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Chron

70

An unwise road in Texas

The notion of hate crimes is incompatible with justice

EVER since the body of James Byrd was found, last week, in pieces on a road in east Texas (see page 30), the authorities have been struggling to bring charges to reflect the horror of the crime. "Murder" seems too pat: Mr Byrd was chained to a truck and dragged for almost three miles. Besides, in Texas (even in Texas), simple murder does not carry the death penalty. But Mr Byrd was black, apparently murdered by racists; so there is a call for this killing to be labelled a "hate crime", for which the punishment is death by lethal injection.

Federal law recognises a hate crime, and beefs up the penalty accordingly, whenever a victim seems to be picked on because of his race, colour, religion or national origin. There are relatively few prosecutions of this sort: in 1996, 27 offenders received "enhanced" sentences. But politicians from both parties, as well as President Clinton, would like to see the law extended to cover sexual orientation, gender and disability.

On its face, the notion of stiffening punishment when discrimination is involved may seem fair enough. Hatred can be infectious: if one man is seen to beat up a black, another may copy him. And to kill a man for something he cannot help, such as his race, seems much worse a motive than to kill him because he is rich, or successful, or owes you money. Yet, for all that, the notion of "hate crimes" is flawed, and not only in terms of justice. Rather than helping—as the shaken folk of Jasper, Texas, clearly suppose—to heal America's racial and other divisions, it may instead perpetuate them.

To grasp the difficulty with hate crimes, suppose that Mr Byrd was white. Suppose he was killed by three drunken white youths who, to while away an evening, thought they would indulge in a little aimless violence. Such things hap-

pen. Would that yet hate-crime violence of the the nub, indeed.

The wrong obs

Once race—or r...duced into the equation, this naturally colours the motive for the crime in the eyes of the criminal-justice system. Yet crimes may have several motives, or none at all. A robbery of a white by a black, for example, may be purely for money. Who is to judge whether race-hate was there and, if so, how much there was? The issue should not be avoided; but neither should it be given the importance the law now attaches to it.

This is so even when the hatred seems explicit, as it does in the Byrd case. The men who have been charged with the killing were known white supremacists, who left Nazi paraphernalia at the scene. Yet it is not a crime to hold such opinions, loathsome as they are. The notion of "hate crime" may be, in effect, an extra penalty imposed on people whose views are offensive, as well as their actions. Ironically, it makes the justice system pick on them simply because they are different.

Blacks may well protest that they, in particular, need extra sympathy from the law. There is a widespread belief that blacks are not treated fairly by the police or by judges; that they are more readily arrested for drug offences, more often given the death penalty for murder. Many studies support this view. But even if bias exists in the system, the remedy cannot be to introduce racial weighting—or, indeed, weighting of any sort—into the concept of justice for all.

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Bergen
COS

al? Of course not; been. The ghastly the problem (and ead, race is.

Intervene in Kosovo?

Joenny - worth reading

Yes—but only if you're prepared to do the hard part, on the ground, as well as the easy bit in the air

IT LOOKS simple. The local thug is causing trouble again, this time beating up his own people, not the neighbours. Last time, he became co-operative only when the West, in the shape of NATO, showed it meant business by carrying out air strikes. All the dire consequences predicted by doubters failed to happen. A peace treaty was signed, which has worked remarkably well. It is now clear that if NATO had acted a lot earlier, Slobodan Milosevic—for the thug in question is the Serb nationalist who is probably more to blame for the Balkans' wars than anyone else—would have brought his Bosnian cousins to heel much sooner. Thousands of lives would have been saved. So don't make the same mistake again: let the bombing begin.

Well, not quite yet. In Moscow this week, Mr Milosevic was persuaded by Boris Yeltsin that it would be prudent to

listen to his critics and at least talk to the people in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo (see page 57). Yet no one should assume that this better behaviour will last long. Serb nationalists have a special reverence for parts of Kosovo, notably the Field of Blackbirds, where their forebears' defeat at the hands of the Ottomans in 1389 cast the Serbs into 500 years of Muslim subjugation. But this reverence for Kosovo does not extend to its people, 90% of whom are ethnically Albanian and mostly Muslim. In communist times, Kosovo was an autonomous province of the Yugoslav republic of Serbia, but since 1989, when its autonomy was ended, repression has intensified. The Kosovars want to secede. Some would prefer to negotiate their independence; others, growing in number by the day, are ready to fight for it—with arms supplied by brethren across the border in Albania. Without an agreement on the



status of Kosovo, any lull in the killing is likely to be just that, a lull. The question of whether to intervene will then recur.

The arguments against armed intervention are far from trivial. It would, if it happened, be an attack on a lawful government that could claim to be doing no more than fighting to uphold the principle of territorial integrity. Wasn't that what Abraham Lincoln was fighting for? And who gave NATO the right to go round interfering in other countries' internal affairs? On current form, Russia and China would veto any resolution in the UN Security Council to authorise NATO air strikes. And without the Security Council's approval, it is far from certain that even a majority of NATO's members would give theirs. NATO, after all, has been assuring everyone that it is now a defence-cum-peacekeeping outfit that threatens absolutely nobody, least of all its old adversaries the Russians (among whose fellow-Slavs are the Serbs). Action, if it is taken, could end up as an American-British affair.

Moreover, the Serbs' repression in Kosovo, though terrible, is by no means exceptionally terrible. Some 200-300 people have been killed and perhaps 65,000 have abandoned their homes, 10,000 of them fleeing abroad. The world, it may be remembered, never felt obliged to intervene in Chechnya (50,000-100,000 dead), East Timor (100,000-200,000) or Rwanda (800,000). Is it really wise to start freelance intervention against such relatively small-time bullies as Mr Milosevic? Innocents might get killed (always a possibility in military actions). The Serbs might refuse to back down, leading to the dangers of more intervention or the embarrassment of less. And the Kosovars, emboldened by western help, might turn on their oppressors, ethnically cleansing—maybe cutting the throats of—the 10% Serb minority. Then, one day, it could be cited as an awful precedent: how would NATO react were China, say, to carry out air strikes against an Indian government that was fighting to prevent its majority-Muslim province of Jammu & Kashmir from seceding?

All this should make outsiders think hard before letting slip their airborne dogs of war. Yet one consideration strengthens the case, perhaps decisively, for intervention of the right kind. It is the likelihood that, if the turmoil in Kosovo is not contained, it will spread to Macedonia, which has its own discontented ethnic-Albanian minority. The ensuing civil war would probably lead other Macedonians to take up arms, some of them eager to break up their country and create a Greater Bulgaria. Were that to stretch to the Aegean, as some would like, Greece would be drawn in, and surely also the Kosovars' friend, Turkey (never mind Albania proper, which has already had one civil war this decade). Cyprus too would almost certainly go up in smoke. If all this could be stopped by a few bombs now, they would be bombs well dropped.

An ante for the status quo

Unfortunately, it is unlikely that a few, or even many, bombs would be enough. Armed intervention, if it were to work, would also require specifying exactly what is wanted of the Serbs: an end to repression in Kosovo and the restoration of its autonomy, preferably with the handing over to Serbia of the Serbs' holy places. It would be accompanied by a vow that the West would not support the rebels seeking to split Kosovo from Serbia, nor recognise a self-proclaimed "independent" Kosovo (to do so would make a nonsense of the West's no-change-of-frontiers policy in Bosnia).

At the same time the West should do what it could to stabilise Macedonia (offer aid in return for decent treatment of the ethnic Albanians). But even this would probably be too little if the interveners were not ready to get involved on the ground, as well as in the air, to keep the peace. That prospect is the nastiest of all for NATO, but, without it, attacks on Kosovars would probably continue, the pledge to uphold Serbia's integrity would be disbelieved—and the bombing would be seen as yet another empty western gesture.

Mexico's southern sore

Concessions all round are needed to end the revolt in Chiapas

IT IS now more than four years since Zapatist rebels took up arms in Mexico's southernmost state of Chiapas. More recently, a smaller group of supposedly Marxist rebels has appeared in Guerrero, another southern state. Both claim to speak—the Zapatists with far more visible authority—for the poor of these poor regions, above all the Amerindian poor. They have fair points to make, as they would in many such countries: poor ethnic minorities are not peculiar to Mexico. Their points are not being simply ignored. Yet there is little dialogue; and recent events have brought a real risk that such dialogue as there is will be drowned by gunfire.

The Zapatists' armed uprising in January 1994, though it led to some 150 deaths, was short-lived. Since then, they and their somewhat theatrical leader, "Subcomandante Marcos", have dealt, and proclaim they still want to deal, much more in words than violence. But a peace accord laboriously reached in early 1996 was never put into effect, and the talks consequently broken off have not been formally resumed. Six

months ago, failure of communications suddenly—though not without warning—brought very bloody violence indeed, and not from the Zapatist side: a bunch of thugs, with at least some official connivance, massacred 45 Amerindians, mostly women and children, near a Chiapas village.

The killing shook Mexico, and cost the interior minister and some other officials their jobs. But the shock was not enough to renew movement toward peace. On the contrary, the Zapatists have pushed ahead with the establishment of "autonomous" municipalities, which the authorities have tried to suppress, though the idea behind them is not unlike one envisaged in the 1996 accord. The result this month was first the self-dissolution, in despair, of a committee seeking to mediate in the conflict; and soon a clash in which eight villagers and two members of an army-cum-police column died. Exactly how is unclear; as ever, there were soon rival versions. But the reason was plain: officialdom had taken to force, hoping, as it saw things, to restore legitimate law and order—or, as





Orthodox Union

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ב"ה

July 1, 1998

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Rabbinic Administrator
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Rabbinic Administrator (1950-1972)
RABBI ALEXANDER S. ROSENBERG

Ms. Ann Lewis
Assistant to the President
Director of Communications
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20502

Dear Ann,

Enclosed please find the next missive to the President. The piece is entitled "Jethro" and is authored by Dr. David Kazhdan. He is a Professor of Mathematics at Harvard and is one of America's most prominent mathematicians. Dr. Kazhdan is a member of the National Academy of Science and is the recipient of the prestigious MacArthur Award.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Menachem Genack

7/16/98

Send to Millie

Yes

No

cancel

(came in interoffice mail)

Jethro

The revelation of the Decalogue, the Ten Commandments, is one of the central biblical dramas. The dramatic description of God's theophany at Mount Sinai is preceded by a somewhat prosaic recounting of the visit of Jethro, Moses' father-in-law. Yet we are somehow left with the impression that Jethro has accomplished an important task; that without his visit the revelation could not have taken place. Indeed, Rabbi Elazar, one of Talmudic sages, maintains that while in reality Jethro came in a half year after the revelation, the Bible felt the need to relate it as a prelude to the Sinaic revelation. What could be so important about his visit?

On the morning after Jethro, a priest of Median, came to the camp, he saw Moses constantly surrounded by a throng of people from morning till evening. "What is going on?" he asks, "Why are all these people standing around you the whole day?" Moses tries to explain that people constantly come to him to inquire about God, to resolve their conflicts and to learn God's law. The only way to satisfy the needs of the people is to spend as much time as possible with them. "You are wrong," responds Jethro. "This is too much of a burden; both you and the people will wither away. Separate the tasks. Yes, you should remain an intermediary between the people and God, teaching them the statutes and laws. On the other hand, the resolution of conflicts should be run by a group of appointed judges. If you do this and God commands you to do so, you will be able to manage your tasks." Moses accepts the advice and Jethro soon returns home.

What was so daring in Jethro's suggestion? Why was it not clear that God will approve his suggestion?

The concepts of Truth and Justice coincide in the Biblical narrative from the beginning of Genesis. There God is a friend, someone whom Abraham could even rebuke in his plea on behalf of Sodom and Gemorrah. This direct personal relationship existed till Jethro's arrival. Moses would treat every case as unique, something deserving to be brought to God Himself for final judgment. Jews were entering a new stage of their history. This was the time of their transformation from a group of individuals to a "kingdom of priests and a holy nation." The covenant on Mount Sinai was made with the nation. The individual Jew joined the covenant through his or her participation in this covenantal community. As a result, the relationship between the people and God had to become less direct than earlier times. Indeed the Bible tells us that when God revealed Himself on Mount Sinai, the people were so frightened that they asked Moses to be an intermediary and to spare them from the awful, direct contact with God.

Jethro comes in the time of this transition from the immediacy of relations to mediation through community. He quickly realized that this change would lead to a removal of God from the day-to-day life of the individual people and suggested a way to combine the familiar structure of the direct relations between

people and God with the new reality. While Moses will continue to bring the Law to the people, it will be necessary to choose officers who will resolve day-to-day problems according to a firm Law. There could be no other way for people to mature into a nation governed by a law and somewhat removed from its Source. Realizing that there was no other possibility, Jethro confidently informed Moses - too close, perhaps, to realize it himself - and went on his way. The Jewish community went on to Sinai and its religious destiny.

David Kazhdan

To: Conus
By: Bu

7-6-98

The Emerging China IT Market

(1997-1998)

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W	J	B
21	3	2
33	16	3
51	23	21

Prepared for **Mrs /Mr Clinton**

By Edward Zeng*

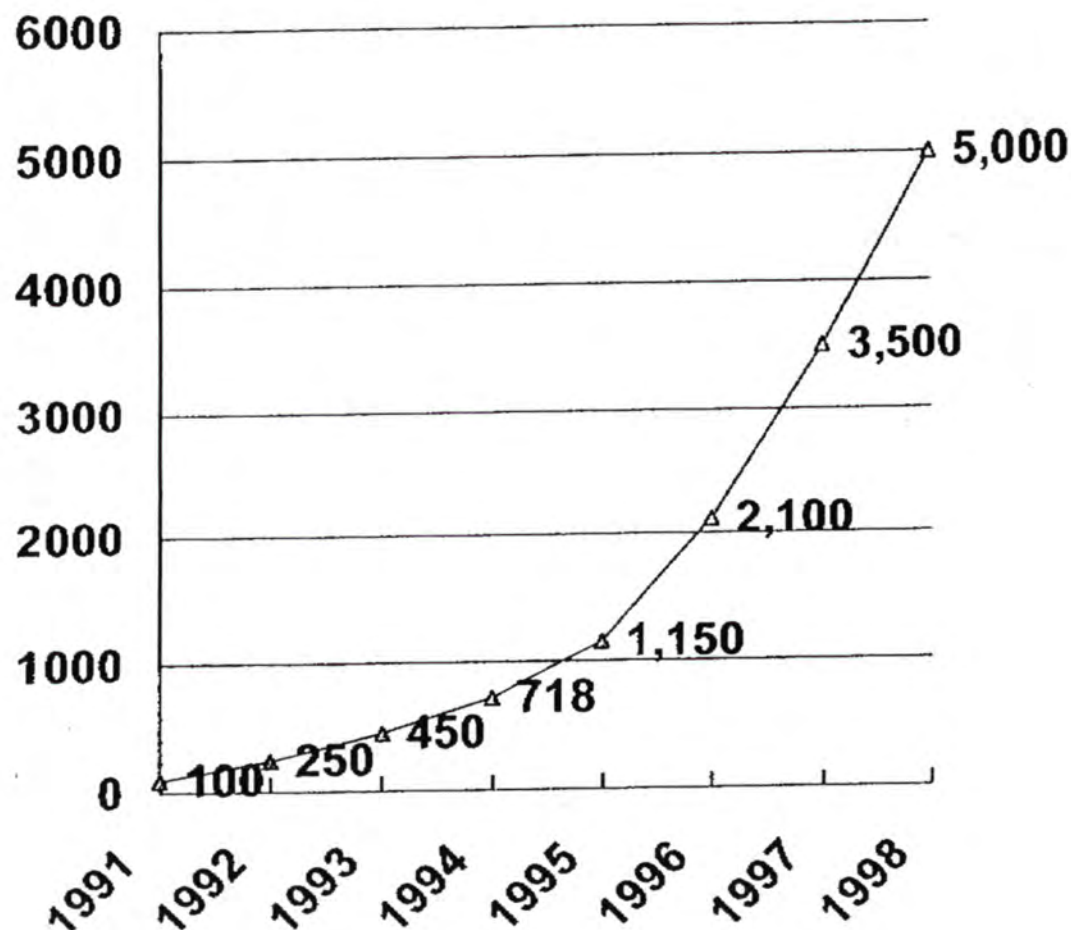
*Founder of the first and now the largest Internet Café Chain in China
Founder of SPARKICE --- the first cyber gateway to and from China
Selected as one of the Global Leader for Tomorrow by World Economic Forum in 1998
E-mail: edward@sparkice.com.cn Fax: 86-10-68312881, Tel: 68336606
1st FL, West Wing, Capital Stadium, No.54 Bashiqiao Rd. Beijing China, 100044

Internet in China

- A total of 299,000 PCs (by Oct. 1997) and 518,000 PCs access to the Internet by May 1998 in China.
- 49,000 computers (by Oct. 1997) and 78,000 computers (by May 1998) access the Internet by leased-line; 250,000 computers (by Oct. 1997) and 440,000 (by May. 1998) computers access the Internet by PPP dial-up service.
- 620,000 people (by Oct. 97) in China are use the Internet, 75% via PPP dial-up service. While in May 1998 the figure has increased to 1,060,000 people.
- A total of 1,500 (by Oct. 97) public websites have been constructed in China. It has increased to 8,274 sites in May 1998.

Source: CNNIC & China Computer World

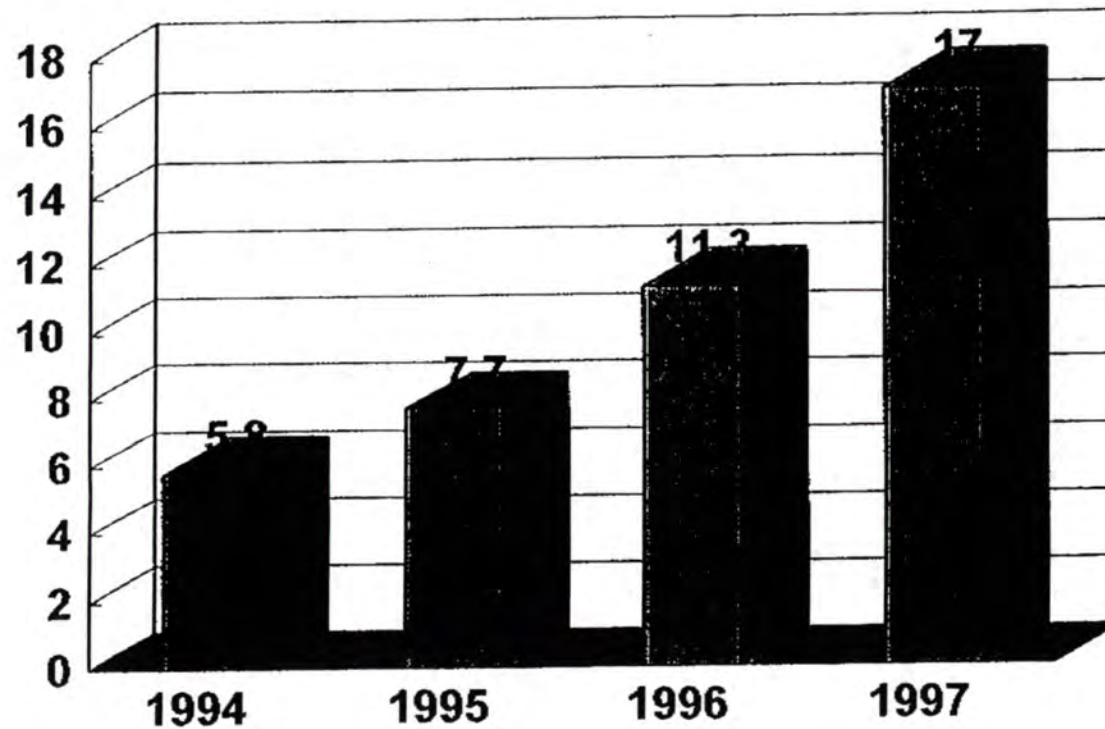
PC Sales since 1991



From 1991-96, a total of more than 2.7 million PCs have been sold in the Chinese market, with an average rate of increase of 68.5% annually. PC revenues totaled 39.84 billion RMB, increasing by 63.3% annually.

Source: CCID- Market Information Center

Development of Chinas IT Market

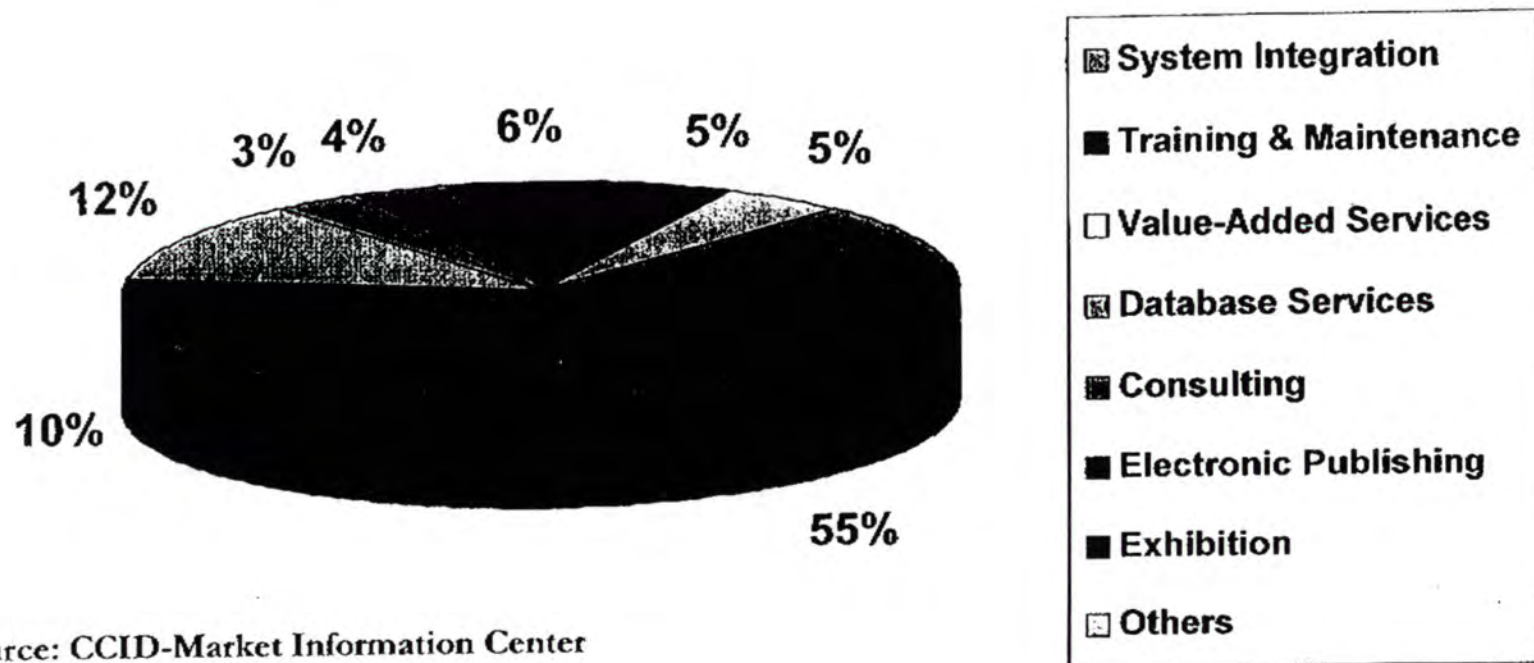


Total
Revenue

	1994	1995	1996	1997
Increase Over Last Year	/	33%	47%	50%

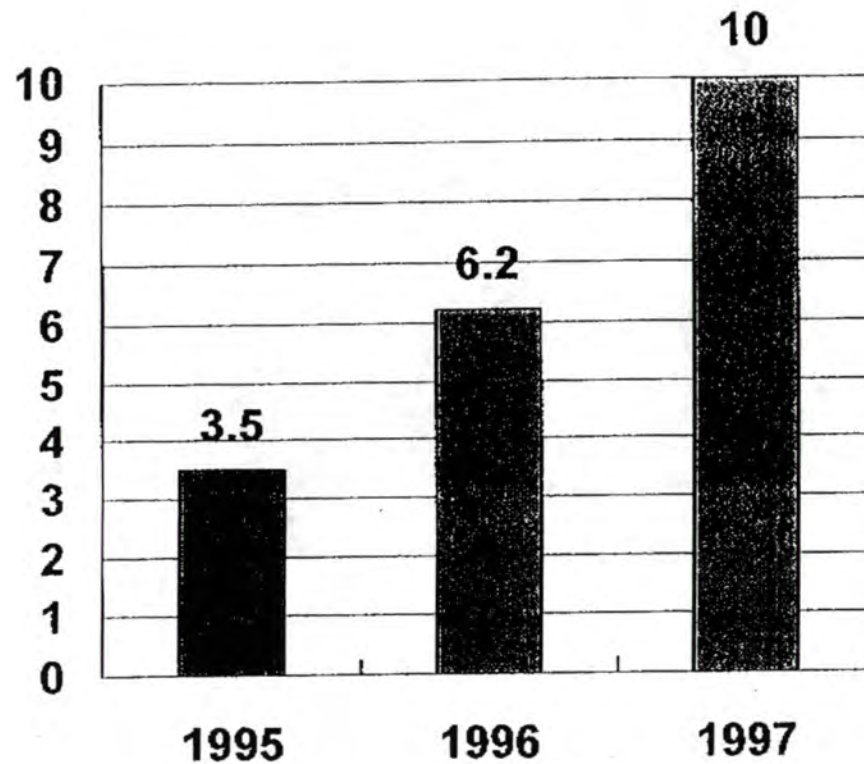
Source: CCID-Market
Information Center

Market Structure of China's IT Industry in 1996



System integration has the largest market share in China's IT industry, and claims the highest increase rate--in 1996, revenue from system integration totaled 6.2 billion RMB yuan, a 77% increase over the last year. Meanwhile, with a booming Internet market, Value-Added Service has emerged to capture 12% of the total share in the market structure.

Revenue Increase of System Integration



Units: billion RMB

Sales volume of system integration includes sales revenue from the design and construction of SI projects, as well as from software revenue. Hardware, technology backup and maintenance fees are excluded.

Source: CCID-MIC

Databases In China

Source: The State Science & Technology Commission

1992	1995	Increased by
806	1038	28.78%

Total Number of Database in Chinese Market

Database Size

	1992	1995
10 MB and smaller	55.3%	33%
10MB-100MB	/	42%
100MB and larger	/	25%

Database Content

44%



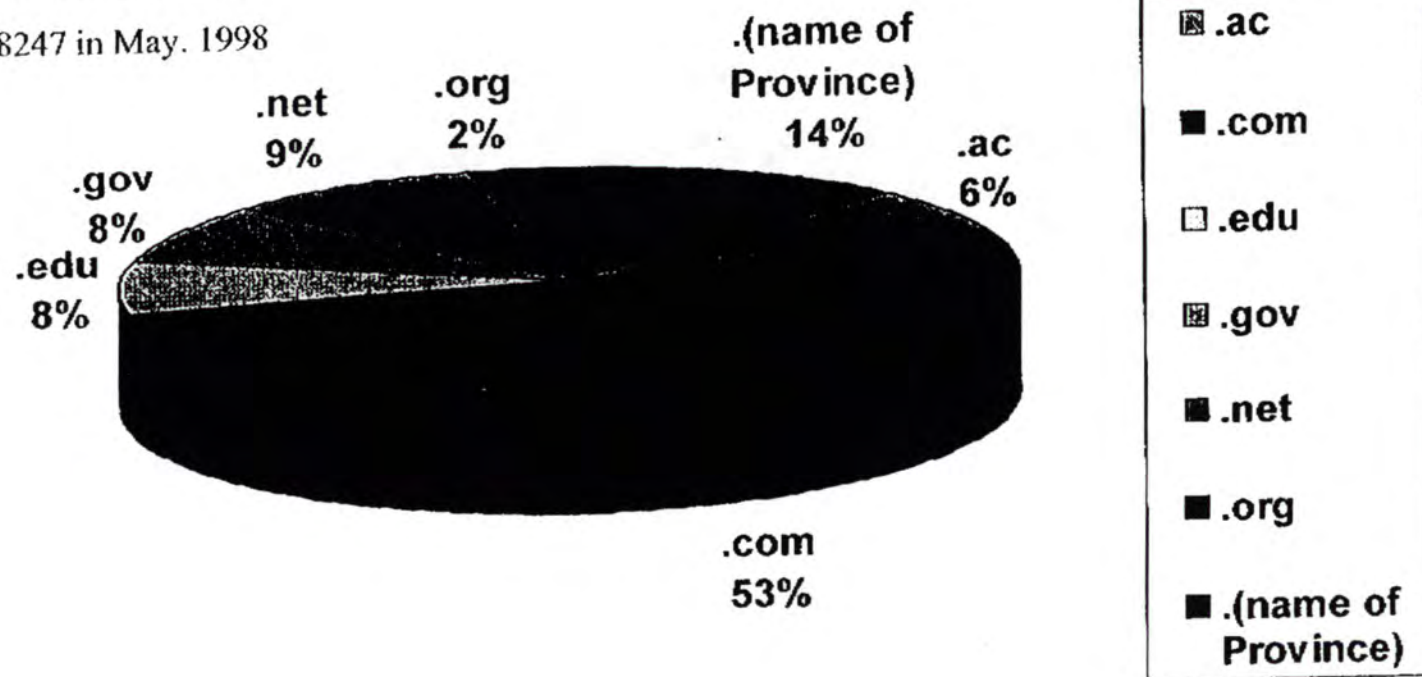
56%

 Economic & Social
 Science & Tech

Domain Name Registration Under .cn

Total Number of Domain Name
Registration: 4066 in Oct. 1997

8247 in May. 1998



Source: China Internet Information Center

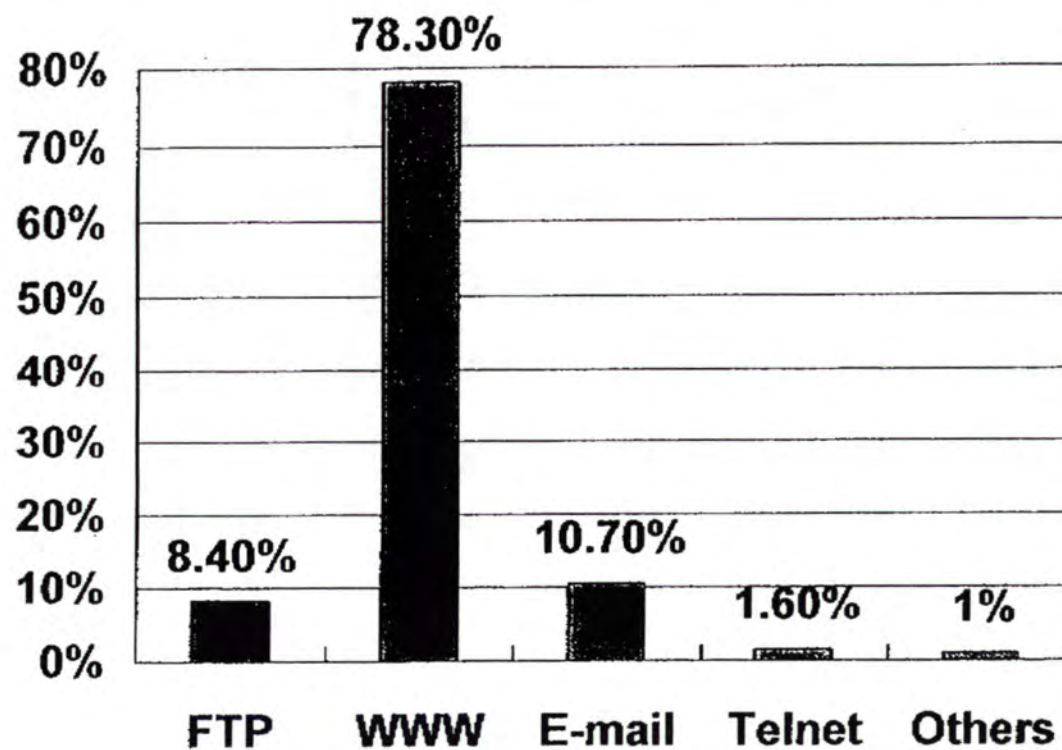
Chinese Domain Names According to Extension (10.31.97)

.ac	.com	.edu	.gov	.net	.org	.(name of province)	Total
259	2131	325	323	370	99	559	4066

Chinese Int'l Gateways (U.S., Ger., France, Japan and H.K.):

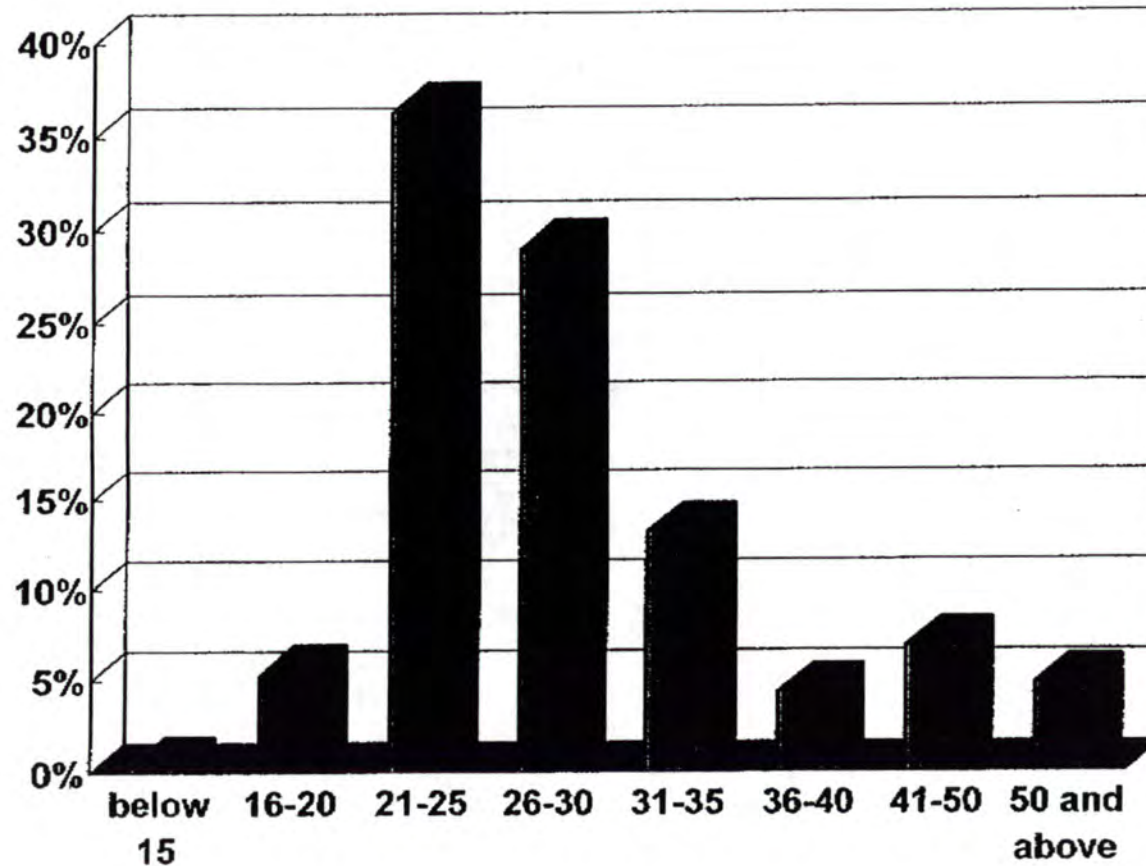
	CSTNET	ChinaNet	CERNET	ChinaGBN	Total
Number of International Gateways	3	13	4	2	12
Bandwidth	2.128M	20M	2.256M	2.256M	26.64M

What Do Chinese Do on the Internet



Source: China Internet Information Center

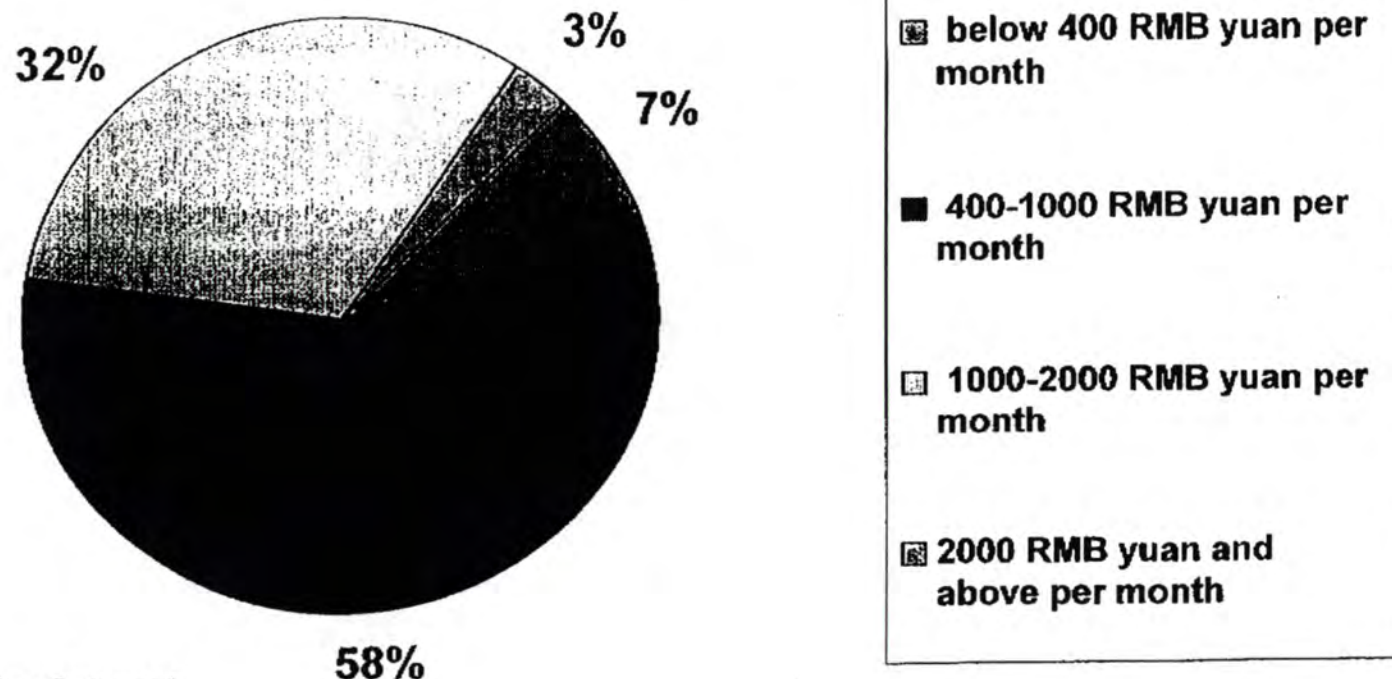
Internet Users (by age group)



The majority of “wired” Chinese are from the two age groups of 21-25 yrs. old and 26-30 yrs. old, which represent 36.3% and 29% of all Internet users, respectively.

Source: China Internet Information Center

Internet Users (by income level)

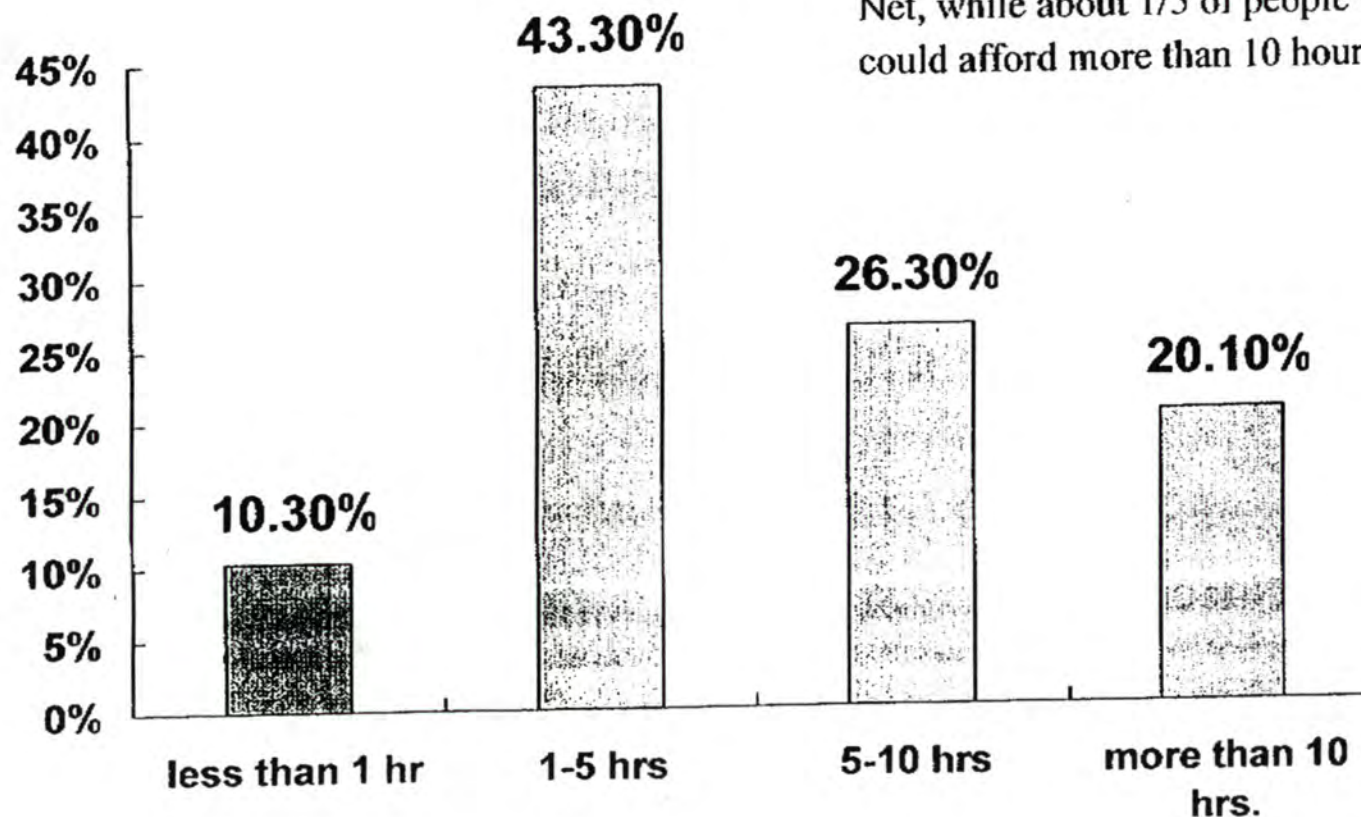


Source: China Internet
Information Center

According to survey, 7% of all Internet users in China have an average household income of less than 400 RMB yuan per month; another 58% of all users earn an income ranging from 400 to 1,000 RMB yuan per month. Users whose monthly income level is between 1,000 to 2,000 represent 32% of all cybertizens. The rest 3% goes to users who earn more than 2,000 a month.

Hours Spent on the Internet per Week

Nearly one-half of Cybercitizens in China spend an average of 1-5 hours on the Internet each week. Another 26.3% spend 5-10 hours on the Net, while about 1/5 of people who are wired could afford more than 10 hour log-on charge.



Source:

China
Internet
Information
Center

October 1997

The most-wanted information on the Internet is on science and technology, replied by 80.4% of all people surveyed; 42% of all people surveyed reported that they desire community news; 39.6% want business information, and 32% desire financial news.

The huge demand for science and technology information should be attributed to the large proportion of users who are on the cutting edge of science and technology. According to survey, 54.7% of all people surveyed come from scientific institute, education, computer industry or are students.

Of all people surveyed, one half reported that they are quite dissatisfied by the snail pace in browsing the Internet. Other dissatisfaction include: prohibitive price to be wired (36.2%), insufficiency in Chinese-language information (7.3%), and immaturity of online commerce (7.4%).

Note: All survey information from the latest spot survey jointly sponsored by CNNIC and ComputerWorld. Updated as of October 31, 1997.

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See Rubin
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The
Economist

JUNE 20TH 1998

GRUS / Bank a lot more upbeat
Eggs PR 9/24

As Japan goes?

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-6-98

WHEN the mighty fall, mere mortals get scared. After clinging on desperately for years, Japan has finally tumbled: output has fallen for two quarters in succession, so its economy is no longer merely drifting but is officially in recession. The news provoked another wave of worldwide economic alarm, as the yen sank at the beginning of the week to an eight-year low. Once the global exemplar, Japan's failing economy has come to be seen as a potent risk to its neighbours and the rest of the world. Outright depression in Japan, further rounds of economic and political turmoil in the rest of Asia, and a global slump to follow: might this dismal scenario unfold after all? What, if anything, can be done to prevent it?

On June 17th the governments of Japan and America made a show of acting together to fend off the danger. They announced no new policies, but did back their soothing words with determined intervention in the foreign-exchange markets. The yen rallied impressively and global stockmarkets bounced. The respite is likely to prove short-lived. Asia's nightmare, and the West's anxieties about what it means for Europe and America, are far from over.

What Japan must do

A coherent account of what went wrong in Asia, what should have been done to stop it happening, and what should be done now to restore stability in the region, is still lacking; for the time being, damage control and crisis management remain the orders of the day. Yet the latest events do allow one conclusion to be drawn and acted upon. Japan must—and can—act decisively to revive its economy.

It has every reason in its own interests to do so, but the fate of the region also hinges on whether it meets the challenge. The rest of East Asia is in a terrible fix. GDP fell by an annualised 20% or more in South Korea, Malaysia and Indonesia in the first quarter of this year, and new forecasts suggest these economies will at best see no growth next year. As the mayhem continues, Europe and America can exhort, plead and affect to intervene (in both senses), but for the most part this is a sideshow. If Asia ever needed, or was entitled to expect, Japanese leadership, now is the time.

Japan's plight has not caused the region's ills. But it affects Asia in two ways. Lack of demand in its economy—much the region's biggest—means that the crippled tigers cannot export their way to recovery. Sales to Japan account for as much as 12% of Malaysia's GDP, and 5-7% of GDP in Indonesia, Thailand, South Korea and Taiwan. In addition, the weak yen reduces the competitive advantage that the Asian devaluations would otherwise have given the tigers' currencies. On the face of it, Asia needs both stronger demand in Japan and a stron-



ger yen. But arranging both is tricky, even supposing that Japan can summon the will to do so. A loose monetary policy is essential if Japan is to spur domestic demand; a loose monetary policy means, among other things, a depreciated yen.

This dilemma has helped to fuel the recent mood of despair—and yet it can be resolved. In itself, the harm that a weak yen does to Asia is not great. The yen has fallen over the past couple of months, but it remains much stronger against the other East Asian currencies than a year ago. Also, though South Korea and Taiwan compete head-on with Japan, other Asian countries, such as China,

Thailand and Indonesia, export quite different goods: their competitiveness in third markets is not directly affected by the fall in the yen. All in all, a cheap yen would be a small price for Asia to pay for a speedier recovery in Japan.

To this, the most resolute pessimists reply that neither a cheap yen nor anything else will spur the Japanese economy. Fiscal policy has stopped working; the sickness of Japan's banks makes any macroeconomic approach to the problem, fiscal or monetary, irrelevant; the country's productive potential, not merely its ability to mobilise demand, is collapsing. And so the litany of despair goes on. Things are bad, all right, but nowhere near as bad as this. Fiscal policy remains both usable and, if used, effective. The problems in the banking system, once properly acknowledged, can be dealt with. The "supply-side" of Japan's economy needs further reform, but it is hysterical to say that, regardless of demand in the economy, Japan is henceforth condemned to little or no growth (see pages 21-23). These are excuses for inaction—the last thing Japanese politicians need.

Suppose then that Japan does what it should—spurring demand with monetary and fiscal policy, cleaning up the banking mess and vigorously pursuing reform elsewhere in the economy—will that be enough to make the world economy a safe place? No. Risk can be reduced but not eliminated. A devaluation of China's yuan, for instance, would cause further real harm to the region's other economies. The Hong Kong dollar's peg would probably give way, too, leading to another round of competitive devaluations across the region. With luck, China will continue to resist devaluation: the recent fall in China's exports is mainly due to weak regional demand, not an overvalued currency. But China may devalue anyway, and that would be scary.

Another risk is the delicate state of western stockmarkets, especially Wall Street. If more bad news from Asia causes equity prices in the United States and Europe to slide, the scene would be set for a slowdown spreading far beyond Asia. This remains the likeliest channel of contagion. America's exports

to Japan account for a tiny 1% of its GDP. All its exports to the whole of Asia amount to a relatively modest 2.4% of GDP. Even if its sales to the region fell by 25%, this would reduce growth only by half a point. This is why the slump in Asia has so far had little effect in the United States. Also, the faster-than-expected recovery in continental Europe this year is helping to fill the hole in world demand.

Were it not for the problems in Asia, the Fed would almost certainly have raised America's interest rates by now. Indeed, there is growing evidence that the American economy is overheating despite the chilly breeze from across the Pacific: consumer spending continues to boom, unemployment is at a 30-year low of 4.3%, and inflation is starting to creep up. Asia notwithstanding, America needs to raise its interest rates—but to do so would hurt Asian debtors and, by drawing more capital out of Asian markets, worsen the region's difficulties.

So here is another monetary-policy dilemma. Again, it is

best resolved by attending first to the needs of the domestic economy. Japan needs looser monetary policy, America needs tighter. Moves in either case would act to weaken the yen—which is a risk, but on balance one that is worth taking. Just as Asia's interests are better served by stronger demand in Japan than by a policy to defend the yen, so they are better served by economic stability in the United States than by a concern to keep American interest rates low. If inflation in America continues to rise, the Fed will have to raise rates abruptly, and by more than if it acts now. That would deal Asia a worse blow.

A decade ago, Japan faced pressure from the United States to keep its interest rates down. America was worried about the tumbling dollar and slow growth. Japan obliged, despite signs that its economy was overheating and a financial bubble was developing. Japan's current mess has much to do with that mistake. It is a lesson worth pondering.

More cash for KEDO, please

For America and Europe, it would be money well spent

AFTER the recent nuclear blasts by India and Pakistan, the last thing the world needs is another nuclear problem going critical. Yet in recent months a project agreed on in 1994—bribing North Korea to stop producing plutonium (from which nuclear bombs can be made)—has run into a potentially deal-stopping wrangle over cash: there is still not enough in the kitty to build the two nuclear-power plants that North Korea was promised in return for shutting down its own more proliferation-prone reactors, or to finance the 500,000 tonnes of heavy fuel oil it is to receive each year until the new plants are finished. On June 29th America, South Korea, Japan and the European Union—the executive council of the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organisation (KEDO), which oversees the 1994 deal—meet in Brussels to thrash out their differences. If they fail, the chance to contain North Korea's nuclear ambitions could be lost. Even if they succeed, however, the project's troubles are not over.

KEDO's job is a thankless one. North Korea's unsuccessful attempt two years ago to infiltrate commandos into South Korea by submarine froze negotiations for months. Earlier this month North Korea refused permission for a group of Japanese-born wives of North Koreans to visit Japan, an unlikely incentive to the Japanese parliament to ratify the government's promise to chip in \$1 billion to help pay for the two new nuclear reactors. Meanwhile, North Korea's missile sales to all and sundry—most recently to nuclear-equipped Pakistan—will not help the Clinton administration persuade Congress to stump up more cash for oil or anything else.

But the fact remains that, having balked at tougher action when North Korea was found to have broken its promises by producing more plutonium from its home-grown reactors than it had owned up to, there is little alternative now to seeing the 1994 deal through. With luck the Brussels meeting will fix a new overall price for the project—around \$4.6 billion, down from the \$5.2 billion originally assumed (much of the construction bill is to be in now-devalued South Korean

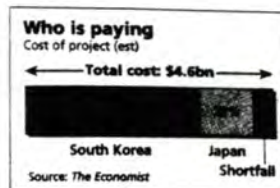
won). South Korea will pay 70% of the costs. But that, plus Japan's \$1 billion, still leaves a \$380m-shaped hole. Meanwhile, the money for fuel oil keeps drying up. North Korea has threatened to take its plutonium-producing reactors out of mothballs unless the project stays on schedule (construction should start in the autumn) and the oil arrives more regularly.

Where might the missing money come from? South Korea and Japan would like America to stump up some of it. America brokered the 1994 deal but Congress then would not pay a penny for the reactors and from time to time has tried to cut America's contribution to the annual \$60m-65m bill for oil. Yet keeping the lid on North Korea's nuclear cheating would surely be money well spent. Time for Congress to reconsider.

Ditto the European Union, which has chipped in a rather miserly 75m ecus (\$82m, or 2% of the reactor cost) over five years, spent so far on oil, in return for a seat on the KEDO executive and a crack at future contracts. Why should European taxpayers give more to KEDO? Partly because Japan has been generous to Europe (pledging 7.5% of the G7's funds for the Chernobyl reactor and \$130m last year alone for rebuilding Bosnia). But mostly because a nuclear-armed North Korea would be a threat not just to Asia, but to all.

The plutonium in the woodpile

Yet even a fully financed project could still founder. The nuclear components cannot be delivered until North Korea complies with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and its safeguards—meaning that full inspections of North Korea's nuclear industry (now suspended) must resume and North Korea must come clean about all past plutonium production. As time passes, it gets harder technically for inspectors to find out just how much nuclear moonlighting has gone on. North Korea is so far doing nothing to help, no doubt hoping that the world will lose interest. But the stakes are too high. It is up to North Korea, as much as anyone, to make this deal stick.



JAPAN'S ECONOMIC PLIGHT



Fallen idol

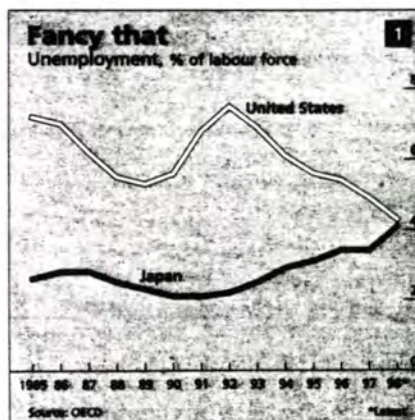
Japan was once feared for its economic might. Today it is feared for its economic weakness—and the harm its ailing system might do to the rest of Asia and the world. Just how sick is Japan?

SOON, and for the first time, Japan will have a higher jobless rate than America—a telling moment in the shifting fortunes of the two economies. While America continues to enjoy rapid growth, Japan is in recession. The country's GDP fell by an annualised 5.3% in the three months to March—much more than expected and the second consecutive quarterly fall. Its banks are creaking under their burden of bad loans; this week the yen hit an eight-year low of ¥147 against the dollar, before joint intervention by America and Japan pulled it back; the unemployment rate, with further to rise, already stands at a post-war high of 4.1%.

Things will probably get worse before they get better. Consumer and business confidence is severely depressed. Worries about jobs and the fragility of financial institutions is likely to cause families to save more and spend less in coming months, adding to fears of a self-reinforcing deflationary spiral. Firms, struggling under a mountain of debt and excess capacity, are slashing investment, and exports to the rest of Asia are falling. Over the next year or so more firms will go bust, unemployment

will climb, and the scale of the banks' problems may well turn out to be even worse than has been admitted so far. If the recession in the rest of Asia deepens or if America's economy—tripped by a sharp fall on Wall Street, say—falls suddenly into recession, then Japan's economic prospects will look grimmer still.

What a transformation. Ten years ago, anybody predicting that America would grow faster than Japan and have lower un-



employment would have been called a fool. Then, Japan's economic superiority was seen not as a momentary or cyclical thing but as something inseparable from its "model". In particular, the blueprint for Japan Inc was based on close links between firms, banks and government officials. These arrangements sheltered managers from impatient shareholders and foreign competition, allowing them to take a long view. Anglo-Saxon capitalism, obsessed with the short term, didn't stand a chance.

Now, many trace Japan's failure back to that same financial root. Under ministerial guidance, banks kept weak firms in business, they say, in the end undermining the entire economy. Echoing the earlier logic, the country's current condition is again seen not as a temporary thing but as something that is so deeply embedded as to be almost inevitable. Unless Japan abandons its distinctive model, it will stagnate (or worse) indefinitely.

Economists love to extrapolate. America's current phase of strong non-inflationary growth is expected to continue indefinitely—just as its previous underperformance, relative to Japan, was regarded as permanent. In the same way, many commentators see no way out of Japan's difficulties. Bad as these are, however, they are not as bad as they are often made out to be. The mood of much of today's commentary, which sees a grim future for Japan however far into the future you look, is too bleak.

Japan's recession is likely to grow worse in the short term—but maybe not much worse. Beyond the short term, Japan's prospects are brighter than many currently expect. In the midst of financial crisis, the short term can seem like an age, and people determined to panic will find no consolation in looking further ahead. But the open-minded may indeed find some consolation there—not to mention a better basis for their economic forecasts.

Demand or supply?

A first question is whether Japan's downturn is due to deep structural defects or merely to inadequate demand. Many claim that Japan's weak growth of 1.3% a year, on average, over the past six years is largely the fault of stifling regulation and weak industrial management, which in turn have bred widespread inefficiency and a dwindling return on capital. Some conclude that Japan's potential output (what the economy could produce if its capacity were fully employed) has been growing at no more than 1% a year of late, compared with 3-4% a year in the 1980s. If this

JAPAN'S ECONOMIC PLIGHT

were true, stimulating demand in the economy would be to little purpose. The only way to spur growth would be to embark on wide-ranging deregulation and structural reform—a process that would take years, however determinedly it was followed. In this case, the medium-term outlook would indeed be bleak.

Undeniably, Japan's structural defects (especially excessive borrowing by firms to invest in projects with low returns) have worsened its problems. But most of the blame for the country's stagnation lies with the government's failure to boost demand. The authorities made a series of errors in monetary and fiscal policy. They were too reluctant to raise public borrowing and cut interest rates in the early 1990s, after Japan's financial bubble burst, and then much too quick to tighten fiscal policy again last year.

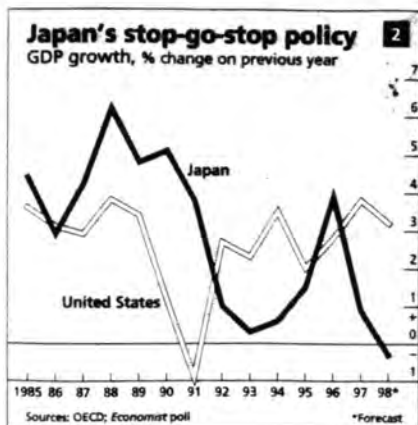
Viewed from the supply-side, the answer is the same. In any economy, growth in potential output depends on the growth in the labour force and rising productivity. Japan's labour-force growth has slowed from just over 1% a year in the 1980s to around 0.5% in the 1990s, and the work-force is expected to decline in the next century. On the other hand, economic rigidities have not worsened over the past decade (if anything, they may have eased, thanks to some deregulation), so there is no reason to suppose that underlying growth in productivity has fallen sharply. Indeed, productivity growth in manufacturing has averaged 3% during the past five years, exactly the same as in the 1980s.

On this basis, Japan's potential output is probably still growing by around 2% a year. Since actual growth has been less than this over the past six years, the economy now has a sizeable "output gap"—meaning that it could grow faster for several years without encountering bottlenecks. This is another way of saying that the problem is (lack of) demand, not supply.

Fiscal follies

At this point one faction of the pessimists makes a different argument: supposing that demand is indeed part of the problem, they say, the government is powerless, for one reason or another, to use fiscal and monetary policy to address it. The government did in fact announce a fiscal stimulus of about 2% of GDP in April; and interest rates are currently set at a historic low of 0.5%. But it makes no difference, according to this view: neither easy money nor public spending can prevent Japan being sucked into a deflationary spiral.

As it happens, Japan is not yet in fact suffering from a full-scale deflation. True, producer prices fell 1.7% in the year to May and the prices of equities and land are falling. But a one-off drop in prices due to cheaper imports from Asia, lower oil prices



or deregulation in telecommunications is not the same as "deflation". Producer prices are falling in lots of other rich economies, thanks to lower commodity prices. Japanese consumer prices in the aggregate are not yet declining, nor are wages.

There is a danger that Japan may indeed drift towards deflation—but macro-economic policy ("demand management") can prevent this. It is true that interest rates cannot go much lower, but monetary policy can stimulate the economy in other ways. One is through the exchange rate. The 20% drop in the yen against the dollar over the past year will help not only to boost exports but, more important, to raise import prices and prevent deflation. It will also make Japanese assets look cheaper by international standards and therefore more attractive to foreign buyers.

The argument that fiscal policy is impotent is also flawed. Umpteen packages over the past five years have, it is claimed, failed to boost the economy. But if the impact appeared modest, so was the stimulus. Ministers overstated the scale of their packages by including measures without a direct impact on growth (such as lending by government agencies and the front-loading of previously planned public works). The actual amount injected into the economy over the past five years—through increased public works or tax cuts—was only one-third of all the measures announced by the govern-

ment*. Much of the deterioration in Japan's budget—from a general-government surplus of 1.5% of GDP in 1992 to a deficit of 3% last year—reflected the automatic fall in tax revenues due to the downturn.

Also, to measure the effects of any stimulus you need to look not just at actual growth rates, but at what growth would otherwise have been. Given the plunge in equity and property prices, the 85% rise in the yen between 1990 and 1995 and the troubles in East Asia, Japan's output would have been expected to fall sharply. A large stimulus in 1995-96 did deliver GDP growth of 3.9% in 1996 (see chart 2). But then the government was too eager to contain borrowing: it tightened policy prematurely in 1997 and the economy slowed.

Might fiscal policy be failing now for new reasons? One common argument is that public-sector debt (at almost 100% of GDP) has climbed too high, especially if you take account of increasing future pension liabilities as the population ages. This implies that taxes will have to rise sharply in future—and, in turn, that far-sighted households will therefore save any tax cut rather than spend it. However, long-term government bond yields of only 1.2% hardly suggest that investors are worried about the scale of government borrowing.

In any case, Japan's future pensions bill needs to be put in context. According to the OECD, the ratio of retired people to the labour force will not rise as much in Japan as in Germany or France (see chart 3). Japan also has more room to raise taxes: its tax burden is only 32% of GDP, compared with 45-50% in continental Europe.

Debtors' prison

A more plausible reason to think that Japan's recession might get much worse is the sorry state of its banking system. This will not neutralise the effects of a fiscal stimulus entirely (as the experience of 1995-96 showed), but it may be enough to dampen them. The banks' overhang of bad loans—estimated at ¥80 trillion, or 12% of GDP—serves as a brake on new lending, and thus on demand. Also, the bad debts raise anxieties about the security of the banking system, further undermining consumer confidence. The debts need to be acknowledged in all their awfulness, and written off.

The government has persistently shied away from that—although it is wrong to accuse it of doing nothing at all. In a policy U-turn in February it announced a ¥30 trillion plan to strengthen deposit insurance and to help banks write off bad loans. As yet, little of this has been used, and rumours about banks or life insurers in trouble continue to rattle the markets. Doubts



* For details see "How Much is Enough for Japan?", by Adam Posen, to be published by the Institute for International Economics in July.

remain over how the money will be used—foolishly, to bail out insolvent banks, or wisely, to support sound ones? But at least money is now available both to prevent a severe interruption of credit and, should the need arise, to reduce the risk of system-wide failure if more banks go under.

On balance, if—and it is a big if—the immediate storm in global markets can be weathered, Japan's current recession is likely to prove short-lived. The government's latest fiscal stimulus, its biggest yet, combined with the weaker yen, will boost growth strongly in the second half of this year. Calculations by Dresdner Kleinwort Benson suggest that a 10% fall in the yen will boost GDP by 1.7% by 1999—roughly the same amount as the fiscal package itself.

Unfortunately, this has to fill a deepening hole left by the slump in exports to the rest of Asia. Two-fifths of Japan's exports go to the region, equivalent to 4.2% of its GDP, compared with only 2.4% of GDP bound for America and Germany. It seems likely that the slump in East Asia will knock up to 2% off Japan's GDP this year. Taking all this into account, the Japanese economy is likely at best to see output broadly unchanged, year on year, in 1998.

If demand merely stabilises in emerging East Asia next year, then Japan's exports will not fall much further. Some of Japan's current fiscal stimulus will also make itself felt in 1999, so the economy could enjoy a reasonable recovery. But further fiscal measures will still be required. It is essential to avoid repeating last year's mistake of tightening policy too soon.

Policy will need to be kept loose, ideally combining tax cuts with tax reform. A review of taxes is promised after the Upper House elections in July. Cuts in marginal income-tax rates combined with a broadening of the tax base would both boost spending and make the economy more efficient. Japan's top rate of income tax, 65%, is currently the highest among the rich economies. This is likely to be cut to 50%.

The reform agenda

Given sufficient resolve, the government has the means to close the output gap. But it should take steps, in addition, to speed the growth of the economy's productive capacity: demand-side measures and supply-side measures do not exclude each other. Again, the government has made more of a start in regulatory reform, for instance, than it is given credit for. Much more remains to be done, but telecommunications, retailing, transport and energy have all seen deregulation of various kinds. And in April Japan's "Big Bang" began to set its financial sector free.

Relaxing the laws controlling large stores has already increased competition by encouraging rapid growth in the number of big supermarkets and foreign retail-

ers. Deregulation in the oil industry—allowing more oil imports and self-service stations—has sharply reduced petrol prices. The cost of telephone calls has fallen thanks to liberalisation. Since the mobile-phone market was set free in 1994, rates have plummeted and the number of phones has jumped from 2m in 1994 to nearly 40m.

In other ways too, the platform for faster productivity growth is already in place. Japan's labour market is not as rigid as Germany's, say. Wages are more flexible—thanks to the larger part played by bonuses—and trade unions are weaker. In some industries, lifetime employment can make it hard for firms to cut costs—but only about one-fifth of all workers in their 40s is actually in lifetime employment.



Indeed, by international standards, Japan does not measure up that badly. Its rate of return on capital may be a lot less than America's—a fact that has attracted attention lately—but it is no worse than in many European economies. The World Economic Forum's latest ranking of competitiveness puts Japan in 12th place, well above France and Germany (22nd and 24th, respectively). To be sure, continental Europe is hardly a model to aspire to—but then again nobody is condemning continental Europe to perpetual stagnation. Indeed, France and Germany are now enjoying relatively brisk growth.

The biggest supply-side obstacle to future growth may no longer be (if it ever was) excessive regulation or inflexible labour

markets, but a corporate culture that finds it easy to tolerate low returns and difficult to tolerate outright failure. If the economy's return on capital is to improve, it will be necessary to close ailing companies more promptly. This is the aspect of the Japanese model which now matters most—and may be the most difficult to change. But recession, financial liberalisation and the squeeze on banks are all playing their part.

Traditionally, managers have faced little pressure to improve their return on assets. Most of their capital came from banks which also held equity in the firm. Troubled firms could stay in business by borrowing more. But as bad loans erode their capital, banks are starting to say "no" to companies, or to charge higher risk premiums. Firms are being forced to turn to the bond market and—thanks to this year's financial deregulation—compete with foreign firms to attract capital.

As markets tumble and commentators tear their hair, it is difficult to accept that Japan's recession may have useful side-effects of this kind—but that makes it no less true. Kevin Hebner, an analyst at SBC Warburg, points to several promising signs. For instance, companies are starting to offer stock-option schemes to managers, giving them an incentive to pursue shareholders' interests. More firms are setting explicit targets for return on equity. And some companies have announced plans to buy back shares, as a way to improve that return.

In the new climate, the threat of takeover may also start to play its part in spurring efficiency. Firms have traditionally been protected by their relationship with their bank and by cross-shareholdings held by friendly companies. But as friendly firms themselves face financial pressure, some are demanding a better return, or, desperate for cash, are selling some of their shareholdings to financial institutions. Recent cross-border M&A activity such as the deal between Travelers and Nikko and current talks between Daimler Benz and Nissan Diesel is just the start. Opaque company accounts remain an obstacle to a vigorous market for corporate control—but next year the country is moving to international accounting standards which will improve disclosure.

If all this works, mind you, it will hurt. These new pressures will encourage firms to cut costs, shed labour and use assets more efficiently. In the short term that means plant closures, rising unemployment, and hence more gloomy headlines about Japan's economic prospects. But creative destruction will help Japan to raise its return on capital. Redundancies and bankruptcies are evidence that the economic adjustment mechanism is working at last. Capitalism, you might say, is finally coming to Japan. Pity it had to be the hard way.



Hashimoto's curious comeback

TOKYO

Despite his unpopularity, Japan's prime minister looks set to lead his party to a resounding election victory

THE great paradox of Japanese politics is that the more the government's popularity declines, the better the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) does in local elections. Support for Ryutaro Hashimoto, the prime minister, and his cabinet has slumped to 27% from 45% a year ago, while the proportion of Japanese who disapprove of their government has doubled to more than half. Yet the LDP's stunning victory in the Kumamoto prefecture on June 14th marked its sixth straight success in lower-house by-elections.

The LDP should have done badly in Kumamoto, normally a stronghold for the opposition. Only days earlier, a noisy—and ultimately unsuccessful—no-confidence motion had been introduced in the Diet (parliament) by the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) and other members of the opposition. Yet even that did not prevent the LDP's candidate, Eiichi Iwashita, from snatching victory. Against all the odds, the LDP now seems set for a handsome victory in the upper-house election on July 12th. It was not what the pundits were predicting even a month ago, and it has important implica-

tions for Japan's ability to get to grips with its economic crisis.

As the present Diet session was drawing to a close on June 18th, Mr Hashimoto could breathe a little easier. With no new corruption scandals to grab the headlines and stir voters from their apathy, his fortunes have improved. Luck has played a large part. Nuclear brinkmanship on the Indian subcontinent coupled with turmoil in Indonesia saved him from an embarrassing roasting by other G8 leaders at the Birmingham summit a month ago for failing to attend adequately to the economic malaise in Japan.

Meanwhile, squabbling within the opposition has again helped Mr Hashimoto shore up his position. The popular Naoto Kan, leader of the recently relaunched DPJ, has failed to unite his disparate forces. Though the DPJ is now the largest opposition group in the Diet, it has come up with only 21 official candidates for the 126 seats to be contested in the coming election, and only a further 23 for the 50 seats allocated by proportional representation. Most people expect the party to struggle to get its 18

members standing for re-election back into the upper house.

By contrast, the LDP, with 61 of its seats up for re-election, has 85 candidates. If the turnout is low, as expected, Mr Hashimoto's party could clinch 69 seats or more. That would give it an overall majority in the upper house as well as in the lower one—something it has not enjoyed since 1989. The LDP would then be able to rule without the support of its two small coalition partners, the Social Democratic Party and the Sakigake. The four-year-old alliance has anyway recently unravelled.

Staying on

The prospect of a big win in July has silenced Mr Hashimoto's critics within his party. Those trying to oust him have now crept back into line. And with no clear successor on the horizon (see box on next page), Mr Hashimoto stands a surprisingly good chance of serving out the remainder of his term. Until recently, it had been widely assumed that, instead of staying in office until September 1999, he would resign as an act of contrition for his party's dismal showing in the July election and for the country's financial mess.

Yet all is not quite well for Mr Hashimoto. Though the election prospects have brightened, the financial mess gets worse. On June 12th, the government's Economic Planning Agency at last admitted what private economists have been saying for months: the country is in its worst recession since the second world war. The economy shrank by 1.3% between January and March this year, the second quarter in a row it has declined. The government still clings to its hope of 1.9% growth this year. But the consensus is that GDP will either stagnate or shrink a little more.

What is clear, however, is that the current era of economic mismanagement is drawing to a close. Once the upper-house election is out of the way, two things are expected in brisk order. One will be an extraordinary Diet session to deal with important bills that had to be put aside this spring. The more pressing business for the government then was the emergency legislation needed to break its own fiscal guidelines, to bail out the banks and to rush through a ¥16.6 trillion (\$120 billion) supplementary budget designed to prevent the economy from collapsing further.

An extraordinary session was going to be needed anyway to elect a new speaker of the upper house and to confirm the number of seats won by the various parties. Normally, such sessions last for only a few days,



From the left, the rising stars: Machimura, Tanigaki, Obuchi, Kato, Koizumi, Yosano, Oshima and Kaneko

Who might replace Hashimoto?

TOKYO

HAD there been a serious alternative, Ryutaro Hashimoto, Japan's prime minister, would probably have gone by now. Mr Hashimoto has plenty of enemies in the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), of which he is formally president until September 1999, and he has much to answer for: to wit, having tightened fiscal policy and taxed the country into the "Hashimoto recession". But he can count himself lucky. For once the LDP has found itself without its usual back-stabbing band of potential leaders. At present, few probably want his job.

The electoral reforms of 1994, which made campaigning for the Diet (parliament) cheaper, also weakened the influence of the LDP's old factional bosses—and the role they played in doling out campaign cash and promoting young lieutenants from within. Divided and confused, the LDP is in transition.

As a result, rising stars are difficult to spot. Among the obvious contenders are Keizo Obuchi, Koichi Kato and, just possibly, Junichiro Koizumi. All three are senior politicians, each with more than nine terms in parliament. The affable Mr Obuchi, 60, is foreign minister and an old-style LDP operator with strong ties to

Noboru Takeshita, a former prime minister and nowadays the party don whose approval is needed for everything. With his solid power-base, Mr Obuchi is theoretically the front-runner to take over when Mr Hashimoto stands down. But he has not improved his prospects by letting Mr Kato grab the limelight.

As the party's secretary-general, Mr Kato, 59, holds a position that gives him great influence over the selection of candidates and the allocation of campaign funds. But Mr Kato, a former diplomat, is not a minister and lacks experience in a heavyweight cabinet job such as foreign affairs or finance.

Mr Koizumi, 56, is the gadfly health and welfare minister. As the party's self-appointed conscience, he is a maverick with no particular patron within the LDP. But he is regarded as the visionary among the new generation of leaders and is at ease on the international stage. His image as a dashing, passionate politician has won him a big public following, which will not go unnoticed if the LDP's popularity fades.

Less obvious and less experienced are Kaoru Yosano, 59, a former education minister whose grandmother, Akiko Yo-

sano, was a famous poet; Nobutaka Machimura, 53, the education minister, who was at Tokyo University during a student revolt in the 1960s and played a part as a mediator; and Sadakazu Tanigaki, also 53, the minister in charge of science and technology. But none seems to have the stomach for the kind of bare-knuckled fight that is needed to make it to the top.

The long shots are Kazuyoshi Kaneko and Tadamori Oshima. Mr Kaneko, 55, is a financial whizz—and also a dab hand at tennis; he is respected for his understanding of international affairs. Mr Oshima, 51, has a reputation for coming up with original ideas and is a tough political fighter; he worked for the *Mainichi* newspaper before entering politics.

With Japan's economy in such a mess, the LDP could, however, fragment once more. The most likely outcome then would be for the LDP's right wing to split off and form an alliance with Ichiro Ozawa, who was once a political heavyweight in the ruling party but now leads a dwindling band of conservatives in the opposition. Meanwhile, the rump of the LDP would probably form a coalition with Naoto Kan's Democratic Party of Japan. Such a marriage would put the popular Mr Kan at the front of the queue for the prime minister's job, and make such rising stars in his party as Michihiko Kano serious contenders thereafter.

but Mr Hashimoto wants to spend a month or more clearing up various bits of parliamentary business, especially transferring to the budget the remaining ¥24 trillion of debts run up by Japan's national railway before it was privatised in 1987.

The second thing Mr Hashimoto is expected to do is to shuffle his cabinet. He will have to replace 72-year-old Kokichi Shimoinaba, the justice minister, who is giving up his seat in the upper house. It is not clear

whether the prime minister will also shuffle the rest of the cabinet next month, or wait until the LDP's ritual reappointment time in late September.

Apart from Mr Hashimoto's own job as president of the ruling party (and thus prime minister), the terms of the LDP's top three officials all expire at the end of September. Though Mr Hashimoto himself may have little difficulty remaining as party leader, his deputy, Koichi Kato, is

itching for a change. The valuable Mr Kato, who engineered the LDP's lower-house victory in 1996 and is the brains behind its upper-house campaign, has already served as the party's secretary-general for two terms. If Mr Kato is one day to serve as prime minister, he needs a big job in the cabinet now. Besides, someone of his calibre is needed as finance minister—the post he is likely to be offered—if the present fiasco is to end.

To prepare himself, Mr Kato has spent

the past few weeks attending to the country's most debilitating problem of all—the quantity of non-performing loans that are threatening the banking system, causing bankruptcies to rocket and pushing unemployment to record levels. Were Mr Kato to be put at the helm of the finance ministry, he would, it is hoped, put some urgency behind much-needed tax reforms. Action is also expected in an effort to strengthen the Resolution and Collection Bank, which is meant to dispose of the bad debts left over from failed banks.

Concern had been growing that the world's financial markets were losing patience with Mr Hashimoto and that a lack of confidence in Japan would continue to weaken the yen and cause the Nikkei stock-market index to plunge even deeper. But

things seemed to brighten for the prime minister on June 17th. After a talk on the telephone with Bill Clinton, Japan and the United States said they would act together to stop the collapse of the yen. Many feared a falling yen would not only deepen East Asia's financial troubles but damage the world economy, too.

So, if political stability is the first step towards financial stability, Japan may be about to turn the corner. On June 14th, it went largely unnoticed that Mr Hashimoto had been in office for longer (some 886 days in all) than Japan's domineering two-term prime minister from the 1970s, Kakuei Tanaka. If he lasts to the end of his term, Mr Hashimoto—popular or not—will become one of modern Japan's longest-serving prime ministers.

Australia

Back to the bad old days?

SYDNEY

Pauline Hanson may not prove quite so appealing to other Australians as she has done to Queenslanders

FOR most of last Sunday John Howard, Australia's prime minister, stayed secluded in his official residence in Sydney, ignoring calls from the media to come out and talk. Everyone concluded, therefore, that the prime minister was shell-shocked. And well he might. An election in Queensland the previous day had changed the face of Australian politics by delivering almost a quarter of the state's vote to One Nation, a small party that opposes Asian immigration and aboriginal rights.

Opinion polls had indicated that One Nation, which is little more than a year old, would cause a few ripples in Queensland. But no one had expected the tidal wave that almost wiped out the Liberal Party in the state. The party was left with just eight seats in Queensland's 89-seat parliament, and its coalition partner, the rural-based National Party, 23. One Nation won ten seats. The opposition Labor Party could end up with 44 seats. The final tally depends on the distribution of second votes under Australia's preferential voting system. But it is likely that Labor could govern with support from independents.

The Queensland election is the first—since the official burial of the old "white Australia" immigration policy in the 1960s—in which a party standing openly for discrimination against non-whites has won parliamentary representation. The effects have been felt far beyond Queensland, not least by Mr Howard, who leads the Liberals—the main conservative party—at the federal level. Race now seems certain to be an issue in the federal election, due to be



Waltzing with Hanson

held within nine months. Tim Fischer, the deputy prime minister, this week called for the poll to be held early, even though some members of government fear that would benefit One Nation.

Flushed with success in her home state, Pauline Hanson—an independent member of the federal Parliament who founded One Nation last year—says she has only just begun her assault. Her party plans to field candidates in marginal federal constituencies, and she claims to have enough sup-

port to hold the balance of power in Canberra after the general election.

The Queensland result has caused panic among many members of the federal government. They have themselves largely to blame. Out of a mixture of spite and folly, their coalition colleagues in Queensland had urged voters to put Mrs Hanson's party ahead of Labor in their second-preference votes. The coalition thought this tactic would deliver to it a chunk of the Hanson vote in the final count. Instead it split the conservative vote three ways at the coalition's expense. In Brisbane, Queensland's capital, Liberal voters seem to have ditched the party in protest. Mr Howard himself must share part of the blame because he refused to take a stand on the issue of second-preference votes.

Many Australians are now asking if they are in for an era of racial politics. The answer is probably no. Mrs Hanson's party won its seats mainly in rural parts of Queensland, where her gritty style and easy solutions appealed to farmers and townspeople suffering from drought and debt. Once Australia's "cattle kings", voters in these places have been reduced to poverty and feel abandoned by the older parties, which they accuse of pandering to city agendas. Mrs Hanson promised to take them back to the good old days.

She wanted to do it in some strange ways. Although opposition to Asian immigration and aboriginal welfare have become her hallmarks, they are only part of a grab-bag of populist, nationalist policies that she espouses. She calls, for example, for an end to foreign investment, the reintroduction of high tariffs to protect Australian farms and factories, and the setting up of a "people's bank" to lend to farmers and small businesses at just 2%. She would finance the bank by printing money.

The rest of Australia likes to think it is different from the "deep north", as Queensland is often called. So Mrs Hanson's supporters may find the going harder when they head south for the federal election. An opinion poll on June 16th gave One Nation 11% nationally, compared with the 23% it won in Queensland. The same poll gave the ruling coalition 37% and Labor 40%.

When Mr Howard eventually came out of his Sydney bunker this week, he declared he would not change the economic proposals he has been promising to put before the voters in the election. These include a goods-and-services tax and the sale of the government's remaining two-thirds share of Telstra, the country's main telecoms company. Mrs Hanson opposes both. At a time when Australia's economy is starting to suffer from the Asian turmoil, Mr Howard's hardest task will be to reassure Australia's neighbours that the bad old days of Fortress Australia have not returned.

THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
6-24-98

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 24, 1998

To talk to Reed
this afternoon
ask J.B. Pod
to call to see
how to proceed

Copied
Reed
Cohen
Podesta
Bowles

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PHIL CAPLAN
SEAN MALONEY *SM*

SUBJECT: English Fluency Act (Riggs Bill) Strategy

The attached Bruce Reed memo updates you on Representative Riggs' bilingual education bill and asks whether you prefer to put forth an alternative bill this summer or defer to House Dems on whether to do so. *Your advisers are split over how best to proceed.*

Background. Riggs' proposal, which recently cleared the House Education and Workforce Committee, would replace existing bilingual education programs with block grants requiring schools to place Limited English Proficient (LEP) students in English-only classes within 2 years; schools would lose funds if LEP students remain in bilingual classes after 3 years; Riggs would also weaken DOEd's enforcement authority. The Administration's alternative now being finalized would: establish a goal of moving LEP students into English classes within 3 years; deny funding to districts that fail to make adequate progress; conduct annual assessments of students' English skills; provide help to struggling students; and develop a corrective action plan to be used if the 3-year goal proves unrealistic. Your advisers are also working on a package of other measures to help LEP students (e.g., better recruitment and training of teachers; new, community-based tutoring and Saturday programs; a DOEd report on best practices).

Options. DPC seeks your guidance on how to engage House Dems on the question of an alternative bill. The Hispanic Caucus (Hinojoso, Becerra), liberals, and bilingual advocates oppose putting forth an alternative; but Dems on the whole may want one. Before engaging on this question, DPC asks whether we should simply defer to House Dems (Option 1) or whether you will want to put forth an alternative bill this summer (Option 2) despite some predictable Democratic opposition. Option 1 (deferring) offers the best chance for keeping Dems united on this, and other, education issues, but cedes control to Dems who may not want what we want; and it may leave you empty handed in opposing Riggs. Option 2 (an alternative bill) would show you're committed to reform and position you in the debate's "reasonable center;" but the bill would not command much support; the Hispanic Caucus and possibly the Black Caucus will oppose it (i.e., the anti-national-testing coalition); finding a sponsor is not a given.

Views. DPC and NPR support Option 2 (an alternative bill) as the best way to make progress on this issue. *Sylvia* and *Maria* favor Option 2, but advocate first trying hard to see what it would take to get wayward Dems to buy in. *Secretary Riley*, *Mickey*, *Janet Murgia*, and *Karen Skelton* favor Option 1 (deferring). *Riley* wants more time to develop a bill and does not want to introduce a bill with the Hispanic Caucus opposing it.

Option 1 (defer to Dems) ____

Option 2 (alternative bill) ____

Discuss *↙* ____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 24, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed

SUBJECT: Bilingual Education

The House Education and the Workforce Committee recently passed the English Fluency Act, introduced by Rep. Frank Riggs, on a straight party-line vote. The purpose of this memo is to update you on both the status of the Riggs proposal and the development of an Administration alternative, and to present you with options for how to proceed.

I. Overview of Riggs Bill and Administration Alternative

The Riggs bill would eliminate the existing Bilingual Education and Emergency Immigrant Education programs and replace it with a block grant program that would require participating school districts to have a strategy for placing Limited English Proficient (LEP) students in regular English-language classes within two years and that would deny funding to districts for any children who remain in bilingual classes after three years. The bill would eliminate professional development programs designed to prepare qualified ESL and bilingual education teachers. It also would curtail the enforcement powers of the Education Department's Office of Civil Rights (OCR) by voiding existing voluntary compliance agreements between OCR and local school districts on educating LEP students and by requiring Congress to ratify any new guidelines and compliance standards on this subject.

We are finalizing an alternative bill based on the principles you and Secretary Riley articulated in opposing the Unz Initiative. (We are also working long-term on possible changes to Title 1 to help LEP students, but these changes will not be ready this year.) Our alternative bill would amend (rather than replace entirely) the existing bilingual education program. Specifically, it would require participating school districts to (1) establish a goal of preparing LEP students to enter regular English classrooms within three years; (2) conduct annual assessments of students' English proficiency; (3) provide additional help for students not on track to English proficiency; and (4) develop a corrective action plan, to be approved by the Secretary, if a significant percentage of students do not meet the three-year goal.

To ensure accountability for results, districts that fail to make adequate progress after implementing a corrective action plan would not receive continued funding. Districts that make outstanding progress toward the three-year goal would receive additional funding. In addition, the bill would guarantee local flexibility by removing the existing cap on funding for programs that do not use students' native languages and by removing the competitive priority currently given to

programs designed to maintain native language while helping students learn English.

We also have been working on other measures to help LEP students. Though we still have work to do on this package, and some parts of it will cost money, we expect it to include: (1) proposals to strengthen the recruitment, preparation, and continued training of bilingual and ESL teachers, including additional incentives to attract teachers to the field and mentoring programs for new teachers; (2) an initiative to promote community-based efforts to provide extra help for LEP students to learn English through, for example, after-school tutoring and Saturday programs; (3) a directive to the Secretary of Education to report on best practices, both in the U.S. and in other countries, to assist students to become proficient in the national language as quickly as possible; (4) a research program in how best to strengthen education for LEP students, including studies on the uses of technology; and (5) a proposal to help English-speaking students learn foreign languages, including new incentives and support for schools to offer foreign language classes in early grades. We can announce such a package this summer regardless of whether we also transmit bilingual reform legislation, though our ability to spend new money on these proposals will be limited outside the budget cycle.

II. Congressional Dynamic

The Riggs bill probably will proceed in the House on two parallel tracks: as a rider to the Labor-HHS-Education Appropriations bill and as a free-standing bill. There is no analogue to the bill in the Senate and no hint of activity on this issue.

The House Labor-HHS-Education Appropriations Subcommittee marked up a bill yesterday that includes Riggs. (This version of Riggs may differ slightly from that previously passed by the Education and the Workforce Committee; we are trying right now to get the appropriations language.) Subcommittee Democrats viewed this appropriations bill as so fundamentally flawed that they did offer any amendments. (The bill provides less than you requested for overall education spending; makes significant cuts in Administration priorities such as Goals 2000; and contains a number of unacceptable riders including a prohibition on national testing and the creation of block grants out of existing programs.) House Democrats have not yet finalized a strategy for dealing with this bill in the full committee and when it comes to the floor. It appears likely that any amendments offered will be designed to promote a unified Democratic message rather than to improve the bill in material ways. We do not expect the Hispanic Caucus to make an effort to strip Riggs from the bill.

In addition, the Riggs bill probably will come to the floor as a free-standing measure shortly after the recess. Few Members have focused on this prospect yet, and we do not know whether they will want the cover of an alternative bill to reform bilingual education. Committee Democrats (including moderate Reps. Roemer and Kind) felt no need for an alternative bill during markup. Rep. Roemer, however, believes that Democrats will need an alternative on the floor. So far, members of the Hispanic Caucus, including Reps. Becerra and Hinojosa, have opposed a floor alternative (as do bilingual advocates), although they acknowledge that the Democratic Caucus as

a whole might eventually want one.

III. Legislative Options

We must determine when and under what conditions to transmit legislation to reform bilingual education. There are two basic options: to defer to Congressional Democrats, or to send a bill to Congress this summer, even if we have not obtained the agreement of House Democrats.

Option 1. Defer to the Congressional Democrats

One approach is essentially to leave this decision to House Democrats. We would consult with members of the Hispanic Caucus and other Democrats on our bill, incorporating their suggestions to the extent we could, but insisting that our three-year goal and strengthened accountability measures remain part of the legislation. If the Democrats decide that they want an alternative bill as Riggs proceeds -- and if they can live with the Administration's version -- we would introduce the bill. Alternatively, if they do not want an alternative -- or do not want our alternative (i.e., a bill with a three-year goal and strong accountability provisions) -- we would continue to articulate our principles on bilingual education, and announce other initiatives to help LEP students, but postpone transmittal of actual legislation until the Bilingual Act comes up for reauthorization next year.

The principal advantage of this approach is that it stands the best chance of keeping Democrats united -- on bilingual education in particular, but also on our overall education strategy. The approach will enable us to take as strong and united a base as possible into our many fights with Republicans on education programs. It also will enable us to draw as clear a line as possible between Republican and Democratic approaches to education issues.

The downside of this approach is that it places control over your bilingual reform proposal in the hands of Members who may not share your views -- and thereby minimizes your ability to take a leadership role on this issue. The chances are good that the Democratic Caucus either will not want an alternative bill, or will not want the kind of bill that we support (although it is possible that enough Members will want a strong alternative to the Riggs bill to place real pressure on the Democratic Leadership and Hispanic Caucus to accept our approach). Accordingly, deferring to the Caucus may well mean deferring transmittal of a bill until next year. In this event, you would have to make the case against Riggs without a specific proposal of your own.

Option 2. Transmit An Administration Bill This Summer

The alternative approach is to send up a bill this summer, even if it cannot get the support of the entire Democratic Caucus. We of course would consult with the Hispanic Caucus and other Democrats in an effort to get their backing, but if these discussions proved fruitless, we would send up a bill regardless. We then would define our opposition to Riggs on this basis.

This approach would demonstrate your clear commitment to reforming bilingual education and would position you in the reasonable center of the emerging national debate between those who are defending the status quo and those who are proposing extreme and punitive approaches. The approach would strengthen your ability to oppose Riggs (because you too would have a reform proposal). It also would give you the best chance of framing the bilingual reform issue and ensuring that yours is a preeminent voice in the debate as it goes forward.

The approach, however, has significant legislative downsides. If you send up a bill against the wishes of the Hispanic Caucus, not only they but probably the Black Caucus and liberal Democrats as well would oppose the measure. In the worst case scenario, the proposal would not find a Democratic sponsor, leaving you appearing wholly isolated on this issue. Even if the bill were introduced, it probably would not command much support; the same coalition could form against it as formed against our national testing initiative. Opposition by the Hispanic and Black Caucuses also could spill over into other legislative battles (although the prospects of support from the two caucuses on the testing issue is in any event very slim).

In assessing these pros and cons, you also should note an outside chance that Riggs will respond to your bill by offering a compromise. Riggs has indicated privately that he does not see large differences between his approach and the principles you articulated when opposing Unz. He also has hinted that he is prepared to drop the civil rights enforcement provisions in his bill. If Riggs were to modify his bill in order to look more like ours, we might be able to pass good bilingual reform legislation, but we would infuriate many House Democrats in our effort to do so.

Recommendation: Your advisors are split on this issue. I favor Option 2 as the best way to make progress on this issue, but recognize that your final determination may depend more upon political than upon policy calculations. NPR, which you asked to look into bilingual issues, also supports Option 2. Maria Echaveste also would favor Option 2 if it comes to that, but would work very hard -- and thinks we have a real chance -- to convince the Hispanic Caucus and Democratic leadership to accept our approach. Secretary Riley favors Option 1 because he wants more time to develop a bill and because he does not want to introduce a bill in the face of resistance from the Hispanic Caucus. Larry Stein, Janet Murguia, Mickey Ibarra, and Karen Skelton also recommend Option 1, principally on the latter ground.

_____ Option 1

_____ Option 2

_____ Discuss

ARNON MILCHAN

98 JUL 5 11:41 AM

June 9, 1998

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

Dear Mr. President:

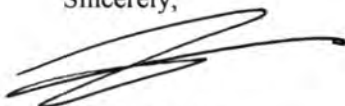
I had the pleasure of meeting you at Lew Wasserman's home, in Malibu with Jeffrey Katzenberg, and at the home of Haim Saban. I understand that you are a great fan of a film I recently produced, *L.A. Confidential*. It was a privilege to bring such an incredible project to the screen, and an even greater honor to learn that it has developed such a distinguished following.

I write today having been asked by Lea Rabin and the American Friends of the Yitzhak Rabin Center for Israel Studies to serve as their National Chair. As you well know, the Rabin Center is a project of great significance to the world community, and I understand from Lea that you have already graciously agreed to act as the Honorary Chair for a dinner to be held in November 1998 observing the third commemoration of Rabin's assassination.

Your very personal relationship with Yitzhak Rabin was well known and held in great esteem, and your participation in this event will be incredibly meaningful to the family and to the Center itself. I would like to meet with you briefly at your convenience in June or early July to discuss the Center and the event. I understand the challenges that your schedule must present, and hope that we can sit down for ten or fifteen minutes to look ahead to November. Ms. Wylie Thomas of the Bonner Group will follow up to make any necessary arrangements, and can be reached at (703) 916-1700 should you need further information.

I look forward to meeting with you and to working together to promote the mission of the Rabin Center in memory of Yitzhak Rabin and in tribute to his life and work. Thank you.

Sincerely,



Arnon Milchan

7-6-98

Phil -
How should we
handle?

Card
To Dan Burkhart
for reply. Coord with
Craig Smith & let's
schedule. Junes
Phil

DMG

ENTERTAINMENT

President and Mrs. Bill Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500

July 2, 1998

Dear Mr. President,

Please join me at the premiere screening of my first film as producer entitled
"KNOCKOUT". The screening will be held on July 14, 1998 at the Academy of Motion
Picture Arts and Sciences in Beverly Hills, California.

Being that you are fans of both boxing and movies, I know you'll enjoy **"KNOCKOUT"**. I
believe that you and Mrs. Clinton will be pleased with the strong female lead, a young
Latina actress named Sophia-Adella Hernandez who did a magnificent job. We are very
proud of her.

I hope you both can attend.

Respectfully,



Simone Sheffield
Producer

7-6-98
Send to **Scheduling**
yes ☒
no ☐

C

CHAMPION

RAGING BULL

GOLDEN BOY

THE CHAMP

BODY & SOUL

ROCKY

GET READY FOR BOXING'S NEXT GREAT MAIN EVENT!

knockout

From the streets...
to the ring.



DMG
ENTERTAINMENT
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AVAILABLE ON:

DMG
RECORDS

A Lorenzo Doumani Film

YOU'RE INVITED TO A HOT & SPICY EVENING OF
LIVE MUSIC AND DANCING

WORLD PREMIERE **knockout**

AFTER
PARTY

FEATURING LIVE MUSIC
BY LATIN SENSATION

JOHNNY POLANCO
Y SU CONJUNTO AMISTAD

TUESDAY, JULY 14
10:00 PM

THE CENTURY CLUB & GARDENS

10131 CONSTELLATION BLVD.
CENTURY CITY

\$15.00 DONATION AT THE DOOR

ALL PROCEEDS TO BENEFIT
THE CHILDREN OF EAST L.A. CLASSIC THEATRE

GREGORY CASCANTE, LORENZO DOUMANI & SIMONE SHEFFIELD
ARE PLEASED TO INVITE YOU & A GUEST TO
THIS YEAR'S MAIN EVENT...

knockout

a LORENZO DOUMANI film

**WORLD
PREMIERE**

SCREENING

TUESDAY, JULY 14
7:15 PM

ACADEMY OF MOTION PICTURE ARTS & SCIENCES
SAMUEL GOLDWYN THEATRE

8949 Wilshire Blvd
Beverly Hills

starring:

EDUARDO YAÑEZ WILLIAM McNAMARA TONY PLANA
MARIA CONCHITA ALONSO GINA LA PIANA FREDIA GIBBS
PAUL WINFIELD and introducing SOPHIA-ADELLA HERNANDEZ as Belle

featuring original songs by:

INDIA ARTURO SANDOVAL TITO PUENTE TATA VEGA PHILLIP INGRAM
SHON TEE JOHNNY POLANCO BRENDA DOUMANI ANGIE & DEBBIE WINANS

Please **RSVP** by July 9
(213) 953-8284

JUNE 23, 1998

MR PRESIDENT
BILL CLINTON
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

7-6-98

Betty brought this down,
said Craig Smith
would respond. OK?
Yes ☒ No ☐

B

DEAR MR PRESIDENT:

I HAVE ROUGH WRITTEN ONE LETTER OF 15 PAGES,
ANOTHER OF 8 PAGES AND DECIDED TO USE THIS SHORT
ONE.

ON JULY 9, 1998 YOU ARE SCHEDULED TO MAKE A SHORT
STOP AND SPEECH IN ATLANTA ON YOUR WAY TO FLORIDA
TO ENDORSE ONE MICHAEL COLES WHO HAS HIGH SCHOOL
ONLY IN THE U. S. SENATE DEMOCRAT PRIMARY OF 7-21-98

I AM SURE YOU DID NOT KNOW I WAS A CANDIDATE IN THIS
PRIMARY. WE HAVE PUT UP OVER 10,000 "BIG JIM" AND
"BIG JIM SUPPORTS AFFIRMATIVE ACTION" POSTERS IN
EVERY TOWN, CITY AND COMMUNITY IN GEORGIA. WE HAVE
RUN ADS ON THIRD PAGES IN ALL THE 30 DAILIES. I HAVE
DRIVEN 11,010 MILES MYSELF. COLES AND GOV. MILLER
WHO I RAN AGAINST IN 1994 HAVE BEEN SITTING IN THEIR
AIR CONDITION MANSIONS WAITING FOR YOU TO GET BACK
FROM CHINA ON A ROLL..BIG MO..COME TO ATLANTA AND
BLESS BOTH OF THEM IN A FUND RAISER. THE GOLD CIRCLE
COSTS \$10,000 PER TICKET, THE BLUE COSTS \$5,000 AND
ALL OTHER SEATS COST \$500.00.

COLES HAS DONE ABSOLUTELY ZERO. THERE HAS BEEN A TOTAL 100% NEWS BLACKOUT BY MOST OF THE MEDIA.

IF THE ELECTION WAS THIS TUESDAY I WOULD WIN BY A LARGE MARGIN. THE PEOPLE IN MIDDLE AND SOUTH GA. HAVE NEVER HEARD OF MICHAEL COLES. AS I RAN FOR P. S. C AND AGAINST ZELL FOR GOVERNOR IN 1994 I AM WELL KNOW. ZELL MILLER GOT UNDER 50 % OF THE VOTE IN MOST OF THE AREAS OUTSIDE OF ATLANTA.

MR PRESIDENT, WE ALWAYS FELT YOU WERE PART OF THE FAMILY. MY MOTHER'S SISTER SUE AND HER HUSBAND, JOHN, WHO PASSED AWAY THIS YEAR LIVED IN HOT SPRINGS, ARK. THEIR SON AND YOUR BROTHER WAS THE BEST OF FRIENDS. YOU WERE IN THEIR HOME MANY TIMES BEFORE YOU WERE GOVERNOR AND WHILE GOVERNOR. MEANWHILE ACCROSS THE RIVER IN MEMPHIS AND WEST TENNESSEE I RAN FOR U. S. CONGRESS IN 1966. I HAD 4 COLOR POSTERS. IN 1988 WHEN YOU WERE RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR IN ARKANSAS I WAS RUNNING FOR U. S. SENATE IN TENNESSEE.

SINCE THE DEMOCRAT CONVENTION IN CHICAGO IN 1956, WHEN I WAS A DELEGATE, I HAVE FELT THE POSTER VOTE WAS EFFECTIVE. I HAVE HELPED 23 WINNERS IN A ROW BEFORE I PUT THEM UP WITH GREG, MY SON, THAT LIVES IN LITTLE ROCK FOR GOV. JOE FRANK HARRIS IN 1982. IN 1984 I DESIGNED GARY HART'S POSTER AND PULL THEM UP. FOR THE DEMOCRAT PARTY OF GEORGIA I PUT UP MONDALE IN 1984, MAC BARBER, AND SENATOR WYCE FOWLER IN '86. WHEN I RAN FOR P. S. C. IN 1988 IN A 5 PERSON RACE I CAME IN FIRST IN OVER 100 COUNTIES, SECOND IN OVER 40, AND LOST IN METRO ATLANTA. THIS YEAR MY NEWS

ADS AND THAT COLES HAS ONLY HIGH SCHOOL WILL BE THE DECIDING FACTOR. WHAT PAPER WOULD ENDORSE HIM???

AT THE SAME TIME YOU ARE IN ARKANSAS WE FOUNDED S. T. O. P. (SOCIETY TO OUTLAW POLLUTION) IN 1971. ALBERT WAS ONCE A MEMBER. HE HAS COME UP FAST. FIRST HE WINS HIS PRIMARY IN 1976 FOR U. S. CONGRESS IN TN WITH ABOUT 25% OF THE VOTE. WHEN I WAS HELPING GARY HART IN TENNESSEE WE GAVE HIM A HAND IN THE THE U. S. SENATE RACE TO REPLACE BAKER.

I USE TO HAVE SOMEWHAT OF AN ACCESS TO THE WHITE HOUSE. MY BROTHER, PERRY BOYD, WHO HAS TOP SECRET CLEARANCE GUARDED AIR FORCE ONE UNDER NIXON, FORD, CARTER AND REAGAN. WHERE AIR FORCE ONE WENT PERRY WENT. HE WENT TO CHINA, RUSSIA, SADAT'S FUNERAL WITH FOUR PRESIDENTS. ALL THE PRESIDENTS KNEW HIM AS "PERRY". HE WAS THE MAN STANDING BY THE DOOR WITH A BIG SMILE AND CIVILIAN SUIT. AFTER REAGAN HE DECIDED TO "IT WAS TIME TO MOVE ON">.

AS I NO LONGER HAVE ACCESS I AM MAILING COPIES OF THIS NOTE TO OTHERS, MIKE, ANN, P. R. AT DEMOCRAT SENATORAL COMMITTEE, ALL THE PRESS.

MR PRESIDENT I AM ASKING THAT YOU CANCEL THIS ENDORSEMENT BY JUST SAYING I DID NOT KNOW THAT THIS FUND RAISING AND ENDORSEMENT FOR MR COLES WAS IN A HEATED DEMOCRAT PRIMARY AND THAT JIM BOYD WAS A CANDIDATE IN THIS PRIMARY.

I AM THE BEST QUALIFIED. I HAVE COLLEGE, PH. D., LAW SCHOOL. THE UNITED STATES SENATE IS A LAW MAKING AND MONEY SPENDING BODY. ALL OF THE MEMBER HAVE

COLLEGE. 47 HAVE LAW SCHOOL. 3 HAVE COLLEGE BUT DID NOT GET DEGREES. NOT ONE SINGLE MEMBER HAS HIGH SCHOOL ONLY. GEORGIA DESERVES THE BEST. BIG JIM BOYD AS A U. S. SENATOR CAN MAKE GOOD LAWS AND CHANGE BAD LAWS. MICHAEL COLES CAN MAKE GOOD CHOCOLATE CHIPPED COOKIES AND THROW AWAY BAD ONES. LET US SEND BIG JIM TO THE U. S. SENATE AND MICHAEL COLES BACK TO THE KITCHEN FOR MORE COOKIES.

THE UNITED STATES SENATE IS NOT IN THE FAST FOOD BUSINESS.

ONCE UPON A TIME WHILE YOU WERE IN COLLEGE AND I AND SENATOR HOWARD BAKER HAD WON OUR PRIMARIES IN 1966 WE WERE IN A HOTEL ROOM IN NASHVILLE WAITING FOR HOWARD TO GIVE HIS KICKOFF SPEECH AT THE OLD GRAND OLE OPERA. HE SAID "THIS SPEECH MAKES ME NERVOUS. I SAID "HOWARD, A POLITICAL BATTLE IS A BATTLE FOR THE CONTROL OF THE MINDS OF MEN." HE LATER TOLD ME HE ALWAYS RECALLED WHAT I SAID. DURING THIS WAITING HE SAID HE HAD NO INTENTION OF SPENDING THE REST OF HIS LIFE IN THE U. S. SENATE. TRUE TO HIS WORD HE QUIET IN 1984. I HAVE NO INTENTION OF SPENDING THE REST OF MY LIFE IN THE U. S. SENATE. I WILL SERVE THE 6 YEAR TERM ONLY. MEANWHILE, COLES CAN GET COLLEGE AND LAW SCHOOL AND RUN IN THE 2,004


BIG JIM BOYD

PHOTO

HAS COLLEGE LAW SCHOOL

MICHAEL COLES

HAS HIGH SCHOOL ONLY

DEMOCRATS FOR BIG JIM FOR U. S. SENATE DENISIA BOYD, CHR

BIG JIM BOYD

PHOTO

HAS COLLEGE LAW SCHOOL

CANDIDATE & CAMPAIGN

MICHEAL COLES

MGR DENISIA BOYD

HAS HIGH SCHOOL ONLY

DEMOCRATS FOR BIG JIM FOR U. S. SENATE DENISIA BOYD, CHR

STATE HGTS 770 888 2490 MAIL CONTRIBUTIONS TO BIG JIM FOR

U. S. SENATE, P. O. BOX 42, DULUTH, GA. 30136 OR PHONE TO HELP.

BIG JIM BOYD

HAS COLLEGE LAW SCHOOL

MICHAEL COLES

HAS HIGH SCHOOL ONLY

DEMOCRATS FOR BIG JIM

770 888 2490 . ATLANTA

DEMOCRAT PRIMARY U. S. SENATE

BIG JIM BOYD

ADS

HAS COLLEGE AND LAW SCHOOL

MICHAEL COLES

HAS HIGH SCHOOL ONLY

EVERY MEMBER OF THE U. S. SENATE

HAS COLLEGE AND MANY LAW.

A CLEAR CHOICE

PAID BY DEMOCRATS FOR BIG JIM FOR THE

U. S. SENATE, DENISIA BOYD, CHR., P. O. B

42, DULUTH, GA. 30136 770 888 2490

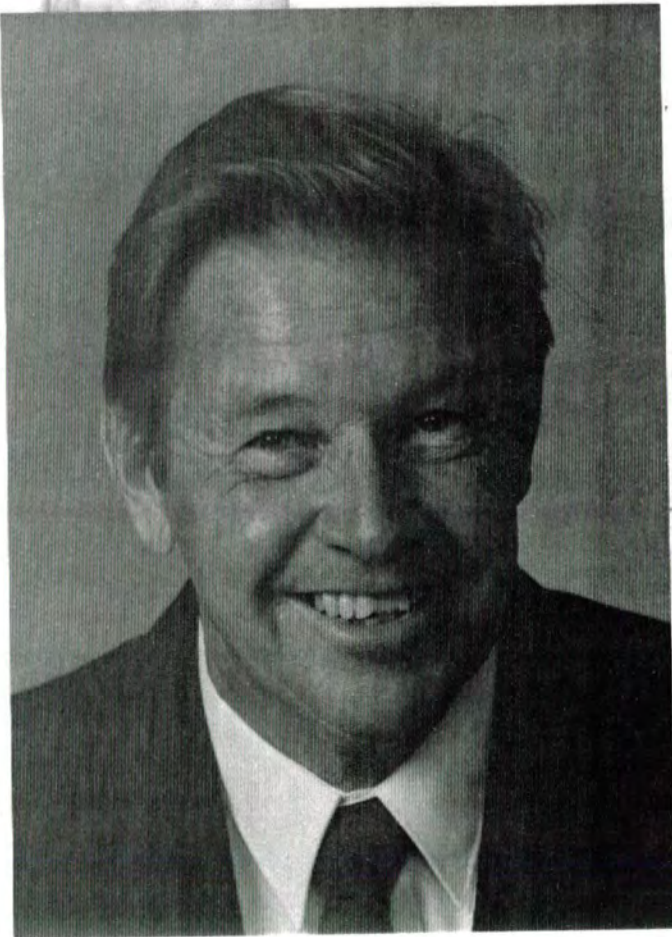
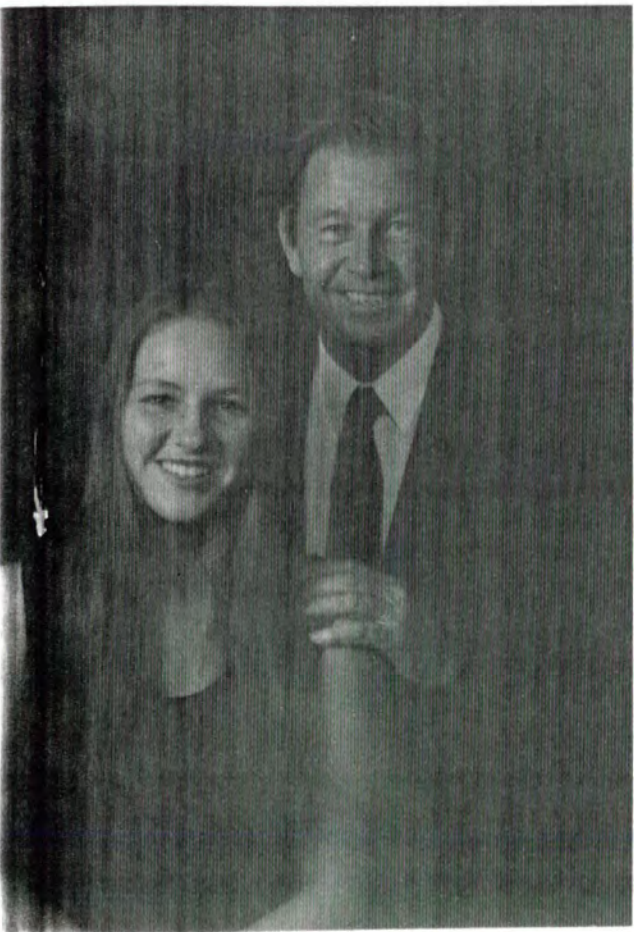
FAX 678 947 8739 MAIL OR PHONE IN ORDER

TO MAKE CONTRIBUTIONS OR TO HELP. WE HAVE

AREA HGTS IN AUGUSTA, ALBANY, CORDELE,

SAVANNAH, VALDOSTA, AND METRO ATLANTA





DEMOCRAT PRIMARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

JIM (BIG JIM) BOYD

HAS COLLEGE AND LAW SCHOOL
MICHAEL COLES
HAS HIGH SCHOOL ONLY

STATE HGTS 770 888 2490 FAX 678 947 8739
694 PEACHTREE PWY., NEAR HWYS 400 AND 141
STATEWIDE OPERATIONS HEADQUARTERS

AREA HGTS PHONE NUMBERS

THIS IS A CORRECTED LIST. DISCARD YOUR OLD LIST.

ALBANY	METRO ATLANTA	SAVANAH	AUGUSTA	VALDOSTA
912	770	912	803	912
483 2444	662 4311	921 4020	819 2544	259 3222

SOUTHERN HEADQUARTERS

CORDELE INTERSTATE 75 NEAR WAL MART
912 276 4442

JOIN OUR ALL VOLUNTEER TEAM NOW. HAVE
FUN THIS SUMMER AND FALL LEARN THE
POLITICAL SYSTEM.... YOU MIGHT RUN FOR
OFFICE SOMEDAY ...GET A HEAD START!!!!

PRESS RELEASE

ENCLOSED YOU WILL FIND TWO PHOTOS. KEEP THEM. WE WILL NOT
SEND MORE FOR NEWS OR ADS. ONE IS THE CANDIDATE AND HIS
CAMPAIGN MGR. ...HIS DAUGHTER, DENISIA BOYD.

JIM (BIG JIM) BOYD
AGE 64

5 CHILDREN DENISIA , CHRISTOPHER, KEVIN, GREG, CHERI

EDUCATION: U. OF TENNESSEE, ROOSEVE LT, PH. D. ECONOMICS,
JOHN MARSHALL LAW SCHOOL, LICENSED REAL
ESTATE BROKER, LICENSED PROPERTY AND
CASUALTY INSURANCE.

Tiger Woods

*One Erieview Plaza
Suite 1300
Cleveland, Ohio 44114*

June 25, 1998

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

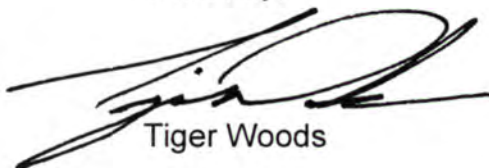
I know that my management people have been communicating with the White House regarding "Tiger & Friends". I just wanted to drop you a personal note of invitation in hopes you can join us for a really fun day.

Last year race car driver Jeff Gordon, Ken Griffey Jr. and actor Chris O'Donnell made up the foursome. This year we are hoping that you and Chevy Chase will take part, plus one.

It's a scramble format, three against one (me), and charity is the big winner. The show will air on network television around Thanksgiving. Depending on your availability, we would play in early November in Orlando. Taping would take approximately five hours of your time.

I know you must get thousands of requests, so thanks for considering this! As perhaps the most golfing President ever, who is also known for his sense of humor, you are a perfect choice for our format. I really hope you can make it.

Sincerely,



Tiger Woods

Send to Scheduling?

Yes ☒
No ☐

Backlist
for reply C
BC Sig
ASAP

7/6/98

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT JAMES LUENSMAN
Control Center, Rm. 058 OEOB

FROM: Phillip M. Caplan *PMC*
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: Access to Offices

The following individuals should be given access to the offices of Todd D. Stern, Phillip M. Caplan and Paul E. Begala. These offices are located on the Ground Floor of the West Wing.

Todd D. Stern

Phillip M. Caplan

Paul E. Begala

Sean P. Maloney

Eleanor S. Parker

Barbara A. Barclay

Carol Cleveland

Debbie Bird

Christy Manso

Jonathan Adashek

Dana Strand

cc: Post El
E. Parker
J. Adashek
C. Cleveland

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date

7/6

To:

John Podesta

From:

The Staff Secretary

Mack wanted me to
get him to the President
after China. Any objection?

Phil

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE

FROM: MACK MCLARTY *MM-f*
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR APPOINTMENTS FOR BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA

As I prepare to wind up my tenure as Special Envoy, I wanted to give you my best thinking concerning the appointment of Ambassadors to two critical countries in the hemisphere, Brazil and Argentina, an important and unresolved matter.

My recommendations reflect conversations with NSC, State, and White House personnel, who agree that the decision by Lee Godfrey not to go forward to Brasilia and the ongoing 18-month gap in Buenos Aires leave large openings which should be filled as a top priority. In my view, the appointment of qualified candidates to both countries would send a strong signal of support for a policy of sustained engagement following your recent 12-month focus on the Americas, particularly given the impending departure of Jeff Davidow to Mexico and my own to the private sector. But regardless of the final nominees, prompt attention to this matter is the main concern.

Brazil

As you know from your travel there last October and your recent lengthy meetings with President Cardoso, our hemispheric policy is in part anchored on a vital partnership with Brazil. Given its economic weight (half of Latin American GDP), population, geographic size, and emerging political confidence, Brazil can make our lives easier or much more difficult in the region. Ambassador Levitsky retires in July, and seamless diplomatic representation is a must.

Ambassador Richard Brown: Head of the Summit of the Americas office at State, career foreign service officer Rich Brown guided our efforts from before the Miami Summit through Santiago, at times virtually single-handedly keeping together hemispheric Summit implementation and planning. He has the necessary standing and proven experience, having served as Ambassador to Uruguay; with two tours in Brazil, he speaks Portuguese and understands the Brazilian mindset. More importantly, perhaps, he has been the model of true dependability and support in our hemispheric efforts. His loyalty and professionalism make him an excellent choice for Brasilia.

cc: The Vice President
Mr. Bowles
Mr. Berger
Mr. Nash
Ms. Scott

Ambassador Donna Hrinak: I have been similarly impressed with our current Ambassador to Bolivia, Donna Hrinak. Donna is also a career foreign service officer. She is one of our best, also with proven experience (before Bolivia, Donna served as Ambassador in the Dominican Republic, and as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State). She knows and understands the Summit process, having worked on the Miami Summit. She is smart, savvy, responsive, and effective. On the down side, pulling her out of La Paz early, where we have important counternarcotics and other interests, would open a new Ambassadorial position which would then need to be filled.

Ron Scheman: Ron just completed an outstanding tenure as US Executive Director at the IDB, and has now moved on to a position with Greenberg Traurig here in town. Ron is a skilled lawyer and diplomat, with a deep commitment to the region. It is my understanding he has lived and worked in Brazil, knows the people, and is very interested in the Ambassador position. He is also a creative and energetic personality, is loyal to you, as you know, and would bring a certain panache which would be beneficial in terms of outreach and representation of US interests.

Argentina

Argentina is perhaps our closest ally in Latin America. Under President Menem, the country has strongly supported US efforts literally across the globe, while successfully reforming a basket-case economy and modernizing its politics. Problems remain, of course, but progress has been such that we named the country a Major Non-NATO Ally last autumn as a show of gratitude and support on world-wide peacekeeping initiatives. Still, we have not had a US Ambassador there since December 1996, a negative signal to send a friend and unfailing ally, although our efforts were admittedly set back a bit with the unfair complications regarding Ambassador Jim Dobbins, who would have made an outstanding envoy to Argentina, and both Mayor Bob Lanier's and Governor Bob Miller's decision not to favorably consider the post.

Secretary John Dalton: Navy Secretary John Dalton is a proven performer with Ambassadorial skills including presence, energy, intellect, and standing. Of course, he is also a strong supporter of the Administration. With his wife Margaret, a strong partner, and given his national security and economics background (MBA from Wharton and private sector banking experience), his background and experience would make him an excellent choice.

Mayor Jerry Abramson: Louisville Mayor Jerry Abramson has also done a great job in his current position, particularly with regard to economic development in the Ohio Valley. As the outgoing president of the US Conference of Mayors, he is highly regarded and has been helpful to the Administration, for example on the crime bill. I'm unaware of any specific tie to Latin America, but his political gravitas would play well within the Buenos Aires community.

Both Marife Hernandez and Hassan Nemazee are capable candidates in their own right, but in my view either Secretary Dalton or Mayor Abramson would be a stronger choice for the important position of Ambassador to Argentina.

Given my ongoing interest in the region, ensuring the presence of good people in place in Latin America and the Caribbean will continue to be a priority for me. I hope and trust these thoughts are helpful to you as you come to a timely decision on these matters.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date

7/6

To:

John Podesta

Maria Edwards

From:

The Staff Secretary

I received this in my office
today. How do you want
to handle?

Phil

map

NCLR

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

Raul Yzaguirre, President

June 10, 1998

President Bill Clinton
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington D.C.

Dear President Clinton:

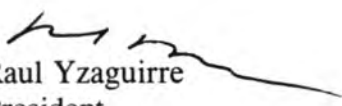
I am writing to urge you to retain the position of Special Envoy for the Americas at its current level within the administration and to consider selecting one of many qualified Hispanic Americans for the position.

Retaining the position of Special Envoy for the Americas will send a message to our partners in the hemisphere of your continued interest in Latin America. That message will help leaders in the hemisphere build on the agreement to pursue hemispheric integration and cooperation established in the 1994 Miami Summit of the Americas and strengthened recently at the 1998 Santiago Summit of the Americas.

Special Envoy McLarty was instrumental in the success of the Santiago Summit of the Americas and gained the respect of leaders throughout the hemisphere. It is crucial to the successful implementation of Summit initiatives that the U.S. retain a high-level leadership position on the issues and have someone at the White House to oversee our relationship with Latin America. Further, by appointing a respected and qualified Hispanic American as Special Envoy for the Americas, you will continue to promote the value of diversity in the Administration.

A strong and positive relationship with Latin America is crucial to the welfare of Hispanic communities in the U.S. and to many of our families in our countries of origin. We believe appointing a qualified and respected Latino as Special Envoy to the Americas would provide the leadership necessary to build on the gains made over the last six years in U.S. relations with Latin America. We would be happy to discuss with your staff the many highly-qualified Hispanic Americans who we believe would be excellent choices for this position.

Sincerely,


Raul Yzaguirre
President



Program Offices: Phoenix, Arizona • San Antonio, Texas • Los Angeles, California • Chicago, Illinois

LA RAZA: The Hispanic People of the New World

National Office

1111 19th Street, N.W., Suite 1000

Washington, DC 20036

Phone: (202) 785-1670

Fax: (202) 776-1792

7878

Take out of
system

to Burkhardt
for reply

Phil
7/6/98

July 4, 1998
98 JUL 5 AM 11:20

Dear Mr. President,

As I leave OSTP to continue government service at The National Science Foundation (NSF) I want to thank you for the privilege of serving in your administration since 1993 as Special Assistant to the OSTP Director, Dr. John Gibbons.

Sir, you will go down in history as the Greatest President America has had, perhaps a couple of founding fathers not withstanding. Your energy, your grace under stress, your kindness, your intellect, are all qualities that come to mind. But your leadership and accomplishments in foreign affairs, education, S+T, and especially the environment are your legacy for all of us now and for citizens to come. For this we are grateful.

And people do remember what you say! - I remember being in the East Room in late January 1993 when you met with the new WH staff and asked us to remember that when things get tough to remind ourselves why we are here - to serve the people - it has helped a lot!

Thank you again, and God bless you and your family.

With highest regards,
Quinn Bonnell





From the Ambassador
Sir Christopher Meyer KCMG

British Embassy
Washington

3100 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008-3600

Telephone: (202) 588-6512
Facsimile: (202) 588-7870
www.britain-info.org

2 July 1998

The Honorable
Erskine B Bowles
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington DC 20500

Dear Erskine,

The Queen has asked me to pass the enclosed message to the President marking Independence Day.

*Yours sincerely,
Christopher Meyer*

Christopher Meyer

7-6-98

TD VNSC

**MESSAGE DATED 2 JULY 1998
FROM HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II
TO THE HONORABLE WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

Message Begins

As you celebrate your Independence Day, I have much pleasure in sending to you, Mr President, my warmest greetings, together with my best wishes to the people of the United States of America for their good fortune and happiness.

Elizabeth R.

Message Ends

7/2/98

From Mc Larty -

Send to NSE? ✓

Res _____

me _____

F. a 4 de julio de 1998.

Excelentísimo Señor Willlam J. Clinton
Presidente de los Estados Unidos de América

Es para mí un honor enviar a vuestra excelencia por este conducto un afectuoso saludo, en ocasión de vuestra fiesta nacional.

Los lazos de cooperación y entendimiento que unen a nuestros pueblos se ven fortalecidos por la amistad y los propósitos en la búsqueda del bien común de la humanidad.

Al hacer extensivas mis felicitaciones en nombre del pueblo y Gobierno de México al pueblo y Gobierno de los Estados Unidos de América, reitero a vuestra excelencia mi consideración más distinguida.

Ernesto Zedillo
Presidente de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos



EMBAJADA DE MÉXICO

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION

Mexico City, July 4, 1998.

H.E. Mr. William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America

It is an honor for me to send to your Excellency, my warmest greeting on the occasion of your National Day.

The ties of cooperation and understanding that link our peoples, are strengthened by the friendship and goals in the search of mankind's well being.

In extending my congratulations on behalf of the people and the Government of Mexico to the people and Government of the United States of America, I renew to your Excellency my most distinguished consideration.

Ernesto Zedillo
President of the United Mexican States



Orthodox Union

UNION OF
ORTHODOX
JEWISH
CONGREGATIONS
OF AMERICA
איחוד
קהילות
האורתודוקסים
באמריקה

333 SEVENTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, NY 10001 • (212) 563-4000 • FAX (212) 564-9058

ב"ה

KASHRUTH DIVISION

June 23, 1998

President
MANDELL I. GANCHROW, M.D.

Chairman
PROF. SHIMON KWESTEL

Vice Chairman
DAVID FUND

Rabbinic Administrator
RABBI MENACHEM GENACK

Rabbinic Administrator (1950-1972)
RABBI ALEXANDER S. ROSENBERG

Ms. Ann Lewis
Assistant to the President
Director of Communications
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20502

Dear Ann,

Enclosed please find the next missive to the President. The piece is entitled "*Biblical Paradigms of Relations between National Leaders and their People: Saul and Moses*" and is authored by Dr. Moshe Anisfeld, Professor of Psychology and Pediatrics, Ferkauf Graduate School of Psychology & Albert Einstein College of Medicine.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Menachem Genack

4/6/98

Send to M.L.L. >

Yes

No

Biblical Paradigms of Relations between National Leaders and their People:
Saul and Moses

Saul was chosen by God to be the first king of the Israelites. But not long into Saul's reign, God expresses regret over this choice (I Samuel, Chaps. 8-15). Saul's story reveals the biblical conception of the desirable patterns of relations between leaders and their people. This conception is sharpened by juxtaposing the leadership of Saul with some aspects of the leadership of Moses.

Saul's appointment follows the guidelines specified in Deuteronomy (17:14-20). The people are told that if they wish to have a king, "you shall be free to set a king over yourself, one chosen by the Lord your God" (17:14-15). The request for a king has to come from the people, but his selection is made by God.

Responding to the call of the people for a king, the prophet Samuel, on signs from God, anoints Saul (Chap. 10). The biblical narrative emphasizes the transformation of Saul following his appointment, a transformation which is symbolized by a change in Saul's physical stature. When the people were looking for Saul in order to anoint him, they could not find him because he was "hiding among the baggage" (10:22)—he was small enough to be able to do so. But when Saul was finally found and "took his place among the people, he stood a head taller than all the people" (10:23). The image of Saul's physical growth is a metaphor for his mental growth. Samuel tells Saul that after his designation as king the spirit of the Lord will grip him, he will come into possession of the powers of prophecy—he "will become another man" (10:6), and indeed all of this happens (10:9-13). The message here is that ascension of a chosen individual to national leadership brings with it an inspiration—indeed, a Divine inspiration.

The leader so inspired must recognize his elevated status, act on it and demand respect for it. And this is where Saul failed. Right after the coronation when most of the people showed their enthusiasm for him, there were some "scoundrels" who publicly scorned him. But Saul took no notice of the disloyalty, preferring to ignore it (10:27). Even at this high point, he did not take his status as king seriously enough to recognize the need to protect it. Referring specifically to Saul, the Rabbis of the Talmud have decreed that a king is not permitted to forgo respect due to him (Yoma 22b).

Saul's failure to adequately grasp the awe inherent in his position ultimately leads to the discontinuance of his dynasty (Chap. 15). Saul is commanded by God to fight the Amalekites and to utterly destroy all they have (15:3). But Saul and the troops spare the sheep, the cattle and other valuables (15:9). When he is called to task by Samuel on this violation of the order, Saul repeatedly justifies the transgression by reference to the wish of the people (15:15, 15:21). Saul apparently does not fully appreciate that his divine

inspiration gives him the power to prophesy, to pursue long-term goals, and to resist the impulse to acquiesce in the immediate wishes of the people. Samuel is forced to remind Saul: "You may look small in your own eyes, but you are the head of the tribes of Israel. The Lord anointed you king over Israel" (15:17).

How do we put together the urging that the king display a sense of self-importance with the injunction in the kingly guidelines in Deuteronomy that the king's "heart should not be lifted above his brethren" (17:20)? An answer emerges from an examination of an episode in the life of Moses (Numbers, Chap. 12). Moses's siblings Miriam and Aaron voice some unspecified complaint about his relations with a Cushite woman that he married. Then they say (12:2): "Has God spoken only through Moses? Has He not spoken through us as well?" Moses seems to Miriam and Aaron to act in an aloof and presumptuous manner. In defense of Moses, God asserts that "Moses was very anāw, more so than any other man on earth" (12:3). The underlined Hebrew word appears in this singular form nowhere else in the bible. It is normally translated as humble, and it does have a sense of humility, but a very special sense. To be an anāw is to be totally focused on the promotion of one's mission, to the exclusion of the satisfaction of one's ego needs. Miriam and Aaron are told that although Moses's actions may appear to be self-aggrandizing, they were in fact totally in the service of his divine mission.

Saul's responsiveness to the people, although noble in itself, reflected a defect in appreciation of his elevated status as a leader. His caring for the people was not tempered by a consciousness of a higher vision vested in him. Saul's kind of humility—a failure to recognize that he was in possession of an inspired view not shared by the people—is deleterious to leadership. The desirable humility exhibited by Moses resulted from a total submission to his mission. Moses so submerged himself to serving as God's voice on earth that he lost consciousness of his own self. He saw himself merely as an instrument of God. The ideal model of a leader projected by the bible through Moses and the guidelines concerning the behavior of kings is one who is not arrogant (his "heart should not be lifted above his brethren"). But at the same time is attuned to the mission thrust upon him and the awesome responsibilities incumbent on him.

Moshe Anisfeld, PhD
Professor of Psychology and Pediatrics
Ferkau Graduate School of Psychology & Albert Einstein College of Medicine
Yeshiva University

LEARNING

A Guide to Education and Lifelong Learning



Amelia Newcomb

Summers In the Bathtub

Last week was our count-down to school's end. Sixth and fourth grades have entered the family history books, and my kids are busily looking for symbols of summer that clinch liberation from tests.

They peruse yearbooks and talk beaches. But I can't help thinking that the best herald of summer would be a quick spin in the Bathtub.

**Chalk
Talk**

The Bathtub was a car. It arrived with my stepfather, Frank. In the mid-1960s, its toaster-size, Mini-Minor body resembled a go-cart. We kids couldn't find the steering wheel. It had no roof.

Frank swore that it drove - if only in summer, what with the permanent air conditioning. We concluded he was crazy, till we hopped in and the Austin 1100 cc engine sent us pressing up against the vinyl back bench.

The "why" of the car was unclear. Its cerulean blue shell had cost Frank \$25, top dollar considering he had to add a new (and too powerful) engine, windshield, seat frames, and even a steering wheel, which took the form of an elevator trim tab wheel from a World War II B-25 bomber. This actually doubled as a car lock because you could unscrew the small wheel and pocket it when out on the town. It caused trouble too, as we kids would demonstrate this feature to friends and then forget to screw the wheel back on tightly, only to have Frank discover a problem while rounding a bend at high speed.

We adored that car. We zipped
See **CHALK TALK** Page B8

Torn between
college choices, B3

Kids travel to civil
rights sites, B7

Librarian picks
good reads, B8

To J. W. Baker
Sue Pope

Copied
Winston
COS



RELAX AND READ: Greg Baker's sixth-grade teacher at Ellicott Mills Middle School in Columbia, Md., puts soft chairs in her room to encourage recreational reading.

GRADES 5 TO 8

Education's Middle Child

By Gail Russell Chaddock
STAFF WRITER OF THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

ELLICOTT CITY, MD.

Walk through any middle school in the United States, and what you'll notice are the big feet - just a hint of the physical, social, and emotional changes that make Grades 5 to 8 so challenging to many teachers.

"We have sixth-graders who are 6 feet tall and wear a size 15 shoe. They wake up every morning and their bodies are different. It can be a very emotional time," says Sue Pope, a sixth-grade mathematics teacher at

Ellicott Mills Middle School in Howard County, Md.

Her reading colleague, Kathy Benditt, furnishes her classroom with soft chairs she bought at a yard sale. "Sixth-graders are not designed to sit in hard chairs, and reading is a recreational activity," she says.

For most of this century, educators have argued that such students need their own schools. Early reformers created junior high schools (Grades 7 to 9) to help students bridge the chasm between the warmth of a neighborhood elementary school and the anonymity of a large high school.

In the 1960s, the middle-school movement (variously, Grades 5 to 8) targeted the developmental needs of "volatile" young learners. Now, the pendulum may be shifting back to a focus on traditional academics, and disgruntled parents are pushing it.

See **MIDDLE SCHOOLS** Page B4

The Notebook

Web Smarts

www.latnn.com

WHAT: For the latest on Latino life, try LATNN Inc. (Online Latin News Network). The site has two components: a news service that offers daily stories of particular interest to Latinos in the US and in Latin America, and a newsmagazine called *Grafico* that offers longer thoughtful pieces from politics to opinion to arts and entertainment. The site was created by president Rafael Collazo and his staff of twenty-somethings from the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico.

BEST POINTS: The newsmagazine *Grafico* offers an enticing selection of articles. In the politics section, for example, read about how Latinos fit in the black/white discussion in the Clinton administration. In the arts and



entertainment department, visitors can read musical reviews, and features such as what's happening with salsa music. Or sample some interesting book reviews. In the sports section, read about Latino talent in the NFL.

WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW: News items are in English and Spanish. Small-size type on the home page and news pages makes for challenging reading. A search function allows visitors to look up specific articles.



Do You Know Your Poets?

Match these up:

1. 'Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening'
2. 'The Raven'
3. 'O Captain! My Captain!'
4. 'I'm Nobody! Who Are You?'
5. 'Fog'
6. 'The Negro Speaks of Rivers'
7. 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock'
8. 'The Armadillo'
9. 'A Psalm of Life'
10. 'This Is Just to Say'

- A Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
B T.S. Eliot
C Carl Sandburg
D Walt Whitman
E Elizabeth Bishop
F Robert Frost
G William Carlos Williams
H Langston Hughes
I Emily Dickinson
J Edgar Allan Poe



9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

South Koreans Pick Practical Degrees

SEOUL

In South Korea, the country often said to have more PhDs per capita than any other nation, the economic crisis is having a big impact: Enrollment at two-year technical colleges is rising fast. While university graduates can't find work, each member of last year's graduating class at the two-year Chung-Soo Polytechnic College in Seoul, for example, received about three job offers. And instead of paying about \$13,000 for a four-year degree, students pay about \$850 for their two-year diploma. Unemployment is expected to soar to 10 percent or 12 percent in South Korea this year, and fewer than one-third of this year's college graduates have found work.

College Pork Barrel Is Growing Again

The practice of earmarking federal funds – giving money with no competitive review to colleges and universities – is on the rise again. Funds earmarked by Congress for specific projects rose 12 percent to \$495 million in the past fiscal year, the second annual increase in a row, according to a recent annual summary report by The Chronicle of Higher Education. That is still below the record \$763 million in fiscal 1993, a figure that prompted budget slashing. While many college officials applaud the extra funding, other officials are uneasy about the practice because of the pork-barrel image it projects to the public.

Our Heroes Have Always Been Cowboys

MAYER, ARIZ.

That working cowboys are getting bumped aside by ranchers in pickups – and are part of a profession that is declining by as much as 25 percent a year – doesn't keep folks from coming to the Arizona Cowboy College. The college, in its 10th year, is a vocational school for wannabe cowboys, where students go beyond the "City Slickers" image of one of the country's most trying and scarce jobs. The week-long program includes two days of "classroom" instruction, then shifts to working cattle ranches.

– Compiled by staff

Drama Teacher Talks About Coaching Affleck and Damon

Do you want to star in Steven Spielberg's next summer blockbuster? Write a screenplay and star in it? Win an Oscar? Fight through a sea of screaming teens as you step out of your stretch limo?

Do you want to be Hollywood's next Matt Damon or Ben Affleck, stars and screenwriters of "Good Will Hunting"?

Well, Gerry Speca believes you can.

"I don't want to sound like an infomercial," says Mr. Speca, who taught drama to Mr. Affleck and Mr. Damon at Cambridge Rindge & Latin High School in Cambridge, Mass. "But successful actors must have two things: good verbal and good reading skills."

Although Speca says people want to credit him with some of Affleck's and Damon's success, he doesn't claim to have a secret formula for creating stars.

"I wish I could say I taught Ben and Matt everything they know about acting, but that would be a lie," Speca says. "I simply gave them real opportunities to act in front of real audiences. I gave them – with some guidance – room to believe in themselves and room get excited about acting. They're the ones who worked hard. They put in the extra hours."

He must have done something right. Both

Damon and Affleck say their drama coach had a profound effect on their lives.

The role of the psychologist that Robin Williams played in the movie "Good Will Hunting" was loosely based on Speca.

If you're interested in acting, here are some tips that Speca says will help you reach for your dreams.

• To drama teachers: "It's not important to teach who Hamlet is," he says.

"It's important to teach how to get to Hamlet. Meaning: You

should create an environment where students feel responsible for what they learn.

They have to be empowered. A teacher can only shine the light on the path."

• To aspiring actors: "People laughed when Matt used to boast that one day he would win an Oscar, but he proved them wrong. Why? Because he didn't say, 'I'm going to make millions of dollars and have 27 cars.' He set his goals on being the best at acting, he worked hard, and he succeeded. Acting is unforgiving, and most people quit before they get their chance to shine. Don't quit. Know what you want and go after it with vengeance."

– John Christian Hoyle



INTERESTED IN WRITING FOR US?

Teens: If you're in middle school or high school, send us a short essay on a topic that matters to you. We plan to use the submissions for a regular teens page. Send essays to learning@csm.com, or to Students Write, The Christian Science Monitor, One Norway Street, Boston, MA 02115

College students: To contribute an "On Campus" column, write to Kim Campbell at the address above or send e-mail to: campk@csma.com

Teachers: To contribute a "Class Act" column, write to Amelia Newcomb at the address above or send email to: newcomb@csma.com

Picking a Major Or Picking a Life?

When I was a kid, I'd pull out my dad's old Royal 440 typewriter and peck out news stories, headlines and all, about neighborhood happenings, school events, and "soap opera" updates. No bicycle wrecks or new backyard fort went uncovered by the neighborhood's cub reporter. I even had my cat answering an advice column called "Dear Pixie," where she responded to letters from the neighborhood pets.

As much as I loved creating newspapers, I also loved creating music on the flute. I would practice scales for hours just to hear the light, fluffy tone of the silver woodwind. As soon as I learned a new piece I would be ready to perform. My parents spent many nights in the living room watching their 11-year-old play a sketchy version of "London Bridges" and years later a more polished rendition of Mozart's "Concerto in G."

Little did I know that in just a few years, when I went to college, my two loves would come into conflict – and I'd have to choose between the two.

I'd kept up with both music and journalism throughout high school, where I was the editor of my school newspaper and an All-State flute player. My life revolved around newspaper deadlines and music competitions.

But as graduation approached and it came time to choose a college, I was faced with the biggest decision I've ever had to make: Choosing a college that was

great for both of my primary interests. I had hoped that pursuing scholarships to both music and journalism schools would make the decision for me.

An audition at the University of North Texas in Denton, one of the best flute colleges in the nation,

On Campus

A STUDENT'S VIEW

landed me a music scholarship, so that must mean I should become a musician. But the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa, with one of the top journalism schools in the nation, had seen the high school newspapers I had submitted and also offered me a scholarship.

I felt I had to know, at 18, exactly what I wanted to do for the rest of my life. Of course, there are those teens who might not have had a problem with this – they're the types who seem to have had one ambition forever. My twin sister, Joni, for example, knew in high school that she wanted to save the earth, so she searched for a school that offered environmental science. Others are waiting for inspiration to hit them on the head. My younger sister, Leslie, falls into that category – she'll be a sophomore in college but still hasn't made up her mind.

The choice of what major, and eventually career, to focus on seems enormous when you're a freshman, but it doesn't determine what you do for the rest of your life. What I realized was that I could have it both



Your choice of major
... doesn't determine
what you do for the
rest of your life.

— Cindy Fisher,
who graduated in May
from the University of
Alabama in Tuscaloosa

ways. If I went to Alabama, I could study to be a full-time journalist while training to be a part-time flutist. And that's what I did. I've found that I can apply my musical ability wherever my journalism takes me.

After my sophomore year, I interned for a small daily newspaper in Alabama. While there, I played a flute solo for one of the town's churches while covering a church event for the newspaper. When I worked for the news bureau at UA during my senior year, I played for several church Christmas concerts and the symphonic band.

We all have to make difficult decisions – some so important they determine where our lives are going to go, like choosing a college. But when faced with a decision between two things you really love to do, the decision doesn't have to be all or nothing.

— Cindy Fisher

■ Cindy Fisher graduated with a bachelor's degree in journalism and a minor in music. She is working as a metro reporter at the Birmingham Post-Herald.



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Middle Schools Seek Higher Academic Gr

MIDDLE SCHOOLS from Page B1

Public-school officials in Cincinnati, which launched the first middle schools, are in the process of scrapping them. "We found that we just couldn't implement the middle-school model as it was designed," says Jack Lewis, director of research and evaluation for Cincinnati public schools.

For example, a signature reform of the middle-school movement was the creation of interdisciplinary teams of teachers to follow students through their middle-school years and help create a sense of belonging. But there was so much staff and student mobility that Cincinnati schools never developed stable teams or consistency for most students.

In addition, officials say that achievement improved as they began to reintegrate middle schools into a K-8 system. Truancy and serious discipline problems also dropped. "One of the problems with middle schools is having so many kids of a vulnerable age in the same building, without role models they can look up to, as in high school, or younger students for whom they can be role models, as in elementary school," says Kathleen Ware, assistant superintendent of Cincinnati public schools. "We've had many calls from other districts all over the country interested in doing the same thing," she adds.

Poor discipline, low achievement

In Cincinnati, as in other cities, unhappy parents were a catalyst for change. Alarmed by poor discipline and student achievement in the middle-school years, many were pulling their children out of Cincinnati public schools after elementary school. In response to similar concerns, Baltimore is beginning to phase out its middle schools.

The Third International Math and Science Study (TIMSS) shows American students competing above the international average in the fourth grade, but falling behind in the middle-school years. In addition, some 39 percent of eighth-graders are unprepared for high school work, according to results from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP).

"We don't seem to make the same kind of progress between the fourth and eighth grades that some other countries do, especially in math," says US Secretary of Education Richard Riley.

Critics blame the middle-school philosophy and structure. "Middle schools are the wasteland of our primary and secondary

'There's been too much emphasis [in middle schools] on the developmental needs and not enough on academic needs.'

— Hayes Mizell, middle-school specialist

landscape," write Marc Tucker and Judy Coddling in their recent book, "Standards for Our Schools."

"Caught between the warmth of a good elementary school and the academic seriousness of a good high school, middle-school students often get the least of both and the best of neither," they add. They urge going back to a K-8 system.

A recent report by the Atlanta-based Southern Regional Education Board said that "the middle grades—Grades 5 through 8—are the 'weak link in American education,'" but held out hope for reform.

"Middle schools have lost a lot of credibility. There's been too much emphasis on the developmental needs and not enough on academic needs," says Hayes Mizell, who

works with the New York-based Edna McConnell Clark Foundation on middle-school reform. "There are many schools at this level where even the people in the schools are unclear about what we should be doing. If you take your child when he or she enters the sixth grade and walk into the principal's office and say, 'Tell me what I should reasonably expect that my child should be able to do by the end of the eighth grade,' you'll find that most can't tell you," he adds.

A harsh evaluation

In Maryland, Howard County teachers and administrators were stunned when a parent group blasted its middle schools for "sacrificing academic standards in an effort to help students develop self-esteem."

"The initial [1996] report left us all shell-shocked—it was the harshest evaluation we had ever had," says Patti Caplan, a spokeswoman for the Howard County schools.

Howard County looked like a textbook case of the good middle-school. It had set up flexible schedules, discovery-oriented instruction, teams of teachers and students that would stay together for at least a year, and a dense advising network to help students with personal problems. In addition, its middle schools ranked at the top in state exams, and two experts commended the county for "groundbreaking work."

But parents who conducted their own 18-month study of the system were more impressed with discipline problems and the need for remediation they saw in a student population that is becoming more diverse. They also worried that the "discovery learning" sessions they observed did not provide enough in the way of basic skills.

"What we found were basic problems in skill acquisition," says Deborah Schultz, a parent member of the Middle School Review Committee. "They didn't want to push the kids too hard or they'll lose self-esteem."

"There were no geography or spelling bees, no posting of any kind of recognition for high-achieving students. We asked a teacher why her school had not enrolled to compete in a national geography competition, and she told us, 'We're not allowed to do that,'" adds Shari Fanaroff, who also served on the committee.

Since the report, Howard County administrators say they have shifted the emphasis



TIME OUT: Students get a break at Ellicott Mills I

squarely back on academic achievement. "Middle-school principals really took that report to heart," says Vincent Catania, principal of Murray Hill Middle School.

The district is just completing explicit guidelines for what each child should know throughout the middle-school years. It also stated clearly that academic recognition was "appropriate," and academic competition "encouraged." Students were given daily planners with velcro ties and plenty of zip



BY HEART: Ellicott Mills Middle School sixth-graders (l. to r.) Patrick Miles, Phillip Broadsky, and Benton Wigney pledge allegiance. The Maryland school is part of a countywide reevaluation of middle schools.

Behind The Drive For Middle-School Reform

At the turn of the century, most large American school districts taught Grades 1 to 8 in elementary schools and Grades 9 to 12 in high schools. But only 1 in 10 students ever made it to high school.

That gap prompted reformers to create separate schools to help students make the leap to more demanding junior high schools. Later, middle schools aimed to create a distinctive style of teaching targeted at developmental needs.

What's fueling moves to rethink middle-school education is another gap—the perception that these schools don't expect enough of students.

If you take a close look at the early documents in the middle-school movement, there's some basis for concern. The influential founding statement in 1982 of the Columbus, Ohio-based Na-

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tional Mid "This We E is a dange succeed ac developme school yea "This We i in favor of "challengin But the until recer educators, tor of the the Edna York, whic parents, w dumbing c ries. In Ho

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Mills Middle School in Columbia, Md. A critical report by parents prompted academic reforms.

achievement. They took that as a sign that the school should know better. It also recognized that competition was given daily plenty of zip per pockets to organize academic work. "For several years, the emphasis was self-esteem. Since the report, the focus is on successful academics, which brings self-esteem. Honor rolls are back," says Ms. Pope. "If you give them hollow compliments or work that is not challenging, they know it and think they're not good enough," she adds. But some administrators regret the cuts on the social side that have resulted. "We agree that there should be a greater emphasis

on academics, but if it is just that, then we start getting guns and knives in school," says Alice Haskins, administrative coordinator for the Howard County public schools. "We need to help kids feel comfortable with issues critical in their lives. They are learning to solve problems, to sort out relationships. We got rid of our advising groups, and now I'm seeing more fights in school."

■ Comments? E-mail chaddockg@cspcs.com

national Middle School Association. "This We Believe," argues that there is a danger in pushing students to succeed academically because brain development slows down in middle-school years. The 1995 version of "This We Believe" drops this theory in favor of "high expectations" and a "challenging curriculum for all." But the original idea was "in play" until recently and influenced many educators, says Hayes Mizell, director of the program for student achievement for the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation in New York, which backs reform. It also set off many parents, who feared that middle schools were dumbing down to accommodate dubious theories. In Howard County, Md., parents came up

Middle schools were dumbing down to accommodate dubious theories, many parents said.

with a radically different view of the schools from that of two consultants doing a parallel evaluation. Consultant Edward Brazee, who also developed an evaluation of Howard County middle schools, says that concern over arguments such as "brain plateau" distorted parents' view of what was working. "That vocabulary has dropped out of sight. Some people went ... too far," says Mr. Brazee, an education professor at the University of Maine and a consultant on the Howard County project. "Not many schools changed programs based on that, but some people still refer to this as another misguided middle-school attempt," he says. — G.R.C.



The basis of success lies in the influences at home and the importance placed on education.

— Krista Hanson, English teacher, Sunrise Parks Middle School, White Bear Lake, Minn.

It Takes More Than Money To Nurture Good Learners

With the end of spring has come another round of graduation test results here in Minnesota. Time to see if this year's eighth-graders can meet minimum standards in math and reading. The results: Wealthy metro-area suburbs of the Twin Cities have seen high rates of success while the diverse urban areas have seen barely half their students passing.

Headlines such as "Affluence at home, not at school, influences scores" have bothered me ever since these basic skills tests started in 1996. I've worked as an English teacher in several metro-area schools — public and private, urban and suburban — and such generalizations frustrate me because they add to public misconceptions. Locally and nationwide, the mood of education has swung back to support the documented judgment of standardized test scores.



A TEACHER'S VIEW

The key point in this issue is that money isn't everything in providing a child with a good education and the love of learning. Beyond the amount spent per pupil or a family's financial situation, the basis of school success lies in the influences at home and the importance placed on education. Ideally, this quality should be present across the board, regardless of the family's income.

When I was an education student at the University of Minnesota, I came across a study of family reading habits and the correlation to declining reading performance among American children. It indicated that fewer than 50 percent of the families had parents who read in their free time, read to their children, or encourage their children by asking follow-up questions about what they read. The findings showed that children without this family reading background were less competent in their scholastic endeavors.

It's interesting that there actually had to be a scientific study to draw these conclusions. Ask teachers and they will tell you they can't do it all. Apathy begins at home. It's very easy to be uneducated; education takes initiative. To read a newspaper or a novel takes time — something that millions of Americans are complaining they don't have. It's all a matter of priorities. If having a family is a priority, then raising educated children should be the next most important thing.

I have had the pleasure of being closely involved with a family whose children I cared for while attending college. I was completely amazed by their five-year-old boy who "read" to me 30 pages of nursery rhymes the first time I took care of him.

I asked him if he could read and he said, "No, I just have them memorized." Clearly such familiarity could not have come from an occasional bedtime reading. His parents were making reading a pastime for themselves and their children.

Children do thrive on and adopt the habits of their parents. If reading and learning are important and stressed at home, the children will take this enthusiasm into the classroom. A strong family support system is the basic building block to a child's successful school experience.

The ultimate goal is an educated individual who can help wipe out the ignorance, illiteracy, and social injustice that plague society today. Let's look beyond snap judgments produced by standardized test scores and focus on what we all can do to help promote reading and literacy in our communities.

— Krista Hanson

■ Krista Hanson teaches English at Sunrise Parks Middle School in White Bear Lake, Minn.

Using the Arts to Attract a Diverse Student Body

By MARJORIE COEYMAN
STAFF WRITER OF THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

HARTFORD, CONN.

Arms, legs, and elongated torsos flow in remarkable harmony as four teenage girls strive to perform a dance they are spontaneously creating. Moving together on the dance floor, easily anticipating each other's moves, it's a scene of unusual closeness and mutual understanding.

What's most remarkable about this dance is its participants. With one from inner-city Hartford, two from suburban Connecticut towns, and a fourth hailing from a near-rural hamlet, this racially diverse group of young women would be unlikely to cross paths outside the studio.

Togetherness through creativity is the whole idea behind the Greater Hartford Academy of the Arts, presently located in a pair of aging commercial buildings — one of which served for a time as a funeral parlor — in a somewhat shabby section of Hartford.

But the Academy has an important second role: Exhibit A in a state experiment to show that voluntary efforts can foster racial integration in the public schools.

"The kids work in ensembles," explains Mitzi Yates-Waterhouse, the school's general director. "If a group of them have to learn a Mozart quintet together, they have no choice but to get to know one another well."

In the wake of urban middle-class flight, mixing students of different backgrounds has proved a challenge for cities and suburbs here. But Connecticut today finds itself in an ironic position. Even as many other cities and states are abandoning the court-ordered desegregation plans set up in past decades, this state is being told it must find new ways to achieve integration.

In 1993, then Connecticut Gov. Lowell Weicker introduced legislation requiring communities to draw up plans to bring together, voluntarily, students of different

*... of the students commuting to
Hartford, Conn., from the suburbs
... that their days spent
... in town have been the best thing
... about high school.*

ent races. In 1996, the state's Supreme Court ruled that the segregation of the Hartford schools — where minority students account for 95 percent of the city school population, but only 10 percent of suburban student bodies — was unconstitutional.

There was no deadline for increased integration, but the court specified that the state must make that goal a top priority.

In response to both the governor's initiative and the court ruling, about 133 of the state's 166 school districts now have programs intended to foster diversity in their schools. Some of these programs include sub-



TAKING A STAND: Students at the Hartford (Conn.) Academy for the Performing Arts go through a drama-class exercise. The magnet high school attracts students from Hartford and many suburbs and is part of a state effort to encourage voluntary integration in public schools. Students study at local schools in the morning, then come to the academy for classes in everything from music to dance. Below, Sara Stevens (standing) from Burlington gets coaching in opera from Carol Ann Manzi.

urban kids volunteering to tutor inner-city students, pen-pal exchanges between city and suburban schools, and Saturday enrichment programs that bring together students from different school districts.

But the Academy of the Arts remains a showcase in the effort to promote voluntary integration. Established in 1985 through a combination of state, local, and private funding, the school is an attempt to answer the question: What would induce students — and their parents — from suburbs with good schools to voluntarily commit themselves to an inner-city school?

The answer in this case was a half-day high school dedicated to the arts, offering intensive training and instruction that even the strongest mainstream schools would have difficulty matching. (The academy, which is selective, is one of about 10 such half-day, magnet public high schools in the United States.)

Students at the academy continue to take their traditional academic classes at their home schools each morning. Then, four afternoons a week, they pack up and head to Hartford, where they immerse themselves in the arts, pursuing a specialty in either vocal or instrumental music, drama, dance, or creative writing. Almost a third of the students enrolled are Hartford residents; the rest commute from towns as much as an hour away. This year there's even a student from Massachusetts.

Currently the academy has about 150 students and 45 instructors. Enrollment is scheduled to grow, however, to about 250 by 2000, when the school will be housed in a new facility near Trinity College.

Many academy students are quick to sing the school's praises, and some of those commuting from the suburbs insist that their days spent downtown have been the best thing about high school. "Mainstream high school is for kids who want to be kids and have fun," says a dance student from Portland, Conn. "I was ready to be more serious."

"If the focus of this school had been agriculture,



I still would have wanted to come," says a creative writing student from Manchester, Conn. In her suburban school of 2,000 students, she says she feels hopelessly lost. "But here," she says, "it's just so much better."

Not everyone believes the academy — or any of Connecticut's diversity initiatives — represents a rapid enough move toward integration. Critics complain that such efforts are too little. The academy, they point out, offers diversity only to a small number of very select students.

But Patrice McCarthy, deputy director of the Connecticut Association of Boards of Education, points out that the school's special half-day arrangement allows the experience of that small group of students to touch many other lives as well. Because they continue to attend their neighborhood schools in addition to the academy, she says, "these students bring the experiences and friendships they develop in Hartford back to their home districts."

■ Send comments to: coeymanm@csp.com

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DESTINATION: THE SOUTH

Students Get a Closer Look At Roots Of Civil Rights Movement

By KRISTINA LANIER
STAFF WRITER OF
THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

When you send a group of students into the historic heart of the civil rights movement, don't expect them to return unchanged.

This summer, two programs will send young people to see for themselves where Martin Luther King Jr. led a march or riot police turned on protesters with fire hoses. When the students return, they'll be energized, informed, and profoundly aware of how much history texts omit.

Project Hip-Hop (Highways Into the Past History Organizing and Power), sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, has been taking Boston-area high school students to the South since 1993. College students get a chance, too, through the Overground Railroad/Agora Project, which serves students at the six private colleges in Kentucky, Indiana, Min-

nesota, North Carolina, and Ohio that make up the program.

Both groups share a common goal: to give students a three-dimensional history lesson about issues like race and civic responsibility, and to make use of a precious living resource — people who were active in the civil rights movement.

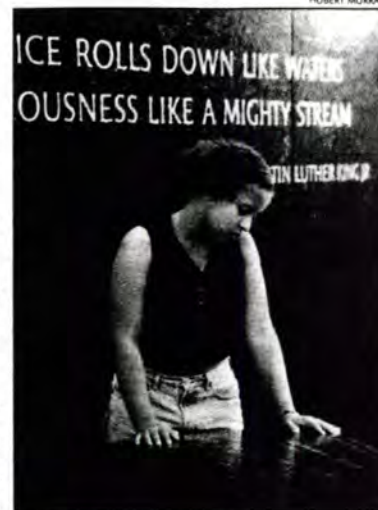
"The goal is to use history to ... emphasize that it took lots of people that felt this country needed help to realize its democratic potential," says Project Hip-Hop director Nancy Murray. "So they can say, 'Oh, that's how it happened' and see the role they can play in turning things around."

If program designers hoped to give students a sense of history's connection to their own lives, then it worked. "I found answers to a lot of questions, like, 'Why are black people in the state of emergency they are today?'" says 1995 Project Hip-Hop participant Michael Fitzpatrick. "The answers are in the history."

The groups visit places like the Civil Rights Institute in Birmingham, Ala., the Ku Klux Klan Museum in Laurens, S.C., the site of the Greensboro sit-in in Greensboro, N.C., and the King Center in Atlanta. They also spend time getting firsthand accounts from people who were actively involved in the civil rights movement.

At least two-thirds of the Project Hip-Hop students get involved in post-trip projects like giving presentations at community centers, churches and schools, says Dr. Murray. And many, like Mr. Fitzpatrick, remain involved years after the trip.

Similarly, Overground Railroad participants share what they've learned through a service learning project of their own design. But unlike Project Hip-Hop, they're earning college credit for the work.



REFLECTING: Sandra Marcelino, a Boston high-school student and Project Hip-Hop participant, reads the civil rights memorial in Montgomery, Ala.

Overground Railroad and Project Hip-Hop is what students learn from each other. "We've got people on welfare and rich-lawyer kids in the same group," Fitzpatrick says of the ethnically diverse Project Hip-Hop. "The issues you're dealing with as a group relate to how this country has dealt with race. You deal with the things you're learning about."

Murray says it gives the students a chance to interact across hard-to-cross racial boundaries. "They are so happy to be able to talk about this. It's given me a good feeling about the role education can play."

Fitzpatrick, now a college sophomore, pauses when asked if he'll make a career out of his history interest. "This experience will be incorporated in my experience no matter what I do," he says. "It changes everything you do for the rest of your life."

Postcards and Vignettes From Nagano

With thousands of fans pouring in to the Olympics, Japanese know-how and a few foreigners are profiting.

1998

TWO DECADES OF IDEAS ONE MOUSE CLICK AWAY

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Rich and Poor

Middle-class flight to the suburbs and lack of decent job opportunities are major factors.

1980

Day 300 — Hostages still power-play pawns

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1992

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INTERVIEW KATHLEEN ODEAN

Mining for Gold in Children's Books

By KAREN CARDEN

SPECIAL TO THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

If you put end to end all the children's books that Kathleen Odean has read, they would reach to the top of Mt. St. Helens in Washington and maybe back again.

Ms. Odean estimates that she has read between 10,000 and 20,000 books in her 16-year career as a children's librarian. That's just what you'd want from a woman who has written two valuable guides about choices for children's reading: "Great Books for Girls" and "Great Books for Boys" (Ballantine).

Odean, who currently works with children ages 3 through 11 at Moses Brown, a Quaker school in Providence, R.I., says she wrote her guides to great children's books, in part, because she was outraged by the media's handling of gender issues for girls and boys.

"Children are taught very young that males are important and females are relatively unimportant," she says. In the introduction to "Great Books for Girls" she notes that even on "Sesame Street" there are more male than female characters. "Great Books for Girls" strives to give girls a range of strong, competent role models. Odean says professionals, many of them parents who came in contact with her unpublished manuscript exclaimed, "I need this book!"

In selecting titles for inclusion in "Great Books for Girls," Odean based her choices largely on character and situation. Explaining her criteria in the introduction, she writes "I sought out characters who have attributes too seldom associated with girls, such as bravery, athleticism, and independence. These girls take risks and treat setbacks as ways to learn."

Odean originally intended this first volume to be for all children, not one that was gender-specific. "Boys need to see strong female characters too," she says. But her publishers adjusted the title to focus on the girls who appear as main characters in many of the recommended books.

What about the boys?

After the publication and success of "Great Books for Girls," the question naturally arose. "What about the boys?"

"I'm equally concerned that boys are so often forced into competitive roles," she says. So she took a year off to create "Great Books for Boys," an annotated listing of more than 600 books that feature male



MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN - STAFF

Kathleen Odean's books, 'Great Books for Girls' and 'Great Books for Boys,' arose in part out of outrage over the media's handling of gender issues for children.

characters in a wide range of settings.

In this second volume, Odean paid special attention to strong characters, good plots, and general appeal. Eschewing what she calls "shallow, stereotypical male characters" and "sensational or predictable plots," she looked for books that captured the complexity of boys' lives, and ones that boys would want to read.

This collection includes humor, adventure, sports, and information books—genres and topics that experience and research show will engage young male readers. Some of her choices include "Ira Sleeps Over," a picture book by Bernard Weber, "Henry and Mudge," by Cynthia Rylant, and "The Stories Julian Tells," by Ann Cameron.

Odean says that a major challenge facing educators is not so much getting boys to read in the early grades but keeping them interested in reading as they mature.

Odean freely admits that not every vol-

ume listed is a great book. "There are great elements in every book, though," she says. "Great illustrations, great read-aloud texts, great depth to plots and characters."

There are few literary classics listed in these guides. Robert Louis Stevenson's "Treasure Island," for example, and L.M. Montgomery's "Anne of Green Gables" are conspicuously missing. Odean says that because adults will often introduce a child to a favorite classic, she focused primarily on newer books that parents may not know.

Some books, such as "Anne of Green Gables," weren't selected because, in the end, their characters are self-sacrificing. "I believe that girls have plenty of examples of women giving of themselves for others. Females are taught to please and help others.... Far more difficult for girls is finding the moral courage to face conflict (in order) to pursue their own paths and dreams."

Maintaining enthusiasm for reading was never a problem for Odean. She was an avid reader, and names "Eloise" (written by Kay Thompson, illustrated by Hilary Knight) was one of her childhood favorites. This popular 1955 book about a precocious little girl living in New York City's Plaza Hotel is a selection in both of her "Great Books" volumes, part of an overlap of about 15 percent in the 600 or so titles in each of the guides.

Throughout her career, Odean has been intimately involved in selecting award-winning books. She has served on the Caldecott Committee, which each year chooses the best-illustrated book in the United States. She has been a member of the Newbery committee, which selects the best-written US book of the year. And she has served on the Notable Children's Book Committee of the American Library Association.

Advice for parents

If adults and kids do not agree with every selection Odean has made, she is unperturbed. She offers this advice for parents wanting to choose their own great books:

- Read, or at least scan, the books.
- Look at the art of picture books. Ask librarians for advice.
- Use book-review publications, such as The Horn Book Magazine and Publisher's Weekly.
- Check lots and lots of books out of the library. She also suggests that young readers ask each other for recommendations.

A Fair-Weather Love Affair

CHALK TALK from Page B1

by boorish V-8s and parked in pocket-sized spots that Cadillacs could only dream of. The drain plugs on the car's floor, simplifying cleanup after a rain, were a popular talking point. We added towel racks and vinyl tiles in the back seats, and Frank put a faucet on the hood and hung a soap dish on the dash.

Getting in and out of the car yielded some undignified moments because the doors were welded shut. My mother liked the Bathtub nonetheless because, without a roof, it was the perfect vehicle for moving tall things. We kids delighted in stares prompted by, say, a large tree in the left-front passenger seat and Frank at the right-hand drive using a steering wheel too small to see from the road. (He claims the Bathtub was the original sport-utility vehicle.)

Frank, too, had to maintain his composure when he got stopped in New Jersey by a policeman who couldn't tell who or what was driving the car. Nor could he find the steering wheel, as Frank was wont to unscrew it and hide it any time he was stopped—which was fairly frequently, given the car's novelty and capacity for high speed. Frank politely informed the officer that he had the car programmed for Kansas City, so it was a hands-free operation. This was 1967.

I tell my kids that the Bathtub was more fun than a flying carpet, better than the best-equipped, another-face-in-the-crowd SUV. It was actually quite uncomfortable and might never pass inspection in these by-the-book days. But it was hard not to have a grand time as a family in it. That feisty little vehicle taught us the joy of being wildly different, of the car as a continual work in progress.

More important, its yearly emergence was the perfect sign that school was over, warm temperatures had arrived, and our fair-weather love affair could begin.

■ Comments? Suggestions? Write to Learning Editor, One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115, or e-mail newcomba@csps.com

Massachusetts Teachers-to-Be Tripped Up on Test

When Massachusetts officials decided to make this the first year teaching candidates would be tested for certification, they could hardly have predicted the outcome: At least one-third of the candidates failed.

Results of the April literacy test were released last Friday. The number of failures could increase pending a final determination by the Massachusetts Board of Education of what qualifies as a passing score.

Acting Education Commissioner Frank Haydu III called the results "painful," noting that the test was easier than the new

10th-grade statewide tests.

Samples made available at a press conference showed some test-takers, when trying to rewrite sentences, misspelled words a fourth-grader should know—even though the words were right in front of them. Some wrote at a fifth- or sixth-grade level. Many wrote sentences lacking both nouns and verbs.

College students were told only a week in advance that the test would count. Candidates who didn't pass the test can't teach in regular public schools until they do.

—Associate Press and news reports



NEXT WEEK:

Teaching Plato —
at a maximum-
security prison

June 25, 1998

make sure
letter is
done
Will do
call
later

MEMORANDUM

To: Nancy Hernreich

From: Ana Lee Sanchez

Re: Coral Hutchinson

MR. PRESIDENT

cc Kins
Bauer

Asa and Tim Hutchinson's mother, Coral Hutchinson passed away last night. Their phone number in Fort Smith is 501-785-3373.

501-464-7263

I'll send information to Eugenie - she wants to know if she should wait for BC sig. on other notes or ap.?

Should call
Tim for Martin

THE PRESIDENT
7-6-98

7-6-98

After you have seen,
we will send to Burkhardt
for reply.

Call

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

RELEASER: 12-3-6

DTG: 251413Z

MESSAGE NO.: SR 340 CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASS TOTAL: 2
(PAGES INCLUDING COVER)

FROM: WALTER SANCHEZ (NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: _____

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBE
	<u>Nancy Sternreich</u>		

REMARKS:

He's on AF1
New flower with

7-6-98

7-6-98

After you have seen,
we will send to
Burkhardt for action -

Should we send
Scheduling a copy?

Yes ☒
No ☐

PRESIDENT WILLIAM CLINTON
AND MRS. CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE

1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

Kirsten Wilson
and
Johnny Bivera, Jr.
have chosen the first day of their
new life together as
Saturday, the first of August
Nineteen hundred and ninety-eight
their joy will be more complete if
you can share in this wedding celebration with them
at five o'clock
Camp Moonpenny
Chatham, Massachusetts
Reception immediately following the ceremony

In lieu of traditional wedding gifts,
Kirsten and Johnny suggest you consider making
a contribution to a college scholarship fund
they have established for students of the
Boston University Residential Charter School.
Checks should be made payable to:

Burl's Scholarship Fund
% Carlisle Foundation
Post Office Box 2164
Framingham, Massachusetts 01701

M _____

will _____ attend

The favour of a reply is requested
before the twenty-fifth of May





新邨西醫協會

ESTATE DOCTORS ASSOCIATION LTD.

Room 901, Hang Shing Bldg., 363-373, Nathan Road, Kowloon.

E-mail: eda@eda.org.hk Home Page: http://www.eda.org.hk

Tel. no.: 2388 2728 Fax no.: 2385 5275

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ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY

會務秘書

Miss Joanna S.M. Mak

麥秀梅

Our ref.:

Your ref.:

EDA/118/98/O

26th June 1998

By Registered Mail

Mr. George Clinton

President

United States of America

c/o American Consulate General Hong Kong

26 Garden Road

Hong Kong

Dear Mr. Clinton,

Our Association has been established over 30 years in Hong Kong. The main objective of our Association is to provide and promote community health care, especially in public housing estates which house over half of the Hong Kong population. At present, the number of our member doctors is over 1,500 mostly in private practice.

During the past year, several public companies, e.g. Ultronics, Raffles Medical Group, First Pacific Davies had acquired the major groups of medical practice in Hong Kong to form Health Maintenance Organizations(HMOs). These HMOs were established with the aim of making profits through the provision of medical services. These HMOs are usually large private enterprises which look for business opportunities, such as employees of companies requiring medical services, and contract out the business they have obtained to medical practitioners affiliated with them, making a profit during the process as a middleman. As the fees charged by the HMOs are usually very competitive and on a fixed basis, it is alleged that medical practitioners participating in such schemes are prone to provide substandard services to patients in order to obtain a reasonable profit themselves, such as by foregoing an X-ray which should have been done or by substituting a cheaper drug in place of one which is needed but more expensive.

As HMOs have been operating in the U.S.A. for many decades, we should be grateful if you could enlighten us on the pros and cons of the HMOs to the health care system of your country.

7-7-98

Cont.../P. 2

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒
 No ☐

coordinate w/ NSC Yes ☒
 No ☐



新 邨 西 醫 協 會
ESTATE DOCTORS ASSOCIATION LTD.

Room 901, Hang Shing Bldg., 363-373, Nathan Road, Kowloon.
E-mail: eda@eda.org.hk Home Page: http://www.eda.org.hk
Tel. no.: 2388 2728 Fax no.: 2385 5275

EDA/118/98/O

Our ref.:
Your ref.:

P. 2

We hope you enjoy our magnificent night view and that your stay in Hong Kong will bring you pleasant memories.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Yeung Chiu Fat
Chairman
Estate Doctors Association Ltd.

outgoing(3)

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Miss Joanna S.M. Mak

麥秀梅

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

To: Gene Sperling
Bruce Reed
From: The Staff Secretary
Date 7/7

I received this from Alexis
today. Do you want to put a cover
note on it before I brood it?

(Make recommendations on p. 3
of underlying memo)

Phil

SECRETARY OF LABOR
WASHINGTON

July 2, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALEXIS M. HERMAN
SECRETARY OF LABOR 

SUBJECT: YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME

Today's employment situation release from the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicates that our economy has reached a new milestone. **The unemployment rate for African-American teenagers declined by over nine percentage points to reach a historical low of 20.2 percent.** For at least the last thirty years, this unemployment rate has been at or around 30 percent. Today's announcement, then, represents the lowest unemployment rate for Black teens since these data started being collected in 1972.

While this news is hopeful, the fact that the unemployment rate still exceeds 20 percent brings into focus the need for our continued efforts to improve employment opportunities in high poverty communities. As the charts in the attached memorandum to me from my Chief Economist illustrate, fewer than half of African-American out-of-school male youth have jobs and **1 out of every 6 are in jail.** Sociologist William J. Wilson has said it is this pervasive joblessness that is at the heart of the youth crime problem in these communities.

Given our recent discussions of beginning to lay the groundwork now for strategies in this area, I am sharing a copy of this memorandum with you; it outlines ideas we have discussed here in the Department that the Administration may wish to pursue.

Welcome back from China; you were great!

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20210

July 2, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY HERMAN

FROM: Edward Montgomery
Chief Economist

SUBJECT: CRIME AND OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH

The United States has experienced rapid growth in the number of people that are incarcerated or under the supervision of the criminal justice system. While the causes of crime and incarceration are varied, social science research has established that economic conditions play an important role. We do know that the lack of employment opportunities increases the likelihood of incarceration and past incarceration has lasting effects on future employment prospects. Given the well documented decline in the economic prospects of the less educated over the past two decades, active labor market programs for this group can generate a virtuous cycle of rising employment and falling crime and incarceration.

TRENDS IN INCARCERATION

- **In 1997, over 1.7 million adults were prisoners in our local, state and federal jails.** Even with declining crime rates and the improved economic condition of the country the inmate population has grown 26 percent since 1993.
- **Although imprisonment has been growing more rapidly among women, the vast majority of prisoners are males and minority males are over represented in the inmate population.**
- **The Department of Justice estimates that an African-American baby boy has greater than a 1 in 4 chance of going to prison during his lifetime.**

The problem for those with low education levels is particularly acute.

- **Almost 1 out of every 8 male high school drop-outs was incarcerated in 1993 and about 1 out of every 3 black male drop-outs age 25-34 was incarcerated (34 percent).**
- **Three-quarters of black male high school dropouts age 25-34 are under some form of criminal justice supervision.**

The mirror image of these high rates of incarceration is the low rate of employment of young out-of-school minority males especially in high-poverty neighborhoods. William Julius Wilson sees the pervasive joblessness of males in high-

poverty neighborhoods as the underlying cause of the various ills of inner-city life such as crime, youth gangs, drug addiction, welfare dependency, and the extraordinarily high rates of single-parent households.

TRENDS IN EMPLOYMENT FOR OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH

Although the strong economy has helped, unemployment remains a serious problem for these groups. For example, while the unemployment rate for those with less than a high school diploma has declined from 11.1 percent in January 1993 to 7.2 percent in March 1998, it remains four times higher than the rate for those with a college degree. Similarly, while the unemployment rate among black teenagers has also declined since 1993, it has remained around 30 percent for more than a generation. The less educated and minority youth continue to face poor labor market prospect.

- Whites, because of their sheer numbers in the overall population, make up the bulk of 16-24 year-olds who are not working, but a greater proportion of black and Hispanic youth have employment problems.
- While only a little over half of the white (57 percent) and Hispanic (56 percent) drop-out population is employed, as little as **a third (35 percent) of the black drop-out population is employed and only one in four (24 percent) has a full-time job.**
- Census data indicate that only one in four young black drop-outs (24 percent) in high poverty neighborhoods was employed and **less than one in six (15 percent) of these young black drop-outs had a full-time job.**
- It should be noted that the labor market data discussed above actually overstates the extent of employment among less educated black males because our employment statistics only count the **non-institutionalized** population. **Counting the approximately 1.6 million men in jail as unemployed would increase the number of unemployed men in the economy by over 40 percent.**
- With two-thirds of inmates having less than a high school diploma counting inmates even more dramatically changes our assessment of the economic condition of the less educated. As seen in Charts 1-3, there is **one young black male in prison for every 8 out-of-school youth and one Hispanic youth in prison for every 20 out-of-school youth.**

COSTS OF INACTION

While it is difficult to quantify all of the costs to society of having a large body of youth, many of who are not connected to society and the economy, the Urban Institute has made estimates of two of the most obvious costs. They estimate that the cost of **lost earnings and productivity associated with each class of dropouts amounts to about \$70 billion.** They also estimate that on average each male high school dropout costs society \$115,000 in **losses to victims of crime, criminal justice expenses, and lost**

legitimate earnings, yielding an additional cost to society of \$20 billion for each class of high school dropouts.

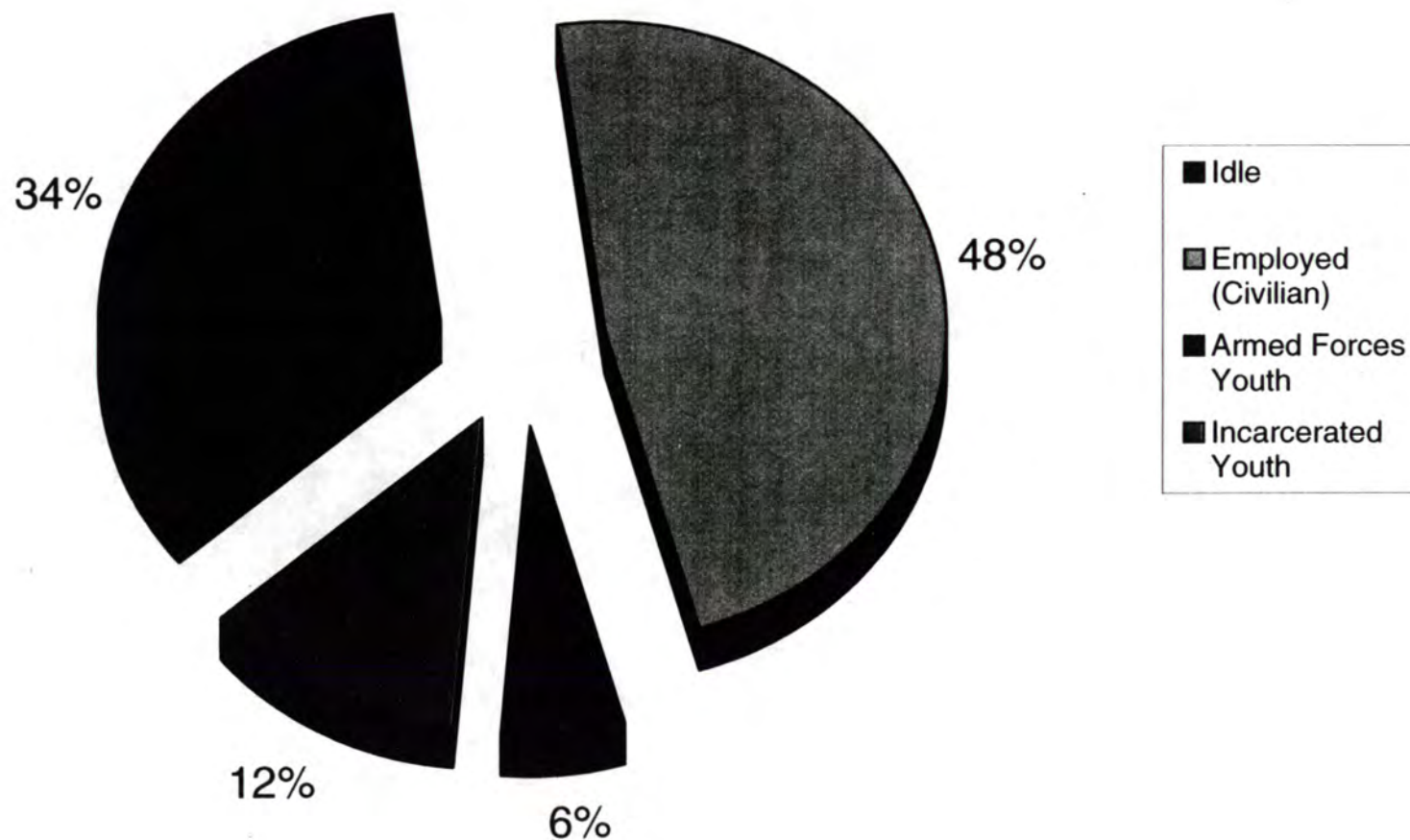
Adding the cost of lost earnings and crime yields an estimated **\$90 billion annual cost** to society which may actually understate the true cost as it does not capture a host of other costs associated with those with less education and labor market attachment. Since high school drop-outs account for significant percent of those living below the poverty line (36 percent of the "working poor") and over 40 percent of the women on welfare, spending on social programs like TANF, Food Stamps, Medicare and other social insurance programs is higher. Further, high school dropouts are more likely to be smokers, have low birth weight children, and suffer other health conditions which result in substantial extra costs to them and society at large.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Solutions to crime and youth joblessness in high-poverty neighborhoods will require fundamental changes in schools, communities, and their poorly functioning labor markets. Consequently, I recommend:

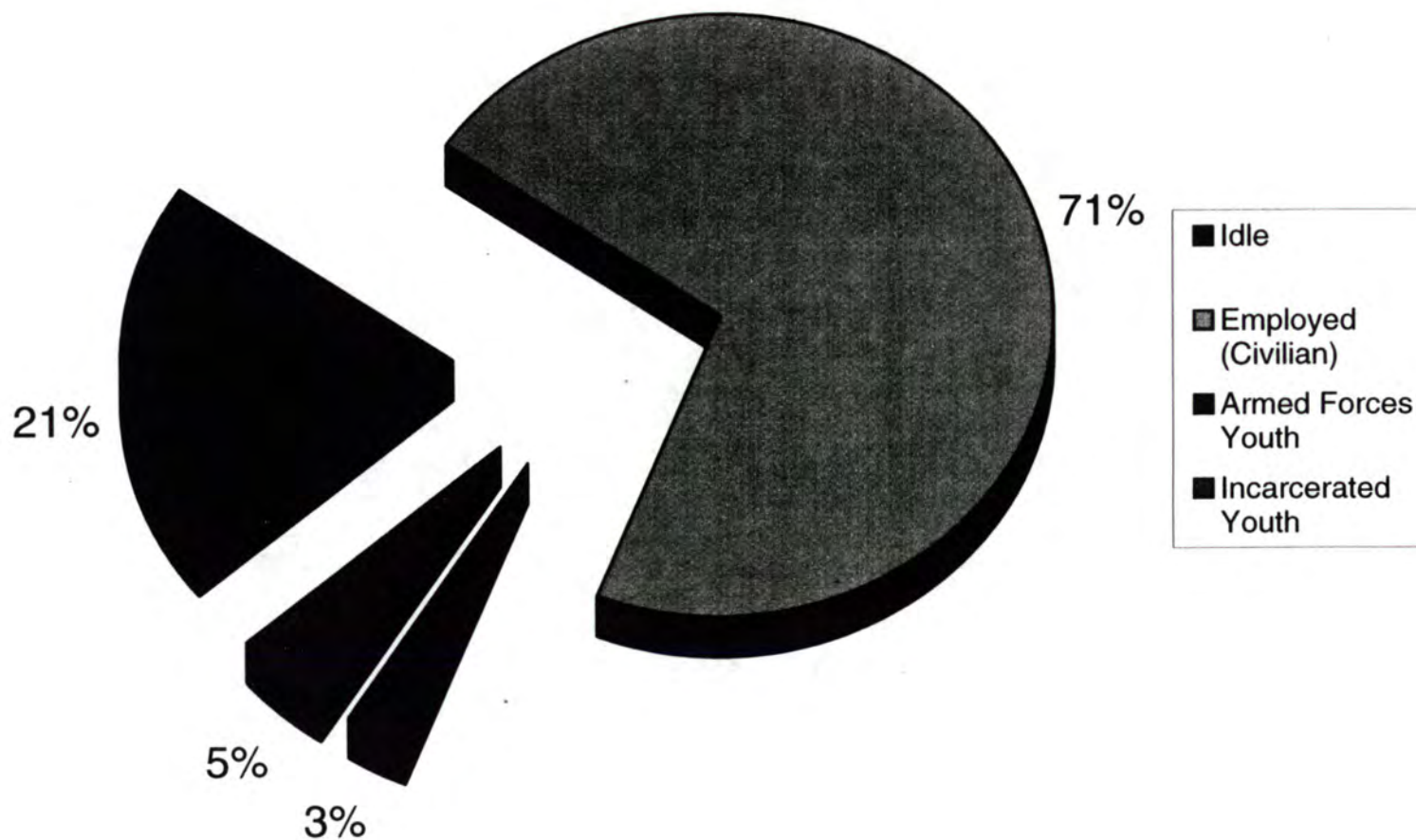
- (1) The formation of an Administration task force to explore a series of multi-faceted interventions linking efforts underway at the Departments of Labor, Education, and Justice. It could explore how to improve public schools while strengthening the links between dropout prevention programs, employment and training programs tailored the needs of youth, and gang prevention and gang suppression programs'
- (2) Leveraging existing opportunities or programs that address the twin problems of crime and joblessness such as the "Concentrated Services for Youth Offenders Demonstration" project which is about to be announced by the Department of Labor in cooperation with the Department of Justice.
- (3) Replication of the Boston Kulick experiment that coordinates services from different Federal, State, and local agencies to reduce youth violence, prevent school dropouts, and improve employment and education prospects for out-of-school youth. This effort builds on local police and Department of Justice programs that have been responsible for the elimination of juvenile gun homicides in Boston.
- (4) The recently announced efforts by the Department of Education and Justice seek to reduce violence in schools through the provision of productive alternative activities. Training and employment services for these at risk youth could be integrated into these efforts to insure a comprehensive array of productive alternative activities.

Black Male Out-of-School Youth



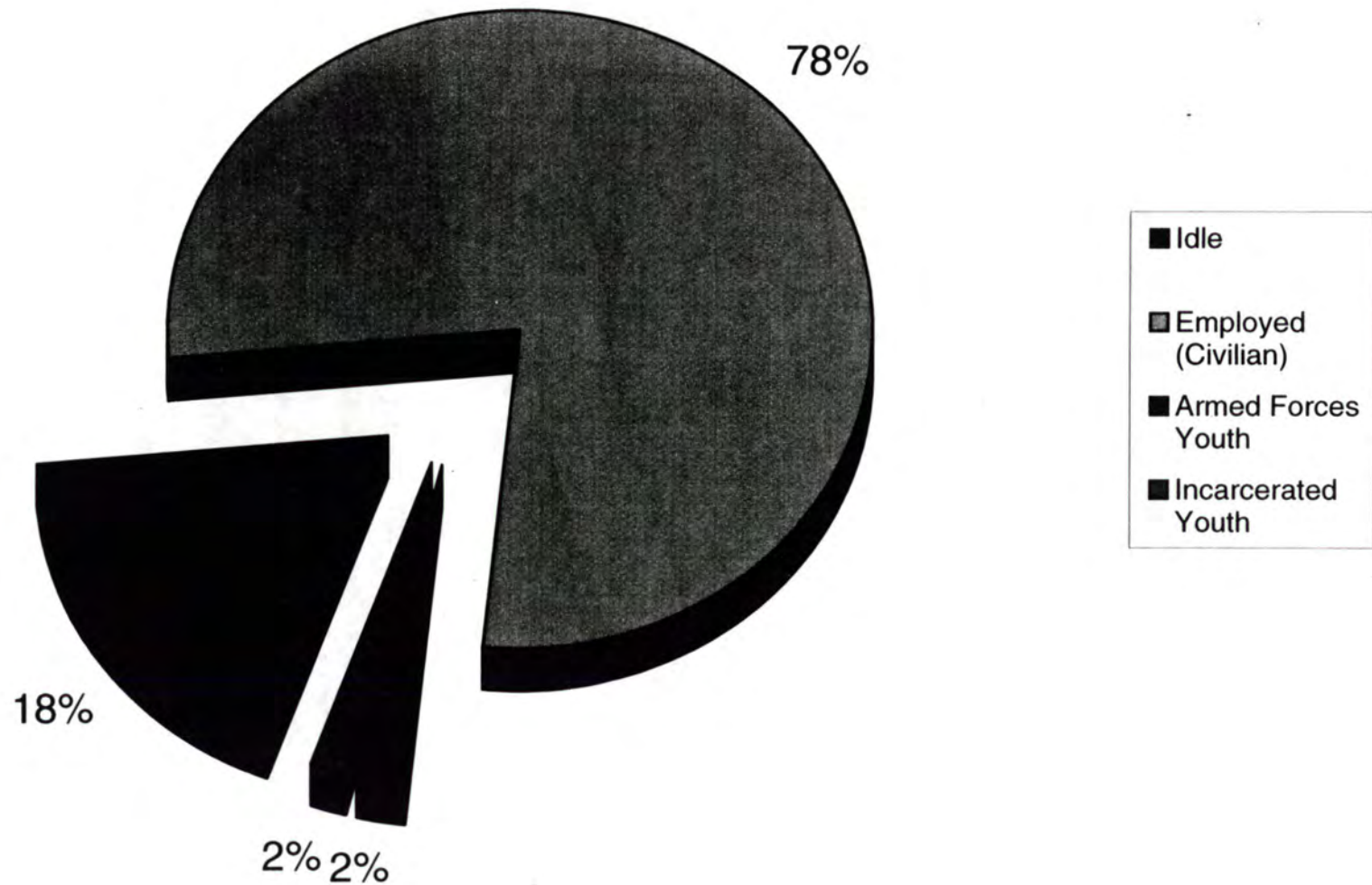
Sources: Labor force data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics include ages 16 - 24, Armed Forces data from the Bureau of the Census include 17-24 year olds while incarcerated youth data from the Department of Justice include 18-24 year olds.

Hispanic Male Out-of-School Youth



Sources: Labor force data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics include ages 16 - 24, Armed Forces data from the Bureau of the Census include 17-24 year olds while incarcerated youth data from the Department of Justice include 18-24 year olds.

White Male Out-of-School Youth



Sources: Labor force data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics include ages 16 - 24, Armed Forces data from the Bureau of the Census include 17-24 year olds while incarcerated youth data from the Department of Justice include 18-24 year olds.

7/7/98

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒
No ☐

June 25 1998

Bill Clinton, President
United States
c/o Portman-Ritz Carlton
Shanghai, PR-China

Wants encl. Poros letter signed.
Please advise

CP

Dear President Clinton,

I have enclosed with this request the letter I received from the White House after the last election. I was pleased to receive this note even if the signature is a facsimile. However, if you would kindly, for a fellow Southerner, sign this letter with the current date and location I would be absolutely thrilled. As a political science major, I have collected signed election posters of Martin Lee Chu-Ming, Christine Loh as well as pictures of myself with former Governor of Hong Kong, Chris Patten. I would be so happy to have this to frame and place in my library once I return to the States with my husband.

I will return after your expected departure to get this, if you are so kind to take the time necessary to grant my request. It will serve as one of the best memories of our stay here. I know of your expected arrival here because the hair salon has had to close to outside customers from June 28-July 2.

I wish you, Hillary, and Chelsea strength to endure for the remaining time you serve as President, and a wonderful life "after". I sensed all along that someone was behind a prolonged effort to taint your presidency and it seems that Richard Mellon Scaife is at least one person who fits that suspicion.

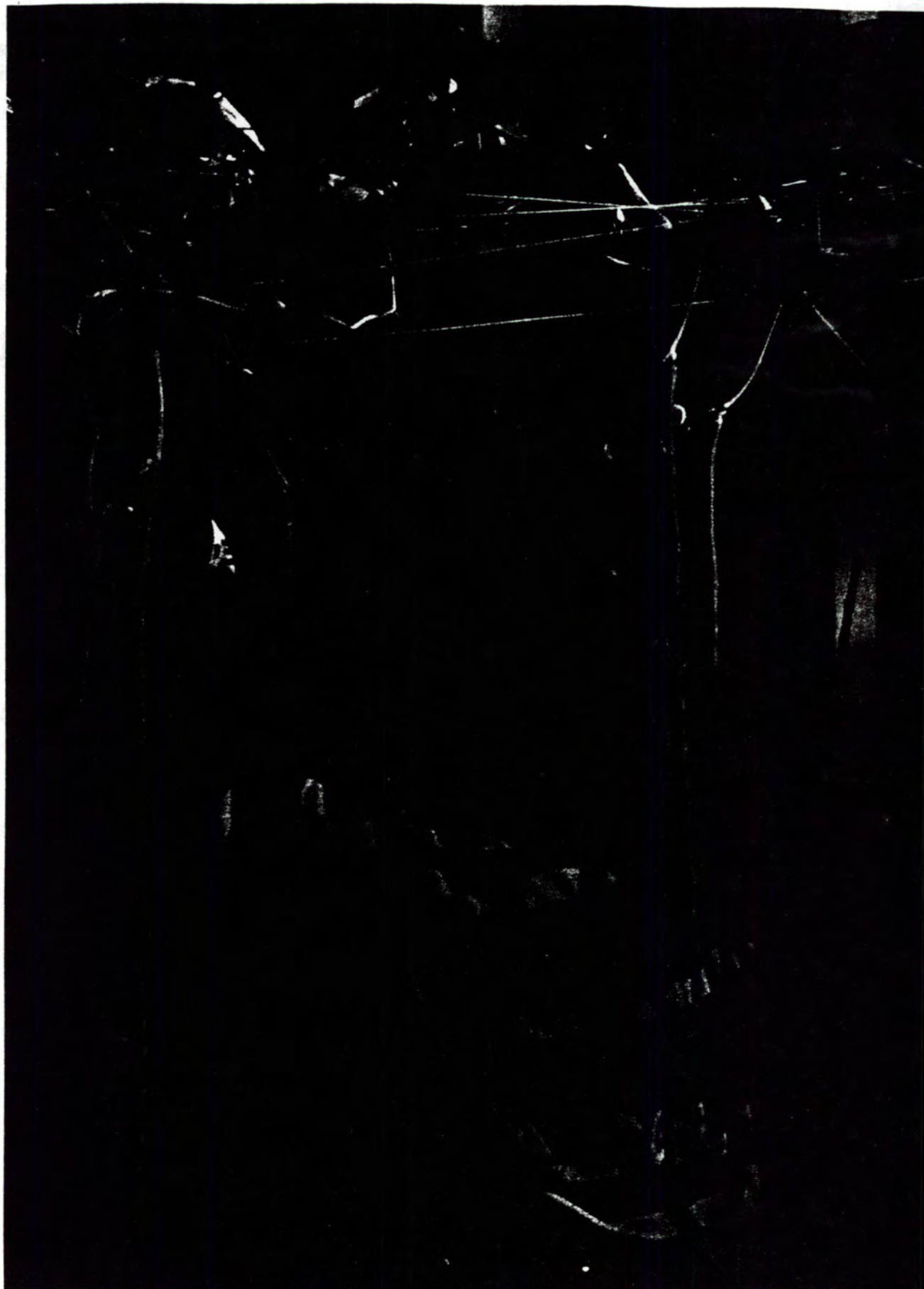
China is a most interesting place and after having lived here for some six and a half years it is still holds a fascination for us. They stress family values almost as much as we Southerners. I am also enclosing my only copy of a story printed in *Southern Living* that I sent to President Zemin after receiving an extra copy. You might be interested in reading it. It could give you a point of personal contact above the political and his singing show tunes. I would like it returned.

Please note I am not a political groupie, but a 55 year old grandmother who is interested in politics and people.

Give 'em hell, Bill.

Martha Goldhorn
Martha R. Goldhorn
Shanghai Celebrity Garden
House B-72
2 Che Xin Road
XinQiao, Songjiang
Shanghai
Fax: 5764-2648
Tele: 5764-2140

P.S. It would be even more special if
Hillary & Chelsea also signed.



蓮花
木蘭
相秀

&

CALLIGRAPHY COURTESY OF ANDREW L. FANG

their children in rooms behind the stores, and sent them to college.

Now the children of those immigrants, who came with nothing, enjoy the full prosperity of America. Time, death, and distance have faded memories of China. Today some 1,600 Asian-Americans hold dear the ways and ceremonies of a land of long ago.

So easily do the Asian and Southern cultures blend, especially the love of home and family and the heritage of hospitality. "One culture reinforcing another," Gilroy calls it. Over several months, Gilroy introduces me to the people and ways of this community. One morning we meet Wilson Yue, who offers to serve us orange juice while we visit in his small Clarksdale grocery.

"If someone has come a long distance, you offer them something to drink," Gilroy says later, then shakes his head and smiles sheepishly. "You know that's a Chinese custom and I had almost forgotten about it."

The older generations remember it, but only a few, such as Jack and Sue Chow, remain. I meet this couple in the home of their daughter, Alice, Sally Chow's sister-in-law.

Alice and Sally are in the kitchen making a wedding cake. A Chow cake is a coveted tradition in any Delta wedding. Sue, fluent only in Cantonese, nods a greeting as Jack chats about their marriage in China, the birth of their son, and his trek to America in 1938. Jack planned to get established and then return to bring the family to Mississippi.

But Japan invaded China, and when America entered the war, it sent him back to his homeland with the Flying Tigers. When the war ended, Jack had to return to America with his unit.

Seven years passed before he knew whether his wife and child were dead or alive. Then in 1947,



Gilroy's father helped Jack gain passage. Jack finally brought his family home to the South.

Slowly, the Asian-Americans stepped into the mainstream of Delta life. Churches in the region reached out to them. Jack and Sue are members of the Chinese Baptist Church in Cleveland, where services were held in Cantonese as recently as the 1980s.

Jack and Sue, working night and day, built a small store into Gold Star Grocery and reared five children, all but one completing college. The generation of Delta Chinese born after World War II still stand in awe of that perseverance.

"My parents raised seven boys out of a corner grocery," recalls Frank Seid, a Greenville, Mississippi, pharmacist. "You could see the ground through the cracks in the floors. Our parents and grandparents worked 70- to 80-hour weeks. Before my grandfather died, he told dad, 'Don't spend a lot of money on my funeral; use it

to send the children to college.'"

Frank sips coffee with Raymond and Cathy Wong at How Joy, the Wongs' Greenville restaurant. In their lifetime the Delta has grown more hospitable. Asian-Americans now live in any neighborhood, work in any business, and hold local office.

But as they adapted to Mississippi life, many Chinese customs were swept away in the current. So was the language. Cathy teaches me a few slang words in Cantonese, which she understands but speaks little. She is *Hon Yen*, or "Chinese." We all live in *Nam Fong*, "the South."

The language drowns quickly in the new vocabulary of *Nam Fong*. America already echoes in the voices of Wesley Huang, 13, and his sister, Allison, 4. They are children of Terry and Louisa Huang, who arrived from Taiwan in 1980 and own Hunan's Restaurant in Greenville.

"We speak Mandarin to Wesley," Terry says. "He understands, but he answers in English. Allison speaks Mandarin, but as soon as she goes to school, she'll come home speaking English just as Wesley did."

Lisa Chow knows little Cantonese. Tall and elegant, she greets me

南方



(Left) Family members gather around a giant wok as Gilroy Chow cooks for Pang Potluck.

(Below) In a traditional tea ceremony Lisa Lou and Trey Quon kneel to serve tea to each of their parents as part of their wedding celebration.

(Bottom) Alice and Sally Chow assemble one of their wedding cakes.



one afternoon at the Chi Omega sorority house at Ole Miss. People sometimes forget she's American-born. Lisa laughs. "Last semester my accounting professor was teaching international currencies and asked me about the exchange rate in Malaysia. I said, 'How should I know? I'm from Clarksdale.'"

I follow Lisa to her Uncle Noah and Aunt Gene's, for Pang Potluck. After dinner her brother, Bradley, chats about his ambition to work in

sports psychology with a college or professional team, although not one "up North," he says. He is certain of his identity. "I feel Southern every time I go away," he says.

"But first I'm Asian, then I'm a Southerner," he continues. "As an Asian, I'm proud to have parents and grandparents who have worked from nothing. The Asians came here with nothing and were given nothing. Now, here I am, going to a major college, pretty much handed all

the opportunity I need to have a great job and a good life."

With yawns and stretches, the family celebration at Pang Potluck ends. Another event draws many of the Mississippi Chinese "family," the Chows included, when Lisa Lou and Trey Quon marry in Greenville's First Baptist Church. Raymond and Cathy Wong cater

the nine-course Chinese banquet to an assembly of 900 at the Washington County Convention Center and they also provide a room in their restaurant for the private tea ceremony for the families.

Lisa wears white, but for the tea ceremony, she changes into her cheongsam, the tradi-

tional red silk wedding dress. In the old days, the bride served tea on her knees to her in-laws. Updating the tradition, Lisa and Trey kneel together and serve tea to both families. In turn, the parents present Lisa with heirloom jewelry, covering her wrists and neck and placing rings on all her fingers.

At one time, Asian parents required their sons and daughters to marry within the culture. Most still prefer it, but now they leave the decision to their children.

Several months later I asked Lisa Chow, who now works for a Memphis accounting firm, about her plans for marriage. "I'm planning on marrying someone with the same beliefs and ideals that I have," she says, then pauses. "It would be nice if he's Chinese, but I don't know who I'll fall in love with. I'll leave that up to God."

Like most Southerners, Lisa treasures her family's shared traditions and sees them as gifts passed down to her. Like the precious stones her mother will press into her hands when she marries, they are the strands of memories of growing up on the golden mountain of a loving family. ◇

July 24, 1997

Jiang Zemin, President
People's Republic of China
Beijing, China

Dear President Zemin,

It is with pleasure that I send to you a copy of my favorite magazine, *Southern Living*, from the United States. There is an article on page 135 that I want to share with you because as a resident of your country since 1992 and a Southerner from the United States, the article is particularly poignant. I can understand how the third generation overseas Chinese/ Asian Americans feel when they state that, "first they are Asian" because I have seen for myself first hand the quiet pride of the Chinese people here in China. I also understand the pride expressed in being Southern because I am also from the southern U.S. where family values and cultural traditions are important.

As long as people can experience cross-cultural exchanges and gain knowledge of one another, superficial barriers can be overcome. Most good people want the same thing for themselves and their families and their country.

I hope you enjoy reading the article as much as I have and when you visit the United States, I hope you will be able to experience Southern Hospitality first hand as Vice-President Gore is a Southerner from the state of Tennessee. Or perhaps with the assistance of the staff at *Southern Living* arrangements could be made for you to visit the Chows, Chins, and Pangs and enjoy Pang potluck.

Best wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely,

Martha Goldhorn
Lido Apt 4112
Beijing, China

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 7, 1997

Ms. Martha R. Goldhorn
Lido, Apartment 4112
Jichand and Jiangtal Roads
Beijing
PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Dear Martha:

Thank you very much for your warm expression of support. I am honored to have the opportunity to serve our country again in this time of momentous change and promise.

I am proud of what we have accomplished during the past four years -- we have reduced the deficit, expanded and sustained economic growth, improved education and educational opportunities for our children, and empowered Americans to make the most of their own lives. However, we still have much work to do to meet our commitment to provide hope and opportunity for all our people as we approach the twenty-first century. As President, I will work hard during the next four years to uphold your trust, to protect our shared values, and to meet our common challenges.

Again, thanks so much for your encouragement.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

AIR MAIL



ALWAYS
ZIP CODE



Ms. Martha R. Goldhorn
Lido, Apartment 4112
Jichand and Jiangtal Roads
Beijing
PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA

00184/1000 00





Helen Ng
Regional Director

Spice 7-7-98

July 3, 1998

Dear President Clinton,

A warm welcome from Godiva, the chocolatier who "Speaks the International Language".

Hope your tour to China is a successful one with lots of sweet memories.

With warm regards,

7-7-98



Send to Burkhardt?

Yes _____

No _____

Gift, presumably.
Ask Nancy

C



SPEAK THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE.

Belgium New York London Paris Tokyo Hong Kong

Campbell Soup Asia Ltd.
10th Floor West, Warwick House,
Taikoo Place, 979 King's Road,
Quarry Bay, Hong Kong
Direct line: (852) 2963 4764
Tel: (852) 2811 3806