"The Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce has found the necessary remedies for America's lagging productivity," said Stephen Blair, president of the National Association of Trade and Technical Schools.

"I believe governors and legislators will particularly welcome the suggestion of national standards for educational performance," said James B. Hunt, former governor of North Carolina and a commission member.

The study was funded with \$500,000 in grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, New York state, and Towers Perrin, a New York-based consulting firm.

The commission found that foreign education systems were generally much better than U.S. schools at setting high standards for all students, not just the college-bound.

"We have the worst system of any major country for educating the non-college bound," Marshall told reporters.

The report recommended that all students be required to work toward a "Certificate of Initial Mastery" that would certify high levels of competence in math, English and other job basics. Students would demonstrate their skills through specific tasks rather than standardized tests.

U.S. firms spend \$30 billion a year training workers, but only one-third is spent on non-college educated employees, the report found. About 15,000 companies, less than 1 percent of the total, provide over 90 percent of corporate-based training in this country, the study said.

The report found that a majority of U.S. firms cling to outmoded production models where workers have little decision-making authority and are trained only for low-paying, dead-end jobs.

The result: U.S. worker productivity is less than half what it was 15 years ago, the report said, and buying power of wage earners has declined. Married women have been forced to work to maintain the standard of living of U.S. families, and Americans are borrowing at unprecedented rates.

By contrast, the approximately 100 foreign corporations in the study were generally more inclined to avoid layoffs and provide worker training than U.S. firms.

Many workers with limited skills thus face job loss as U.S. firms struggle to cut labor costs to stay competitive with foreign companies.

"Higher skills means the jobs stay at home," instead of overseas plants, the report said.

June 19, 1990

SECTION: NATIONAL DESK

LENGTH: 456 words

HEADLINE: STATEMENT OF AFT PRESIDENT ALBERT SHANKER ON "AMERICA'S CHOICE: HIGH SKILLS OR LOW WAGES"

CONTACT: Kate Krell or Barbara Pape of the American Federation of Teachers, 202-879-4458

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, June 19

BODY:

Following is a statement issued today by American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker on "America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages:"

Of all the reports issued since the beginning of the education reform movement, "America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages" is by far the richest and most insightful. In terms of breadth, accuracy and complexity, it has no match.

Other reports shocked the nation, lamented the quality of teachers or detailed the plight of disadvantaged students. This is the first report, however, to deal with the inter-relationship between the state of the economy and what goes on in this country's schools.

Education reform efforts in the U.S. perpetually swing between calls for high standards of performance or low ones. Neither extreme works. Too many students are forced to drop out when high standards are in fashion. Low standards devalue the high school and college diploma until both become meaningless. The authors suggest significant remedies to stop this pendulum swing. They call for a new educational standard to be met by all students. For those who cannot achieve this initial mastery standard in regular schools, youth centers are created to ensure that all students attain a certificate.

The report also discusses the importance of lifelong-learning; not just for students who plan to attend college, but also for the non-college-bound youth. In this case, the proposed lifelong- learning system is based on the world's most ancient form of job training -- apprenticeship.

An apprenticeship program recognizes that people learn best by doing, not by abstract analysis or classroom lecture. Providing incentives for business to invest in the further education and training of their employees, as suggested in this study, will go far to develop workers who can think, take responsibility, use their judgment and make decisions.

America's Choice also goes a long way to emphasize the transition from school to work -- a transition that has been dreadfully neglected by both educators and the business community. Students want to know why they need to learn certain subjects, facts, rules. Those going to college may see some linkage between their high school courses and the subjects they will eventually study. For the student pursuing a job after graduation, however, the connection is not so clear. If the business community were to reward good grades with good jobs, for example, students would be motivated to perform to their highest standard.

"America's Choice: Higher Wages or Low Skills" goes a long way to provide, not simply another report to be dusted from the shelves, but an action plan for government, business and the schools.

**Hillary Rodham Clinton
Biographical Data**

Born: October 26, 1947, in Chicago, Illinois
Husband: President William Jefferson Clinton
Daughter: Chelsea Victoria Clinton

First Lady of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

EDUCATION:

B.A. Wellesley College, 1969
J.D. Yale Law School, Yale University, 1973

LAW PRACTICE AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS:

Admitted to Arkansas Bar, 1973
U.S. District Court (eastern and western districts), 1973
U.S. Court of Appeals (8th Circuit), 1973
U.S. Supreme Court, 1975
Children's Defense Fund, Cambridge, Massachusetts and Washington, D.C., and Carnegie
Council on Children, New Haven, Connecticut, 1973-74
Counsel, Impeachment Inquiry Staff, Judiciary Committee, United States House of
Representatives, Washington, D.C., 1974
Chair, American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, 1987-91
Chair, Legal Services Corporation, Washington, D.C., 1978-80, Member, Board of Directors,
1977-81
Partner, Rose Law Firm, Little Rock, Arkansas, 1977-92

LAW TEACHING:

Assistant Professor of Law and Director of the Legal Aid Clinic, University of Arkansas School
of Law at Fayetteville, 1974-76
Assistant Professor of Law, University of Arkansas School of Law at Little Rock, 1979-80

PUBLICATIONS:

- "Children Under the Law," *Harvard Educational Review*, January, 1974
- "Children's Policies: Abandonment and Neglect," 86 *Yale Law Journal* 1522 (1977) (review of Gilbert Y. Steiner: *The Children's Cause*, 1976)
- "Handbook on Legal Rights for Arkansas Women," Carolyn Armbrust [et al.], a project of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, 1977, 1987 editions
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- "In France, Day Care is Every Child's Right," Editorial, *The New York Times*, April 7, 1990
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- "Spirit of Compassion for Children Attacked," Editorial, *The Arizona Republic*, March 16, 1995
- "What Can We Do, What Must We Do," *Parenting Magazine*, June/July, 1995
- "Investing in Sisterhood; An Agenda for the World's Women," Outlook, *The Washington Post*, May 14, 1995
- Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton: United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women*, September 5-6, 1995
- "Talking It Over," Syndicated column, 1995-Present
- Opening Statement, *The White House Collection of American Crafts*, by Michael Monroes, Harry Abrams, Inc., 1995
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- "Time to Act on Behalf of Women Everywhere," *The Journal of Intergroup Relations*, Summer 1996
- "Giving Every Child A Chance," *Exceptional Parent*, June 1996
- Foreword, *Smithsonian Book of First Ladies*, edited by Doris Faber and Edith P. Mayor, Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 1996

- "Comfort and Joy: The First Mom Suggests Reading as an Easy Way to Help a Baby's Brain Grow," Viewpoint, *Time Magazine*, February 3, 1997
- Remarks and commentary by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton: *Africa*, March 1997
- "Doing the Best for Our Kids," Your Child's World Special Issue, *Newsweek*, Spring/Summer 1997
- "Our Chance for Healthier Children," Op-Ed, *The New York Times*, August 5, 1997
- "Report from the Road," *Newsweek*, November 24, 1997
- Remarks and commentary by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton: *Central Asia, Russia, Ukraine*, November 1997
- Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the United Nations General Assembly Adoption and Proclamations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, December 10, 1997
- Remarks and Commentary by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton: *Vital Voices*, 1997-1999
- Dear Socks, Dear Buddy: Kids' Letters to the First Pets*, Simon and Schuster, 1998
- "Remembering Virginia," *Ladies Home Journal*, May 1998
- "Going Private: Vouchers are not the answer to public-school woes," Op-Ed, *The Charleston Gazette*, June 15, 1998
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- Afterword, *Beatrice's Goat*, by Page McBrier, Simon and Schuster, 2000
- "Parenting a Teen..." *Newsweek*, May 8, 2000

HONORS AND AWARDS:

Honorary Doctor of Law:

University of Arkansas at Little Rock, 1985
 Arkansas College, Batesville, Arkansas, 1988
 Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas, 1992
 University of Michigan, 1993
 University of Pennsylvania, 1993
 University of Sunderland, England, 1993
 University of Illinois, 1994
 San Francisco State University, 1995
 University of Minnesota, 1995
 Goucher College, 1998
 Howard University, 1998
 National University of Ireland, Galway, 1999

Honorary Doctor of Public Service:

George Washington University, 1994
 University of Maryland at College Park, 1996

Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters:

Drew University, 1996
 Ohio University, 1997

Honorary Professorship:

American University in Kyrgyzstan, 1997

Honorary Associate in Child, Family and Community Service:

Lincoln Land Community College, 1996

Who's Who in the World, 1998

Who's Who in America, 1994-2000

Who's Who in American Law, 1994-95

Who's Who in Emerging Leaders in America, 1993-94

Who's Who of American Women, 1993-98

International Who's Who, 1993-2000

In Appreciation, Legal Services Corporation of Alabama, March 1979

Distinguished Service as Counsel, State Judicial Council of Arkansas, 1979

Woman of the Year, Arkansas Democrats, 1983

Headliner of the Year, Arkansas Press Association, 1983

Phi Kappa Phi Honors Lecture, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, 1984

Phi Delta Kappa Award for Outstanding Layman of the Year for Contributions to

Education, 1984

Arkansas Press Broadcasters Newsmaker of the Year, 1984

Arkansas Honor Young Mother of the Year, 1984

Esquire Magazine Register, "The Best of the New Generation, Men and Women Under Forty Who Are Changing America," 1984

Public Citizen of the Year Award, Arkansas Chapter, National Association of Social Workers, 1984

Friend of Education Award, England Education Association, March 1984

Service Award, National Organization of Child Care Workers Associations, Inc., March 1984

Outstanding Service, Pi Upsilon Chapter of Kappa Delta Pi Honor Society in Division of Education at University of Arkansas Pine Bluff, September 1984

Arkansas Bar Association and Arkansas Bar Foundation Award: "To recognize outstanding achievements as a lawyer and role model," 1985

In Honor of Contributions to Education, Southern Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, February 1986

Pulaski County Bar Association Lawyer-Citizen Award, 1987

Woman of Distinction Award, Arkansas Professional Women of Distinction, Presented by Worthen Bank, November 1987

Woman of Destination, Selfless Leadership in Community Activities, Florence Crittenton Home, 1987

The Best Lawyers in America, 1987, 1989-90, 1991-92, 1993-94

Friend of Pediatrics, Arkansas Chapter, American Academy of Pediatrics, 1988

Recognition of Distinguished Accomplishments in Professional and Civic Affairs, Who's Who in Society, 1988

Gayle Pettus Pontz Award, "For outstanding excellence and achievement in the legal profession," Women's Law Student Association, University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, 1989

✓ Thanks for Vision and Leadership in Bringing HIPPIY to Arkansas, HIPPIY USA, September 10, 1990

Honorary Citizen, Blytheville, Arkansas, October 1990

Paul Harris Fellow, "Recognizing service above self," Rotary Club of Little Rock, 1991

Director's Choice Award, National Women's Economic Alliance Foundation, 1991

Outstanding Shape of Arkansas Lawyer-Citizen Award – recognition of contribution to the legal profession, Arkansas Bar Association and Arkansas Bar Foundation, 1991-92

100 Most Influential Lawyers in America, National Law Journal, 1991, 1997

Bess Chisum Stephens YWCA Woman of the Year, "Arkansas First Lady," For Outstanding Leadership and Dedication to the People of Arkansas, 1992

Glamour Women of the Year Award, "For bringing our country's First Relationship into the nineties," One of ten women honored, 1992

ROSE (Recognition for Outstanding Service to Education) Award, University of Southern California School of Education, 1992

Outstanding Lawyer-Citizen Award, "In recognition of outstanding participation in

and excellent performance of civic responsibilities, and for demonstrating high standards of professional competence and conduct," Arkansas Bar Association, 1992

Commendation for Outstanding Record of Achievement, Senator Diane Watson, March 26, 1992

Honorary Secretary of State of Alabama Award, Secretary State of Alabama, May 14, 1992

President's Medal, Bank Street College, October 1, 1992

Lifetime Membership Certificate, Girl Scouts of America, December 1992

Citizen of the Year, Arkansas March of Dimes, 1993

Lewis Hine Distinguished Service Award for Lifetime Commitment to the Well-being of Children and Youth, National Child Labor Committee, January 26, 1993

Life Membership, Arkansas Business and Education Alliance Resolution, February 5, 1993

Albert Schweitzer Leadership Award, "In recognition of leadership in guiding and motivating youth," Hugh O'Brian Youth Foundation, May 10, 1993

Friend of Family Award, American Home Economics Association, June 26, 1993

The Iris Cantor Humanitarian Award, University of California at Los Angeles, "For Commitment to Women's Health Issues," July 19, 1993

Charles Wilson Lee Citizen Service Award, Committee for Education Funding, 1993

Awareness Achievement Award, National Breast Cancer Awareness Month, 1993

Recognition of Vision and Unwavering Commitment to Achieving National Health Care Reform, Service Employees International Union, Fall 1993

Key to the City of Rochester, Minnesota, September 17, 1993

Claude D. Pepper Award, The National Association for Home Care, October 19, 1993

1993 National Humanitarian Award, American Friends of Jamaica, Inc., November 13, 1993

Distinguished Service Award, National Center for Health Education, November 18, 1993

Healthcare Advocacy Award, National Symposium on Healthcare Design, November 19, 1993

Distinguished Service Award, Phelps Memorial Hospital Center, November 20, 1993

First Humanitarian Achievement Award, El Banquete del Millon y del Amor, Inc., Saint Anthony Catholic Church, November 27, 1993

National Public Service Award 1993, The Bar Association of the District of Columbia, December 4, 1993

Fannie Lou Hamer Human Rights Award, Clergy and Laity Concerned, December 16, 1993

Special Recognition for Tireless Leadership on Health Care Reform, National Farmers Union, 1994

Award for "Making a Difference for Women's Health," National Women's Law Center, 1994

Lyman J. Gage Award for Civic Achievement, The Civic Federation, 1994

OHEL's Humanitarian Award, Children's Home & Family Services, January 15, 1994

First Save Our Youth Award, Save Our Youth, January 23, 1994

Commitment to Life Award, AIDS Project Los Angeles, January 27, 1994

Distinguished Service Health Education & Prevention Award, "For efforts in focusing the nation's attention on health care and emphasizing the relationship between education and proper health care" National Center for Health Education, February 2, 1994

"Cerviel" Achievement Award, "For efforts as a woman in corporate America and

barrier-breaking efforts from which others have benefited," *Vista* magazine, February 15, 1994

California Coalition of Nurse Practitioners, Nurse Practitioner of the Year Award, February 24, 1994

Vision in Education Award, Columbus School for Girls, February 25, 1994

National Association of Cuban American Women, New Jersey Chapter, March 1, 1994

Distinguished Service in Aging Award, American Association of Homes for the Aging, March 15, 1994

First Award on Distinguished Humanism, Bragg Symposium on Humanism, All Saints Unitarian Church, March 18, 1994

First Annual Eleanor Roosevelt Freedom Fighter Award, Alachua County Democratic Executive Committee, March 21, 1994

Social Justice Award, "For efforts to ensure that every American receives proper health care," United Auto Workers, March 22, 1994

Friend of Education Award, Buffalo Teacher's Federation, Inc., March 22, 1994

Brandeis Award, School of Law, University of Louisville, April 1, 1994

Benjamin E. Mays Award, A Better Chance Inc., April 4, 1994

Ernie Banks Positivism Trophy, "Given to the First Lady for her efforts as a most productive contributor to life in America," Emil Verban Memorial Society, April 6, 1994

Humanitarian Award, Alzheimer's Association, April 11, 1994

✓ Elie Wiesel Foundation Humanitarian Award, April 14, 1994

--- Leadership Award, Regional Aid for Interim Needs (RAIN), Inc., Bronx, New York, April 21, 1994

International Broadcasting Award, "For contributing to the betterment of radio and television," Hollywood Radio and Television Society, April 26, 1994

Ellen Browning Scripps Award, "To a pioneering women who has made a significant and positive difference in the life possibilities available to women," Scripps College, April 26, 1994

Legislator of the Year Award, The American Physical Therapy Association, April 27, 1994

Dr. Edward C. Mazique Memorial Award, Greater Washington Boys and Girls Club, April 27, 1994

Ollie Randall Award, National Council on the Aging, April 27, 1994

Montclair Yale Bowl Award, Yale Club of Montclair, May 1, 1994

Women of Distinction Award, Crohn's & Colitis Foundation of America, Inc., May 2, 1994

Coalition of Labor Women United, May 2, 1994

✓ HIPPY USA Award, May 6, 1994

✓ Women of the Year Award, Yad B'Yad Award, May 7, 1994

Distinguished Citizen Award, Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities in Illinois, May 16, 1994

C. Everett Koop Medal for Health Promotion and Awareness, American Diabetes Association, May 17, 1994

Distinguished Pro Bono Service Award, San Diego Volunteer Lawyer Program, May

17, 1994

- ✓ Humanitarian Award, Chicago Chapter, Hadassah Medical Organization, May 26, 1994
- Coalition of Labor Union Women 20th Anniversary Award "For tireless dedication on behalf of National Health Care Reform," May 20, 1994
- Women of Distinction Award, National Conference for College Women Student Leaders, June 2, 1994
- Women of Achievement Award, Women's Project and Productions, June 6, 1994
- Girl Scouts of Illinois Crossroads Award, Girl Scouts, June 10, 1994
- Barnert Hospital Award, "For outstanding service for health care reform," Board of Trustees, Barnert Hospital, Paterson, New Jersey, June 11, 1994
- Mary Hatwood Futrell Award, "The award commends her efforts on behalf of education opportunity, especially for women and girls," National Education Association, June 14, 1994
- ✓ Women of Achievement Award, B'nai B'rith Women, June 15, 1994
- The Ellington Shield Against Hopelessness, The Duke Ellington School for the Performing Arts, June 15, 1994
- Claude Pepper Award, "For recognition for her dedication to health care reform and long term care," National Association for Home Care Board of Directors, June 19, 1994
- Women's Legal Defense Fund Award "Commending her work in advancing the status of women in society," June 23, 1994
- Anna Eleanor Roosevelt Medallion of Honor, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, July 13, 1994
- William S. Hall Award, South Carolina Association of Residential Care Homes, July 25, 1994
- Shining Star Award, "In recognition of her work on behalf of children, especially those with terminal illnesses," Starlight Foundation, August 2, 1994
- Martin Luther King, Jr. Award, Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc., August 12, 1994
- Women of Achievement Award, Westchester Association of Women's Business Owners, September 24, 1994
- Non-Profit Advocacy Award, Illinois Association of Non-Profit Organizations, October 28, 1994
- Brass Ring Award, Children's Diabetes Foundation, October 28, 1994
- Women's Media Group Award, "For Outstanding Leadership," Women's Media Group, November 1, 1994
- Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center Medal, November 2, 1994
- American Academy of Matrimonial Lawyer's Family Advocate of the Year Award, Greenfield & Murphy, November 4, 1994
- Dr. Frederick D. Patterson Memorial Award, United Negro College Fund, November 5, 1994
- Delta Spirit Award, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Los Angeles Chapter, November 10, 1994
- ✓ Woman of Distinction Award, Women's League for Conservative Judaism, November 13, 1994
- First Leila Robinson Award, Women's Bar Association of Massachusetts, November 17, 1994
- 30th Anniversary of Women at Work Award in Public Policy, National Commission on Working Women, December 6, 1994
- Public Service Award, Modell's Sporting Goods Executive Offices, December 8, 1994
- Boehm Soaring Eagle Award for Excellence in Leadership, National Women's

Economic Alliance Foundation, December 12, 1994
 Pre-inaugural Award in Honor of First Ladies in Washington, Diamond Designs, December 30, 1994
 Child Health Day Life Line Award, American Health Foundation, 1995
 National Woman's Law Center Award, Annual Awards Dinner 1994 "For Making a Difference in Women's Health, Family Circle Woman Who Makes a Difference Lifetime Achievement Award," 1995
 Top Lady of Distinction Award 1995, The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center Support Group of Southeast Texas, Inc., January 16, 1995
 Award for Excellence in Communication, Capital Speakers Club, January 18, 1995
 National Federation of Black Women Business Owners Black Women of Courage Award "For outstanding commitment advocacy, and support of women-owned businesses," February 8, 1995
 Nurse Practitioner of the Year Award, California Coalition of Nurse Practitioners, February 24, 1995
 Woman of the Year Award, Iowa City/Johnson County Senior Center, March 1, 1995
 Greater Washington Urban League Award, March 8, 1995
 Golden Acorn Award, Child Development Center, Bronx, New York, March 9, 1995
 Servant of Justice Award, New York City Legal Aid Society, March 23, 1995
 Health Educator of the Year Award, The Ryan White Foundation, April 8, 1995
 Golden Image Award, Women At Work, April 9, 1995
 -- 1995 Outstanding Mother Award, National Mother's Day Committee, April 13, 1995
 Eleanor Roosevelt Award, Citizen's Committee For Children of New York, Inc., April 24, 1995
 1994 *Annual Survey of American Law* Dedication to Hillary Rodham Clinton, New York University School of Law, April 25, 1995
 ✓ Certificate in Recognition of Outstanding Efforts for the People of this Country, Hadassah, Florida-Broward County Region, April 30, 1995
 United Cerebral Palsy Humanitarian Award, 1995
 World Health Award, American Association for World Health, World Health Day, 1995
 Presidential Medal, Brooklyn College, June 1, 1995
 Recognition for Efforts on Behalf of Children and Families, Upper Peninsula Children's Coalition of Escanaba, Michigan, June 2, 1995
 Write Women Back Into History Award, National Women's History Project, August 26, 1995
 Save the Children Service Award, September 1995
 Miss America Woman of Achievement Award, September 1995
 Eleanor Roosevelt Val-Kill Medal, October 1, 1995
 The National Breast Cancer Coalition Leadership Award, October 26, 1995
 Sisterhood Award, NAACP, November 28, 1995
 Jane Matilda Bolin Award, Metropolitan Black Bar Association, December 9, 1995
 Paul Harris Fellow, The Rotary Foundation, 1996
 ADRA's Humanitarian Award, January 29, 1996
 1996 NICHE Humanitarian of the Year Award, The Rosen Group's Buyers Market of

American Craft, February 11, 1996

Catherine Dunfey Award, New England Circle, February 22, 1996

Friend of Education Award, Buffalo Teachers Federation, March 6, 1996

✓ Faith in Humanity Award, National Council of Jewish Women, March 9, 1996

Outstanding Communicator, Los Angeles Advertising Women, April 25, 1996

Anniversary Leadership Award, Center for Policy Alternatives, May 10, 1996

Key to the City of Van Buren, Arkansas, May 11, 1996

"Thank you for your commitment to America's children," National Parent Teacher Association, June 24, 1996

National Association of Elementary School Principals Distinguished Service Award, July 28, 1996

Commendation by the County of Los Angeles for supporting and recognizing an American Heritage: Crafts and their artists, September 11, 1996

Mayor's Orchid Award, West Palm Beach, Florida. "For your efforts in helping to Sculpt a Capital City." October 1, 1996

First Annual Amy Center Award, Mount Vernon, Illinois. "For your tireless efforts on behalf of children everywhere." October 9, 1996

Sticking Your Neck Out Award, Pima Council on Aging, Tucson, Arizona, October 15, 1996

Washington International School Award for Advocacy on Behalf of Young People, Washington, D.C., October 26, 1996

Outstanding Contribution Award, Florida Agricultural Mechanical University, October 30, 1996

-- The Diamond In The Rough Award, Young Women's Council of the Florida Agricultural Mechanical University, October 30, 1996

25 Most Influential Working Mothers, *Working Mother* Magazine, February 10, 1997

Grammy Award, Best Spoken Word or Non-Musical Album, National Academy of Recording Arts & Sciences, February 26, 1997

National Family Advocate Award, Parents' Plus/The Boston Parents' Paper, March 1, 1997

Public Spirit Award, American Legion Auxiliary, March 2, 1997

"Bully Pulpit" Award, The National Council for Adoption, "For advocacy on behalf of adoption especially through the Adoption 2002 Initiative." April 16, 1997

National Family Advocate Award, Parents' Plus Newspaper, April 21, 1997

Judge Lois Forer Child Advocacy Award, Support Center for Child Advocates, April 28, 1997

"Parents - As They Grow - Award: Hillary Rodham Clinton 1997," Parents Magazine, May 22, 1997

The President's Award for Distinguished Public Service, American Society for Public Administration, July 29, 1997

Honorary Title of Control House Operator, The Panama Canal Miraflores Locks, October 9, 1997

1997 Beacon Award, Trustees' Council of Penn Women, October 22, 1997

Distinguished Service to Education award, The College Board, October 28, 1997

Lifetime Achievement Award, Big Sisters Guild/Big Sisters of Los Angeles, October 30, 1997

Distinguished Service Award, Columbia University National Center on Addiction

and Substance Abuse, November 21, 1997

Commitment to Children Award, The Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation, December 1, 1997

Eleanor Roosevelt Living World Award, Peace Links, December 9, 1997

Friend of Children Award, Children's National Medical Center, December 16, 1997

Ronald H. Brown Bridge Builder Award, Ronald H. Brown Foundation, 1998

Lincoln Medal, Ford's Theatre, February 8, 1998

Decade of the Brain Award, Society for Neuroscience, March 18, 1998

T. Berry Brazelton Leadership Award, Brazelton Foundation, March 28, 1998

1998 Great Friend to Kids Award, Association of Youth Museums, May 8, 1998

United Arab Emirates Health Foundation Prize, World Health Organization, May 14, 1998

Friend of Education Award, Educational Press Association of America, June 5, 1998

1998 Eleanor Award, Woman's National Democratic Club, June 10, 1998

The Burst: Energy, innovation, excitement turned into ACTION, Jumpstart, June 18, 1998

Top 10 Most Influential Women, Civil Service Employees Association, Seneca Falls, New York, July 16, 1998

✓ Beverly Minkoff Award, Women's American ORT, July 17, 1998

Honored for "all your extra efforts on behalf of the American Cancer Society," American Cancer Society, September 10, 1998

Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award, Center for National Policy, September 17, 1998

✓ "Parents 1998 Child Care Awards," Parents Magazine, September 23, 1998

Honored for "exemplary leadership on behalf of children and families," National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse, October 6, 1998

Foreign Policy Association Medal, Foreign Policy Association, October 19, 1998

Annual Award of the New York Council on Adoptable Children, November 18, 1998

Model of the Order of Sovereign Congress, Grade of Great Cross, Congress of the Republic of Guatemala, November 18, 1998

Advocacy Award, New York University Child Study Center, December 1, 1998

Lifetime Achievement Award, Life Directions, December 3, 1998

Humanitarian Award, America's Buffalo Soldiers Re-Enactors Association, February 1999

Rock the Vote Award, MTV, February 19, 1999

Award of Excellence 1998-1999, United States Committee for UNIFEM, March 4, 1999

✓ Shalom Chaver Award for International Leadership (received jointly with the President), Yitzhak Rabin Center for Israel Studies, March 18, 1999

1999 Lifetime Humanitarian Award, Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund, April 19, 1999

Jill and Ken Iscol Lecture Series, Teachers College, Columbia University, April 19, 1999

Certificate of Recognition for outstanding contribution to the welfare of children, Syosset Council of PTAs, April 20, 1999

John F. English Award Public Service Award, Hofstra University, April 20, 1999

Albert Shanker Award, New York State United Teachers, April 22, 1999

Ellis Island Medal of Honor, National Ethnic Coalition of Organizations, May 8,

1999

Humanitarian Award, American Foundation for Suicide Prevention, May 11, 1999

Friend of Playboard, PlayBoard of Northern Ireland, May 20, 1999

Arts Advocacy Award, Americans for the Arts, May 24, 1999

Friend of Education Award, National Education Association, July 5, 1999

✓ Henrietta Szold Award, Hadassah, July 27, 1999

1999 W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, September 23, 1999

Public Leadership Award, National Breast Cancer Coalition, September 28, 1999

Aesculapius Award of Excellence for the Video PSA recorded for the National Colorectal Cancer Roundtable, Health Improvement Institute, October 1999

Honored for her Tireless Efforts on Behalf of Children Everywhere, African Ambassadors' Spouses Association, October 14, 1999

Award of Appreciation, National Federation of Filipino American Associations, October 15-17, 1999

1999 Public Interest Advocate Award, National Association for Public Interest Law, October 29, 1999

Lelia J. Robinson Award, Women's Bar Association of Massachusetts, November 3, 1999

Leadership Award, New York University Global Law School Program, November 20, 1999

✓ Most Distinguished Woman of Vision Award, American Committee of the Weizman Institute of Science, January 26, 2000

Irish American Peace Prize, Irish American Democrats, February 14, 2000

Woman of Distinction Award, Continental Societies Inc., New York Chapter, March 11, 2000

Honored by the Girl Scouts of Suffolk County, March 16, 2000

Honorary Member, National Association of Women Business Owners, New York City Chapter, March 21, 2000

Winning Spirit Award for Commitment, Women's Information Network Against Breast Cancer, March 28, 2000

Village Banking Award, Foundation for International Community Assistance, April 6, 2000

Champion for Children Award, Child Abuse Prevention Services, April 6, 2000

Millennium Special Recognition Award, Brooklyn Democratic Party, April 13, 2000

Honored for commitment to the families of those individuals affected by Autism, The Autism Coalition of the Empire State, June 11, 2000

Oliver Project's Humanitarian Award, Orphan Foundation of America, June 12, 2000

Leadership Award, Hispanic Democrats of Westchester, June 16, 2000

Honorary Carpenter, New York District Council of Carpenters Apprentice and Journey Level Retraining Program, June 22, 2000

✓ Citizen of the Year Award, Temple Adath Yeshurun, June 27, 2000

MEMBERSHIPS AND ASSOCIATIONS:

Member, Arkansas Bar Association
 Member, Arkansas Trial Lawyers Association
 Member, Arkansas Women Lawyers Association
 Member, Pulaski County Bar Association
 Honorary Life Member, The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi
 Founder and President, Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, Founder, President and Member of Board of Directors, 1977-84
 Chair, Arkansas Rural Health Committee, 1979-80
 Chair, Board of Directors, Children's Defense Fund, Washington, D.C., 1986-91, Member, Board of Directors, 1976-92
 Chair, Arkansas Education Standards Committee, 1983-84
 Yale Law School Executive Committee, New Haven, Connecticut, 1983-88, Treasurer, 1987-88
 Southern Governors Association Task Force on Infant Mortality, 1984-85
 Member, Commission on Quality Education, Southern Regional Education Board, 1984-92
 Honorary Membership, American Association of University Women, since 1984
 Honorary Membership, Delta Kappa Gamma Society International, since 1985
 Chairman, Honorary Mathcounts, Arkansas Society of Professional Engineers, 1985-86
 Member, Youth and America's Future: The William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family, and Citizenship, 1986-88
 Board of Directors, Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., 1986-92
 — Board of Directors, Child Care Action Campaign, New York, New York 1986-92
 Board of Directors, Southern Development Bancorporation, 1986-92
 Chair, Board of Directors, New World Foundation, New York, 1987-88, Member Board of Directors, 1983-87
 Board of Directors, National Center on Education and the Economy, 1987-92
 Co-Chair for Implementation, Commission on Skills of the American Workforce
 Board of Directors, "I Have a Dream" Foundation, 1988-89
 Board of Directors, Arkansas Children's Hospital, 1988-93
 Board of Directors, New Futures for Little Rock Youth, 1988-92
 Member, HIPPY USA Advisory Board, 1988-92
 Board of Directors, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, 1988-93
 Charter Member, Business Leadership Council, Wellesley College, 1989-Present
 Board of Directors, Children's Television Workshop, 1989-92
 Board of Directors, TCBY (The Country's Best Yogurt) Enterprises, Inc., 1989-92
 Board of Directors, National Alliance of Business Center for Excellence in Education, 1990-91
 Board of Directors, Public/Private Ventures, 1990-92
 Board of Directors, Lafarge Corporation, 1990-92
 Arkansas Business and Education Alliance, 1991-92
 President, Board of Directors, Arkansas Single Parent Scholarship Fund Program, 1990-92
 Chair, National Board of the Claudia Company 1991-93
 Honorary President of the Girl Scouts of America, 1993-Present

American Workforce, 1991-92

Member, Visiting Committee, University of Chicago Law School, 1991-92

Alumnae Trustee, Wellesley College, 1992-93

Chair, President's Task Force on National Health Care Reform, January-May 1993

Honorary Chair, President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, 1993-Present

Honorary Member, American News Women's Club, 1994

Honorary Chair, U.S. Delegation, United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women,
September 1995

Honorary Chair, President's Interagency Council on Women, 1995-Present

Honorary Member, The Pen & Brush, Inc., 1996

Honorary Life Member, Women's Council of the University of Missouri-Kansas City, 1996

Honorary Member, National League of American Pen Women, Inc., 1997

Honorary Chair, White House Millennium Committee to Save America's Treasures, 1997-
Present

Founding Member, The President's Circle of Habitat for Humanity International, March 10, 1998

IBUTE TO HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Hillary Rodham Clinton is worth knowing better. The more ly one observes her, the more impressed one is by her intellectual curiosity and human sensitivity.

A woman with a mind of her own, deeply committed to social s, she sets high standards for others and ever higher ones for elf.

She does what she says and says what she wants to say—not others want to hear.

Whatever she does, she does well, with genuine though sub- l enthusiasm.

Her language is clear, her words precise, her initiatives coura- is. She knows what she wants, though she also knows that one ot obtain everything one wants.

I wish she were appointed by the President of the United States ie unpaid cabinet position of Secretary for Human Rights—a in which she could do wonders for all those who need an inter- or.

ELIE WIESEL

Andrew W. Mellon Professor in the Humanities,
Boston University,
Nobel Peace Laureate, 1986

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Biographical Data

Born: October 26, 1947, in Chicago, Illinois

Husband: President William Jefferson Clinton

Daughter: Chelsea Victoria Clinton

Education:

B.A. Wellesley College, 1969

J.D. Yale Law School, Yale University, 1973

Law Practice and Professional Associations:

Admitted to Arkansas Bar, 1973

U.S. District Court (Eastern and Western districts of Arkansas)

U.S. Court of Appeals (8th Circuit)

U.S. Supreme Court, 1975

Children's Defense Fund, Cambridge, MA and Washington, D.C.,
and Carnegie Council on Children, New Haven, CT, 1973-74

Counsel, Impeachment Inquiry Staff, Judiciary Committee, U.S.
House of Representatives, Washington, DC, 1974

Chair, American Bar Association Commission on Women in the
Profession, 1987-91

Chair, Legal Services Corporation, Washington, D.C., 1978-80,
Member, Board of Directors, 1977-81

Partner, Rose Law Firm, Little Rock, AR, 1977-92

Law Teaching:

Assistant Professor of Law and Director of the Legal Aid Clinic,
University of Arkansas School of Law at Fayetteville, 1974-76

Assistant Professor of Law, University of Arkansas School of Law at
Little Rock, 1979-80

Publications:

"Children Under the Law," *Harvard Educational Review*, January,
1974

Hillary Rodham, *Book Note*, Children's Policies: Abandonment and Neglect, 86 Yale L.J. 1522 (1977) (reviewing Steiner: The Children's Cause) (1976)

"Handbook on Legal Rights for Arkansas Women," Carolyn Armbrust [et al.], a project of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, 1977, 1987 editions

"Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective," *Children's Rights*, Teachers College Press, New York, 1979

"Teacher Education: Of the People, By the People and For the People," *Beyond the Looking Glass: Papers from a National Symposium on Teacher Education Policies, Practices, and Research*, March 1985 and *Journal of Teacher Education*, January-February, 1985

"The Fight Over Orphanages," *Newsweek*, January, 1995

"The War on America's Children," *New York Newsday*, March 12, 1995

"Investing in Sisterhood," *The Washington Post*, May 14, 1995

Honors and Awards:

Honorary Doctor of Law

University of Arkansas at Little Rock, 1985

Arkansas College, Batesville, Arkansas, 1988

Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas, 1992

University of Michigan, 1993

University of Pennsylvania, 1993

University of Sunderland, England, 1993

University of Illinois, 1994

University of Minnesota, 1995

San Francisco State University, 1995

Honorary Doctor of Public Service

The George Washington University, 1994

Who's Who in the World, 1995

Who's Who in America, 1995

Who's Who in American Law, 1994-95

Who's Who of Emerging Leaders in America, 1993-94

Who's Who of American Women, 1993-94

International Who's Who, 1994-95

Honorary Life Member, The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi

Arkansas Bar Association and Arkansas Bar Foundation Award, 1985

Arkansas Woman of the Year, 1983

Phi Delta Kappa Award for Outstanding Layman of the Year, 1984

Pulaski County Bar Association Lawyer Citizen Award, 1987

Gayle Pettus Pontz Award, Women's Law Student Association, University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, 1989

Director's Choice Award, National Women's Economic Alliance Foundation, 1991

Outstanding Lawyer-Citizen Award, Arkansas Bar Association, 1992

Lewis Hine Award, National Lawyer and Child Labor Committee, January 26, 1993

Albert Schweitzer Leadership Award, Hugh O'Brian Youth Foundation, May 10, 1993

The Iris Cantor Humanitarian Award, July 19, 1993

1993 Charles Wilson Lee Citizen Service Award, Committee for Education Funding

1993 Awareness Achievement Award, National Breast Cancer Awareness Month

Claude D. Pepper Award, The National Association for Home Care, October 19, 1993

Distinguished Service Award, National Center for Health Education, November 18, 1993

Healthcare Advocacy Award, National Symposium of Healthcare Design, November 19, 1993

National Public Service Award 1993, The Bar Association of the District of Columbia, December 4, 1993

Fannie Lou Hamer Human Rights Award, Clergy and Laity Concerned, December 16, 1993

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First Annual Eleanor Roosevelt Freedom Fighter Award, Alachua County Democratic Executive Committee, March 21, 1994

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 Benjamin E. Mays Award, A Better Chance, Inc., April 4, 1994
 Ernie Banks Positivism Trophy, Emil Verban Memorial Society, April 6, 1994
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 HIPPI USA Award, May 6, 1994
 Women of the Year Award, Yad B'Yad Award, May 7, 1994
 C. Everett Koop Medal for Health Promotion and Awareness, American Diabetes Association, May 17, 1994
 Distinguished Pro Bono Service Award, San Diego Lawyer's Program, May 17, 1994
 Humanitarian Award, Chicago Chapter, Hadassah Medical Organization, May 26, 1994
 Coalition of Labor Union Women 20th Anniversary Award, May 20, 1994
 Women of Distinction Award, National Conference for College Women Student Leaders, June 2, 1994
 Mary Hatwood Futrell Award, National Education Association, June 14, 1994
 Women of Achievement Award, B'nai B'rith Women, June 15, 1994
 Claude Pepper Award, National Association for Home Care Board of Directors, June 19, 1994
 Women's Legal Defense Fund Award, June 23, 1994
 Shining Star Award, Starlight Foundation, August 2, 1994
 Martin Luther King, Jr. Award, Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc., August 12, 1994
 Children's Diabetes Foundation Brass Ring Award, October 28, 1994
 Women's Media Group Award, Women's Media Group, November 1, 1994
 American Academy of Matrimonial Lawyers Family Advocate of the Year Award, Greenfield & Murphy, November 4, 1994

Woman of Distinction Award, Women's League for Conservative Judaism, November 13, 1994
 30th Anniversary of Women at Work Award in Public Policy, National Commission on Working Women, December 6, 1994
 Boehm Soaring Eagle Award for Excellence in Leadership, National Women's Economic Alliance Foundation, December 12, 1994
 National Woman's Law Center Award, 1994
 Award for Excellence in Communication, Capital Speakers Club, January 18, 1995
 National Federation of Black Women Business Owners Black Women of Courage Award to Hillary Rodham Clinton, February 8, 1995
 Greater Washington Urban League Award, March 8, 1995
 Golden Acorn Award, Child Development Center, March 9, 1995
 Servant of Justice Award, New York Legal Aid Society, March 23, 1995
 Health Educator of the Year Award, The Ryan White Foundation, April 8, 1995
 Golden Image Award, Women at Work, April 9, 1995
 1995 Outstanding Mother Award, National Mother's Day Committee, April 13, 1995
 Eleanor Roosevelt Award, Citizen's Committee For Children of New York, Inc., April 24, 1995
 United Cerebral Palsy Humanitarian Award, 1995
 World Health Award, American Association for World Health, World Health Day, April 24, 1995
 Brooklyn College, Presidential Medal, 1995

Memberships and Associations:

Member, Arkansas Bar Association
 Member, Arkansas Trial Lawyers Association
 Member, Arkansas Women Lawyers Association
 Member, American Trial Lawyers Association
 Member, Pulaski County Bar Association
 Founder and President, Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, Founder, President and Member of Board of Directors, 1977-84
 Chair, Arkansas Rural Health Committee, 1979-80

Chair, Board of Directors, Children's Defense Fund, Washington, D.C., 1986-91, Member, Board of Directors, 1976-92

Chair, Arkansas Education Standards Committee, 1983-84

Yale Law School Executive Committee, New Haven, CT, 1983-88, Treasurer, 1987-88

Member, Southern Governors Association Task Force on Infant Mortality, 1984-85

Member, Commission on Quality Education, Southern Regional Education Board, 1984-1992

Member, Youth and America's Future: The William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family, and Citizenship, 1986-88

Board of Directors, Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., 1986-92

Board of Directors, Child Care Action Campaign, New York, NY, 1986-92

Board of Directors, Southern Development Bancorporation, 1986-92

Chair, Board of Directors, New World Foundation, New York, 1987-88, Member Board of Directors, 1983-88

Board of Directors, Co-Chair for Implementation, Commission on Skills of the American Workforce, National Center for Education and the Economy, 1987-92

Board of Directors, "I Have a Dream" Foundation, 1988-89

Board of Directors, Arkansas Children's Hospital, 1988-92

Board of Directors, New Futures for Little Rock Youth, 1988-92

Member, HIPPI USA Advisory Board, 1988-92

Board of Directors, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, 1988-93

Charter Member, Business Leadership Council, Wellesley College, 1989

Board of Directors, Children's Television Workshop, 1989-92

Board of Directors, TCBY Enterprises, Inc., 1989-92

Board of Directors, National Alliance of Business Center for Excellence in Education, 1990-91

Board of Directors, Public/Private Ventures, 1990-92

Arkansas Business and Education Alliance, 1991-92

President, Board of Directors, Arkansas Single Parent Scholarship Fund Program, 1990-92

Chair, National Board of the Claudia Company, 1991-93

Honorary President of the Girl Scouts of America, 1993-present

Member, Visiting Committee, University of Chicago Law School, 1991-92

Alumnae Trustee, Wellesley College, 1992-93