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to show the
President
today?

- Dr
12/4

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REPLY
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(10) 12-4-60

MARGARET CARSON

28 November 60

Dear Mr President

I am the mother
of Charles Ruff. I am
sorry & did not get to
Washington in time to see

you at the Ruff house.

I hope to pay my
respects to you at the
Memorial service.

Yours respectfully
Margaret Carson

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-4-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 29, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed

SUBJECT: What You've Achieved in Domestic Policy

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Here are a few key points to emphasize about your achievements in domestic policy over the last eight years:

- 1. Restoring the Vital Center:** Over the past decade, as a candidate and as President, you have set forth a new governing philosophy that has transformed the Democratic party and eclipsed conservatism as the majority American view. The Third Way has brought liberalism into the 21st Century, and shown how government here and abroad can use new means to achieve progressive ends. The enduring value of "opportunity, responsibility, community" is not just that it captures the hearts and minds of a majority of Americans who have no use for the old labels, but that it is the right way – indeed the only way – to solve the problems we face. The only way to turn around a failed welfare system was to reward and demand work at the same time. The only way to make crime rates go down instead of up was to put more police on the street and get guns off the street. The only way to build a new economy was to balance the budget and increase investment at the same time. The only way to raise educational achievement is to invest more and demand more.
- 2. The Basic Bargain: More Opportunity in Return for More Responsibility:** The core of your approach to domestic policy goes back to what you said in your announcement speech in October 1991: "Government has a responsibility to give people more opportunity. People have a responsibility to make the most of it." Everything you've done, from national service and expanding college opportunity to reforming welfare and turning around the inner city, has followed that basic principle. That new synthesis has provided a solid philosophical basis for activist government – to help those willing to help themselves – that may have greater staying power than either the New Deal or the Great Society.
- 3. Restoring America's Confidence in Solving Social Problems:** Eight years ago, many of the problems you inherited – record deficits, rising rates of crime, welfare, and illegitimacy, decaying inner cities – seemed impossible to solve. Experts across the political spectrum considered these problems to be a permanent and growing part of the social landscape. Over the last eight years, your efforts – along with a strong economy and persistent reforms at the state and local level – have restored America's confidence that we can overcome problems that once seemed intractable. As you said, everything

Welfare - work & pay
Re - cliff & union
Crime - police & prison
Ed - 20 years

wrong in America really can be fixed by what's right in America. We have put the theory of "Broken Windows" to work in reverse: when a community makes progress on one problem, like crime, it gets easier to solve another problem, like attracting business, which not only helps reduce crime further but helps solve still other problems, like moving people from welfare to work. People come out from behind closed doors, individuals start to believe in themselves, and what's good about a community begins to outweigh any sense of disorder or despair.

4. **Ending Welfare as We Know It:** One part of the Times series will address your efforts on welfare reform, poverty, and race. Jason DeParle, who is writing that piece, seems to agree that you have fundamentally transformed the politics of poverty, by ending the debate over whether the poor should work and starting a new debate about what we should do to help those who work – from raising the EITC and the minimum wage to providing child care and health care. We have more to do, but so far, what may be the boldest social policy experiment of our time – rewarding and requiring work – is a remarkable success. The welfare rolls have been cut more than half, but more important, those still on welfare are five times more likely to be working than when you took office. We have restored work, not welfare, as the organizing principle for every American, which is a prerequisite for bringing all Americans into the economic mainstream.
5. **A Stealth Urban Agenda:** Without fanfare, you have helped transform American cities from decaying dinosaurs into a new source of economic strength. Again, we have a long way to go, especially in education. But by dramatically expanding inner-city access to capital through CDEIs and the CRA, giving cities a fighting chance against crime, rewarding work over welfare, and promoting empowerment zones, brownfields redevelopment, and other reforms to bring the private sector back into the inner city, you have succeeded where LBJ failed, and undone the damage Reagan did. You've even won bipartisan support to develop new markets in remote corners of America forgotten for decades. You did it all without ever talking about "urban policy" – because you were able to show suburban America that on most of these issues, its interests were the same.
6. **A New Approach to Fighting Crime:** Before you took office, the violent crime rate in America had more than quadrupled during the previous three decades. You've overseen the longest decline in crime on record, with violent crime down 25% and the murder rate at a 31-year low. Cities from New York to New Orleans are safe places to live again. You broke the political stalemate in Washington, helped transform policing in America, and made it possible to speak openly of common-sense measures on guns.
7. **Investing More, Demanding More on Education:** The two pillars of your education agenda – increased national investment, and a nationwide movement on standards and accountability – were barely on the radar screen eight years ago. Now they're at the center of both parties' agenda. Five years ago, the Republicans wanted to eliminate the Department of Education. Now education is their nominee's top priority. The standards movement has taken hold in every state. Both parties agree the national government should no longer tolerate failing schools. Charter schools have grown from 1 to 1700, and it is charters – not vouchers – that represent the real future of school choice and

competition. Math, reading, and SAT scores are up. Nearly all schools are connected to the Internet. College going is at an all-time high, helped by the largest investment in college education since the GI Bill. After-school help has grown 500-fold. The national government is two years into an historic effort to reduce class size, and Congress is on the verge of agreeing to an unprecedented national role in school modernization.

8. **Improving Public Health:** We may have lost the health care battle in 1994, but we are slowly winning the war. Thanks largely to CHIP, which now covers 2.5 million children, the number of uninsured Americans declined in 1999 for the first time in 12 years. Medicare would have gone bankrupt by now, but instead is secure for 25 years.

Immunization rates are at an all-time high. A Patients' Bill of Rights is almost inevitable; a Medicare prescription drug benefit is within reach. While congressional Republicans are still too willing to bend to entrenched interests, we are slowly gaining bipartisan support around the country for targeted expansions of health coverage to working families.

9. **Balancing Work and Family:** You enacted a host of policies to help families, from the Family and Medical Leave Act to adoption incentives to the expanded EITC. You also introduced a whole new set of pro-family policies – child care, flextime, paid leave, protecting children from media violence – that represent the next frontier of social policy, as millions of Americans struggle to balance the demands of work and family.

10. **What's Left to Do:** The 2000 campaign highlighted the central challenge for the next decade: to make sure the hard-won surplus is used in a way that continues the prosperity of the last 8 years, addresses our urgent needs in education, health, retirement security, and helping families, and wipes out the national debt. You came into office with one of the most ambitious agendas of any President, achieved most of it, and helped give the country the confidence, the means, and the method to take on the equally ambitious agenda you leave behind.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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November 29, 2000

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: A Foreign Policy for the Global Age

End of Cold War/bipolar world, rise of global information society. Set out in '93 to chart a new course without a ready made roadmap. Challenge was to build a foreign policy for the global age, while restoring domestic vitality that allows us to have a strong foreign policy. Approach can't be summed up in a single slogan. Has rested on several fundamental principles.

1. **Alliances with Europe and Asia still cornerstone of security, but needed to be adapted, applied to new challenges.**

- Europe in '92: NATO static; Bosnia war raging, threatened US-Europe alliance. Since then: NATO adapted, expanded; ended Bosnia war; acted in time in Kosovo; with Serbian democracy, peaceful, democratic undivided Europe within reach.
- Asia: maintained troops; renewed Japan alliance; Korea Agreed Framework, North-South dialogue; Taiwan Straits carriers in '96. US commitment not in doubt. *As Far As*

2. **Peace and security for U.S. depend on constructive relations with former great power adversaries, Russia and China, and integration of both countries into international system.**

- Russia external: troops out of Baltics, into NATO missions; Kosovo end game; START II, nuclear threat reduction
- Russia internal: free elections, ended bread lines; economy in private hands, rise of civil society. Setbacks (Chechnya, free press), but no return to past, chance for better future.
- China: engagement kept peace with Taiwan, Chinese help on Korea, Chinese entry into non-proliferation regimes. WTO deal, PNTR - possibility for profound change.

3. Local conflicts have global consequences

- In global age, arguments for peacemaking even stronger: to defuse conflicts before they escalate and harm our interests. America's dominant power is likely to be accepted if harnessed to the cause of peace. (Middle East, Balkans, Greece/Turkey, India/Pakistan, Northern Ireland, Peru/Ecuador, Eritrea/Ethiopia)

4. New dangers, accentuated by technological advances and permeability of borders, require new national security priorities.

- Defined a new security agenda that addresses contemporary threats: nonproliferation, terrorism, international crime, infectious disease, climate change.

5. Economic integration advances both our interests and our values, but also accentuates the need to alleviate economic disparity.

- 300 trade agreements (GATT, WTO, NAFTA, PNTR), financial stability (Mexico, Asia)
- Development/poverty: HIPC, education, Africa-Caribbean trade, infectious disease.

Attachment

Samuel R. Berger's Foreign Affairs Article
entitled "A Foreign Policy for the Global Age"

A Foreign Policy for the Global Age

Samuel R. Berger

Is the U.S. in an irreversible decline as the world's premier power?

— *Time*, October 15, 1992

The United States won the war against the "evil empire," but it is losing the battle against the forces of decline.

— *Le Monde*, October 20, 1992, in the first of a 12-part series on America in eclipse

Victory over Saddam Hussein, although incomplete, masked temporarily America's declining economic power and dwindling interest in the rest of the world and postponed moves to fill the vacuum created by America's retrenchment and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

— *U.S. News & World Report*, November 16, 1992

GUIDING LIGHTS

BILL CLINTON was elected president at a moment of both triumph and uncertainty for America in the world. The triumphs of the Cold War and the Persian Gulf War will be long remembered. The memory of the uncertainty is already fading.

In 1992, the United States was widely seen as unlikely to sustain its global engagement in the absence of an overriding threat. It was lagging competitively. U.S. alliances were in jeopardy, with their missions undefined and with new threats—from the Balkans to a nuclearizing North Korea—being inadequately addressed. Japan and

SAMUEL R. BERGER is Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

western Europe were considered increasingly likely to forge separate identities outside their alliances with America. U.S. foreign policy had barely come to grips with the emerging challenges of a globalized world, from the volatility of markets to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to the spread of disease.

For 50 years, America self-assuredly had defined its leadership in terms of what it was against. In the years immediately following the victory over communism, America defined its "post-Cold War" policy in terms of what was ending. The Clinton administration's task was to renew our leadership in terms of what we were building, while restoring the domestic vitality that enabled us to lead in the first place. Historians may debate the choices we made, but there is no disputing their cumulative outcome.

America today is by any measure the world's unchallenged military and economic power, having completed the first peacetime expansion of our global reach since the days of Theodore Roosevelt. The world counts on us to be a catalyst of coalitions, a broker of peace, a guarantor of global financial stability. We are widely seen as the country best placed to benefit from globalization.

Indeed, our success is so apparent to others that one of our biggest challenges now is to manage the resentment it sometimes generates. This we must do with sensitivity and care—but also with perspective. After all, the same countries complaining today that America is a "hyperpower" were contemplating America's decline eight years ago. That, in my mind, is progress.

It did not come by accident. It happened because a president who believed America's strength abroad depends on our strength at home kept his promise to put our economic house in order, giving us the strength to lead and the credibility to lead by example. It happened because a president who shared his Cold War predecessors' internationalist philosophy fought to preserve our leadership in a radically different era, despite resistance to almost every international initiative that involved risk and cost.

With yesterday's road map obsolete, the big question we have faced repeatedly is how to use our renewed strength in a rapidly changing world.

President Clinton understood before most that the most pervasive force in our world is globalization. He also understood that, although

globalization is inexorable, its benefits are not. It can expand access to technology that enriches life—and technology that destroys it. It can equalize economic opportunity—and accentuate economic disparity. It can make dictatorships more vulnerable to the spread of liberating ideas—and democracies more vulnerable to the spread of terrorism, disease, and financial turmoil.

But globalization does have qualities that we can harness to advance our enduring objectives of democracy, shared prosperity, and peace. In this era, more and more nations are striving to join global networks

Although globalization is inexorable, its benefits are not.

of information, commerce, and cooperative security—because their economic well-being and national survival increasingly depend on it. America in many ways is a gatekeeper of those networks, and thus we have influence over the choices nations make. Some of the

world's most positive recent developments have occurred because of how we chose to use that influence, not because globalization preordained them.

For example, if China has begun to dismantle its command economy, despite the risk to its one-party state, it is not just meeting the abstract demands of global markets; it is fulfilling the terms we negotiated for its entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO). If people from Croatia to Bulgaria to Macedonia are rejecting hard-line nationalists and embracing democracy, it is not because they somehow have reached the end of history. They have reached the conclusion that this is the way to join NATO and the European Union (EU)—an opportunity made possible by our concerted effort to expand NATO and made even more attractive by NATO's victory in Kosovo. If the people of Mexico have built a multiparty system, it is not because democracy is unstoppable in a "dot com" world. It is partly because our joint embrace of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) empowered Mexico's reformers to open their system, and because America's support for Mexico during its financial crisis gave reforms time to prevail.

It is not enough for us simply to open our markets, hook up the world to MTV, and hope that people beat their swords into shares on the NASDAQ. The way for America to exercise its influence today is to build with our democratic partners an international system of strong

alliances and institutions attuned to the challenges of a globalized world. We must ensure that this system is genuinely open to all who adhere to clearly defined standards. And we must be ready to stand up for those standards when they are threatened.

Those are the broad outlines of a foreign policy for the global age. They can't be summed up on a bumper sticker. But they are reflected in the following principles that have guided the Clinton foreign policy and should guide his successor's:

1. *America's alliances with Europe and Asia remain the cornerstone of its national security, but they must be constantly adapted to meet emerging challenges.* That our alliances will endure is something we take for granted today; eight years ago, their survival was very much in doubt. This was true in Asia: Would we maintain a forward military presence there, and would our allies and friends continue to recognize its legitimacy? And it was particularly true in Europe, where NATO was stuck in its Cold War mission and makeup.

The Berlin Wall had fallen, yet NATO still treated the Iron Curtain as its eastern frontier; it seemed we would be allied with Europe's old democracies forever, but with its new democracies never. Central Europe feared becoming a "gray zone" of poverty and instability. Meanwhile, European security and the values NATO defends were threatened by an out-of-control war in the Balkans. Our European allies tried with good intentions to help the victims but found themselves shielding the victimizers. Shamefully, for the first time in 50 years, America claimed we had "no dog" in Europe's fight.

In both Europe and Asia, we broke new ground in 1993 by welcoming our allies' desire to play a more responsible role, whether through a stronger European role in NATO or the creation of the Regional Forum of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). But in both regions, we decided to maintain our troops and adapt our alliances. We formally updated our strategic alliance with Japan to define how we will respond together to post-Cold War threats. Following a period of recrimination and drift in the early 1990s, that alliance is now stronger than ever. Indeed, the stabilizing effect of our military presence in Asia now is recognized even by North Korea. In Europe, we revitalized NATO from a static Cold War alliance to a magnet for new democracies, with new partners, members, and missions.

Most important, we have backed with action our commitments to both regions. Doubts about America's commitment to Asian stability and security were erased by our decision to send aircraft carriers near the Taiwan Strait in 1996, and by our solidarity with South Korea in diminishing the North Korean nuclear threat and creating the conditions for eventual North-South dialogue. We proved our commitment to European security by leading NATO in its first military engagement,

Our alliances are more durable now than during the Cold War.

which stopped the killing in Bosnia, and leading an increasingly successful peace-keeping mission there. (Support for moderate and multiethnic parties has at least doubled in every part of Bosnia in the last three years.) Then, in Kosovo, we did what America should have done in Bosnia in 1992: We acted early enough to return the victims of ethnic cleansing to their homes in a way that protected southeastern Europe from wider catastrophe, preserved our relationship with Russia, and proved NATO could stay together during a sustained conflict.

Today, Europe is more peaceful, united, and democratic than at any time in history. Asia remains at peace despite continuing tensions. And our core alliances have been saved from irrelevance. They are arguably more durable now than during the Cold War, because they are clearly organized to advance a lasting set of shared interests, rather than to defeat a single threat.

The future challenge in Europe will be threefold: We must ensure that a strong EU—including a strong European defense policy—complements, not undermines, a strong transatlantic alliance. We must use our military presence to protect European security, which means, for now, maintaining a declining but still necessary force in the Balkans. And we must keep NATO's promise to admit capable new democracies to avoid new divisions and further disintegration in southeastern Europe.

In Asia, the challenges to our alliances are harder to predict. They could come in the form of a crisis in Korea or in the Taiwan Strait that will test our will. Ironically, they could also come in the form of success that will test our wisdom. Even if tensions ease in Asia's hot spots, we must maintain our alliances and military presence because

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Sam Nunn and James R. Schlesinger, project coauthors; Robert E. Ebel, project director; Guy Caruso, project executive director



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A Foreign Policy for the Global Age

their purpose is not just to respond to danger, but to be a balance wheel that prevents danger from arising.

2. *Peace and security for the United States depend on building principled, constructive, clear-eyed relations with our former great-power adversaries.* The question is, Can we do that simply by marking the boundaries of acceptable external conduct for nations such as Russia and China, or must we also seek to influence their internal development?

In fact, we must continue to be wary of threats to peace, whether a Russian move against Georgia or Chinese use of force against Taiwan, because the stability of entire regions and the viability of new democracies depend on it.

But the way these countries manage their challenges at home is just as important as the way they relate to the world. No event in the last half-century has done more to advance our security than Russia's democratic revolution. If both Russia and China become stable, pluralistic, prosperous societies, the world will be safer still. Moreover, the threat we face from our former adversaries lies as much in their internal weakness or retrogression as in their external strength. Russia may be unable to establish the rule of law or to control the flow of technology across its borders. China may fail to fulfill growing popular aspirations for accountability and openness, dooming economic reform and inviting internal upheaval and disintegration.

An effective way to minimize both external and internal dangers is to seize on the desire of both Russia and China to participate in the global economy and global institutions, insisting that they accept the obligations as well as the benefits of integration.

We have brought Russia into the G-8 group of leading industrialized nations and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group (APEC), into a relationship with NATO, and into close engagement with international financial institutions. Russia's interest in deeper integration helped us negotiate the exit of its troops from the Baltics, to bring its troops into NATO missions in the Balkans, and to win its active support for a just end to the war in Kosovo. We pressed successfully for Russian ratification of the second Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START II), disproving critics who said it could never happen if NATO stood by aspiring allies in central Europe and stuck to its guns in the Balkans. Because we have worked to help destroy and safeguard the old Soviet

nuclear arsenal, the doomsday scenario of loose Russian nukes and scientists selling their services en masse to the highest bidder has not come to pass.

In the meantime, Russia has seen continued poverty, corruption, two cruel wars in Chechnya, and backsliding on protection of a free press. But nationalism and communism have not resurged, as many feared they would in 1993; in fact, Russians have repeatedly voted to keep pressing ahead. The privatization of the Russian economy, though deeply flawed, shattered the Soviet-era bureaucracy's hold on

Resistance to change puts China on the wrong side of history.

daily life. And outside support has bought Russia time, helping it conquer the agonizing bread lines, empty food shelves, and hyperinflation of 1993, and endure the transition from communism. Some Russian leaders may still be tempted to rebuild an all-powerful state, but today they face a country with

65,000 nongovernmental organizations, in which the state controls only 30 percent of the economy—as opposed to 70 percent in 1993. Some may still try to hide hard truths from public view, but their efforts are now exposed by a vigorous, if still vulnerable, media. A generation from now, I doubt anyone will be saying we did too much to support Russia's transformation. They may say we did too little.

With China, our challenge has been to steer between the extremes of uncritical engagement and untenable confrontation. That balance has helped maintain peace in the Taiwan Strait, secured China's help in maintaining stability on the Korean Peninsula, and brought China into many global nonproliferation regimes, by which it has largely abided. It has also allowed us to negotiate a deal to bring China into the WTO.

The WTO deal, along with the congressional passage of permanent normal trade relations (PNTR), represents the most constructive breakthrough in U.S.-China relations since normalization in 1979. It will also bind China more closely to a rules-based international system and change the country internally. To enter the WTO, China must speed the demise of the state-run economy through which the Communist Party has wielded much of its power. The activism that produced more than 120,000 labor disputes in China last year will likely rise. And China's leaders will be forced to make hard choices about political reform.



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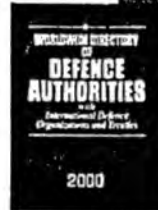
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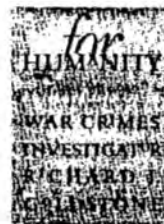
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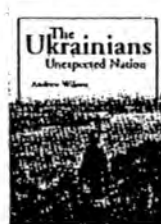
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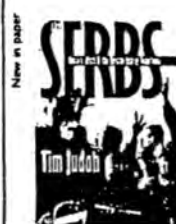
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To encourage them to make the right choices, we must keep saying plainly, as President Clinton has done repeatedly, that resistance to change puts China "on the wrong side of history." But we must also continue to integrate China into the global economy. Just as NAFTA membership eroded the economic base of one-party rule in Mexico, WTO membership, accompanied by external validation of the struggle for human rights, can help do the same in China.

3. *Local conflicts can have global consequences.* Like no president before him, Bill Clinton has dedicated the power and passion of his presidency to peacemaking. Like most presidents, he has had to contend with those who say America should do nothing about foreign conflicts unless we are directly threatened—those who say, in effect, "If it's over there, it's not our fight."

We have worked for peace because we believe in defusing conflicts before, not after, they escalate and harm our vital interests. With that in mind, we have advanced a comprehensive peace in the Middle East—with the Israeli-Palestinian interim agreement, the Israeli-Jordanian treaty, Wye, and a Camp David process that put fundamental issues on the table for the first time. We ended the Balkan wars of the 1990s, freeing Europe from a potentially permanent refugee crisis and source of conflict. We helped Turkey and Greece move further from confrontation than they have been in years. We helped pull nuclear-armed India and Pakistan from the brink of what might have been a catastrophic war in 1999. We have used diplomacy where possible, force where absolutely necessary, not pretending we can solve all the world's problems, but rejecting the idea that because we can't do everything, we must, for the sake of consistency, do nothing.

We also have worked for peace for reasons unique to our global age. First, regions endlessly mired in conflict are increasingly likely to become breeding grounds for extremism and terror, which spread even if the underlying conflicts do not. This is especially true in regions containing major fault lines of ethnicity, faith, or ideology, such as the Balkans and the Middle East.

Second, as globalization has raised the strategic cost of indifference to local conflict, it has also raised the moral cost. Americans and their leaders increasingly confront both the images of distant atrocities and the dilemma of how to respond. Today we can choose not to act, but

we can no longer choose not to know. I believe that the United States should not send military forces into conflict where America's national interests are not at stake. And the reality is that we have not. (For all the talk about humanitarian intervention, the only instance where America has used force purely for humanitarian reasons was Somalia in 1992.) But when our interests and values are challenged, Americans expect their government to do what it reasonably can. Those who dismiss their idealism lack realism.

Finally, the disproportionate power America enjoys today is more likely to be accepted by other nations if we use it for something more than self-protection. It is fine to say Europeans should lead in the Balkans, Asians in East Timor, and Africans in Africa. But we are the only country capable of projecting power globally and often the only one with the impartial standing to mediate disputes. If we fail to support our friends and allies when they do take the lead, we will find ourselves alone when we need them. Indeed, nations will increasingly coalesce against us.

America's peacemaking has had the opposite effect. When a president goes the extra mile for peace in the Middle East or Ireland or South Asia or the Balkans, or flies, as President Clinton did in August, to join a fractious conference in Africa seeking peace in Burundi, where we have no strategic interests, it demolishes perceptions that an all-powerful America is an arrogant America. It earns us influence that raw power alone cannot purchase, while guarding against resentment that could erode our influence.

4. *New dangers, accentuated by technological advances and the permeability of borders, require new national security priorities.* For 50 years, we faced vertical proliferation: two nations piling their nuclear arsenals higher and higher. Today, we face horizontal proliferation, with arsenals at a lower level, but spread more pervasively. In response, President Clinton has brought sustained focus to nonproliferation—a wise break from the past. Information about North Korea's nuclear weapons program, for example, had been available since the late 1980s, but little was achieved until we negotiated the Agreed Framework in 1994, which froze the production of plutonium for nuclear weapons in the North and verifiably has held ever since. The United States also took little notice of Iraq's 20-year development of nuclear,



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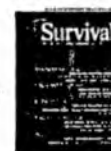
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Lancaster finds that US aid in the new century, if it is to be an effective tool of US foreign policy, needs to be transformed. Its purposes need to be refocused and its organization and management brought into line with those purposes. Those purposes include support for peace-making, addressing transnational issues, providing for humane concerns and responding to humanitarian emergencies. Traditional programs aimed at promoting development, democracy and economic and political transitions in former socialist countries will not disappear but they will have less priority than in the past. These new sets of purposes, promoting both US interests and values abroad, also offer a policy paradigm around which a new political consensus can be created that will support US aid in the 21st century.

Transforming Foreign Aid is also the topic of an article by Lancaster in the September/October issue of *Foreign Affairs*. The book should be of particular interest to professors, students, and researchers of international affairs, foreign policy, political science, and political economy.

August 2000. 100 pages. ISBN: paper 0-88132-291-1. \$15.95.

"Lancaster provides new and thoughtful insights into the historical developments of U.S. foreign aid, and the institutional relationships guiding such aid. The book provides very innovative suggestions and should play a significant role in the ongoing and future debate about U.S. foreign assistance."

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chemical, and biological weapons until after the Gulf War. How many weapons of terror would Saddam have been left to build had he not invaded Kuwait?

Today, nonproliferation is and must be a central goal of U.S. foreign policy. For example, with unrelenting American engagement, China has joined and is complying with the Chemical Weapons Convention (cwc), the Biological Weapons Convention, and the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). It has lived up to its 1998 commitment to the United States to provide no new assistance to Iran's nuclear program and has halted assistance to unsafeguarded nuclear facilities in Pakistan, although more remains to be done. Nonproliferation has also been a centerpiece of our engagement with Russia and its neighbors, leading to the denuclearization of Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan; the elimination of hundreds of tons of nuclear materials; tighter controls to prevent smuggling; and an intensified, if still inadequate, effort to halt the transfer of weapons technologies to Iran. We also have worked to strengthen global nonproliferation regimes because clear standards of international conduct help us mobilize global pressure against threatening behavior. Some people apparently believe that America should not join any treaty that others embrace. Fortunately, we overcame that sentiment to ratify the cwc and to renew the NPT. The next president must work with the Senate to do the same with the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Reflecting the new security agenda, we have mobilized greater internal and international resources to fight terrorism. This effort helped us bring to justice the perpetrators of the World Trade Center bombing and the killings outside CIA headquarters, and to work with Jordan to foil planned attacks against millennium celebrations. We crafted the first national strategy to protect America's computer systems and critical infrastructure against sabotage and are working with local emergency and health providers to deal more promptly with biological and chemical weapons threats.

In a generation, we may remember the clarion call to reverse climate change as a critical turning point in U.S. foreign policy. The conviction

Peacemaking destroys perceptions that an all-powerful America is an arrogant America.

that economic growth and environmental protection are compatible has not yet been universally accepted. Fortunately, it has more than a fighting chance, thanks to the insistent voices of President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore. The next president must turn that conviction into a global consensus.

Finally, we have made the fight against deadly infectious diseases a national security priority. Some may think this goal stretches the definition of national security, but a problem that kills huge numbers, crosses borders, and threatens to destabilize whole regions is the very definition of a national security threat. Infectious diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis, and AIDS are now responsible for one-quarter

of all deaths in the world. In some African countries, AIDS has cut life expectancy by more than 30 years; in South Africa it is expected to reduce GDP by 17 percent in 10 years. These countries cannot survive such an onslaught. Without concerted efforts to fight the disease, AIDS could also ravage India, Russia, and China, where the warning signs already

Vast disparities between rich and poor will become more and more of a powder keg.

exist. So we have exponentially increased funding to bridge the global health divide and to stimulate the development of drugs and vaccines needed exclusively in poor countries. President Clinton made this issue a centerpiece of his last G-8 summit, but this challenge will call for even greater resources and attention in the future. To dismiss it as a "soft" issue is to be blind to hard realities.

5. *Economic integration advances both our interests and our values but also accentuates the need to alleviate economic disparities.* As the first president who has understood the global economy, Bill Clinton has led the greatest world trade expansion in history—from \$4 trillion to \$6.6 trillion a year—with the completion of the Uruguay Round, the creation of the WTO, and the approval of NAFTA and PNTR with China. Our decision to keep our markets open during the Asian financial crisis, despite the inevitable result of higher trade deficits, is partly responsible for the recovery of the Asian economy, which again is fueling global growth. On the other hand, the loss of fast-track authority for the president in negotiating trade treaties was one of the most devastating wounds of the last eight years. Although the president

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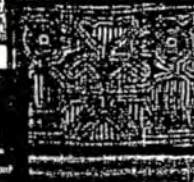
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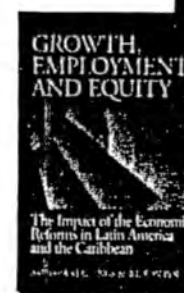
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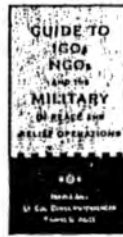
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has advanced a partnership with Latin America, he now lacks the full authority to exercise the most vigorous U.S. leadership there. This presents both a challenge and an opportunity for the next president.

Our general success in opening trade has coincided with growing fears about trade, motivated in part by concerns about labor and environmental standards in the developing world. We have the most basic obligation under the universal principles of human rights not to be complicit in slavery and child labor. But we must also guard against the arrogance of privilege. More than one billion people in the world live on a dollar a day or less. Nothing keeps them poor more than barriers and subsidies in wealthy countries, which cost the developing world more than it gains from aid. That is why President Clinton fought to enact trade bills for the Caribbean and Africa, which will give Africa, for example, more liberal access to our market than Europe and Asia enjoy.

At the same time, those who believe open markets alone can lift poor nations from poverty are deceiving themselves. No nation can compete in the global economy if it is crippled by debt, disease, or inadequate education. And helping impoverished nations overcome these obstacles is more than a moral imperative. In a world that increasingly operates as an integrated economic zone, in which everyone increasingly knows how the other half lives, vast disparities between rich and poor will become more and more of a powder keg.

We have successfully pushed the G-8 nations to reduce the debts of the poorest countries by 70 percent, to start tackling the AIDS crisis, and to invest more in basic education. We have had less success in building a bipartisan consensus in the United States to provide a reasonable share of that help. Unless we recognize that what is pocket change for America can foster a sea change in the rest of the world, humanity will be bitterly and violently divided a generation from now.

COMMON CRITICISMS

THE CLINTON foreign policy has drawn a number of criticisms. Some have been serious and constructive. Others have been more persistent than thoughtful.

The most common and, in my view, mindless critique is that the president has advanced no single foreign policy doctrine or framework—in other words, no successor to containment. I would take this argument more seriously if any one of its proponents actually articulated an all-embracing framework of his or her own. But the simple answer is that even the doctrine of containment was inadequate: It led us well in our dealings with the Soviet empire in Europe, but it led us astray in local struggles elsewhere. What we needed then and need now is not the lift of a driving slogan, but a clear understanding of the changing world and the right strategic objectives, which the president has consistently articulated.

Another cliché is that the Clinton foreign policy has been driven by politics—an assertion that allows critics to avoid substantive arguments. Instead of addressing, for example, what would have happened to NATO had it excluded qualified European democracies because they were once, against their will, members of the Warsaw Pact, critics simply can reject NATO enlargement as a ploy to get Polish-American votes. Instead of confronting what might have happened to indispensable NATO unity in Kosovo had we pressed prematurely for a ground invasion, they can simply dismiss our strategy as a study in political caution. The truth is, a politically motivated president would not have bailed out Mexico against overwhelming congressional and public opposition, fought relentlessly for one trade agreement after another against the opposition of much of his political party, persisted with a winning strategy in Kosovo discounted by conventional wisdom, approved sustained deployments of American troops in Bosnia, or invested so much in building relationships with Russia and China.

Then there are critics who say our ability to lead our alliances again is at risk, pointing to a loss of French support in the Persian Gulf or to complaints about U.S. "hegemony" in Europe and Asia. These critics have a short and selective memory. Our relationship with Europe has always been a bit schizophrenic: we are either dominating or disengaged. Consider these news headlines: "Allies Complain of Washington's Heavy Hand," "France to NATO: Non, Merci," "U.S. Declares Economic Warfare on Allies," "Protestors Rally Against American Arms Plan." The first is from the Suez crisis in 1956. The second is from 1966, when France left NATO's military command.

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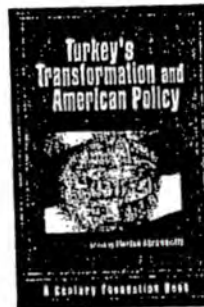
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Because the president has consciously sought to mark the triumph of American ideals without triumphalism, the dominant view of America is one of a country that exercises leadership for the greater good. Opinion surveys, for example, show that the proportion of Europeans disturbed by America's growing power ranges from just 17 percent in France to 8 percent in Germany and Britain. With continued care, that attitude will endure.

WHAT NEXT?

WHAT FUNDAMENTAL questions will the next administration face? Some are self-evident extensions of questions we have already faced: how to influence Russia and China, consolidate peace in the Balkans and the Middle East, preserve our alliances, promote economic development. A few are less obvious or merit special mention.

For example, will the roots of democracy's post-Cold War expansion deepen with time or wither under corruption, inequity, and poor

governance? Even in 1999, more people around the world won the right to choose their leaders than in 1989, the year the Berlin Wall fell. But if new democracies don't deliver in such countries as Nigeria, Indonesia, and Ukraine, and if old democracies fail in countries such as Colombia, the pendulum that has swung toward freedom from Latin America to Asia to Africa to the former Soviet Union could swing back. Winning democracy's post-election contests requires our full attention and support.

A second question is how to promote change in those nations that have been most hostile to the United States over the last decade, and how to manage that change when it comes. That question applies to Iran and to Cuba; with both countries, we must be unafraid to advance openness without being naive about how far either has come.

The question also applies to North Korea, which, thanks to the U.S.-South Korean policy of deterrence and diplomatic engagement, and the failures caused by isolation, may be rethinking its policy of confrontation. We hope that the North will gradually open until the massive task of reunification becomes manageable. But few totalitarian regimes have peacefully, smoothly, and gradually transformed into stable and open societies. And North Korea is the most perfectly constituted totalitarian society on the planet. What will happen when its people gain knowledge of the outside world and when its leadership begins to feel threatened by change? The policy we have pursued with South Korea offers the best framework for encouraging peaceful change while dealing with the military threat that remains. But we must be ready for potential crises down the road.

With Iraq, our policy has achieved its immediate goals. We have contained Saddam and prevented his rearmament, diverting 90 percent of his oil revenues from the production of nuclear weapons and anthrax to the purchase of food and medicine. In 1989, Iraq earned \$15 billion from oil exports and spent \$13 billion on its military. This year, it is projected to earn \$20 billion from oil-for-food exports but can spend none of these revenues on its military. But support for the policy cannot be sustained indefinitely, and Saddam will not be around forever. We need to intensify both our planning for a post-Saddam Iraq and our efforts to speed its arrival.

A third question is how to deal with both supernatural and sub-national threats to our security. A particularly troubling supernatural

threat is the growing globalization of grievance networks, including the transnational network of terror groups active from South and Central Asia to southern Russia to the Middle East and Africa. Coordination among these groups, which share a messianic hatred of open, tolerant societies, makes them a particular threat. But because they are loosely connected, they cannot be extinguished with one stroke. The solution is to reduce the economic disparities on which they breed; to resolve the Middle East conflict in order to delegitimize their grievances; and to beef up counter-terrorism cooperation even further, without assaulting civil liberties.

The subnational threat is the challenge to the nation-state from the potential disintegration of ethnically diverse societies, whether Nigeria and Indonesia today, or Russia and China tomorrow. How do we balance legitimate demands for self-determination against the danger of unleashing new grievances? In part, as the president has often noted, we must all recognize that in this new global economy, diversity can be a strength, a source of economic connectivity and therefore wealth, and that states and regions preoccupied by internecine conflicts will be left further behind. In part, the solution is integration among ethnically diverse states so that boundaries are less onerous—the experience of western Europe after World War II and the goal of the Balkan Stability Pact in southeastern Europe. In the short run, we need better international tools for maintaining peace in divided societies.

Which leads to a fourth question: How do we reconcile the growing need for global collective action with the inadequacies of our principal instrument of collective action, the United Nations? U.N. reform has made progress these last few years, but the Clinton administration has had to spend most of those years simply struggling to restore our dues payments. The next administration must help reinvent the U.N. into the kind of institution we would design today. And it must overcome American suspicion of the U.N. by arguing that an effective U.N. gives us options beyond putting out global fires alone and letting them burn.

A fifth question is how we should adapt our military to new challenges. The issue is not whether we must maintain the best-trained,

America cannot be a first-rate power on a third-class budget.

best-equipped, most ready military in the world. We have and we will. The real issue is how to match the capabilities of our armed forces to their missions. How can we ensure that our forces are simultaneously prepared for high-intensity conflicts and smaller-scale peace operations that require special skills and different rules of engagement? Each service is responding with its own transformation plan. The next president will have to build on those efforts.

The most fundamental question of all is whether we can continue to sustain America's leadership role in the world. The answer is yes, if we devote adequate resources to the task and convince other nations that their interests are served by joining us.

America cannot be a first-rate power on a third-class budget. We should not have to struggle to fund patently vital programs like our effort to secure nuclear materials in Russia. We should not have to respond to pressing needs in one part of the world by robbing money from pressing needs somewhere else. This damages our ability to lead. It is hard to explain to the Japanese, for example, why we can't fund our \$35 million share to help denuclearize North Korea (to which they have contributed \$1 billion) when they read of our \$2 trillion surplus. Some people argue we spend too much on foreign aid, yet America's entire budget for everything from diminishing the nuclear threat to preventing conflict to fighting AIDS to advancing democracy costs no more (at \$14 billion) than what Americans spend each year on dietary supplements.

Finally, we must squarely confront the sense among some that we can maintain our position either by diminishing our role in the world or by imposing our will on it. What threatens to alienate our allies today is not that we are wealthy and powerful, but that despite our wealth and power we do not meet our obligations to the U.N., or fully fund our commitment to the development banks, or devote as much of our GDP to the reduction of global poverty as do 16 countries not as wealthy as us, or ratify treaties we urge others to adopt. It is not that we consider initiatives to defend our soil from missile threats or terrorism, but that we sometimes seem to suggest they are the sum total of our approach to the world—that we'd rather fence ourselves off from a dangerous world than work with others to improve it. We should not apologize for being a "hyperpower." But to remain strong, we must be a hyperpower that our friends and allies can depend on.

We must remember that there is a difference between power and authority. Power is the ability to compel by force and sanctions; there are times we must use it, for there will always be interests and values worth fighting for. Authority is the ability to lead, and we depend on it for almost everything we try to achieve. Our authority is built on qualities very different from our power: on the attractiveness of our values, on the force of our example, on the credibility of our commitments, and on our willingness to listen to and stand by others. There may be no real threat to our power today. But if we use power in a way that antagonizes our friends and dishonors our commitments, we will lose our authority—and our power will mean very little.

In the last eight years, the United States has revitalized its alliances, begun to integrate its former adversaries into the international system, brought peace to regions critical to its security, adapted its global strategy to meet new challenges, and built the most open, dynamic world economy in history. But I believe President Clinton's most fundamental achievement is that he steered America from the Cold War era to the era of globalization in a way that enhanced not only our power but also our authority. That is the foundation on which we must advance our interests in a global age. ☐

00 DEC 1 PM 5:06

12-1-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 1, 2000

cc Mitt
Ann Mc

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT *S*
CAROLINE SELF

SUBJECT: AMERICAN LEGENDS GALA

On the evening of Wednesday, December 6th, the American Legends Awards Gala will be held at the Ronald Reagan International Trade Center. They would like to present you with the American Legends Award at this event; this award will recognize your significant contributions to our nation's heritage. John Catsimatidas will also be receiving an award this evening. Mrs. Clinton received this award last year. You will not be able to attend the gala because of two holiday receptions at the White House that evening.

Would you like us to do a video for this?

☒ Yes

☐ No

*Please use
Ash Point + drag
to speed turning*

Copied
Streett
Self
Podesta
Hernreich
McCoey

Nancy Abrams
953 Santa Helena Park Court
Solana Beach, CA 92075
(858) 793-6935

00 DEC 1 PM 12:24

September 30, 2000

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Clinton:

As one of your greatest supporters, I had the incomparable experience of meeting and speaking with you last year at the Jacob's home in La Jolla, CA. The letter I received from you following this meeting literally means the world to me. As I deal with constant ICU visits and insurmountable suffering, your letter has been a continuous source of inspiration to keep on fighting. The comments you made recently at your "Hollywood Salute" in support of the disabled were much appreciated as well; especially by Milton Berle and myself who both needed wheelchairs to get around that evening.

In June 1994, while working as the Marketing Director for the NAS Miramar Morale Welfare and Recreation Department (producing large events such as world class air shows and major concerts), I was diagnosed with the worst case of Systemic Sclerosis that rheumatologists throughout the country had ever seen. Within months, I was paralyzed and confined to a wheelchair and residing in the ICU since all of my major organ systems were shutting down. World-renowned physicians have attributed my illness directly to my federal employment.

I have been repeatedly denied benefits by the Office of Workers Compensation for what is a truly valid claim which has a profound impact on my overall livelihood. Enclosed is a copy of my recent reconsideration letter to OWCP along with supplemental medical reports and references to pertinent sections of Professor Arthur Larson's treatise on Worker's Compensation.

I sincerely believe that repeated medical reports and additional information has established the validity of my claim beyond any doubt. Any help you can offer me is deeply appreciated.

Very Respectfully,

Nancy Abrams
Nancy Abrams

na

Enc:

*Nancy
Larson
met the
President
(W)
12.6.00*

 **AcipHex**
rabeprazole sodium
20-MG TABLETS
STRIKE BACK NOW

*To Cohen for
reply*
This letter is
being sent late
because I have
been hospitalized.

Respectfully,

Nancy

BILL CLINTON

July 2, 1999

Ms. Nancy Abrams
953 Santa Helena Park Court
Solana Beach, California 92075

Dear Nancy:

Thank you for your kind note. I enjoyed meeting you in San Diego. I want you to know that I am so proud of your progress and your courage and strength in the face of great challenges, and I am moved by your efforts to give so much of yourself to others.

Thank you also for your continued support of my Administration and the Democratic National Committee. I am truly grateful to know that we can count on you.

Please take care of yourself. Hillary and I send our very best wishes, and we are keeping you in our thoughts.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial "B" and a long, sweeping underline.



*Dear Nancy Abrams,
Thank you for all you have done for
the Democratic Party.*





Flanked on the left by ICAS President Wayne Hammack and on the right by Sharon Schram, NAS Miramar representatives (from left) Cdr. Herb Jones, Nancy Abrams and Rick Soule display the 1993 Dick Schram Memorial Community Relations Award. ICAS presents it annually to the military air show that sets new standards of excellence in relationships with its civilian neighbors.

MWR Events Coordinator receives Fellows Award

Morale, Welfare and Recreation (MWR) Department Special Events Coordinator, Nancy Abrams, is the epitome of hard working. Her dedication to creating new programs and expanding existing programs was recently recognized by the

National Recreation and Park Association, Armed Forces Society, which awarded her with the Fellow Award in appreciation of Outstanding Leadership and Service.

For nearly three years, Abrams has infused every

project with enthusiasm and drive.

By developing community support and utilizing base resources, Abrams bolstered the annual Fighbertown Festival, formerly an event drawing 1,500 people, into a gathering of over 15,000 people. She improved the entertainment offered at this free event, by incorporating a live exotic animal show, an antique car show, a skateboard demonstration and entertainment stages. Command recreation funds increased as a direct result of increased attendance at the festival.

The largest country music concert in San Diego history was produced by Abrams in July of 1991, as Abrams brought the Judds, Garth Brooks, and the Pirates of the Mississippi to Miramar. Her many talents were apparent as she not only booked the talent for this event, but negotiated all contracts; generated \$30,000 in commercial sponsorship; coordinated all advertising, marketing and ticket sales; and served as production manager, stage manager, venue manager and event producer the day of the show — to name just a few of her responsibilities.

D.J. Cosco, Deputy Director of the Morale, Welfare and Recreation Division for the Navy, extended his congratulations to Abrams, writing, "I was very proud to see an outstanding Navy recreation specialist like yourself receive the recognition from your peers that you richly deserve for the high

quality services you provide our sailors and their families. I think you've inspired your counterparts from all of the services to return to their bases with some different approaches to meeting the needs of their patrons...the Navy MWR program will always be on the cutting edge of new ideas and change as long as we can continue to attract and challenge

professionals of your caliber." Despite the long hours, Abrams enthusiastically works to ensure that each event is superb, she never neglects to send personal thank you notes to everyone who assists with an event. Her commitment to excellence and quality have benefited the Navy in numerous ways, and she is a great asset to MWR.



Nancy Abrams, Fighbertown MWR's special events coordinator, displays her awards recently received for her efforts. (Photo by TORY KENNEDY)

Nancy Abrams
953 Santa Helena Park Court
Solana Beach, CA 92075
(858) 793-6925

U.S. Department of Labor
Employment Standards Administration
Office of Worker's Compensation
P.O. Box 194610
San Francisco, CA 94119

10 October 2000

To Whom It May Concern:

I am writing to request reconsideration of my Worker's Compensation Claim #92075-13-1175459 which was denied on 10/18/99.

I fell seriously ill in June of 1994 while working as a GS employee in the position of Marketing Director for the NAS Miramar MWR Department. I was diagnosed with one of the most serious known cases of Systemic Sclerosis (Scleroderma). In a matter of days I was hospitalized and bedridden and within a matter of months I was confined to a wheelchair, severely crippled, unable to care for myself and residing in the hospital ICU with literally every one of my major organ systems shutting down.

Due to my relatively young age and extreme severity of my condition, the etiology of my illness was decidedly not made known to me for a considerable amount of time. It was concluded that knowledge of these facts would severely compromise my extremely poor diagnosis and negatively interfere with my overall medical care which was a major challenge for everyone involved.

Although I worked increasingly hard and diligently during my years of employment as a non-appropriated fund employee, I had no signs of illness during that period of time. I almost never took sick leave, did not get paid overtime, and was extremely dedicated in my position as well as my command. I won numerous local and national awards, spoke at conventions and thrived on the praise which I regularly received from my boss.

The straw that broke the camel's back, occurred after, not before I was promoted to a GS employee status of grade 11 step 9. On or about 6/14/94, I learned I had a serious, life-threatening and incurable illness. The pain and suffering that I have endured and continue to endure over the past 6 1/2 years is horrific and unimaginable. The illness has ruined my life and shattered all the dreams which I had worked all my life to achieve.

My job description stated: "Performs all other related duties as assigned." Although my actual written job description may not have changed following this promotion, the amount of hours I worked and increase in stress I experienced significantly did. I have included letters from other MWR division directors who saw me and interacted with me on a daily basis and wholeheartedly support the aforementioned facts I have stated, specifically regarding my work activities at the time I became ill. In addition, the 10/5/00 letter from my supervisor and MWR director R.W. Soule states that "Nancy worked whatever hours she felt necessary to achieve the desired results." It also speaks highly of my character and work ethic. Therefore, OWAC should take me at my word regarding the facts I have presented. I have been completely honest in the presentation of my claim. There is no way a human being could achieve the success and overall quality production which I accomplished as Marketing Director for the MWR Department without working as many if not more hours than I did.

R.W. Soule rated my overall job performance "outstanding" in all areas on 5/20/94. He also stated: "Ms. Abrams is one of the most talented, dedicated, loyal and hardworking individuals with whom I have been privileged to work with. She gives every task her best effort and is only happy when the job is completed on time and meets her high standards. She has an excellent work ethic, accepts responsibility and works long hours often at great personnel sacrifice until the job is completed. The quality and quantity of Ms. Abrams' work is unmatched by any other employee in the MWR Department, a department with over 400 employees. Ms. Abrams' Marketing Department has the reputation for producing the highest quality of work of any MWR in the Navy as reflected in the many awards that MWR has received, the Holiday Program Award for large Naval installations, the Dick Schram Community Award for the best military air show, the Emmy award for the telecast of the 1993 Air Show, the best Air show Program etc. Ms. Abrams is a visionary in her profession. She exhibits limitless energy and is always looking for ways to improve the way MWR conducts its business. She is one of the best employees that I have had the pleasure to work with in my 35 years experience as manager and supervisor."

In April of 1994, I was promoted from a NF-4 (low end) to a GS-11 step 9 yet maintained the same written job description. It should be understood that a person with my work ethic would feel that much more was expected of them within their job position after receiving such a substantial promotion. After my promotion it was clear that much was expected of me and, of course, I wanted to prove my worth as well as put a plan in place where I didn't have to re-invent the wheel year after year and thus work less hours. Ironically, in my serious attempt to do this, I found myself working many more hours a week than I had spent working as an NF employee. I often was in my office until midnight and then would take home work so I could go through my in-box before sponsors would call first thing in the morning and expect me to have reviewed their proposals. I always promised less and delivered more, paid very close attention to both detail and opportunities, and produced event after event and sponsorship after sponsorship all that proved to be proud feathers in the caps of the sailors, MWR, and NAS Miramar as a whole. I took a backseat to making the base shine and was proud of my accomplishments. Meanwhile, I was exhausted. After I became ill, MWR kept my position open for me for three years in the hopes that I would return to work. This should further help justify my claim.

With four major events occurring in the next four months: (The Top Gun 10K and Fightertown Bike Classic, The 1994 NAS Miramar Air Show (San Diego's largest weekend event with over 1,000,000 people over three days which I fiercely marketed and obtained consistent and outstanding corporate sponsorship Dollars for). The NAS Miramar Twilight Air Show (for which many of my responsibilities remained the same but also included a party on the flightline for our corporate sponsors. This culminated my driven attempts to make the Air Show a turn-key operation for the sponsor representatives and ensure sponsorship retention). A major concert the Miramar flightline. (much like the ones I had produced annually for the past four years) was in serious negotiations which were extremely stressful and time consuming as the Navy did not always wish to cooperate and the artist's representatives required vast amounts of logistical, technical and cerebral knowledge from me to make certain MWR's "new" venue would be appropriate for their major artists. This was our last year of our 5-year \$60,000 annual contract with Pepsi-Cola and I was working on renewing it. I had just secured a \$50,000++ sponsorship with Lucky's Supermarkets which combined with cross promotions, TV and print advertising and ticketing promotions began to grow and grow. It's potential was huge and limited only to the imagination.

I have learned the hard way that there is no such thing as "limitless energy". A human being is born with only one body and if that body is overworked and abused, it is likely to fail. Once it fails in most cases, it is damaged forever and there is no turning back. That damage can create further damage leading to a shortened life span and eventually, death. Therefore, I will continue to suffer daily from my work-related illness. Unfortunately I did not realize the adverse affect my unsavory work habits were having on my body. I had a very difficult time saying "no" and figured that I was strong enough to always push myself to the limit for the benefit of the command.

The first four years of my employment created a situation which was triggered during the last two months of my employment causing my initial symptoms of secondary Raynaud's disease and Scleroderma. For example, if a person's car comes out of gear and goes rolling down a steep hill, it could cause a potentially serious accident. But, if the driver jumps into the car and hits the brakes in time, the accident could be

avoided. Also, if a person drowns after working underwater for four years, there is no question about what caused the drowning. (See Larson on Worker's Compensation treatise section 95.21, footnote 23, attached.)

The aforementioned facts are substantiated by recent supplemental letters from Dr. Daniel Wallace, a expert in Scleroderma and Clinical Professor of Medicine at the UCLA School of Medicine, Dr. Roy Kaplan, a noted expert in Rheumatic Disease, and Dr. Adam Fierer, a specialist in Vascular Surgery. All have followed my case from the onset and are in agreement that my illness was caused by my work environment specifically sparked by my activities which occurred after my promotion to a GS employee. They came to this conclusion by questioning me, speaking to my family members, friends and co-workers privately while they were visiting me during my many hospitalizations; watching me work from my hospital bed and express continuous concern regarding the fate of the upcoming 1994 Air Show, Twilight Air Show, Top Gun 10K and Fightertown Bike Classic, sponsorship satisfaction, retention and multi-year contracts and the possibility of losing my job; discussions with fellow doctors and specialists and clear medical literature on the subject of Systemic Sclerosis and Secondary Raynaud's Phenomenon and how easily and frequently it will attack persons (especially women) with a weakened immune system do to exhaustion, stress and other environmental work factors.

The rationale in the OWAC 10/18/99 denial regarding exposure of air conditioning and Raynaud's is false and misleading. Primary and Secondary Raynaud's are worlds apart. Once acquired, secondary Raynaud's leads directly to autoimmune diseases and Primary Raynaud's does not. It does not go away simply by warming up one's hands and is not limited to the hands at all. In fact, it causes circulatory problems in the entire body.

In addition, I want to call your attention to the discussion by Professor Arthur Larson in his treatise on Workers Compensation (Desk Edition) beginning at section 95.2 and through section 95.25. For example, on page 17, footnotes #13 and #14 addressing the successive carrier problem, Professor Larson said "This latter problem is fairly complicated by the necessity of determining who - the insurers or the employee - is to bear the burden establishing the basis of apportionment. Nonetheless, apportionment is a frequently used solution."

Professor Larson also offered another solution to the successive carrier problem-footnote 15: "The second solution, assigning liability to the employer on risk at the time of last injury, is easier to administer than the apportionment solution and, in most instances, will provide the highest benefit for the claimant."

Viewing my case under the last injurious exposure rule, Professor Larson says: "The injurious exposure rule in successive injury cases places full liability upon the carrier covering the risk at the time of the most recent injury that bears a causal relationship to the disability."

At section 95.21, Professor Larson observes: "When an employee sustains a subsequent industrial injury that is found to be a "new" injury, the insurer of risk at the time of the second injury is liable for all of claimant's benefits (21) This is true even if the second injury would have been much less severe in the absence of the prior condition (22) and even if the prior injury contributed the major part of the final condition, (23). This is consistent with the normal compensation rule for pre-existing injuries; the employee or insurer takes its employee as it finds him or her (24)."

"In some states, however, the application of the last injurious exposure rule to new injuries depends on the relationship between the first and second injuries. In Arizona for example, it has been held that apportionment is the correct rule when two separate injuries, such as the loss of a hand and the loss of a foot concur to produce disability (25). But, if the two injuries are not entirely separate, the last injurious rule applies (26)." Also, see the discussion at sections 95.22 to 95.28.

I trust that the enclosed medical reports and the references to Professor Larson's work will completely overcome the objections stated in your most recent denial of my claim. Since then, I've been seriously ill, bedridden, or residing in the hospital intensive care unit. If additional information is desired, please let me know as soon as possible. Thank you in advance for your reconsideration of my claim.

Respectfully Submitted,

Nancy Abrams
Nancy Abrams



August 29, 2000

G.W. Schrecengost
Employment Standards of Administration Office of
Workmans' Compensation Program
PO Box 194610
San Francisco, California 94119

RE: Nancy Gayle Abrams
SCN: 7436009
DOB: 8/6/55
SS#: 527-08-4747
Re: Work related disease.

Dear Mr. Schrecengost:

As follow-up to my letter of July, 14, 1999, to you (See enclosure) regarding Nancy Abrams' systemic scleroderma (progressive systemic sclerosis) [PSS], I am sending you this letter to state more definitively that the existing working conditions from April 1994 through June 1994 definitely were precipitating causal factors in Nancy's acute systemic scleroderma.

The severe stress consistent with the increased work demands and expectations at that time, as detailed in the 7/14/99 letter, along with the air conditioning exposure were the precipitating factors, that in their absence, Nancy's systemic scleroderma may not have developed. I cited references in the textbook of scleroderma, Systemic Sclerosis by Philip J. Clemens, MD, and Daniel E. First, MD, Williams and Williams publishing, 1996 on both pages 587 and 615, the necessity of avoiding excessive air conditioning and stress. In addition, in the Rheumatic Disease Clinics of North America 22:4 page 768, the role of the systemic involvement of Raynaud's phenomenon as scleroderma is emphasized: "the same vasculopathy found in the peripheral circulation is also found in the terminal arterial supply of the kidney, heart, lung and gastrointestinal tract. Good evidence exists that one consequence of this vascular disease is a general vasospastic disorder" (systemic Raynaud's phenomenon) involving the circulation of the kidney, heart, and probably other viscera. Therefore, not only did the stress and air condition cold environment precipitate as a causal factor her Raynaud's phenomenon, but also had a systemic effect in her scleroderma. The role of stress is also emphasized in the review of Dr. Daniel J.



Page 2
Abrams, Nancy G
Scripps Clinic No. 074-36-00-9

Wallace, rheumatology, in Baillier's Clinical Rheumatology, volume 8:1, page 149-155, citing the role of stress in causing and/or aggravating rheumatic diseases and specifically scleroderma. Finally, in addition to these factors, stress and air conditioning, being causal factors, in Workmans' Compensation law, a work-related injury also includes the role of work-related injury as exacerbating factors of a preexisting disease or tendency. Certainly, there can be no controversy on this second point regarding Nancy's scleroderma.

Sincerely,

Roy A. Kaplan, M.D.
Division of Rheumatology
Scripps Clinic Medical Group, Inc.

nls/3032

D: 08/29/1999 08 33 P

T: 08/30/2000 07 34 A

cc: Ms. Nancy Abrams
953 Santa Helena Park Court
Solana Beach, California 92075

DANIEL J. WALLACE, M.D., F.A.C.P., F.A.C.R.

DAVID HALLEGUA, M.D.

A PROFESSIONAL CORPORATION

DIPLOMATES, AMERICAN BOARDS OF
INTERNAL MEDICINE AND RHEUMATOLOGY

8737 BEVERLY BOULEVARD, SUITE 203

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90048

(310) 652-0920

FAX (310) 652-2482

September 22, 2000

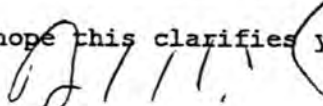
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Nancy Abrams has been under my medical care for Scleroderma since the onset of her illness. I am in receipt of your correspondence and am happy to clarify your concern. I share the same views and opinions as her local rheumatologist, Roy Kaplan, which he has articulated in his notes. It is also my understanding that you have copies of my previous correspondence with you.

As an academic based rheumatologist who has authored original work on the role of stress and trauma in rheumatic diseases (cited in Dr. Kaplan's letter, let me bring up two concepts which should assist you in your determination.

1. Nancy Abrams' initial presentation was that of Raynaud's. This condition may exist by itself for months to years before disseminating to Scleroderma, Lupus, or another rheumatic process. My Lupus textbook (Dubois' Lupus Erythematosus 5th Edition, Williams & Wilkins, 1997) reviews the literature on this subject and shows that up to 20% with Raynaud's develop lupus or Scleroderma over a 10 year period of observation. Her Raynaud's lasted several months before evolving. Some of these documented factors include air conditioning exposure and emotional stress. Nancy's exposure to both of these factors especially during the two months preceding the onset of her illness were major factors in causing the Raynaud's to present itself for the first time in mid-June 1994.
2. The role of "continuous trauma" needs to be factored into this equation. It is clear that cumulative emotional stress over a period of time can gradually alter the immune system and aggravate or promote autoimmune reactions if it continues for a certain period of time. Thus, Nancy's work stress over time gradually altered her immune system. As her workload increased and changed during the last few months of her employment, she reached a breaking point. This induced the Raynaud's and ultimately clinical autoimmunity. Please see Esther Sternberg's chapter in my Lupus textbook which explains this process in great detail. In essence, the "head bone is connected to the autoimmune bone." This has been reproduced by the National Institutes of Health in the Lewis rat which has a hypofunctioning CRH (stress hormone) neuron.

I hope this clarifies your concerns.


Daniel J. Wallace, M.D.
Clinical Professor of Medicine
UCLA School of Medicine

ADAM S. FIERER, M.D.
GENERAL & VASCULAR SURGERY
ADVANCED LAPAROSCOPIC SURGERY

3998 VISTA WAY, SUITE C-200
OCEANSIDE, CA 92056-4689

(760) 724-5352
FAX (760) 724-5447

21 September, 2000

To whom it may concern,

This letter is in response to the denial of the claim submitted by Nancy Abrams. I am a bit shocked at this decision reached in the face of multiple letters submitted by Ms. Abrams' physicians and those close to her at the time of her diagnosis. In fact, I take umbrage at the implication that the medical knowledge of a non-physician examiner is felt to exceed that of very capable and even renowned physicians in the area of connective tissue disorders. With that said, I would like to include a variety of references that speak to the connection between stress and Raynaud's phenomenon and Progressive Systemic Sclerosis (Scleroderma). To suggest that a connection between stress and Ms. Abrams' illness has not been established is ludicrous.

I also can speak to the specific change that took place in April 1994. It is true that Ms. Abrams had always been a very hard working employee in her various positions in the department of Morale, Welfare and Recreation. She was responsible for creating and organizing many of the events at the Miramar Naval Air Station. She worked as much as 60 hours a week or more at times. What changed in April of 1994 was that Ms. Abrams received a significant promotion which increased the expectations that were held of her. She not only had to ensure that the department did not lose multimillion dollar contracts from their sponsors, but she was now expected to negotiate even better and more profitable contracts. Her work weeks increased to 80, 90, even 100 hours a week to try to make sure every one in her department achieved their goals to allow her to achieve her new expectations. This was a specific source of new stress for her as the various personalities that she now oversaw were often contentious, bitter and jealous of her advances. Her work environment was intolerable at times and overwhelming at others. I realize that many of us have stressful lives and work situations, but I've not seen or known many that come close to that of Nancy Abrams. I hope it is clear to you that Nancy Abrams job as marketing director at MWR had a significant impact on the development of her disease. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,



Adam S. Fierer, M.D.

October 5, 2000

To Whom it May Concern:

I was Nancy Abrams' supervisor during the entire time she served as the Marketing Director of the Naval Air Station Miramar Morale, Welfare and Recreation Department.

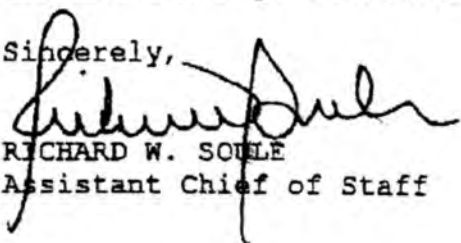
In April of 1994, Nancy's position was involuntarily converted to the competitive service. She was converted from an appointment as a nonappropriated fund employee of the Department of the Navy to a GS-11 step 9 civil service appointment.

As Marketing Director, the nature of the work was that it was challenging, demanding, stressful and the volume was really great.

In the course of carrying out her responsibilities, Nancy worked whatever hours she felt were necessary in order to achieve the desired results. Any additional hours she worked were solely at her own discretion and choice.

I can honestly say that Nancy was one of the most talented, loyal and dedicated individuals with whom I have worked. She gave every task her best effort and was only happy when the job was completed on time and met her high standards.

Sincerely,


RICHARD W. SOULE
Assistant Chief of Staff

Navy EXPO Nonappropriated Fund Employee Performance Rating Form

1. Name (Last, First, Middle Initial)

ABRAMS, NANCY G.

2. SSN

527-08-4747

3. Position Title and Series

PUBLIC AFFAIRS SPECIALIST NF-1035

4a. Pay Band NF-04

4b. Grade

5. Name & Location of Employing NAF Activity

MWR DEPT. MARKETING DIV. NAS MIRAMAR, SAN DIEGO, CA 92145

6. Rating Period - From:

02-92

To:

04-94

7. Rating Elements

Outstanding

Highly
Satisfactory

Satisfactory

Less Than
Satisfactory

a. Quality of Work

b. Productivity

c. Dependability

d. Working Relationships (with peers and supervisor)

e. Customer Relations

f. Other

g. Other

8. Managerial/Supervisory Skills

a. Supervisory Ability

b. Leadership Effectiveness

9. Overall Performance Rating

a. ☒ Outstanding

b. ☐ Highly Satisfactory

c. ☐ Satisfactory

d. ☐ Less than Satisfactory

10a. Pay adjustment Approved:

Yes ☐

N/A ☒

b. Amount approved: \$

11a. Performance Award Approved:

Yes ☐

N/A ☒

b. Amount approved: \$

12. Remarks

13. Rater's Signature

RICHARD W. SOULE, MWR DIRECTOR

Date 5/20/94

14. Reviewer's Signature

Date

15. Approving Official's Signature

RICHARD W. SOULE, MWR DIRECTOR

Date 5/20/94

16a. Date Rating Discussed with Employee

16b. Discussion acknowledged by Employee (Initials)

16c. Date Copy of Completed Evaluation Provided to Employee

During this rating period, Ms. Abrams performed all her assigned duties in an outstanding manner. Se is a true professional in all her dealings with subordinates, peers and superiors.

Ms. Abrams is one of the most talented, dedicated, loyal and hard working individuals with whom I have been privileged to work with. She gives every task her best effort and is only happy when the job is completed on time and meets here high standards.

She has an excellent work ethic, accepts, responsibility and works long hours, often at great personal sacrifice, until the job is completed. The quality and quantity of Ms. Abram's work is unmatched by any other employee in the MWR Department, a department with over 400 employees.

As a supervisor, Ms. Abrams is equally demanding of her staff. She recruited, hired and trained a talented staff of professionals. Ms. Abram's Marketing Department has the reputation for producing the highest quality of work of any MWR Marketing Department in the Navy as reflected in the many awards that MWR has received, the Holiday Program Award for large naval installations, the Dick Schram Community Award for the best military air show, the Emmy award for the telecast of the 1993 air show, the Best Air Show Program, etc.

Ms. Abrams is a visionary in her profession who is always able to see the "big picture". She exhibits limitless energy and is always looking for ways to improve the way MWR conducts its business.

Ms. Abrams demonstrates maturity, experience and knowledge far beyond her youthfulness. She is truly a team player giving praise and credit for her successes to her boss and her staff.

Ms. Abrams is truly special. She is one of the best employees that I have had the pleasure to work with in my 35 years experience as a manager and supervisor.



Date: 29 December 1993

From: Morale, Welfare and Recreation Director
To: Nancy Abrams

Subj: INCENTIVE AWARD

1. As the year 1993 comes to an end, we have had the opportunity to review the MWR Department's accomplishments. It has been a very successful year, thanks in large measure to the hard work, unselfish efforts and loyalty of key people like you.
2. Please accept the enclosed incentive award on behalf of the Commanding Officer and me in appreciation for your personal contribution toward achieving a higher level quality of life for our sailors.
3. Because only the most deserving members of our staff are receiving awards, your confidentiality in this matter is requested.

RICHARD W. SOULE

NANCY - THANKS
AND MY PERSONAL FOR ANOTHER
GREAT YEAR. THOUGH YOUR
HARD WORK AND DEDICATION, EASIER
YOU'VE MADE MY WORK NOT EASIER
I WISH I HAD MORE PEOPLE ON MY
STAFF WITH YOUR LOYALTY, DRIVE
AND WORK ETHIC!



10 September 2000

To Whom It May Concern:

On behalf of Ms. Nancy Abrams, I am writing this statement. In my capacity as Athletic Director at NAS Miramar I had the opportunity to work with Nancy on a number of events and observe her work habits.

Ms. Abrams was always an overachiever, a direct result of the long hours she continually put into her Department, to ensure it's overall success. However, I began to notice that after her promotion in 1994 that she began to work even longer hours to justify this upgrade. She took it upon herself to add more responsibilities and produce even more for the MWR Department in an effort to please her supervisor. It was not uncommon for her to call me from work after 10 o'clock or on weekends to ask questions about various events that we routinely worked together on. I know that right before she became ill that Nancy was working on the upcoming Air Show and extending a number of sponsorships including Pepsi Cola (\$10,000 per year) for the annual TOPGUN 10K.

I also noticed that after her promotion she would take even more work home with her. I use to see her come to work in the mornings with a "mail box" (Xerox box) filled with completed paperwork that she had worked on the previous night. I once asked her why she took work home with her every night. I reminded her that it would be there for her in the morning. Nancy's response was that she did not have enough time at work during the day and had to complete her assignment at home or it would never get completed.

I can honestly attest that Nancy was by far the hardest working individual that I have ever met. I only wish that she could have learned to relax. I know from seeing her on a daily basis that she became more and more exhausted due to her increased work load. It is my personal belief that Nancy's promotion was a major factor in causing her illness.

ROBERT STOPP
ATHLETIC DIRECTOR, MCAS MIRAMAR

Betty Lack
5379 Swarthmore Street
La Mesa, CA 91942

10 September 2000

To Whom It May Concern:

I was the Accounting Director for the NAS Miramar MWR Department from 1984-1997. I have known and worked closely with Nancy Abrams from the time she was hired in March of 1989. She became ill in June of 1994 but the Department held her job open for her for three years because she was irreplaceable and the Director really hoped she would come back to work.

Nancy regularly worked a lot of extra hours and was very dedicated to her work and to her boss Rick Soule who was also MWR Director and my boss. She was hired as Special Events Coordinator and absorbed this position when she became Marketing Director in 1991 and she did both jobs until she left.

Nancy's events have made millions of dollars for the Department over the years. She is directly responsible for creating events and negotiating contracts which continue to thrive and grow annually to this day.

Nancy was promoted to a GS employee in the Spring of 1994. During this time I saw her daily because she was working on selling and extending Air Show sponsorship contracts to five years. She needed to make financial calculations and projections (cost per exposure, etc.) for the sponsors to do this. I remember that between the Air Show and 10K alone, she was trying to do this for 30 different sponsors and the Air Show was only a few months away. She was also working on securing another major concert for the end of October. She began to routinely work late into the night and then take work home with her. It was ridiculous. I know that she even was there on the weekends and saw her car parked outside the office.

I warned Nancy that these unsavory work habits were not healthy. But she was young and thought she was invincible. Soon afterward, she came to work one day with swollen fingers, went to the Emergency Room in the evening and never came back even to clean out her desk.

There is no question that Nancy got sick during this time. She never showed any signs of illness before this. If you need more information regarding this, I will provide it.

Sincerely,

Betty Lack

Betty Lack

October 21, 1998

To Whom it May Concern:

Nancy Abrams has been my friend and colleague since 1990. We worked together at Naval Air Station Miramar, the Navy's largest Master Jet Base. This high-profile installation annually hosted the military's largest air show, which attracted one million visitors. In addition, numerous other public events were initiated, bringing ever more visitors to the air station. Nancy was the Marketing Director for the Morale, Welfare and Recreation Department, the commercial arm of the Navy. As such she was directly responsible for planning, marketing, and implementing events such as concerts (large and small), Armed Forces Day Open Houses, parades, Lighttown Festivals, TOPGUN 10K, and any other event which might increase the visibility of the command. Prior to her assumption of Marketing Director, she was the primary assistant to the Marketing Director.

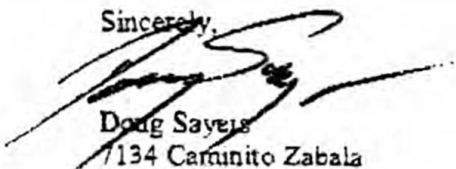
Nancy was one of the most dedicated employees I have ever known. She would regularly work through the night and into the next day to meet the increasing demands imposed by her department. Nancy took her job personally and worked diligently to attend to every detail of an event. In addition to the demands of her position as Marketing Director, Nancy was tasked with other duties, which properly belonged to others. She was ordered to prepare and deliver briefs for admirals and other military and business leaders. She was placed in negotiating roles, at which hundreds of thousands of dollars were at stake. Nancy was given more and more tasking because she had a reputation for getting a job done, and done well. In addition, Nancy faced active aggression by her immediate supervisor, who regularly stole credit for Nancy's innovations and efforts, lied about Nancy's involvement in events, received bonuses due Nancy, and regularly tasked Nancy with seemingly impossible jobs on short notice. Nancy's supervisor and department created a hostile work environment at MWR, including ordering Nancy to work at cross-purposes with me in Public Affairs. As the Public Affairs Officer, I was charged with being the Command spokesperson, sole point of contact for media, and in charge of community relations.

I believe she was overworked. As a Non-Appropriated Fund employee, there were not the protections afforded Appropriated Fund federal employees. In other words, there was believed to be an imminent potential for dismissal if she failed in a task. She was constantly trying to balance, sometimes competing priorities, imposed by the department.

In short, as the air station Public Affairs Officer, I had an intimate knowledge of Nancy's job, the demands placed upon her, and the work ethic she possessed, I believe stress became an insidious destroyer of her health - directly related to her workload and tasking. I, and many of her co-workers, had grave concerns about her health.

It is my hope her health returns soon and that some means of support is found whereby she may receive critical medical care without further eroding her finances.

Sincerely,



Doug Sayers

7134 Caminito Zabala
San Diego, CA 92122
619-658-0575