

IN THE LOOP

Electronic Highway Stops Here

By Al Kamen
Washington Post Staff Writer

Back in January, **Dan Evans Jr.**, former chairman of the Federal Housing Finance Board, dropped an e-mail note to Vice President Gore urging that appointments be made to the five-member board so it could have a quorum of three.

Evans, a George Bush appointee, told Gore he resigned in November in part to "permit the new administration to appoint its own folks" to the board, which sets policy and ensures the soundness of the home loan banking system.

Evans, getting no response, sent a second e-mail note to Gore April 7, appending the first.

"This e-mail was sent three months ago and is just as relevant today as then," he said, since there is still no quorum. "You may wish to weigh in," he suggested.

Evans said yesterday that he has yet to see any action, but it isn't because the White House hasn't been trying.

One candidate, **John T. McEvoy**, head of the National Council of State Housing Agencies, dropped out after dangling for four months. McEvoy, in a March 21 letter to White House personnel boss **J. Veronica Biggins**, said he had been invited to apply to be chairman of the board and had been interviewed in mid-November 1993.

"I think we all believed that a decision on the nomination would not be long in coming, since the board would lack a quorum for action after Jan. 1, 1994," he explained. "Now, however, months have passed," he said, and his obligations to his organization required him to withdraw.

McEvoy obviously did not understand what "not long in coming" means in this administration.

President Clinton may make a decision as early as today, with former Connecticut representative **Bruce Morrison** seen as a leading candidate for chairman.

Kantor Raising Cane

■ Clinton's influence on Singapore, recently valued at two strokes of a cane—that was the reduction in American **Michael Fay's** punishment—may amount to more than that.

It seems U.S. Trade Representative **Mickey Kantor** is thinking Washington might show its displeasure by objecting to Singapore's informal proposal that it be the site of the first ministers' meeting of the new World Trade Organization. The WTO was created to enforce the new trading rules under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

"I would prefer if it were somewhere else," Kantor told reporters.

Asked if that preference was related to the caning, Kantor said, "I think I made myself perfectly clear."

For Clinton, Eyes Only

■ White House adviser **George Stephanopoulos**, speaking at Harvard this week, said Clinton's reading list these days includes **Stephen E. Ambrose's** new book, "D-Day: June 6, 1944: The Climactic Battle of

World War II." **Cornelius Ryan's** "The Longest Day," also about D-Day, a couple of mysteries, a book called "Next," which is a collection of essays by "Generation X" 20-year-olds, and a new book by former Bush National Security Council staffer **Richard N. Haass** called, "The Power To Persuade."

The subtitle of that book, which might illustrate why the president would want to read it, says: "How to Be Effective in Government, the Public Sector, or Any Unruly Organization."

Wonder what unruly organization might be relevant for Clinton?

Senate Lets Crowe Go to Britain

■ Speaking of D-Day, it looked for a moment as if there would be no U.S. ambassador to greet the president when arrived in Britain June 3. Senate Republicans, angry that ambassador-designate **Adm. William J. Crowe Jr.** gave Clinton critical political cover in 1992, put a hold on his nomination. But Crowe was confirmed last night by voice vote.

Flynn Buying a Ticket Home

■ Speaking of ambassadorships, the Boston Globe is reporting that former Boston mayor **Raymond L. Flynn**, now ambassador to the Vatican and having a tough time adjusting to the pin-striped set, is calling it quits after Clinton's visit to Rome on the June trip.

Jennone Walker, now senior director at the National Security Council for Western European Affairs, is in line to be envoy to the Czech Republic.

Also, **Frank Wisner**, undersecretary of defense for policy, has been nominated to be ambassador to India; former Mississippi governor **Ray Mabus** is headed for Saudi Arabia; career foreign service officer and former ambassador to Algeria **Mary Ann Casey** is to be ambassador to Tunisia.

The Topic Was Refugees

■ It turns out Clinton found time after all to meet with U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees **Sadako Ogata**. They got together for a half-hour yesterday in the Oval Office with U.N. Ambassador **Madeleine K. Albright** and national security adviser **Anthony Lake**. They and other senior officials discussed the refugee situation worldwide, particularly in Rwanda and Haiti. Ogata reportedly thanked the administration for its support of her operation.

A Nomination and Two Retirements

■ It's official . . . President Clinton will nominate **John A. Koskinen** as deputy director of management of the Office of Management and Budget. The announcement comes five months after **Philip Lader** left the job to work as White House deputy chief of staff. Koskinen is president of the Palmieri Co., an asset management firm.

Moving on . . . Gen. **Walter Boomer**, assistant commandant of the Marine Corps and a commander in Operation Desert Storm, is retiring on Sept. 1. Marine Gen. **Joseph Hoar**, who succeeded Gen. **H. Norman Schwarzkopf** as commander in chief of the U.S. Central Command, is also calling it quits that date.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
BOBBY ROBERTS 5/13
3501 HILL ROAD
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72205

cc: BRUCE REED

May 4, 1994

Cerasco

President Bill Clinton
The White House

Dear Bill:

Thanks very much for taking time to meet with American Library Association President, Hardy Franklin and Alexandria. I understand that Alexandria did a bang-up job and was thrilled about meeting you. I also really appreciated the offer to spend the night in the White House. Unfortunately, I had already made an appointment to go to Carlisle Barracks to do some Civil War research (Carl Moneyhan and I will soon be completing our fourth book on the war).

As I told you earlier, I have some specific concerns about your crime package and I think the enclosed article from the ACA adequately conveys my thoughts on the matter. I hope that you will forward it to the appropriate staff member. I expect that all this new legislation will do is embolden the law and order crowd and do absolutely nothing to contain the crime rate. Still, I know that in the short run it is politically irresistible to follow that course, and I understand why you have chosen to do that.

In the long run, the single best thing that you can do for the country is to create an atmosphere where we can have a meaningful debate on the real culprit that is fueling gangs and violent crime -- drug trafficking. We must admit that America will never win the war on drugs until we take the profit out of the business. After all this is a land of entrepreneurs, and if you drive up the price by reducing supply, enterprising persons will enter the drug business. The best historical analogy is the prohibition era when, despite the best efforts of the government, violence exploded and people continued to drink. When the "noble experiment" ended, violence declined rapidly, and even though the drunks are still with us, they seldom kill people to get money to feed their habit.

Drug addiction is a public health rather than a criminal problem. I am not saying that we need to decriminalize all drugs, but you do have an obligation to create an atmosphere where, in the future, a rational debate can take place. I also realize that the debate is not likely to take place in a Democratic Administration (any more than the Democrats could have recognized Communist China) but you could take quiet steps to move us in that direction. Please begin by turning down the rhetoric and carefully encouraging Dr. Elders to speak out on the need to at least study the issue. I know that at times she can be too outspoken, but she is the right person to take the lead on this issue.

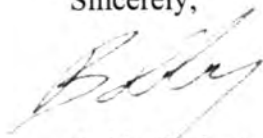
President Bill Clinton

Page 2

Occasionally I run into ex-staffers from the Governor's office and we enjoy telling war stories about our service in the Clinton Administration. I must say that the stories get embellished every time we tell them. Have your staff contact me if you ever need anything, but I do not need a reply to this letter.

Take care of yourself.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bobby", written over a horizontal line.

Bobby Roberts

BR:kv
Enclosure

P.S. I had dinner with Betsey while I was in D.C. I really wish she were in the administration.
Any chance of that happening?



On the Line

A Publication of the American Correctional Association

March 1994—Vol. 17, No. 2

ACA Issues Positions on Crime Bill

ACA is calling for changes to several key sections of the nation's proposed omnibus crime bill. President Perry Johnson and Executive Director James Gondles in January and February attended various meetings and public hearings on the bill and have begun formulating positions on those sections affecting corrections.

Because of the bill's scope and complexity, ACA has not yet completed its analysis; however, initial positions the Association has taken are as follows:

1. ACA opposes the proposed building and operation of 10 regional federal prisons. According to the bill, each prison would house 2,500 inmates and would be available to ease crowding in state systems. ACA opposes this because it would require states to tailor their sentencing laws to match federal laws and because of the difficulties associated with managing prisons with such large offender populations. The National Governors' Association, the International Association of Residential and Community Alternatives and the Association of State Correctional Administrators also have come out against this provision.

2. ACA supports the provision requiring a review and report by the Attorney General to the Congress on specific standards for the construction and operation of state and local correctional facilities. The legislation calls for this review to be based in part on ACA's manuals for *Standards for Small Jail Facilities* and *Standards for Adult Local Detention Facilities*.

3. ACA opposes federal mandatory minimum sentences as outlined in the bill. ACA contends that mandatory sentencing is unjust because, under this type of sentencing, sentences are imposed based on broad crime categories rather than on individual crimes. Therefore, the same sentence can be handed out for two very different crimes or for crimes that occur under very dif-

ferent circumstances. Additional factors influencing ACA's opposition to this legislation include the proven ineffectiveness of mandatory sentencing and the prison crowding that would result from it; problems regarding the classification of violent vs. non-violent crimes, particularly for drug crimes; and the potential for discrimination against minority populations based on the types of crimes targeted.

4. ACA opposes the proposed "three strikes and you're out" legislation requiring offenders convicted of a third violent offense to be sentenced to life in prison without parole. ACA contends that, while it is appropriate to issue long sentences for repeat violent offenders, it is not reasonable or cost-effective to keep them in prison until they die. In addition, ACA opposes the legislation because of the inevitable prison crowding it would cause and because of questions regarding the types of crimes designated as violent.

5. ACA supports the use of surplus federal properties for conversion to minimum and medium security correctional facilities.

6. ACA joins other law enforcement and corrections organizations in supporting the ban on assault weapons.

7. ACA joins the Correctional Education Association in its opposition to the elimination of federal Pell grants to inmates. This legislation would deny inmates access to Pell grants to pay for college courses. ACA and CEA contend that such programs are effective in reducing recidivism and are positive corrections management tools.

The Association continues to evaluate the legislation and develop its positions on sections relevant to the concerns of members. ♦



Public Information Committee Creates Journalism Award

ACA's Public Information Committee has established an award to recognize journalists who demonstrate exceptional coverage of the corrections field. The Outstanding Journalism Award will be presented annually by ACA at the Winter Conference to a selected editor or news director in print or broadcast media.

To be eligible for the award, the individual's organization must have produced one or more news stories that exemplify thoughtful, insightful and constructive commentary; a depth of knowledge of corrections; factual presentation, with engaging style and clarity; and high standards of journalistic integrity. News organizations, corrections agencies, and ACA chapters and affiliates are encouraged to submit nominations.

According to Committee Chairman Richard Phillips, the award is an important step in improving public perception of corrections. "Corrections' relationship with the media is so important if we are to successfully communicate with the public," Phillips said. "The committee felt it was highly appropriate to recognize the contributions some members of the journalism community have made in educating the public about the field." Additional information on the award will be published in the April issue of *Corrections Today*. ♦

THE PRESIDENT HAS

Health Care and the Deficit

5.12.94

Keher Good!

THE BUDGET deficit is still much too large, and in theory this is the perfect time to reduce it further, while the economy is strengthening and before it overheats. But the president and the Democratic Congress have given themselves time off this year from conventional deficit reduction in favor of health care reform. That adds to the urgency of producing a reform that (a) is affordable—no frills—(b) is solidly financed and (c) includes a credible means of containing costs. If they fail to produce such a plan, they will face a serious fiscal problem next year as well as an unsolved health care problem.

The economy was in a more uncertain state than now when the president decided last winter to take the year off in terms of deficit reduction. The uncertainty provided a rationale: The need to take care—having already cut the deficit substantially the year before—not to take a second step in the same direction that might choke off the recovery. The president and many congressional Democrats wanted the year off anyway. They have a lot else on their agenda than simply reducing the deficit, which is no one's idea of fun.

But the decision to shift from the deficit to health care this year was not a dodge or gimmick. It was, and still is, defensible in fiscal as well as programmatic terms. Health care costs are the rogue item in the federal budget, just as they are in every other budget in the country. If left to themselves they will drive up future deficits almost no matter what else Congress does. They have to be contained, nor does it do much good if Congress, in containing them, merely shifts them to the states or private payers. That's a hidden tax increase if ever there was one.

Almost all the reform plans now in play would increase national (not just federal) spending on health care in the short run by increasing the number of people who are insured. In the longer run, however, a plan that is any good will appreciably reduce projected spending and the pressure on the budget.

That should be the goal. It *was* the stated goal when the president introduced his plan. If he and Congress prove incapable of achieving it, here is what they will likely face next year.

(1) The economy will likely still be strong. Sooner or later a strong economy turns into a contest between rising inflation and interest rates; there is increased need and pressure to cut the deficit.

(2) It's always hard to increase taxes, and it is getting close to the point where there is more to be lost than gained from cutting so-called discretionary spending, the third of the budget subject to the appropriations process. By virtue of last year's budget agreement, there is already a five-year freeze on appropriations. Further cuts are likely to do unwanted damage not just to sensitive domestic programs but also to defense.

(3) That leaves entitlements as the principal category from which they might expect to make substantial savings. But entitlements is a euphemism. The category is made up overwhelmingly of aid to the elderly in the form of Social Security and . . . health care costs in the form of Medicare and Medicaid. The health care costs, now a sixth of the budget, are the fastest-rising and most troublesome. The basic problem next year will be the same as this. The health care problem and budget problem are the same.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

05/12/94

ALAN STONE:

FYI

Todd Stern



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 12, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICK ALLEN *RA*

SUBJECT: GALLAUDET STUDENTS INVOLVED IN AMERICORPS

In the audience for your address at Gallaudet on Friday will be four graduating students who will be among the first members of the National Civilian Community Corps, one of the special programs of the AmeriCorps national service network of programs actually operated by the Corporation for National Service. Two other Gallaudet students (not in the graduation audience) will join them as part of the first NCCC campus on the Army's Aberdeen, Maryland base.

You will recall that NCCC members reside on closed or downsizing military bases and perform national service in surrounding communities, with a particular expertise in environmental service work. You have met retired Brigadier General Don Scott, a vice president of the Corporation for National Service and the director of the NCCC, at two White House receptions. You referred to the NCCC's environmental expertise in your Earth Day remarks.

These six deaf students will be part of the 250-person NCCC contingent housed at Aberdeen, with full rights, obligations and responsibilities. That campus is scheduled to open in mid-June (the full, formal launch of AmeriCorps will occur in mid-September). Reflecting your vision of national service as a unifying force, AmeriCorps will actively recruit disabled participants.

In the audience Friday and headed for Aberdeen in June will be Madeline Frederickson, Jennifer Nasukiewicz, Mary Ruth Summers and Jennifer Cantrell. The other two Gallaudet NCCC members for the Aberdeen campus are Amy Hopkins and Jennifer Briggs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1994

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
Chairman
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The health care reform legislation we seek to enact this year will guarantee private health insurance to every American. Reaching that objective will require a continuing transformation of the health care delivery system.

That transformation will undoubtedly have a serious impact on our nation's health care work force. My Administration is committed to policies that will ensure that the expertise, experience, and commitment of these workers are effectively utilized in a new health care system.

Many state and local governments have already begun the process of transforming health care delivery systems. There have been many innovative agreements between labor and management such as those in Massachusetts, Minnesota, Ohio, and the voluntary hospitals in New York City that protect the interests of experienced health care workers, give voice to workers and their unions, and promote quality care. These components are intrinsically linked.

We assume that in developing your health care reform legislation, your committee will consider provisions designed to guarantee a voice in decision-making for workers and their unions, to continue the contribution of an experienced health care work force, and to provide new opportunities for workers in the changing health care delivery system consistent with the Administration's efforts through proposed reorganization to consolidate job training and job placement services for dislocated workers.

We look forward to working with you on this and the entire health care reform legislation. Together we will produce an historic law for Americans.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1994

The Honorable Dan Rostenkowski
Chairman
Committee on Ways and Means
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1994

The Honorable Daniel Patrick Moynihan
Chairman
Committee on Finance
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

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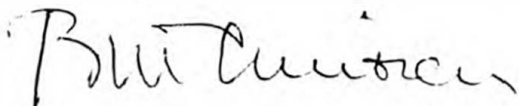
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WASHINGTON

May 12, 1994

The Honorable William D. Ford
Chairman
Committee on Education and Labor
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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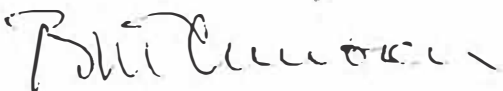
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1994

The Honorable John D. Dingell
Chairman
Committee on Energy and Commerce
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The health care reform legislation we seek to enact this year will guarantee private health insurance to every American. Reaching that objective will require a continuing transformation of the health care delivery system.

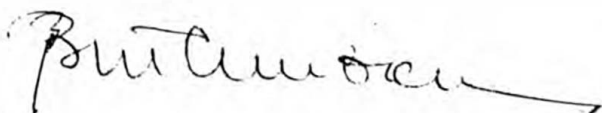
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Sincerely,

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 11, 1994

The Honorable Howard Paster
Hill and Knowlton
901 31st Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Howard:

Thanks for your recent memo following up on
your visit to Europe. As always, I appreciate
your observations and insight.

Let me continue to hear from you.

Sincerely,

- Bill

CC all to:
B Rubin
Sec Bentsen
T Lake

March 28, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Howard Paster *HP*

SUBJECT: Mood in Europe

I spent last week overseas (London, Brussels and a brief stop in Amsterdam) and met with many leading reporters and business people from those cities and elsewhere on the continent. As I thought through the sum of my discussions, I decided it might be helpful if I gave you a quick summary of what I heard.

1) There were many anxious questions about the Whitewater business, and a clear lack of understanding of the substance of the controversy. The essential message to me was that Europeans may rail against the United States for one reason or another, but they live in dread of anything that might destabilize us. It may make sense for you to do an Oval Office interview with six to eight leading foreign correspondents after Easter to demonstrate that business proceeds as usual in foreign affairs, as you demonstrated last week it proceeds as usual on Capitol Hill.

2) Recent controversies with Japan (including the threat of 301) and the increased talk of including environmental, worker health and similar issues in trade talks, have caused what I see as an inappropriate level of concern about trade policy. Despite your extraordinary effort on NAFTA and the successful conclusion of the GATT negotiations, there was not -- to my mind -- adequate recognition of your commitment to open trade. Indeed, there was a pattern of hostile questions implying a protectionist turn in the U.S. There needs to be a clearer understanding among our trading partners that for a Democrat to pursue open trade as you have also means you need the flexibility to demand a fair trade regime.

3) The British have not yet gotten the controversy about the Adams visa out of their system. I am sure you will hear more about on your June trip.

4) Given the level of those with whom I was dealing I was disappointed by the lack of seriousness attributed to the Detroit conference on employment. Despite the weak state of the economies in Western Europe, about which you are well versed, I was struck by the degree to which the Detroit conference was discounted. There needs to be a better effort by our partners to explain this initiative before the G-7 if the maximum benefit from this initiative is to be realized.

5) Prime Minister Major's decision to appeal to the most anti-European elements in his party on the issue of European Union enlargement is deemed to be an act of great cynicism. Unless there is a change in direction quickly the folks with whom I was talking expect a serious overhang from the enlargement controversy. There was little expectation this would be settled before the summer, and will be used by the British press to undermine Major.

I hope this is of some use. All good wishes.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: *James Carville*

Fax Number:

546-1490

Phone Number:

FROM: *Fran Wessel w/ Podesta (56-2702)*

SUBJECT:

DATE: *5/11/94*

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):

3
2 (1 legal size)

MESSAGE:

*President's note says
"worth discussing"*

If all pages are not received, please call 202/456-2702

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CAPITAL JOURNAL

By GERALD F. SEIB

A Black Thing: Quiet Discontent Over the System

THE ELECTION-YEAR debate over America's social problems seemed to hit its low point a couple of weeks back. That's when the House of Representatives voted to remove weight-lifting equipment from federal prisons, on the theory that weights make inmates stronger and therefore more dangerous when they get out.

That kind of superficiality suggests America's political leaders aren't in the



right frame of mind to grasp complex social problems not given to glib solutions. Maybe that's why nobody is confronting one particularly disturbing phenomenon: the deepening political discontent of a whole generation of black Americans.

There's mounting evidence that blacks, particularly young blacks, see less and less value in working within the current political and social structure and instead favor breaking out of that system. Those sentiments are finding their voice in the growing numbers of African-Americans who favor forming a black political party, and who identify with a rising tide of black nationalism.

These aren't sentiments voiced only by the black underclass or Louis Farrakhan followers, but also by successful black professionals and intellectuals. The political implications of this trend are profound. More important, so are the implications for American society.

The most stark portrait of these sentiments comes from a recently completed survey by Michael Dawson of the University of Chicago and Ronald Brown of Wayne State University. They oversaw in-depth, 45-minute interviews with 1,206 randomly selected African-Americans, and found what Mr. Dawson calls "a more radical black America than existed even five years ago."

FULLY HALF of those surveyed supported the formation of a black political party. By contrast, when Ron Walters of Howard University studied the same issue in the 1980s, he gauged the level of support for a black political party to be only about 25%, meaning support has doubled in a few years' time. Almost eight in 10 blacks in the new survey said the American economic and legal systems are unfair to blacks, and seven in 10 said blacks should control the government and the economy in predominantly black communities. "Half of all blacks characterize their status as that of a nation within a nation," Prof. Dawson wrote in The Polling Report newsletter.

In an interview, Prof. Dawson says he found a surprisingly broad segment of the black population now voices black nationalist sentiments. What's more, he found "the emergence of a generation gap," in which feelings of black nationalism are more pronounced among blacks in their mid-30s or below. Prof. Dawson figures that the gap roughly separates those old enough to have experienced the civil rights movements of the 1960s, who think they've seen at least some progress, and those too young to make that comparison.

In political terms, the consequences of such sentiments could be enormous, particularly for Democrats. Right now, blacks still identify closely with the Democratic Party, and they particularly seem to warm to Bill Clinton. Prof. Dawson found that 84% of blacks approve of the job the president is doing.

But if blacks begin to come unhinged from the two-party system, Democrats stand to lose their hold on a core constituency. In 1992, for instance, blacks provided half of President Clinton's votes in Louisiana and 40% in Georgia, two Southern states he won, notes David Bositis, a political analyst at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. An early indicator that blacks are drifting away from the system would be low voter turnout, and there are disquieting signs on that front. In last year's New Jersey governor's race, the black vote fell 25% from its level four years earlier, and the black vote was down in the Virginia governor's race as well. Democrats lost both races.

BUT THE POTENTIAL social consequences of today's mood are even more grave. There is a real question of how a society can progress if any significant segment concludes it is better off separating from the mainstream. Things haven't reached that point yet. Prof. Walters of Howard University argues that he considers himself a black nationalist, but has a vision of nationalism in which blacks are "part of the mainstream at the same time."

That's possible, as long as the rest of America pays some attention now to the restive mood of blacks. America's goal should remain togetherness rather than separateness. If not, the president has warned what can happen otherwise. "There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism," the president said. "The one absolutely certain way of bringing this nation to ruin, of preventing all possibility of its continuing to be a nation at all, would be to permit it to become a tangle of squabbling nationalities."

The president uttering those words was Teddy Roosevelt. But his warning stands today.

sent
94 MAY 12 09:15
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

John Podesta

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: *Catherine Stafford*

Fax Number:

617 484 6502

Phone Number:

20

FROM:

Fran Wessel
(202-456-2702)

SUBJECT:

DATE:

5-12-94

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):

2

MESSAGE:

per our conversation

If all pages are not received, please call 202/456-2702

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Town of Belmont

OFFICE OF THE TOWN CLERK

Town Hall • Belmont, Massachusetts 02178 • 489-8200

ANN CRESINE WILSON, CMC
TOWN CLERK

April 7, 1993

Dear

John,

It is with pleasure that I inform you that at the Annual Town Election held on April 5, 1993, you were elected to be a Town Meeting Member for a term of three years.

The oath of office will be administered by the Town Clerk at the Annual Town Meeting to be held on Monday evening, April 26, 1993, at 8:00 P.M. in the Belmont High School Auditorium.

With all good wishes.

Very truly yours,

Ann Cresine Wilson
Town Clerk



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/12/94

TO: THE VICE PRESIDENT
MACK MCLARTY
DAVID GERGEN
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 11, 1994

MR. PRESIDENT:

Enclosed is memo from Tony Lake and Susan Brophy recommending that you sign the attached transmittal letter transmitting to the Senate the Convention on Conventional Weapons (CCW) together with Protocols I and II, but that, in view of concerns raised by the Joint Chiefs, you defer the submission of Protocol III. State, DOD and ACDA concur in this recommendation.

Protocol I prohibits the use of weapons whose primary effect is to injure by fragments that can't be detected by X-ray. Protocol II regulates the use of land mines and booby traps. Protocol III prohibits the use of air-delivered incendiary devices in areas of civilian concentration. NSC and Legislative concur.

Congress has an active interest in the submission of the CCW, twice enacting legislation calling for such submission. Senator Leahy sent you a letter earlier this year making the same recommendation.

We have sent copies of this memo to the Vice President, Mack, Gergen and George.

If you approve, please sign the transmittal letter to the Senate. NSC would like to transmit the package by COB Thursday, May 12.

Approve___ Disapprove___ Discuss___

Todd Stern

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 11, 1994

94 MAY 11 P1:27

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE EXECUTIVE CLERK, *11/11/94*FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *✓*
SUSAN BROPHY *MB*SUBJECT: Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on
the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May
be Deemed to be Excessively Injurious or to Have
Indiscriminate Effects (CCW)Purpose

To approve transmittal of the Convention on Conventional Weapons (CCW), together with its Protocols on Non-Detectable Fragments and Mines, to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification; and defer the issue of ratification of the Incendiaries Protocol.

Background

The CCW was concluded at Geneva on October 10, 1980, and signed by the United States in 1982. It has three protocols, each addressing different types of munitions. Protocol I prohibits the use of any weapon the primary effect of which is to injure by fragments which cannot be detected by X-ray. Protocol II regulates the use of landmines and booby traps. Protocol III prohibits the use of air-delivered incendiaries in areas containing concentrations of civilians.

The Mines Protocol is the most important of these provisions. Although it does not go as far as we would want, it does provide useful restrictions on the use of these weapons. Had these restrictions been observed in the conflicts of the past decade considerable civilian casualties would have been avoided (the U.S., even though not a party, has observed this Protocol). More important, U.S. ratification would enable us to take the lead in pressing for substantial improvements to this Protocol and would strengthen our efforts to encourage countries to adopt a moratorium on export of all anti-personnel landmines.

State, DOD and ACDA concur in the ratification of the Convention, including acceptance of Protocols I and II. However, the Joint Staff, after coordinating with the Services and the CINCs, has expressed significant concerns regarding ratification of the Incendiaries Protocol, particularly with respect to the

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

prohibition on the use of air-delivered incendiaries in certain situations in areas where there are concentrations of civilians. Resolution of these problems will take considerable time at best, and may present serious political and humanitarian issues that would require consultation with our allies and with Congress. We do not want to delay or complicate ratification of the Convention (including the Mines Protocol) by holding up its submission to the Senate until this issue is resolved.

In addition, a Review Conference on the CCW has been called for by the United Nations, and is likely to take place in 1995. A series of Government Experts Meetings is to take place in 1994 to seek improvements to the CCW, particularly the Mines Protocol. Only parties to the CCW can be full participants at the Review Conference. Early ratification is thus particularly important.

Accordingly, Secretary Christopher has recommended in his Report to you, and DOD and ACDA agree, that we should submit only two of the Protocols to the Senate at this time and defer the issue of ratification of the Incendiaries Protocol.

Congress has also twice enacted legislation calling on the Administration to submit the CCW, contained in its landmine export moratorium amendments in both the FY93 and FY94 DOD Authorization Acts. In response to a recent letter from Senator Leahy urging the Administration to submit the CCW to the Senate early this year, you responded that you intended to do so.

I believe that you should submit the Convention to the Senate at this time, with appropriate understandings.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Message to the Senate and thereby (1) approve transmittal of the Convention, with its Protocols I and II, Secretary Christopher's Report to you, and the section-by-section analysis, to the Congress and (2) approve deferral of the issue of ratification of the Incendiaries Protocol.

Attachments

Tab A	Message to the Senate
Tab B	Report from Secretary Christopher
Tab C	Section-by-Section Analysis
Tab D	The Convention on Conventional Weapons

TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed To Be Excessively Injurious or To Have Indiscriminate Effects (the Convention), and two accompanying Protocols on Non-Detectable Fragments (Protocol I) and on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Mines, Booby-Traps and Other Devices (Protocol II). Also transmitted for the information of the Senate is the report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention and its Protocols.

The Convention was concluded at Geneva on October 10, 1980, was signed by the United States on April 8, 1982, and entered into force on December 2, 1983. More than 30 countries have become Party to the Convention. It constitutes a modest but significant humanitarian effort to protect the victims of armed conflict from the effects of particular weapons. It will supplement prohibitions or restrictions on the use of weapons contained in existing treaties and customary international law, including the prohibition on the use in war of chemical and bacteriological weapons in the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925. It will provide a basis for effective controls on the widespread and indiscriminate use of landmines, which have caused widespread civilian casualties in recent conflicts.

The Convention and its Protocols restrict, for humanitarian reasons, the use in armed conflicts of three specific types of conventional weapons. Protocol I prohibits the use of weapons that rely on fragments not detectable by X-rays. Protocol II regulates the use of landmines and similar devices for the

purpose of reducing the danger to the civilian population caused by the indiscriminate use of such weapons, and prohibits certain types of booby-traps. Protocol III restricts the use of incendiary weapons in populated areas.

The United States signed the Convention on April 8, 1982. Since then, it has been subject to detailed interagency reviews. Based on these reviews, I have concluded that the United States should become a Party to the Convention and to its Protocols I and II. As described in the report of the Secretary of State, there are concerns about the acceptability of Protocol III from a military point of view that require further examination. I therefore recommend that in the meantime the United States exercise its right under Article 4 of the Convention to accept only Protocols I and II.

I believe that United States ratification of the Convention and its Protocols I and II will underscore our commitment to the principle that belligerents must refrain from weapons or methods of warfare that are inhumane or unnecessary from a military standpoint. I am also mindful of the strong sense of the Congress that the Convention should be submitted to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification, as evidenced in section 1365 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1993 (October 23, 1992, Public Law 102-484) and section 1423 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1994 (November 30, 1993, Public Law 103-160).

More specifically, by becoming Party, we will encourage the observance by other countries of restrictions on landmines and other weapons that U.S. Armed Forces and those of our allies already observe as a matter of humanity, common sense, and sound military doctrine. The United States will be able to take the lead in negotiating improvements to the Mines Protocol so as to deal more effectively with the immense threat to the civilian population caused by the indiscriminate use of those weapons. It will strengthen our efforts to encourage adoption of a moratorium on export of all anti-personnel landmines.

I therefore recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Convention and its Protocols I and II and give its advice and consent to ratification subject to the conditions contained in the report of the Department of State.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

Fragmenting of the News

Michael McKeon

Let me begin with three basic points:
■ The mass audience and the mass media are rapidly disintegrating.
■ People's faith and trust in society's institutions are falling.
■ People are seeking to restore a sense of community in their lives.

These three factors have contributed to a fragmented, treacherous and completely foreign communications landscape in which traditional methods of reaching people—network television, print and radio advertising—count for far less than they used to.

Today, with cable and interactive television, remote control, VCRs, E-Mail and faxes, a great many people have almost unlimited access to a variety of new information sources. More ominously, they have the ability to deny access to anyone trying to reach them with a message.

What this means is that the things most Americans will be talking about are no longer chosen by a handful of network news producers each evening. Today, vast numbers of people can choose the issues, the medium and the community with which they share their views. The basis of the information

superhighway is not the rapidly advancing technology but the fact that the individual is now in the driver's seat.

And because distrust of government, business, the media and every other institution of society runs so high, many people do want to shut out these "official" sources of information. This doesn't mean they are not communicating. On the contrary, their appetite for information, a manifestation of their need for communality, is greater than ever.

But in place of network television and the daily paper, people are turning to what I call "the stealth medium"—the 1990s equivalent of the barroom conversation. They send faxes by day and sign on to computers at night to have conversations with strangers in terms they understand—terms that would not pass most political correctness tests but nevertheless reflect the language they understand and use among themselves.

These so-called "virtual communities" are coalescing among people who share nothing more than certain common interests and a desire to reach out

and connect with someone else. They range from environmental terrorists on the extreme left to neo-Nazi hate groups on the extreme right.

The "news" that flows between the members of these communities is uncensored, and its claims to accuracy and truth often go unchallenged. Equally important, the character of the information tends to be more emotional and, as a result, more reflective of peoples' true feelings.

As a Time magazine article puts it, "Sociologists note that without visual clues, people on-line tend to flame: to state their views more heatedly than they would face-to-face."

As for network news programs, they are losing their audience by the day. It used to be that if it was on the evening news, it was news, because that was the only TV news. But today, many people want their news unfiltered—from like-minded people, and stated in their own terms. In the stealth medium, "news value" is not determined by the validity of the messenger; it derives from the fact that it is chosen.

The drawback here is that people

are often choosing information delivered by demagogues appealing to fear, anxiety and prejudice through heated rhetoric and distortion. In the mass media, these views are rarely heard, but in the stealth medium they often move unchallenged.

Such conversations—uncensored and unedited—are occurring by the millions every day on 100-channel interactive television, on talk radio, in books and newsletters, on Rush and Howard, among the religious right and on the endless stream of talk shows spewing out hyper-cooked versions of "news."

Rap music is another channel on the stealth medium. Musician Ice-T calls rap "the black CNN," because it keeps people aware of the street conditions. (He underestimates his audience: One of rap's strongest sales demographics is young white suburban males.)

The controversy over gays in the military illustrates how the stealth medium can generate controversies that have little or no relevance to the majority of Americans. Three "virtual communities"—gay activists, the religious

right and veterans—fueled the debate that dominated the early weeks of the Clinton administration, although the issue was far removed from the president's agenda and the concerns of the people who elected him.

Perhaps the most insular virtual community, though, is the inside-the-Beltway crowd. The politicians perform each day for the mass media, the media go back to the studio, put their own spin on it, and give it back to the politicians over the airwaves. The next day, they do it all again. Americans, increasingly, ignore them.

Political candidates are going to have to learn to package messages aimed at extremely selective virtual communities that must be reached through their chosen form of communication. Ironically, political candidates have never had so many different ways to deliver messages, but the odds against their reaching significant numbers of people with that message have never been greater.

The writer is president of a political consulting firm.

Book World

Dan Quayle: Poising Pen

STANDING FIRM
A Vice-Presidential Memoir

By Dan Quayle
HarperCollins. 402 pp. \$25

By Jonathan Yardley

It's tempting to say that the big surprise about Dan Quayle's vice presidential memoir is that every word therein appears to be spelled correctly, but the real surprise is that "Standing Firm" is not a bad book, at least as such books go. In the course of a full working day spent reading it I fell asleep only twice, which by contrast with the slumbers exacted by the memoirs of Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger is the equivalent of being wired for life.

Quayle is not exactly a riveting prose stylist and he does not appear uncomfortable with the

more tiresome rituals of the political memoir. Chief among these is suck-'n'-stab, a delicious example of which Quayle provides when he writes of Jack Kemp, "I have always enjoyed being around Jack and Joanne. They are good people who want their country to succeed," and then says, in the very next paragraph: "Many questioned Jack's loyalty to Bush, and there were times when the president would have been justified in letting him go."

That is about as exquisite an archetype of the genre as one could hope to encounter, but there's not really much more of the same in "Standing Firm." News stories have reported Quayle's distaste for Jim Baker, and indeed he does a nimble suck-'n'-stab on the former secretary of state hard on the heels of the one administered to Kemp, but those accounts have blown Baker's presence in this book far

out of proportion. Getting even may be part of what Quayle is up to here, but it is scarce'y all.

Scarcely, that is, except where the press is concerned. Quayle spent four years as the principal object of the press's scorn, ridicule and condescension, and he isn't above administering his own retaliatory whacks. It's hard to blame him. If at times he opened himself to derision—occasionally he blames himself, occasionally his "handlers"—at many others the press simply declined to look beyond the stereotypical Quayle it had been so quick to manufacture after his bumbled introduction in 1988 as George Bush's running mate.

"The media quickly invested so much in their caricature of me," Quayle writes, "that not even personal acquaintance could modify it." There is a good deal of evidence to support this. Quayle was mercilessly belittled for slips of the tongue that ordinarily would be greeted with understanding, and when he tried to address serious issues in a reasonably serious way, the immediate response was knee-jerk contempt. Thus the journalistic herd brayed en masse when the notorious "Murphy Brown" speech was delivered; thus, even more dam-

ningly, the press simply refused to accept at face value a series by David Broder and Bob Woodward of this newspaper in which Quayle was portrayed as a complex human being rather than as a mere caricature.

This is not to say that Quayle is a heavyweight. He isn't, and when he attempts to pass himself off as one it can be pretty amusing: "The ground war was now scheduled for Saturday, and I spent the day as calmly as I could, finishing Robert Heilbroner's classic book, 'The Worldly Philosophers,' about the great economists from Adam Smith to John Maynard Keynes." But heavyweights in late-20th-century Washington are scarcer than hens' teeth; Quayle can more than hold his own in such discourse as is conducted here, and the refusal of the press to acknowledge as much says more about the press than it does about Quayle.

The truth about Quayle, to such extent as the truth about any public figure is knowable, would seem to be that he is an amiable man, genuinely devoted to his conveniently photogenic family, and an almost entirely conventional politician. He has conventional ambitions,

about which he writes without embarrassment, and he pursues them in the conventional way, which for four years meant being dutifully loyal to a boss whom he liked and admired but whose self-destruction he could not prevent. The chief difference between him and the other strivers appears to be that he has been burned far more brutally than most:

"Writing this book has forced me to go back and re-live those four years day by day, sometimes even hour by hour. I've had to remember more unpleasant moments than I expected to. When I lived them, I was so caught up in political considerations and in doing the job that I didn't really have time to dwell on the pain and the ugliness. I was 'in the bubble.' It's only in the last year that I've been able to realize just how vicious so much of the ridicule directed at me really was and the toll it took on those closest to me."

Nothing in those words seems feigned or calculated. The pain and the ugliness were real. All things considered, it is remarkable that Quayle came through with his equanimity intact and that "Standing Firm" is not a far more bitter and angry book than in fact it is.

Children of '76

If you think you're happy about the heady turn of events in South Africa, you ought to hear Dr. Nthato Motlana. When I talked to him the other day, he couldn't suppress his elation, and saw no good reason for trying. This 60-year-old Sowetan had just voted for the first time in his life—and for the winning party, the African National Congress of which he had been a member since he was 18.

It was an extraordinary, almost unbelievable occasion, he told me during a quick trip to the United States (he had come to accept an honorary doctorate from Denison University in Granville, Ohio, before scurrying back for the swearing-in of the new government.) And, he acknowledged, there were times when he thought it might not happen.

Even Nelson Mandela must have had his moments of despair along the way, said Motlana, friend, physician and political ally of the newly elected president of South Africa. As for his own doubts:

"I would say they really ceased in 1976, a seminal year in our fight against apartheid, when the children took to the streets and virtually destroyed South Africa. It happened on the 16th of June, 1976, at about 10 o'clock, and I was there.

"When the first violence occurred, diagonally opposite the Mandela residence at a school called the Rand West High School, I was there. I was there when the police turned dogs against unarmed schoolgirls and young schoolboys, and I saw those schoolboys take hold of Alsatian dogs—vicious Alsatis—and throttle them with their bare hands and burn them. I saw it all.

"And then the kids throughout South Africa—as if on a signal—started burning government buildings, bottle stores, schools throughout the country. And our biggest support was in Cape Town, where the so-called colored children responded to the children of Soweto in a critical fashion. They went into town and started burning shops and government buildings. The whole country was in turmoil for six months, and the government didn't know what to do. There were trials after trials, and lots of our children left South Africa to go into exile to form the MK guerrilla units that came back in and blew up power stations.

"It was quite obvious that apartheid was over."

Obvious, perhaps, but not instant. It would be a month shy of 18 years after that doubt-erasing explosion before Motlana would finally cast his first vote as a free citizen.

His elation over a transition that still strikes me as a certified miracle—including the miraculous simultaneous ascendancy of Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk, the man he replaces as state president—is, however, tempered by a somber thought: The youngsters who made the change possible will be hard put to benefit from it. Why? Because they left school to make the revolution and now have reached adulthood without education or skills. Many are illiterate.

"This is the sad side," Motlana told me. "I told you I'll always remember June 16, 1976. Well the very next day, a group of us including Winnie Mandela and members of the Black Parents Association were going around talking to the students in an attempt to persuade them to stay in school. Our message was: Don't burn your schools. And they wouldn't listen. They just burned down everything.

"We spent the next two years talking to the students about the need for them to go back to school. We failed. They accused us of being sellouts and collaborators for trying to get them to go back to school. They were not interested in school. 'Liberation before education' became their slogan. . . . So now we've got a body of young people—two to three million of them—who in '76 were 12 or 14 or 15. They're now young mothers and fathers and completely illiterate. Most are unemployed, and many are unemployable, and the question is what is the new government going to do about this huge task?"

What indeed? The armed forces might have absorbed some of them, but South Africa's new government is committed to downsizing the military, bloated and expensive as a result of the country's efforts both to contain its black population and to destabilize its neighbors—Mozambique, An-

gola, Zimbabwe.

The immediate demands will be for money to improve housing and health care and to educate the children for the coming century. Who will supply the money—even the ideas—for looking after the generation that made the miracle possible?

The question, a shadow across Motlana's irrepressible joy, may be one of the most important the Mandela government will face.

Robert J. Samuelson

The Buck Stops Everywhere

The Clinton administration's latest foray into the foreign exchange markets reminds us that the dollar is not only our money but also the world's. It's used heavily by other countries for international trade, global investment or even pocket cash. Just last year, Cuba made the dollar legal tender. Indeed, the Federal Reserve estimates that about 70 percent of our printed and coined money—about \$330 billion at last count—is held outside the United States. When people don't trust their own money, they turn to the dollar. In the 1980s, it was widely used in Latin America; now, it's used heavily in the former Soviet Union.

The dollar's global role is not just as pocket cash, though. Most traded raw materials (oil and wheat, to name two) are bought and sold in dollars. Similarly, many

"The dollar is not only our money but also the world's."

countries trade in dollars. Japan buys about three quarters of its imports with dollars and sells about half its exports for dollars. Governments hold two-thirds of their foreign exchange reserves in dollars (these funds can be used to cover overseas deficits); the German mark is second at 13 percent. Likewise, the dollar remains the most popular currency for international bank loans and bonds.

The dollar, in short, helps lubricate the global economy and has since World War II. This role has been played differently at different times—and not always benignly. After the war, Europe didn't have enough dollars to buy needed food and machinery on world markets. We provided the dollars through the Marshall Plan. Less constructive was the easy U.S. credit policy of the late 1970s that abetted inflation and created the Third World debt crisis. Countries could borrow cheaply in dollars. These loans financed excess worldwide spending, driving up prices and saddling countries with debts they couldn't repay.

The important point now is that the dollar's unique role explains persistent U.S. trade and current account deficits. (The last U.S. trade surplus occurred in 1975. The last surplus on our current account—trade, plus other current spending such as tourism—was in 1981.) Over time, most countries crudely balance their current accounts, because huge imbalances are corrected by exchange rate movements. A country with big deficits experiences a currency depreciation. Because it spends so much abroad, it has to sell a lot of its money to buy other countries' monies. The value of its money drops. It can't buy so much abroad.

But for the United States, this process breaks down. We don't have to buy other countries' currencies to import, because the dollar is widely accepted abroad. And when other countries earn dollars, they don't always sell them for their own currencies because the dollars can be used for other things. Consequently, the dollar's exchange rate hasn't dropped enough for our current account to balance. In effect, we provide a service to the world in the form of global money and are repaid by being able to import more than we export. That's good for U.S.

consumers but penalizes U.S. exporters and industries competing with imports.

The resulting political dilemma has dogged presidents. They want to help U.S. exports, but the dollar intrudes. This is the predicament faced by the Clinton administration. Until recently, it seemed willing to tolerate a slow depreciation of the dollar (especially against Japan's yen) as a way to improve the trade balance. But last week, it orchestrated a huge intervention on foreign exchange markets by major industrial countries to stop the dollar's slide. Dollars were bought, other currencies sold.

What the administration apparently fears is that more dollar depreciation would aggravate inflation and jeopardize the recovery. A lower dollar would make U.S. exports cheaper and imports more expensive. This would boost economic growth and make it easier for industries competing with imports (i.e. autos, textiles) to raise prices. With the economy already expanding, the extra demand might be too much of a good thing. Inflation fears could raise bond and mortgage interest rates even further.

Will the administration's strategy work? Temporarily, it might. But over the long run, foreign exchange intervention doesn't determine exchange rates. What economists call "the fundamentals" matter more. Two fundamentals now seem critical.

The first involves Japan. In the 1980s, Japan ran massive trade surpluses, because its excess dollars earned abroad were reinvested in dollar assets—bonds, stocks, factories. Between 1980 and 1990, these investments totaled nearly \$700 billion and delayed the yen's rise against the dollar. Now, new overseas investments have abated, and the yen is rising. If Japan doesn't import more, the yen will continue to rise until its huge current account surpluses narrow. Exports will fall, and so will related business investment. This would further hurt Japan's stagnant economy. But the solution lies mainly in Japanese hands.

The second fundamental is inflation. Here, the solution lies in our hands. Markets move on perceptions. If higher inflation is feared, traders will desert the dollar and trigger a general depreciation. The Federal Reserve has tried to quash inflation fears by raising interest rates; the Clinton Administration is talking tougher on inflation. Time will tell whether these steps are adequate. The main point is that higher inflation will tend to depress the dollar against all currencies, not just the yen.

Economists have been confounded by the dollar, because they underrate its role as a global money. The supply and demand for dollars ebbs and flows, reflecting changes in the world economy. Our current account deficits may gradually narrow in the 1990s, because Japan played a big part in their creation and now has enough dollars. Or China may generate new demand for dollars. Or the mark and the yen could relieve pressure on the dollar by playing larger roles as global currencies themselves. We just don't know. There is no clearly "right" dollar exchange rate.

But we should not let this mystery distract us from the major lesson of recent decades. Every time we have let inflation erode the dollar's value, we have created economic turmoil at home and abroad. It happened with the Third World debt crisis. Before that, it happened when the 1960s inflation destroyed fixed exchange rates. We should not let it happen again.

5/11
Rubin/Dyson
what do
you think
Samuelson?
RC

Jawboning's Limits

Rubin

Some Say It's Time That the Administration
Rethought Its Trade Policy Toward Japan

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 9 — After almost a year of jawboning and negotiating, the Clinton Administration has little to show for its trade policy toward Japan, and some Administration officials and analysts are beginning to wonder aloud whether it is time for the United States to rethink its strategy.

The combination of the weak new coalition Government in Tokyo and the turmoil in world currency markets has seriously weakened the Clinton Administration's ability to get Japan to open certain of its closed markets and reduce its huge trade surplus with the rest of the world.

Japan's Finance Ministry announced today that its huge trade imbalance with the rest of the world had gotten worse, soaring to a record

\$130.04 billion in the fiscal year which just ended March 31. That is up 3.3 percent from last year's \$125.9 billion, although there are indications that the stronger yen and weaker dollar are beginning to cut away at that surplus.

While senior American economic officials put a brave face on such figures, and are counseling patience, several policy makers and lawmakers are saying privately that the Clinton strategy toward Japan is moribund, unlikely to produce the expected results and probably going to have to be redesigned.

These officials note that after a year of trying to negotiate a market-opening deal with Tokyo, the Clinton Administration finds itself without either a Japanese Government strong enough to deliver the trade initiatives Washington wants or the alternative currency weapons it was relying on to

Continued on Page D2

Continued From First Business Page

achieve the same results.

Since last July, the Clinton Administration has tried, but failed, to get the Japanese Government to agree by negotiations to certain "numerical indicators" that would show over time whether or not Japan was really opening its markets in insurance, autos and auto parts, telecommunications and medical equipment.

"We finally find ourselves face to face with a long-hidden truth, which is that the only people who can deliver in Japan are not the politicians but the bureaucrats and business cartels, who have not been the focus of our policy," said Clyde V. Prestowitz, head of the Economic Strategy Institute, which advocates a tough line against Japan on trade.

"The issue that the Clinton Administration now faces is how do you create a situation in which the bureaucrats and business cartels in Japan see it in their interest to strike a deal," he added. "It is clear the political leaders cannot deliver. And it is clear that there are limits to what we can do through the currency."

When it first became apparent in February that the Japanese Government could not or would not deliver what the American side wanted, the Clinton Administration began tacitly supporting a weak dollar and strong yen to pressure the Japanese Cabinet and bureaucrats to open their markets. A strong yen makes it harder for Japan to sell abroad and a weak dollar makes it easier for American products to penetrate Japan's markets.

But this has come at a price which has become unacceptable to Washington. Currency traders reacted dramatically to what they thought was a green light from the White House for the dollar to go way down, pushing the dollar to levels that were intolerable to the Clinton Administration, which had to intervene in the markets to prop up the American currency.

Pressure on Fed

The falling dollar increased pressure on the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates to keep attracting foreign investors to buy American Treasury notes and bonds needed to finance the deficit. While Japanese investors bought a net total of \$6.5 billion in American Treasury securities in the fourth quarter of last year, the falling dollar resulted in their selling a net \$3.75 billion in the first two months of this year — contributing to a worsening of the current account imbalance and overall interest rates.

"The data suggests that the risks of continuing to maintain an image of

policy conflict with Japan will be to discourage Japanese from investing in our markets," John P. Lipsky, chief economist for Solomon Brothers, said.

The United States trade representative, Mickey Kantor, has been told by Japan's Prime Minister, Tetsuo Hata, that Tokyo is eager to try resolve the trade conflict between the two countries and that he will be forwarding some fresh proposals shortly. President Clinton wants to give Mr. Hata a chance to deliver and spoke with the Japanese Prime Minister by telephone over the weekend about resuming the negotiations, officials said.

Lacks Political Muscle

But many Clinton Administration economic officials and analysts are skeptical about what Japan will come up with. The Hata Government does not even have a majority in the Par-

Turmoil in Tokyo and world markets is playing havoc with U.S. policy.

liament and hardly appears to have the political muscle to take on the Japanese bureaucracy and force through the sort of fundamental changes in Japanese trade policy demanded by Washington.

Some analysts believe that the Administration really now has only two choices. The first is to acknowledge that the sort of far-reaching, market-opening devices it hoped to negotiate with Tokyo are not going to happen and they should take whatever they can get out of the Hata Government, declare a modest victory, and try other means to keep the pressure on Tokyo for long-term change. That would at least stabilize the financial markets and take some of the pressure off the dollar and the yen.

The other option is simply to maintain the status quo, of pressing Japan to meet American demands, but to focus less on opening specific sectors of the Japanese economy and more on the other main American objective: getting Tokyo to stimulate its overall growth and consumer spending through tax cuts and other fiscal and monetary measures so that it will import more of everything. Some officials believe this holds out the best hope of diminishing Japan's global trade surplus, without destabilizing either the fragile Japanese Government or the currency markets. But it may take a long time to show results.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5/11

Frustrated, Gazans Battle The Israelis

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

RAFAH, Gaza Strip, May 9 — Frustrated as yet another day passed without the much-awaited arrival of Palestinian police officers, several thousand young Gazans battled Israeli soldiers today in a familiar scene that is supposed to be relegated soon to history.

That anger and fear were not about to disappear soon was reinforced tonight when Israeli settlers were reported to have killed a 16-year-old Palestinian boy when they fired on Gazans throwing stones at the Neve Dekalim settlement.

When the Palestinian police start entering the Gaza Strip from Egypt, they are to assume authority from Israeli forces, which have already dismantled many of their outposts and moved out equipment as part of the agreement on self-rule for Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho signed last week by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

For most Palestinians, the arrival of what is eventually to be a 9,000-member force will be the first tangible sign that they have taken control and that Israeli soldiers are withdrawing except from the borders and from areas surrounding the 19 Jewish settlements in the coastal strip.

Since Saturday, some 320 officers have been poised to enter Gaza from a tent camp on the Egyptian side of this border crossing, and 270 others are ready to cross the Allenby Bridge from Jordan and march into Jericho.

Israeli and Palestinian commanders said that this was definitely the day when an initial group of 150 policemen would come to Rafah.

Brig. Gen. Yom Tov Samia, the Israeli commander in Gaza, said plans had been completed for an Israeli withdrawal and a transfer of power to the Palestinians.

The Israeli general's Palestinian counterpart, Brig. Gen. Ziad al-Atrash, spoke of "a new dawn" and told reporters, "Today, we celebrate the arrival of our men to our country with peace."

But in the end, no real change occurred. The Palestinian forces in Egypt had made no move toward the border, an Israeli officer said.

The cause of the delay was not clear. But it was evident that the shift in control would be painstaking. Israeli forces are inspecting each rifle being brought in by the Palestinian police, recording serial numbers and running ballistics tests so that weapons might be traced should they fall into the wrong hands.

And as they waited near the border crossing, several thousand Gazans grew impatient and threw stones at Israeli soldiers and border policemen. The soldiers were under orders to avoid lethal force. Nonetheless, they fired stun grenades and rubber bullets to keep crowds away, and at least a dozen Palestinians and several Israelis were reportedly wounded.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, MAY 10, 1994

15

CAPITAL JOURNAL
BY GERALD F. SEIB

A Black Thing: Quiet Discontent Over the System

THE ELECTION-YEAR debate over America's social problems seemed to hit its low point a couple of weeks back. That's when the House of Representatives voted to remove weight-lifting equipment from federal prisons, on the theory that weights make inmates stronger and therefore more dangerous when they get out.

That kind of superficiality suggests America's political leaders aren't in the



right frame of mind to grasp complex social problems not given to glib solutions. Maybe that's why nobody is confronting one particularly disturbing phenomenon: the deepening political discontent of a whole generation of black Americans.

There's mounting evidence that blacks, particularly young blacks, see less and less value in working within the current political and social structure and instead favor breaking out of that system. Those sentiments are finding their voice in the growing numbers of African-Americans who favor forming a black political party, and who identify with a rising tide of black nationalism.

These aren't sentiments voiced only by the black underclass or Louis Farrakhan followers, but also by successful black professionals and intellectuals. The political implications of this trend are profound. More important, so are the implications for American society.

The most stark portrait of these sentiments comes from a recently completed survey by Michael Dawson of the University of Chicago and Ronald Brown of Wayne State University. They oversaw in-depth, 45-minute interviews with 1,206 randomly selected African-Americans, and found what Mr. Dawson calls "a more radical black America than existed even five years ago."

FULLY HALF of those surveyed supported the formation of a black political party. By contrast, when Ron Walters of Howard University studied the same issue in the 1980s, he gauged the level of support for a black political party to be only about 25%, meaning support has doubled in a few years' time. Almost eight in 10 blacks in the new survey said the American economic and legal systems are unfair to blacks, and seven in 10 said blacks should control the government and the economy in predominantly black communities. "Half of all blacks characterize their status as that of a nation within a nation," Prof. Dawson wrote in The Polling Report newsletter.

In an interview, Prof. Dawson says he found a surprisingly broad segment of the black population now voices black nationalist sentiments. What's more, he found "the emergence of a generation gap," in which feelings of black nationalism are more pronounced among blacks in their mid-30s or below. Prof. Dawson figures that the gap roughly separates those old enough to have experienced the civil rights movements of the 1960s, who think they've seen at least some progress, and those too young to make that comparison.

In political terms, the consequences of such sentiments could be enormous, particularly for Democrats. Right now, blacks still identify closely with the Democratic Party, and they particularly seem to warm to Bill Clinton. Prof. Dawson found that 84% of blacks approve of the job the president is doing.

But if blacks begin to come unhinged from the two-party system, Democrats stand to lose their hold on a core constituency. In 1992, for instance, blacks provided half of President Clinton's votes in Louisiana and 40% in Georgia, two Southern states he won, notes David Bositis, a political analyst at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. An early indicator that blacks are drifting away from the system would be low voter turnout, and there are disquieting signs on that front. In last year's New Jersey governor's race, the black vote fell 25% from its level four years earlier, and the black vote was down in the Virginia governor's race as well. Democrats lost both races.

BUT THE POTENTIAL social consequences of today's mood are even more grave. There is a real question of how a society can progress if any significant segment concludes it is better off separating from the mainstream. Things haven't reached that point yet. Prof. Walters of Howard University argues that he considers himself a black nationalist, but has a vision of nationalism in which blacks are "part of the mainstream at the same time."

That's possible, as long as the rest of America pays some attention now to the restive mood of blacks. America's goal should remain togetherness rather than separateness. If not, the president has warned what can happen otherwise. "There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism," the president said. "The one absolutely certain way of bringing this nation to ruin, of preventing all possibility of its continuing to be a nation at all, would be to permit it to become a tangle of squabbling nationalities."

The president uttering those words was Teddy Roosevelt. But his warning stands today.

CAPITAL JOURNAL

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, 1994

Good > Try / Rubin

Japan to Help Pentagon Acquire Technology

By ANDREW POLLACK
Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, May 9 — In a development long sought by the Pentagon, Japan's Government has agreed to help the American military acquire advanced Japanese commercial technology, like flat-panel displays and composite materials, for use in American weapons, officials said today.

Washington hopes the new defense-related technology exchange program will allow the United States to lower the cost and raise the sophistication of weaponry by drawing on Japan's expertise in the low-cost manufacture of advanced products.

The Department of Defense is also hoping to bring more balance to what it views as a one-way flow of technology: the United States has transferred know-how to Japan, often in the form of licenses allowing Japanese companies to build American-designed airplanes and weapons, but has gotten little in return.

Getting Technology Back

"D.O.D. invests a lot of money in technology," a Clinton Administration official said today. "We transfer a lot of technology to Japan and one of the things we want is to get back some technology."

Another reason for the new exchange, he said, is that Japan now leads the world in some technologies needed by the military.

The Defense Department has been trying to gain more access to Japanese technology for at least a decade, and the two countries already have a limited military technical exchange agreement.

But Japanese companies have been reluctant to work with the Pentagon, partly to protect their technological innovations. The Defense Department recently decided to spend hundreds of millions of dollars over the next five years to encourage the development of an American industry to manufacture advanced flat-panel computer screens, in part because it was having trouble obtaining such screens from Japan.

The new accord is based on negotiations that began about a year ago. A basic understanding, though not yet a formal agreement, was reached last month, officials said.

"There is a consensus between the United States and Japan to expand the technology exchange," Shigeru Hatakeyama, administrative vice minister of the Japan Defense Agency, said at a news conference today.

The Clinton Administration official, who spoke on the condition that he not be identified, said that what had been agreed to was a framework for future, more concrete discussions on particular technical development efforts or exchanges. "What we've really agreed upon is a structure to discuss projects," he said.

There is no agreement yet on how the technology exchange would be carried out. The two defense departments envision engaging in joint research projects. In addition, the two Governments will work to ease technology licensing agreements between companies in the two countries.

Each defense agency will now draw up a list of the technologies it is interested in from the other. The United States has expressed interest in flat-panel displays for use in cockpits, ceramics to make engines more efficient and composite materials to make lightweight airframes.

Japanese expertise in these areas does not lie with its military contractors, which are relatively weak, but with its commercial technology companies, which is why the Pentagon is so interested in access to Japan's civilian technology.

Flat screens have been developed for notebook computers and television sets, and composite material technology was initially honed by making golf clubs and tennis racquets. Because these items are mass produced, costs tend to be lower than for specialized military technology.

By contrast, in the United States, advanced technologies are often developed first for military use.

How successful the program will be remains open to question, given problems with such transfers in the past.

Deal Reported on Bank Regulation

By KEITH BRADSHAW

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 9 — The Federal Reserve and the Treasury have reached the broad outlines of a deal to combine bank regulatory agencies, and hope to present comprehensive legislation to Congress soon, a top Fed official said today.

John P. LaWare, the Fed governor who heads the central bank's committee on bank regulation, said that the Fed and Treasury were now working on what he described as "technical details" as they hammer out a voluminous proposal to Congress for legislation.

While he would not disclose the specific plan, he said in an interview this afternoon that it was certain to involve the merger of two offices of the Treasury: the Office of Thrift Supervision and the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency. He also said that a regulatory role for the Fed would be preserved. Treasury officials declined to comment.

Skepticism on Passage

Banking industry experts have expressed skepticism that the many legal issues involved in combining agencies can be resolved quickly enough to allow Congress to act before the November elections.

The United States has the most complicated financial regulatory system of any large industrial country, with five different agencies responsible for overseeing various combinations of banks, savings and loans and credit unions. The five agencies are the Federal Reserve, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the National Credit Union Administration, the Office of Thrift Supervision and the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency.

The Administration proposed last

November to combine all of these agencies except the National Credit Union Administration into a giant Federal banking commission. The Fed, reluctant to lose regulatory powers that it regards as vital to the conduct of monetary policy, countered in January with a proposal to combine the thrift supervision and comptroller's offices and to take over the F.D.I.C.'s regulatory functions.

The comptroller's office and the thrift office each face uncertain futures as independent agencies, be-

A Fed governor says a regulatory role for the Fed would be kept.

cause they rely on regulatory fees from federally chartered institutions that are dwindling in number because of mergers and failures.

Mr. LaWare also mentioned that a technical detail still to be worked out involved how easy or difficult it might be for banks to switch regulators in the future. Banking industry experts say that the compromise between the Fed and Treasury is likely to assign banks regulated by the F.D.I.C. to the combined thrift and comptroller's office, which would be renamed the Federal Banking Commission. But the banks would subsequently have the option to switch to Federal Reserve regulation, they said.

Mr. LaWare declined to discuss what would become of institutions regulated by the F.D.I.C., but his comment suggested that the views of industry experts were likely to prove accurate.

It is clearly in the Fed's interest to be expressing enthusiasm now for a deal. At a hearing on Friday, members of the Senate Banking Committee criticized the Fed and the Treasury for not moving more quickly to resolve their differences.

The General Accounting Office, an arm of Congress, issued a report today that tended to support the Fed's position that it should retain an independent regulatory role. The office found that the German Bundesbank, an institution often cited by both sides in the American debate, had benefited from combining monetary policy responsibilities with bank regulatory supervision.

Technical discussions continue on bank holding companies that own several different institutions, each with a different regulator, Mr. LaWare said. Discussions also continue to decide which financial institutions will pay fees to cover the cost of their regulatory examinations, he added.

The F.D.I.C. and the Fed do not currently charge for examinations, although Fed-regulated institutions are indirectly assessed fees in the sense that they are required to keep large sums in zero-interest accounts at the central bank.

The question of fees has proved especially difficult, Mr. LaWare said. "Every time you think 'there, we've got it,' and then something pops up that is an unanticipated consequence and we try to fix it," he said.

Representative Charles E. Schumer, the Brooklyn Democrat who requested the G.A.O. report and who is a senior member of the House Banking Committee, said that Congress still had time to approve a consolidation of banking agencies this year but only if the Fed and the Administration strongly pushed a common plan.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/10/94

May 10, 1994

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a memo from Marcia Hale recommending that the Administration take no position on a bill -- the Equitable Escheatment Act -- that would have the effect of taking money out of the coffers of New York, Delaware and Massachusetts and distributing it among the other states. Those three states vigorously oppose the bill, which otherwise has broad support.

The substantive issue is this: to which state should unclaimed dividend and interest income (about \$150 million a year) revert? Delaware and New York fought a recent battle in the Supreme Court over whether such income should go to the state where a bank or brokerage house is incorporated vs. where it has its principal operations. Delaware, favoring the place of incorporation, won, but this result still left New York with a large chunk of the revenue. The new bill, however, would cause the income to revert to the state where the business for which the stock or bonds were issued is located.

There has been unconfirmed speculation that you were going to support the bill. Governor Cuomo has asked for a clarification of our position. **Marcia, Harold, Bob Rubin, Leon and Legislative Affairs all recommend taking no position on the bill.** I have circulated copies of the memo to the Vice President, Mack, Gergen and George.

Agree ☒

Disagree ☐

Discuss ☐

Todd Stern
Todd Stern

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 9, 1994

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/10/94

94 MAY 9 P1:11

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARCIA L. HALE 
SUBJECT: EQUITABLE ESCHEATMENT

I. ACTION-FORCING THE EVENT:

The purpose of this memorandum is to determine what the Administration's position should be on H.R. 2443 -- the Equitable Escheatment Act -- that would, in effect, take a substantial chunk of money away from New York, Delaware and Massachusetts and parcel it out to the other states. Not surprisingly, the bill has broad support in the House and Senate (328 and 77 co-sponsors respectively), but is bitterly opposed by the three states that would lose out. There has been unconfirmed speculation that you would support the bill. Governor Cuomo has asked us to clarify the Administration's position on the bill, and we also expect to be hearing from senators Moynihan, Kennedy, Kerry and Biden, as well as from Governor Carper. As discussed below, our recommendation is that we take no position.

II. BACKGROUND:

Every year there is a small amount of dividend and interest income for which there is no known beneficial owner --- approximately \$150 million. Conflicts have arisen in the past few years over which state is entitled to these unknown owner funds. A March 1993 Supreme Court opinion (Delaware v. New York) ruled that such funds should escheat to the state in which the bank or other financial intermediary is incorporated. [The dispute between New York and Delaware concerned whether funds should escheat to the state where the bank or brokerage house had its operations or to the state where the bank or brokerage house was incorporated. The court chose the place of incorporation.]

H.R. 2443 was introduced on June 17, 1993, by Rep. Gonzalez (D-TX). It would overturn Delaware v. New York and require unknown owner funds to escheat to the state in which the company that issued the stocks or bonds is principally located. The bill is retroactive with no specified time limit and would allow for the recovery of prior escheatment monies by one state from another. H.R. 2443 has a companion bill in the Senate (S.1715). Although this bill has substantial support in both the House

The Administration has taken no position on the bill thus far. Treasury does not support the bill. The SEC has no comment. The Federal Reserve Board has asserted that H.R. 2443 would be burdensome to the financial services industry. The Securities Industry Association opposes H.R. 2443.

III. RECOMMENDATION:

Harold, Leon, Legislative Affairs and I recommend remaining neutral on this legislation.

IV. DECISION:

_____ remain
neutral

_____ support
Governor Richards

_____ support
Governor Cuomo

A late hit against Clinton

Charge now raises suspicions about motive

The American public is sick of bimbo stories. If anything is clear from the controversy surrounding Paula Corbin Jones' sexual harassment lawsuit against President Clinton, it's that most people have no stomach for this type of thing any longer.

Of course, Clinton haters are gleeful. And political pundits will get air time and ink out of these sordid claims. But most people, after gossiping about it for a few minutes, wind up simply shaking their heads in disgust.

Everyone already knows about Clinton's past moral failings. He as much as admitted them on television when he and Hillary Rodham Clinton discussed problems in their marriage.

Some Americans were outraged by such an admission and find it proof enough that he is not fit to be president.

But a plurality of voters elected him with at least some understanding of his past. And a recent *Newsweek* poll showed that most people think the president's sex life is irrelevant, although the accusations by Jones involve alleged harassment, not a private sexual relationship.

However, the claims by Jones that Clinton invited her to a hotel room and lewdly pressured her for sex come three years after the fact and two years after he began his race for president. There are several disturbing things about her account, not the least of which is that it's a blatant late hit.

The presence of notorious Clinton haters in Jones' camp, such as Arkansas attorney Cliff Jackson, leaves in question

the motivation for the accusations. So does the fact that the alleged victim stands to reap financial rewards for telling her story, notwithstanding her promises to give any proceeds from her suit to charity.

The burden of proof lies completely with Jones. President Clinton does not have to prove himself innocent in a court of law, and he should not have to do so in the court of public opinion, either.

If this case ever goes to court, it would be an embarrassment to the nation. The prospect of the president of the United States having to submit to detailed questioning about his alleged sexual conduct — or even to a court-ordered physical examination for evidentiary purposes — must be dismaying to all but the most die-hard Clinton haters. It would diminish the stature and effectiveness of the presidency.

And it would set an ugly precedent for the president to be hauled before a judge in a civil case to answer allegations that can't be substantiated, such as what did or did not happen in a hotel room with no witnesses present.

Because of the barrage of these purported sex scandals in recent years, the American people are developing a thick skin to them. And they should. We need to judge them all in the same skeptical light, whether the accused is Clarence Thomas or Bill Clinton.

No one has to prove himself innocent. And if an accusation has no relevance except to feed partisan political appetites on the right or on the left, the public would do well not to jump to any conclusions.

Mau

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-10-94

151

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 4, 1994

94 MAY 4 P1:51

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LARA
MARK GEARAN

Ricki S.

SUBJECT: Presidential Press Clusters

Purpose

To agree to routinely meet with "press clusters" pegged to specific events and issues. These gatherings could be useful in demonstrating your commitment to foreign policy and in communicating your Administration's international agenda.

Background

We propose that you routinely hold press meetings with selected journalists. These "press clusters" would include domestic and foreign journalists, in separate or joint sessions. They would be organized around major initiatives, policy decisions, foreign trips or general foreign policy goals. They should become a regular event in which you reach a target audience with an issue-specific message. Some sessions could be taped by USIA for distribution overseas.

Your interview on Wednesday with two South African newspaper editors, Anthony Lewis and Clarence Page demonstrating U.S. support for the historic transformation in South Africa is an example of what we envision as a "press cluster."

The next opportunity to conduct a press cluster will be towards the middle or end of May as your decision on MFN draws near. This session would provide an opportunity to outline our U.S.-China policy within the context of our overall trade policy. Your trip to Normandy and the G-7 Economic Summit would also provide opportunities to hold press clusters.

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to regularly conduct Presidential Press Clusters to be organized around major initiatives.

Approve ☒ Disapprove ☐

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 14, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: NANCY SODERBERG *NS*
 FROM: TARA SONENSHINE *TS*
 TOM ROSS *TR*
 SUBJECT: Presidential Press Clusters

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PRESIDENTIAL PRESS CLUSTERS: APRIL-JULY 1994

1. SOUTH AFRICA (Elections April 26)

There is currently a Schedule Proposal making its way through the system for the President to meet with (2) South African news editors and (1) U.S. columnist in the week preceding the South African elections. The goal is to demonstrate U.S. support for the historic transformation in South Africa by having the President talk about policy goals with leading domestic and South African writers.

2. ASIAN-PACIFIC TRADE/MFN

Towards the middle or end of May, as the decision on MFN draws near, it is critical that the President sketch out our U.S.-China policy within the context of our overall trade policy. One vehicle for this is a Presidential Press Cluster devoted to international economics.

FOREIGN CLUSTER: INTERNATIONAL TRADE/MFN-CHINA

- The Economist
- Financial Times
- Japanese Newspaper
- Wall Street Journal
- Business Week
- The New York Times

*Timing
should
depend on
how it
unfolds*

3.. NORMANDY: EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, NEW DEMOCRACIES

For the pre-Normandy trip, we propose (2) clusters; one broadcast, one print:

BROADCAST CLUSTER:

- BBC Television
- French Television
- VOA
- C-SPAN
- CONUS
- CRPLF (combines Radio France, CBC Canada, Swiss Romande and Belgian-French Radio)

PRINT CLUSTER:

- The New York Times
- Washington Post
- Newsweek
- Time
- U.S. News & World Report
- Los Angeles Times
- Chicago Tribune

4. G-7: EUROPE, TRADE, INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Prior to the G-7 meeting, we recommend a session with European and American journalists:

- London Times/Observer
- German newspaper
- Le Monde
- Asian Wall Street Journal
- The New York Times
- Business Week
- Toronto Globe and Mail

Ideally, Presidential Press Clusters should be held every 2 months. They should become a regular event in which the President reaches a target audience with an issue-specific message. Presidential press gatherings not only provide an opportunity for the President to educate the domestic and foreign audience, but they are useful in demonstrating the President's commitment to foreign policy and the communication of this Administration's international agenda.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That you approve the overall concept of Presidential Press Clusters.

Approve *Q* Disapprove

2. That you approve that we at least proceed with the Normandy portion of this request.

Approve *Q* Disapprove

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5.10.24

Rubin/Lake
Lake

Worrisome Engine Sales to China

Two divergent priorities for the Clinton administration—promoting human rights abroad and boosting American exports—are crashing together in a controversial engine sale to China that has intelligence officials scratching their heads in disbelief. In this case, export dollars are apparently more important than human rights or arms proliferation concerns.

The case involves a Phoenix-based engine company, Garrett, which has been trying to sell the People's Republic of China dozens of its advanced turbofan engines since 1986. Officials at AlliedSignal, Garrett's parent company, say the engine technology is 24 years old and widely used in business aircraft around the world. Other companies make similar engines, so the technology is hardly a state secret.

To a number of intelligence officials, however, the sale of these engines could enable China to upgrade its Silkworm missiles, which it has been selling without compunction to countries such as Iran and Syria.

The history of the sale is complex, and much of it is classified, but we have put it together from sources and documents provided by congressional sources.

Discussions between Garrett and the Chinese began in 1986, and a deal was concluded in 1987 to sell China an initial lot of 30 engines, to be used in a light military jet known as the K-8. In early 1989, the Department of Defense was informed of the initial sale, though at the time it slipped between the cracks. Despite the Bush administration's new restrictions on China after the Tiananmen Square massacre, which prevented the sale of military equipment, the deal continued to bump along. In May 1990, the Commerce Department granted the Chinese permission, in accordance with the original sale agreement, to export four K-8 trainers, with the U.S. engine inside, to Pakistan.

In November 1991, the Commerce Department gave Garrett permission to expand sales to China without additional export licensing. The Defense Department was not consulted.

All hell broke loose in July 1992, when, almost by chance, the Pentagon's top technology proliferation experts read a classified cable between the U.S. Embassy in Beijing and the State Department alerting them to the sale. The Pentagon demanded a series of closed-door meetings, and various agencies were asked to analyze the implications of the sale.

A month later, the CIA weighed in with the first classified report establishing that the Chinese could use the Garrett engines in an improved Silkworm missile. The report's implications were that the United States might be selling China technology that could threaten the U.S. military from a third country.

The Defense Intelligence Agency weighed in with another classified report on Sept. 30, agreeing with the CIA that these engines could end up in the wrong hands. According to the documents, however, the sale progressed, and four more engines were shipped to China in September and October of 1992.

Yet another classified study was completed Nov. 20, estimating the increased range and payload if the Silkworm were modified to suit an upgraded Garrett engine. Such an improved Silkworm, analysts warned, could have a minimum range of 332 nautical miles with a 1,000-pound payload, and a top range of 581 nautical miles with a one-pound payload. In other words, the Chinese could conceivably use the engines to develop a cruise missile capable of striking anywhere in Asia.

Other government agencies began to weigh in rapidly. By the end of December 1992, the Bush administration had been warned against the sale by officials from the Air Force, Navy and Federal Aviation Administration.

But the Clinton Cabinet, led by Commerce Secretary Ronald H. Brown, was eager to fulfill the president's desire to boost exports. AlliedSignal was looking at a half-billion-dollar deal with the Chinese by late last year.

Bowing to pressure from Commerce and AlliedSignal, the Pentagon finally approved the sale. The official tilt was identified in a confidential memo sent to the State Department on March 21 by Deputy

Assistant Secretary of Defense Mitchel B. Wallerstein stating that the new justification for the sale would "provide a basis for a Commerce classification which would allow sales of the engine to the PRC, including its military, without prior U.S. government review and approval."

Thus, in the midst of Clinton's public concern about China's human rights record, a major military engine sale continues to gain momentum—one which many intelligence sources obviously believe will one day come back to haunt the United States.

THE FEDERAL DIARY

A Stake in Buyouts

By Mike Causey
Washington Post Staff Writer

Federal workers in three age groups have an intense stake in the success of the program that has paid buyouts to more than 11,000 of their colleagues in the last month. They are:

- The 50-plus crowd. They are the most likely to get the 10,000 buyouts coming between now and Sept. 30, or one of the 40,000 buyouts that will be offered starting in October.

- Workers under 30 who, if the buyouts flop, will be laid off during the next couple of years because they lack seniority or veterans preference protection.

- Federal workers from age 30 to 50. While they are unlikely to get buyouts or pink slips, the departure of older colleagues will open up promotions. They also will bear the brunt of the extra workload caused by the departure of many of their colleagues.

Buyouts make sense because they protect younger workers' jobs and cut agency payrolls.

But some folks believe downsizing has its downside.

This is what some Monday Morning Quarterbacks say

- "I've never heard anyone voice concern about who is going to do the work of the 252,000 people who are leaving the payroll. As you know, no replacements are allowed.

"Removing that many people assumes they did nothing but sat around and collected a paycheck. We all know most big organizations, private and government, have a few nonproductive people.

"But is the administration prepared for everything—from rule-making to answering constituent letters—to take longer? Who do they think will do the work? My office has seen no reduction in programs, only increases. The Federal Aviation Administration's associate administrator for air traffic took the buyout. Why is FAA allowed to fill the job even with an acting manager, when it was vacated

with a buyout? Wasn't the intent to remove positions?"

Allen Feldman, Potomac

[Congress not only adopted the president's downsizing plan, it also increased the number of jobs to be cut by several thousand. Under buyout rules, agencies must reduce one position for every buyout, but they can fill a job provided there is a corresponding cut somewhere in the organization.]

- "So you thought the buyouts would trigger an exodus of mediocre, middle-aged white males? Agencies are small towns, and we all know who applies for and gets buyouts. In my agency of 400 to 500, most of the upcoming retirees are female African Americans who are 100 percent highly productive and irreplaceable. I'm going to cry when they go and cry all the more because those of us who are left will be stuck with those who spend half of their days complaining and the other half wandering around doing anything but work. These are the folks . . . doing personal business on government time, yakking on the phone with friends, who spend two to three hours per day at their health clubs and who seem to be on permanent vacation.

These sinecured mediocrities, half of whom in fact are middle-aged and retirement-age white males, could not begin to replace some of the people who are taking the buyouts. The reason is pretty simple: They couldn't do anything else except be on the public dole.

"The real problem is that the ideology of reinventing government pretends that these people are suddenly going to change 20 years of bad habits and become productive.

"We used to say that 30 percent of the people in the agency did 90 percent of the work. Now it will be 20 percent doing 90 percent."

One of the Department Of Education's 20 Percenters

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/10/94

TO: MACK MCLARTY
HAROLD ICKES

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 MAY 9 P7:12
May 9, 1994

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Linda Moore, Political Affairs

SUBJECT: Recent Polling

I. SUMMARY

Below are the results of recent polls from Michigan and Texas.

II. DISCUSSION

An EPIC/MRA survey of Michigan voters reports that you have a 54% favorable/39% unfavorable personal ratio and a 52% positive/46% negative job ratio. Your job ratio compares favorably with that of Governor John Engler (R-MI), who has a 48% positive/50% negative job ratio. A copy of the results of the survey is attached.

According to *The Texas Poll*, you have a combined positive job rating of 40% which represents a substantial improvement over the 27% combined positive job rating you posted during the poll's winter sample. A clip from the *Dallas Morning News* is attached.

CC MACK
HAROLD

STATEWIDE APRIL SURVEY FOR EPIC/MRA NEWSLETTER -- POLL #16
[FREQUENCY REPORT OF SURVEY RESPONSES -- 849 SAMPLE OF RESIDENTS
-- 601 SAMPLE OF LIKELY 1994 VOTERS -- COMPLETED APRIL 29, 1994]

___4. Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction or do you feel that things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

30% Right Direction
55% Wrong Track
15% Undecided/Don't know

___5. How about right here in Michigan, do you think that things are going in the right direction or do you feel that things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

42% Right Direction
46% Wrong Track
12% Undecided/Don't know

___6. Now I am going to read you a list of problems that people are concerned about in Michigan. Please tell me which one problem you personally worry about the most?

(READ 1 TO 7 -- TAKE FIRST RESPONSE ONLY -- ROTATE LIST)

33% Crime and drugs
16% Education reform and school finance
9% Health care
12% The economy and jobs
1% The environment
13% State taxes and government spending
13% Family values
3% Undecided/Don't know (DON'T READ)

Now, I would like to read you a list of names. For each name that I read, please tell me if you recognize that person. If you do recognize the name, tell me whether you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion. The first name is Bill Clinton [IF FAVORABLE/
UNFAVORABLE] Would that be very or generally?

NAME (ROTATE 8-11)	NO REC/VER	FAV/TOT	FAV/TOT	UNF/VER	UNF/UNDEC
7. Bill Clinton	0%	20%	54%	39%	7%
8. John Engler	0%	16%	53%	40%	7%
9. Oliver North	2%	7%	33%	42%	23%
10. Hillary Clinton	0%	19%	51%	41%	8%
11. Rush Limbaugh	7%	13%	33%	43%	18%

___12. How would you rate the job being done by Bill Clinton as President --- would you give him a positive rating of excellent or pretty good, or a negative rating of just fair or poor?

9% Excellent
43% Pretty Good ----- 52% POSITIVE
27% Just Fair
19% Poor ----- 46% NEGATIVE
2% Undecided/Don't know

___13. How would you rate the job being done by John Engler as Governor --- would you give him a positive rating of excellent or pretty good, or a negative rating of just fair or poor?

8% Excellent
40% Pretty Good ----- 48% POSITIVE
29% Just Fair
21% Poor ----- 50% NEGATIVE
2% Undecided/Don't know

___14. In general, how satisfied are you with the condition of Michigan's economy --- very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?

7% Very satisfied
51% Somewhat satisfied ----- 58% SATISFIED
29% Somewhat dissatisfied
10% Very dissatisfied ----- 39% DISSATISFIED
3% Undecided/Don't know (DON'T READ)

___15. Thinking about the November election for governor, do you think you will vote to reelect John Engler, will you consider voting for someone else, or do you think you will vote to replace Engler?

27% Reelect Engler
30% Consider voting for someone else
29% Vote to replace Engler
14% Undecided/Don't know

___16. In the race for governor in 1994, if the election were held today, do you think you would definitely vote for John Engler the Republican, probably vote for him, definitely vote for the Democratic candidate, or probably vote for the Democratic candidate for Governor?

[IF UNDECIDED] Well, if the election were held today and you had to decide right now, which candidate would you lean toward -- John Engler the Republican or the Democratic candidate?

21%	Definitely Engler the Republican	
20%	Probably Engler the Republican	
3%	Lean toward Engler the Republican	----- 44% ENGLER
18%	Definitely vote for the Democrat	
22%	Probably vote for the Democrat	
2%	Lean toward the Democrat	----- 42% DEMOCRAT
14%	Undecided/Don't know	

___17. Knowing that Governor Engler was a strong supporter of Proposal A, will you be more or less likely to support him in the November election, or would you say that the passage of Proposal A won't really matter to you that much in deciding how to vote? [IF MORE/LESS LIKELY] Would that be much [MORE/LESS LIKELY] or somewhat [MORE/LESS LIKELY]?

9%	Much more likely	
10%	Somewhat more likely	--- 19% MORE LIKELY
6%	Somewhat less likely	
15%	Much less likely	----- 21% LESS LIKELY
56%	Won't matter	
4%	Undecided/Don't know	

___18. Do you think there is too much, too little, or about the right amount of attention being paid to the Whitewater controversy involving President Clinton and Hillary Clinton? [IF TOO MUCH/TOO LITTLE] Would that be much [TOO MUCH/TOO LITTLE] or somewhat [TOO MUCH/TOO LITTLE]?

48%	Much too much attention	
21%	Somewhat too much attention	----- 69% TOTAL TOO MUCH
13%	About the right amount of attention	
6%	Somewhat too little attention	
7%	Much too little attention	----- 12% TOTAL TOO LITTLE
5%	Undecided/Don't know	

___19. Thinking about the public statements that President Clinton and Hillary Clinton have made about the Whitewater controversy, do you think they are completely telling the truth, mostly telling the truth, mostly misleading the public, or completely misleading the public about their involvement in the Whitewater controversy?

9% Completely telling the truth
 43% Mostly telling the truth ----- 52% TELLING THE TRUTH
 28% Mostly misleading the public
 9% Completely misleading the public
 1% Lying about involvement (VOLUNTEERED) -- 38% MISLEADING/LYING
 10% Undecided/Don't know

___25. Legislation has been proposed that would require school teachers to pay a fine if they participate in a school teacher strike. Do you approve or disapprove of this proposal? [IF APPROVE/DISAPPROVE] Would that be strongly or somewhat?

31% Strongly approve
 12% Somewhat approve ----- 43% APPROVE
 16% Somewhat disapprove
 35% Strongly disapprove ---- 51% DISAPPROVE
 6% Undecided/Don't know

___27. Forty million dollars in adult education funding has been used in the past to enable dropouts and teenage parents to earn diplomas. Governor Engler has pushed through a program that now uses this money to fund a new Economic Development Job Training grant program. This program has been criticized for taking money away from people who need it to get a diploma and learn job skills and giving it to corporations to train existing employees to do things that business paid for in the past. Critics of the program cite grants used to train current employees to speak foreign languages, reduce stress, and pay travel expenses for consultants as examples of tax dollar waste. They call it corporate welfare and claim that job training funds should be used to train people to get off welfare and unemployment rolls. The Engler administration says that the program is needed to retool the economy and to discourage companies from leaving Michigan. They also defend the program by saying that other states like Ohio and Illinois have similar programs. What do you think. Do you approve or disapprove of this new grant program? [IF APPROVE/DISAPPROVE] Would that be strongly or somewhat?

8% Strongly approve
 19% Somewhat approve ----- 27% APPROVE
 23% Somewhat disapprove
 35% Strongly disapprove ---- 58% DISAPPROVE
 15% Undecided/Don't know

Many Texans polled fault GOP, media on Whitewater

By Laurie Wilson

Staff Writer of The Dallas Morning News

More Texans consider the Whitewater affair a product of partisan politics and an over-reactive media than see it as a serious legal issue, according to the latest Texas Poll.

Forty-nine percent of those surveyed blamed either Republicans or the media for stirring the Whitewater controversy.

And in a related question, 57 percent of respondents said the media have given the issue too much coverage.

Still, 41 percent of those polled said they considered Whitewater a serious legal issue. Ten percent offered no opinion on the question.

"There is a real mishmash of feelings about Whitewater," said Candace Windel, managing director of the Texas Poll. "While more people think that there are outside factors guiding this issue, a substantial number still think that Whitewater is still a very viable issue."

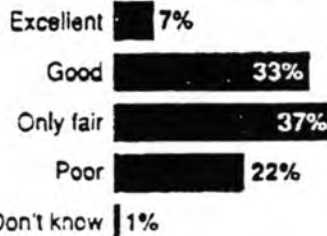
Political analysts said such ambivalence is not surprising because Texas remains more skeptical about Whitewater and about President Clinton than the rest of the country.

"Most other Americans began losing interest in Whitewater some time ago. Texans are just now catching up," said Dr. Richard Murray, a political scientist at the University of Houston. "This is an anti-Clinton state, and a large number of people will always be skeptical of him and his actions."

The Texas Poll also showed that although the president's job approval rating has increased to 40 percent from 37 percent this time last year, he is still far from a favorite among Texans. His disapproval rating was 59 percent, with 1 percent undecided.

TEXANS ON CLINTON

What kind of job would you say Bill Clinton is doing as president?



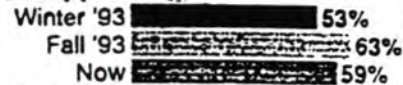
SOURCE: The Texas Poll of 1,006 adults, conducted April 15-23. The margin of error is plus or minus 3 percentage points, meaning the percentage for any response can vary that much in either direction.

A history of Mr. Clinton's approval ratings in The Texas Poll:

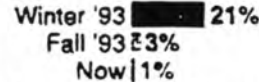
Approve



Disapprove



Undecided



Percentages may not total 100 because of rounding.



The Dallas Morning News

The telephone poll of 1,006 adults statewide was taken April 15-23. The poll had a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points, meaning the percentage for each question can vary by that much in either direction.

Mr. Clinton won 37 percent of the Texas vote in the 1992 presidential election. Dr. Murray said although the president has moved up in the polls since then, he doubts that a majority of the state will ever support Mr. Clinton.

"He would lose this state if the election were held today, and he'll lose in 1996," he said. "His checkered personal life resonates more in this state."

Dr. Bruce Buchanan, a political science professor at the University of Texas at Austin, said the president's position on social issues makes him unpopular with many conservative Texans.

"He is liberal, young and speaks on many issues, such as gay rights, that

are not popular here," he said.

But Ed Martin, executive director of the Texas Democratic Party, said Mr. Clinton has seen a slow but steady increase in public support since he began addressing issues important to the state.

"As long as he keeps his shoulder to the wheel, talking about crime and welfare, people who may not have supported him before will develop a grudging respect for him," he said.

Mr. Martin said Texas Democrats support the president and have grown tired of what he called "partisan attacks" on Mr. Clinton.

"The rank-and-file Democrats are sick of seeing Clinton picked on," he said. "When we travel throughout the state, people aren't talking about Whitewater."

But Karen Hughes, Texas GOP executive director, said Whitewater is a credibility issue that voters are not ready to let die.

"There is still a lot of confusion

More

surrounding this," she said.

Ms. Windel said such partisan bickering about the president and Whitewater were reflected in the poll results.

Only 5 percent of Republican respondents said Whitewater was a result of attacks from their party. But 61 percent called Whitewater a serious legal issue.

On the other hand, 36 percent of Democratic respondents called the controversy an attack by Republicans. Only 24 percent said it was a legal issue.

Poll respondents of both parties came closest to agreeing when it came to the media's role in Whitewater — 27 percent of Republicans and 31 percent of Democrats said the press was at fault.

"I don't think there is anything unusual about partisanship being present in these issues," said Ms. Hughes. "But the Democratic numbers are not as high as they should be if they sup-

TEXAS POLL METHODOLOGY

The maximum margin of error for The Texas Poll of 1,006 randomly selected adults is plus or minus three percentage points. In theory, in 19 cases out of 20, poll responses should differ by no more than three percentage points in either direction from what would be obtained by interviewing all adult Texans in households with telephones. A

poll with a margin of error of plus or minus three percentage points could have a swing of six points. For instance, if 50 percent of the respondents agree with a statement in a poll, the actual number could range between 47 and 53 percent. Differences in wording, order of questions and other factors can cause results to vary.

port the president like they say they do."

Dr. Buchanan said first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's handling of her recent press conference about Whitewater has lulled the public for the time being.

"She may well have repressed the issue some," he said. "Her poise took some of the sting out of the public

perception of the administration."

Despite her recent performance, the number of poll respondents who said they view her favorably fell to 46 percent, from 53 percent a year ago.

Dr. Buchanan said both the president and first lady could benefit in the state if the Clinton administration is forthcoming about Whitewater.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 MAY 9 10 : 36

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: DAVID KENDALL

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Podesta

cc D. Kennedy

Bob Bennett

THE PRESIDENT HAS SE

5/8/94

Mr. President

Nanny

cc: HRC

get his full name -
may want to circulate
this

Pretty good assessment
of Cliff Jackson.

Jack is now a
Unionist Minister
here - used to be
with Haley, Young
Bogert and Gitchell

F.Y.I.

Maria

Jack-in-the-Pulpit

The recent spate of vituperation coming from Arkansas about Bill Clinton's sex life is of great interest to me. It is now pretty clear that it's all coming, as did the prior rounds of sensational "disclosures," under the auspices and persona of one Cliff Jackson, a lawyer and a contemporary of Clinton.

Both went to Oxford, both were and are ambitious and both went into politics. But the description in the Post article on Thursday, Dec. 30, entitled 'Bill Clinton's Worst Friend,' is exactly correct when it says, "if Clinton is velvet, then Jackson is Velcro." Clinton dealt with people well. Jackson didn't. So two bright, talented and able young men have had rather different careers, with Jackson losing his race for prosecuting attorney of Pulaski County (Little Rock) while Clinton was about to become governor. Since that time, Clinton became President and Jackson very successfully practiced law with a propensity for sensational cases and practices.

I know Cliff Jackson better than I know Clinton. Our law firm hired him when he graduated from Michigan State Law School—gave him his first job. I interviewed him the first time at the family home, twenty miles back in the piney woods from Hot Springs, described in the Post as 'rough-hewn.' It was that. What we didn't count on was his leaving the firm in less than two years with a few clients we had assigned to him and doing it without any, or much, thanks, even. We decided that he had the loyalty of a shark, and considered ourselves lucky to have it over with so little damage. We felt used.

If Jackson's vendetta for Clinton has any explanation, it lies, I suggest, in the philosopher, Scheler's, notion of resentment, a term coined by Nietzsche. The gist of the idea is that when we are presented with another, who, in their freedom, reminds us of what we don't ourselves have, we are likely to generate an unconscious resentment and a need to

destroy the other or 'bring them down.' What's really in issue is not the other's merit, or failure, but, rather, our own lack.

It's a very unconscious process, often leading to what Scheler calls "organic mendacity," meaning that the self-delusion about what is going on is so great that one has no need to lie, for the lie has itself become an organic truth. Modern psychology might term it 'projection,' meaning that what one does not like about one's self gets put onto another as the object of one's hate.

In so much of Western religion, the best of us gets projected onto God, up there somewhere and the evil in us on Satan, down there somewhere. So it feels that the conflict between the good and the bad comes into us from elsewhere. UUs have long put the conflict where it belongs, but that doesn't mean that we, too, are not capable of self-delusion. When we find ourselves obsessed with another's apparent lack, we, perhaps, would be well served to look deep inside and sort it out in terms of our own self—our own lack, if you will—and make peace with that.

I deeply hope Cliff can decide he's all right anyway, without his being Commander-in-Chief, and get off his form of organic mendacity, with its search-and-kill motif. None of us is perfect, or quite everything we'd like to be, including Presidents. That's universal and nothing to be excited about, though maybe disappointing. Rather, it's when we fail to focus on the wealth of good in our selves while dwelling on the imperfections of another or others, that we, indeed, ought be alarmed. Cliff, and the media which feeds this debacle, ought be alarmed, as should we all.

See you in church,

Jack

cc: 4/4/94
George
Mach
John P
4/4/94
NK

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

94 MAY 9 AID : 32

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

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Podesta

CC: Kendall

Bob Bennett

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5/8/94

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Nancy

cc: HRC

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may want to check
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See you in church,

Jack

cc: 4/4/94
George
Mach
John P
and [unclear] 4/4/94
from NK

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 5, 1994

94 MAY 5 P10:16

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Joe Velasquez

SUBJECT: Motor Voter Action

Joe!

I. SUMMARY

We have pushed implementation of the Motor Voter legislation you signed into law last year.

II

DISCUSSION

- The Political Affairs Department met with representatives from each cabinet agency involved in making this law work: Agriculture, Health and Human Services, Labor and Justice.
- We are working with the Elections subcommittee of the House Administration Committee and with the DNC to monitor state Motor Voter activity and to coordinate our responses to any recalcitrance we encounter.
- We have drafted an Executive Order for your signature to spur action within the agencies and states on the law's implementation and enforcement. OMB is clearing it.
- We asked the Office of White House Counsel to work with the Department of Justice to insure vigorous enforcement of the law. Counsel's office is working with DOJ on this issue.
- We are asking you to participate in a Rose Garden ceremony on or around May 20, the one year anniversary of your signing the National Voter Registration Act into law. This event will highlight our continuing struggle to open up the nation's electoral system and will be a strong symbol of your commitment to the law's enforcement. Along with Attorney General Janet Reno, we will invite representatives of the many constituencies that worked hard for passage of the bill last year and those who will work just as hard to implement the law and register the voters this year.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/8/94

NOTE FOR: *Amy Zisook*

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/7/94

May 6, 1993

94 MAY 6 P5:32

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: AMY ZISOOK *WZ*

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION TO CAIRO

I. SUMMARY

As you may know, I took a Presidential Delegation to Cairo on Wednesday for the signing of the implementation of the Middle East Peace Agreement.

II. DISCUSSION

At the request of the State Department and the National Security Council, we (the Office of Public Liaison) organized a group consisting of leaders of Arab American and Jewish American organizations, Builders for Peace, and your political supporters.

Needless to say, the trip was historic, including, not only the signing ceremony, but also meetings with Secretary Christopher, Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat. The most significant development from the trip, however, was the camaraderie between the two communities who have spent the better part of this century fighting both abroad and here in the United States. They are committed to private economic assistance to the region and to the peace process. This was exhibited by both members and non-members of Builders For Peace.

We will do all that we can to encourage their activities.

PARTICIPANTS

Mohammed Abdelrahman
Jean AbiNader
Odeh Aburdene
Naim Assad
Jack Bendheim
Paul Berger
Joe DeSutter
Beth Dozoretz

Richard Goodstein
Abdul Huda Farouki
Samia Farouki
Monte Friedkin
Steve Grossman
William Haddad
Najib Halaby
David Ifshin
David Kahn
Linda Heller Kamm
Ziad Karram
Najat Khelil
Peter Knight
Leo Kramer
Miles Lerman
Mel Levine
Robert Lifton
Mary Rose Oakar
Talat Othman
Mohammed Oweis
Wayne Owens
Lester Pollack
Mel Salberg
Stanley Sheinbaum
Henry Siegman
Joe Sisco
Kevork Toroyan
Jim Zogby

cc: Alexis Herman