

Thank you for your kind offer.

Although the President is unable to accept your services, on his behalf I want to extend gratitude for the spirit of generosity and cooperation that prompted your offer.

President Clinton appreciates your support.

1/6

Phil -

This is the r/d we send when someone offers goods or services and wants to profit from it (i.e., through advertising or publicity). It would go over my signature.
What do you think?

[Signature]

Don -
I think this response is perfectly appropriate, but before it's sent, should check on two things: 1) whether Art Unit has responded/checked already; 2) get Larry Zeno's response to see what he has said already -- his note to Todd says response is attached, but it's not. Let me know
Thanks
Phil
1/8



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
The Assistant Secretary for Communications
and Information
Washington, D.C. 20230

'97 DEC 22 PM2:

DEC 17 1997

Mr. Todd Stern
Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

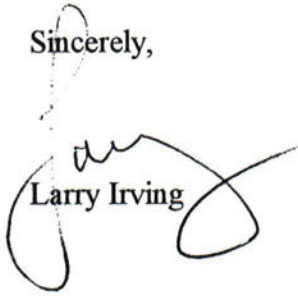
Dear Mr. Stern:

Enclosed is correspondence from Peter Barry of Home Theater Magazine to Secretary of Commerce William Daley, proposing to install a digital home theater system in the White House theater, as well as my reply to those letters.

Although I suspect that you or one of your colleagues in the White House Gift Unit have already received this request through normal channels, I am forwarding it to you as part of the Commerce Department's response to Mr. Barry.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,


Larry Irving

Enclosures

RECEIVED
1997 NOV 27 11 3 02

CurtCo Freedom Group

Corporate Headquarters

29160 Heathercliff Road

Suite 200

Malibu, CA 90265

310/579-3400

310/579-3300 Fax

Eastern Offices

156 West 56th Street

Third Floor

New York, NY 10019

212/547-6300

212/547-6427 Fax

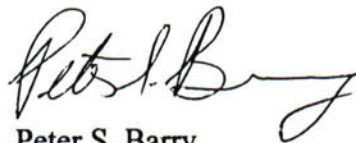
November 19, 1997

Secretary William Daley
United States Department of Commerce
Herbert C. Hoover Building
14th Street NW & Constitution Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20230

Dear Secretary Daley:

Because of your involvement with the Presidential Advisory Committee on Public Interest Obligations for Digital TV, and your interest in advancing this new American technology, we have attached the following correspondence for your review.

Any assistance you may be able to provide in expediting this matter would be deeply appreciated. We look forward to working with you in bringing this project to fruition.



Peter S. Barry
Editorial Director
(310) 579-3356

Sincerely yours,



Mark Stein
Home Theater Industry Consultant
(510) 794-5411

Corporate Headquarters

29160 Heathercliff Road

Suite 200

Malibu, CA 90265

310/579-3400

310/579-3300 Fax

Eastern Offices

156 West 56th Street

Third Floor

New York, NY 10019

212/547-6300

212/547-6427 Fax

November 19, 1997

Hon. Norm Ornstein & Hon. Les Moonves, Co-Chairs
Presidential Advisory Committee on Public Interest Obligations for Digital TV
c/o The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Co-Chairs Ornstein and Moonves:

As you know the Federal Communications Commission has recently adopted broad technical guidelines and a specific timeline for the introduction of Digital High Definition Television broadcasts in the United States.

We at *Home Theater* magazine pride ourselves on the leadership role we have assumed in advancing American technology and American consumer products. This new HDTV system will enjoy its initial broadcasts beginning in the spring of 1998. We have strong relationships with the key manufacturers who will be involved with HDTV technology. As a result, we have the opportunity to assemble a prestigious group of American companies and products to create a truly state-of-the-art home theater system featuring not only HDTV, but the most advanced digital multichannel sound systems to take maximum advantage of this exciting new technology.

The FCC has mandated that all broadcasting in the USA be converted to digital by 2006, barely eight years away. In order to generate public enthusiasm for the Administration's goal, we would like to offer this home theater system as a gift to the American people, to be installed in the White House theater. We feel strongly that this kind of high profile visibility is essential if the new system is going to receive public recognition and acceptance in a timely manner.

In addition, this is also an opportunity to showcase world-leading American products and technologies not only to the American public but to international markets as well, who will certainly be adopting a digital standard soon. The system will be a permanent gift and periodic maintenance, calibrations, and product upgrades will be included to ensure the system will remain state-of-the-art. This system will be designed specifically for the White House.

We are fully prepared to spearhead the logistics and coordination required to integrate this system into the White House theater. The only request we would make is that the White House avail itself to appropriate publicity regarding this installation in order to fulfill the goal of fostering greater public awareness.

At Home Theater we are excited about this proposal and trust the Administration will be, too. We will call to follow-up in the coming weeks so that we may respond to any questions you may have and begin the planning process for this project in earnest.

We look forward to your reply.



Peter S. Barry
Editorial Director
(310) 579-3356

Sincerely yours,



Mark Stein
Home Theater Industry Consultant
(510) 794-5411

cc: Vice President Al Gore; Secretary William Daley; Congressman Pete Stark

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date January 8, 1998

To: Bob Nash

From: The Staff Secretary

Original has been dispatched to
legislative affairs.

TOM LANTOS
CALIFORNIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
2217 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3531

DISTRICT OFFICE:
400 EL CAMINO REAL
SUITE 220
SAN MATEO, CA 94402
(650) 342-0300
IN SAN FRANCISCO:
(415) 566-5257



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Ranking Member:
Subcommittee on International Operations
and Human Rights
Subcommittee on International Economic Policy
and Trade

GOVERNMENT REFORM AND OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE

Subcommittee on Human Resources
Subcommittee on National Security,
International Affairs, and Criminal Justice

Chairman, Permanent United States
Congressional Delegation to the
European Parliament

Member, United States
Congressional Delegation to the
North Atlantic Assembly
Cochairman, Congressional
Human Rights Caucus

January 6, 1998

'98 JAN 6 PM8:35

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500
Fax: 202-456-6703

Dear Mr. President,

I am pleased to encourage the appointment of Ambassador Donald Blinken to the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. During the course of his distinguished tenure as Ambassador to Hungary, I had numerous occasions to have extended and wide-ranging discussions with Ambassador Blinken concerning Hungary, Central and Eastern Europe, and United States interests and policies in the region. Invariably, I was greatly impressed by the analytical insights and balanced and mature judgements Ambassador Blinken brought to a tremendous range of issues.

In all my years of congressional service, I have never recommended an individual for appointment to the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, but in this instance I feel compelled to do so. Don Blinken would bring both economic and political judgement and perspective to the Board which would be both sound and perceptive.

I strongly recommend his appointment to this important body.

Most cordially,

Tm

TOM LANTOS
Member of Congress

1-7-98
Send to *Leg Affairs*
Alaska?
Yes ☒
No ☐
cc: *Nash*
Leg Affairs?
Yes ☒
No ☐

POSITION DESCRIPTION

December 1997

**Center for Community Change****Executive Director**

The Center for Community Change, located in Washington, DC, is a national nonprofit organization with the mission to develop the power and capacity of low-income people, especially low-income people of color, to have a significant impact on the policies and institutions which affect them and their communities. Building and strengthening community based organizations is the Center's principal strategy for pursuing that mission.

It does the latter through a combination of hands-on technical assistance and capacity-building; public policy advocacy; action research; workshops and conferences; the production and dissemination of information, materials and publications; coalition building at the national, state and local levels; and leadership development programs.

The Center has a staff of 54 people, nine of whom are based in California and six of whom reside in six other states. Most staff have extensive experience working in local communities with low-income grassroots organizations. They also operate special initiatives in the fields of public and assisted housing, banking and fair lending, economic development and jobs, welfare reform, Native American employment and training programs and new immigrant programs.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The Executive Director provides leadership in advancing the Center's values and mission and its commitment to working with low-income people's organizations. The leadership is carried out in partnership with Center staff.

The Executive Director is the chief executive officer of the Center and, as such, oversees and is responsible for the Center's plans, policies, programs and management. He/she reports and is accountable to the Center's Board of Directors. With the assistance of a management council and team of senior level staff, the Executive Director ensures that the Center's plans and programs are executed effectively and in a timely manner.

The Executive Director is responsible for overseeing the annual operating budget of the Center and maintaining the financial integrity of the organization. In this role, he/she is responsible, with the help of development and other staff, for raising the money to meet the Center's annual operating budget of approximately \$5.6 million. The Executive Director and staff assist in raising financial support for community-based organizations, as well. The Executive Director's responsibilities also include representing the Center in public forums, in the media and in national coalitions that are key to the Center's mission.

Center for Community Change

Executive Director

Page 2

FIRST YEAR'S PRIORITIES

During the first year, the Executive Director will be expected to:

- Thoroughly understand the Center and its history, mission, programs, structure, finances, fundraising efforts, agency and donor constituencies, and its potential;
- Win the trust and confidence of the Board, in order to help bring forth their best efforts and talents;
- In partnership with the Board, review the mission of CCC and a strategy for achieving short- and long-term goals;
- Understand the role of each staff member and instill a feeling of cohesiveness and stability within each area, and within the organization as a whole, during this period of transition;
- Provide clear vision and direction to improve current programs and build new programs that address the emerging needs and challenges of the field; review the internal structure of the organization;
- Get to know current funders and build on those relationships; plan and execute effective and innovative ways of broadening fundraising efforts, using the resources and interests of the Center and other contacts as leverage;
- Become a visible spokesperson, locally and nationally (both in person and in writing), increase public understanding of developments in the field and broaden the Center's reputation for stimulating positive change.

DESIRED QUALIFICATIONS

- Demonstrated leadership capacity and strategic vision to mobilize people and resources to accomplish the Center's mission;
- Extensive management experience with nonprofit and other relevant organization, with the ability to manage a multi-faceted and complex organization with a diverse and experienced staff;
- Knowledge about the problems of low-income people and related public policy issues.

Center for Community Change

Executive Director

Page 3

- Extensive community and/or grassroots experience, either in running community programs or providing technical assistance or other support to low-income people's organizations;
- Proven commitment to social and economic justice and empowerment strategies;
- Strong track record in raising money from a variety of sources. This ability to mobilize resources would encompass not only efforts to meet the Center's budget but also to increase funds available to community organizations;
- Experience in working productively with an active Board of Directors;
- Demonstrated capacity for and commitment to openness and diversity, as well as a commitment to encourage staff leadership and collaborative problem solving;
- Experience in public policy and advocacy activities;
- Experience in working with and sustaining collaborations and coalitions.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

- The Executive Director must have a record of honesty and integrity, high ethical standards and a commitment to public accountability;
- The individual must have a passion for social and economic justice;
- He/she must be able to confront controversy, take risks, make tough judgments and tolerate criticism and challenges;
- The Executive Director must be comfortable with an organizational framework of collegiality, diversity and tolerance;
- He/she must be willing to work long hours and to undertake substantial travel;
- The Executive Director should possess perspective and a sense of humor.

中华人民共和国大使馆

THE EMBASSY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

2300 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20008

'98 JAN 7 PM3:26

CE 167/97

The Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the United States of America presents its compliments to the Department of State of the United States of America and has the honour to forward to the latter for transmission, the autographic 1998 New Year's Greeting Card from Premier Li Peng of the State Council of the People's Republic of China to President William Jefferson Clinton of the United States of America.

The Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the United States of America avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the U.S. Department of State the assurances of its highest consideration.

Washington, D.C. December 19, 1997

Department of State
United States of America
Washington, D.C.

1-7-98



send to USC? ☒
Yes ☒
No ☐

C.

Satoshi Iue LL. D.
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer

December 27, 1997

Honorable Bill Clinton
The President of The United States of America
The White House
Washington D.C.
20500-2000

'98 JAN 7 AM 11:03

Dear Mr. President,

It has been a while since I have communicated with you but I certainly hope this finds you and your family in good health. Today, I wish to voice my opinion on a very difficult reality many Japanese companies are facing these days.

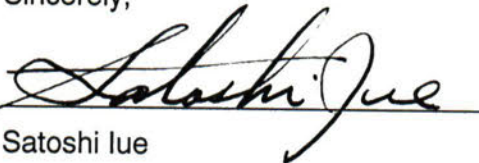
There are many Japanese businesses who have been operating in the United States procuring local materials and employing American work force and management to offer goods and services in the United States market. I believe such corporations are truly American businesses. Obviously, this is not a news to you since you yourself were very much instrumental in bringing such operations into the United States. Like other American born corporations, these businesses secure funds within the United States to conduct their daily business activities. And, you are also aware that these "Japanese Corporations" are burdened by the so-called "Japan Premium" imposed on them due to their origin being that of Japan, and their operation being affected by this.

Mr. President, what I really wish you to know is that these "Japanese" businesses, or if I may "American" businesses are faced with a very severe management reality due to this "Japan Premium" that adds cost in doing business. It would appear to me that this works very unfairly to these U. S. incorporated "Japanese" businesses that are operating just like any other U.S. companies. I would be most honored to know what needs to be done in order to find a solution to this problem.

In closing, I sincerely wish you and your family much hope, joy and peace in the New Year.

1-7-98

Sincerely,


Satoshi Iue
Chairman & CEO

Send to Burkhardt?

Ye

Coordinate with
Pam's office

C.

1-8-98

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

(or is this too old?)
should be
a Burkhardt
reply -
didn't we do
this already?
let me know

Cranford Johnson Robinson Woods

Capitol Center
303 West Capitol Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201-3593

(501) 376-6251
FAX: (501) 376-4241

<http://www.cjrww.com>
E-mail: concept1@cjrww.com



Cranford Johnson Robinson Woods
FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Date:

1/7/98

To:

NANCY HENNREICH

From:

Skip Rutherford

Number of pages sent including this sheet:

2

If you have any problems receiving this facsimile, please contact Dianne Kelly at (501) 975-7266.

Thank you.

Capitol Center / 303 West Capitol Avenue / Little Rock, Arkansas 72201-3593
FAX: (501) 975-6045 or (501) 975-6085

CONFIDENTIALITY NOTE: The information in this facsimile transmittal is confidential information intended only for the use of the individual or entity named above. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copy of the transmittal is strictly prohibited. If you receive this transmittal in error, please immediately notify us by telephone, and return the original to us at the above address via the United States Postal Service. Thank you.

Comments:

NANCY, could you please check on this?Will is in Little Rock today & called me.Thanks, Skip

6400 See

November 4, 1997

President Bill Clinton
The White House - Attn: Nancy Hernreich
1600 Pennsylvania Ave N.W.
Washington, DC

JAN - 8 1998
1:15 PM

Dear President Clinton:

In 1998 *The Indiana University Press* will publish a book of my photographs from *Little Rock Central High School*. These images cover the crisis years of 1957-1960 and the school in 1997 including the events surrounding the opening of the *Central High Visitors' Center* this September. I would be pleased if you would consider writing a short preface for this publication.

In 1957 I shot photographs of Elizabeth Eckford as she was turned away from *Central High* by Arkansas National Guard troops and then walked courageously through school integration resisters in front of the school. The most published of these images showed a 15-year-old white student, Hazel Bryan, yelling epithets directly behind Elizabeth.

This September with the help of Annie Abrams and my wife, Vivian, I were able to bring Elizabeth and Hazel together for a reconciliation meeting and photograph at *Central High*. At Thanksgiving time this year, Elizabeth and Hazel will meet at the *Visitors' Center* to autograph posters of their reconciliation. Skip Rutherford and Doug Heterman of Cranford, Johnson, Robinson and Woods agency, are producing the poster. A rough proof is enclosed.

The photographs for the book will largely come from my exhibit in the *Arkansas Arts Center* during September. The 78 photographs in the exhibit were evenly divided between images from 1957-1960 and those I made this Spring. About 900 persons came to the opening of the exhibit which Townsend Wolfe, the *Art Center* director, says is the largest opening at the *Arts Center*. He is now preparing the photographs for a national touring exhibit.

While the book will focus on my photographic essay of *Central High*, There will be short essays by two of my Arkansas journalism friends. Bob McCord, who was my editor at the *Arkansas Democrat* when I made the *Central High Crisis* photographs, will write about the political and social environment during the *Central High* crisis. Ernie Dumas, a longtime political reporter for the *Arkansas Gazette* and now a journalism professor at the *University of Central Arkansas*, will write about the development of *Central High* from the troubles of the fifties into the excellent integrated school it is today. Ernie's wife, Elaine, is now the *Central High* librarian.

While I have not approved of the editorial policies of the *Arkansas Democrat* from the years I worked there, I was delighted that the editors chose to support the *Central High* commemorative events and to cite my photographs as being important in telling the Little Rock story. An editorial is enclosed.

I feel grateful to have lived to see and been able to record the progress that has been made at *Central High*. My interest in photojournalism began in the late Forties as a student at Little Rock High (now *Central*.) This book give me the opportunity to present my school and state in a much more positive light than my news photographs presented in 1957.

The editors at I.U. Press and I are now beginning to develop the book's design and I would be honored to have the book begin with a preface from our President.

Sincerely,

Will Counts
3043 Ramble Rd. West
Bloomington, IN 47408
E-mail wcounts@indiana.edu

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date

1/8

To:

John Podesta

From:

The Staff Secretary

I've worked with C&A
to make this informational
only.

Are you comfortable sending
this in?

Paul



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

JAN 7 1998
5:27 pm

January 7, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHLEEN A. McGINTY

SUBJECT: OFFSHORE OIL DRILLING MORATORIUM

[This memo is for informational purposes only. If you decide that you would like to pursue this issue further, we will need to engage in a policy process.]

This is in response to your request for information on the possibility of a permanent moratorium on new leases for offshore oil drilling off the coast of California. It sets out the current status of California offshore drilling, the legal authorities available to you, relevant policy considerations, and options for action.

Summary

Current moratoria preclude any new leasing off California until at least 2002. You have broad legal authority to withdraw areas from leasing. However, policy considerations and Administration policy to date would suggest that a permanent withdrawal should not be done without, at a minimum, a factual record from the Interior Department about the impacts of such a withdrawal. Another option, which also should await a factual record from the Interior Department, would be to extend the current moratoria for a fixed time period, but to stop short of a permanent withdrawal. You should be aware, however, that polling data from October 1996 is surprisingly negative on this action -- nationwide, 34% believe we should ban offshore drilling for environmental reasons, while 50% say we should permit offshore drilling to keep energy prices low and reduce our dependence on foreign oil. In California and Florida, roughly 53% support a permanent ban and 43% oppose. New Jersey was also polled, with only 31% supporting and 64% opposing.

Current Status

It is my understanding that Senator Boxer has proposed a permanent moratorium on new oil or gas leases off the California coast. The practical effect of this action would be to make permanent the current time limited moratorium on such leases, and reduce the risk that later Administrations will fail to continue the moratorium now in place. (Of course, later Administrations could revoke any withdrawal you put into effect, and Congress could always overturn such a withdrawal.)

The Administration's five year Outer Continental Shelf Leasing Program, issued pursuant to the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act, precludes any new leases off the California coast through 2002.

In addition, President Bush in 1990 withdrew the California Outer Continental Shelf from new leasing through 2000, and this moratorium has been included in Interior Appropriations bills ever since.

Prior to either of these actions, the Reagan Administration had entered into 83 leases off the shore of Southern California. Those leases are contractual obligations of the government that cannot be rescinded. Of these, 43 are producing leases and production has doubled over the last 5 years to approximately 200,000 barrels per day. The other 40 non-producing leases are the subject of an ongoing study involving the federal and state governments and the oil companies, to be completed in spring 1998. No production will begin until that study is completed, and all these leases expire in December 1998 unless production plans are submitted prior to September 1998.

Legal Authority

Section 12(a) of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (43 U.S.C. 1341) provides that the President "... may, from time to time, withdraw from disposition any of the unleased lands of the outer Continental Shelf." The provision clearly authorizes the President to withdraw areas not currently subject to a lease from leasing. There is no instructive legislative history on the provision.

The Interior Department's Solicitor's Office believes that, while the provision does not directly address revocation of a withdrawal, the language implicitly allows the President to revoke a withdrawal so issued. That office also notes that there is no specific procedure required by law for effectuating such a withdrawal, but that an Executive Order would be one appropriate means for doing so.

The authority has been invoked only twice -- in 1960 by Federal Register notice to establish the Key Largo Coral Reef Preserve; and in 1992 by a memorandum to the Secretary of Interior from President Bush confirming an earlier withdrawal pursuant to this authority, to remain in effect through 2000 "subject to revocation should the President determine the scheduling of a lease sale to be required in the interest of national security."

Policy Considerations

The Administration's general policy with respect to development of the nation's oil and gas resources has been that decisions with respect to leasing and moratoria should be based on sound science and environmental protection. Within those constraints the Administration has supported production of its energy resources. Decisions with respect to leasing have been made on an area-by-area basis through the use of Interior's five year leasing plans, and have been done in an open process involving the affected parties with a concerted effort at consensus building.

Making permanent the existing five year moratorium in California without additional process or impact analysis by the Interior Department would be a departure from Administration policy. In addition, it would set a precedent that could be problematic for two reasons. First, it could increase pressure on the Administration from opponents of offshore drilling in other states to take Presidential action without the normal scientific/public process. (For example, large natural gas deposits in the

Norfleck Trench off the Gulf coast of Florida are estimated to contain enough natural gas to provide for Florida's needs for the next 40 years, and the issue of production of that gas is expected to be controversial). Second, this action could serve as precedent for later Administrations to revoke existing withdrawals without factual or scientific analysis to the detriment of the environment.

Should you wish to pursue a moratorium but mitigate potential conflicts with current Administration policy, there are at least two variations on Senator Boxer's proposal to consider. First, any executive action to withdraw lands from leasing could (and in my view should) be preceded by a direction to the Secretary of Interior to provide an analysis of the impact on oil production and the environment of an extension of, or a permanent, moratorium. It seems most practical to request information on both a time limited extension of the present moratorium as well as a permanent moratorium. Any moratorium proposal or request to the Secretary should include a proviso such as that used by President Bush that the moratorium could be revoked if the President believed it to be a threat to the national security.

Such a report from Interior would provide a factual record on which to base your decision (albeit one that stops short of the public process typically used by Interior). Interior believes that such an analysis could be done very quickly upon request, easily within 30 days. However, Interior has expressed concerns in the past about the consistency of permanent moratoria on drilling with our national security interests, and does believe that the public process it has used to make these determinations during this Administration has significant value. Thus, it is not clear that Interior's analysis would result in a blanket endorsement of moratorium extensions.

January 8, 1998

Dear Mr. President,

I understand that there is a conflict between your African travel plans and the Gridiron Dinner. I just wanted to tell you how much it would mean for you to attend to me personally, as this year's president, as well as to the reporters who belong to the club. A Gridiron Dinner is not the same when the POTUS is not in attendance, and you in particular have starred in past dinners. I do hope that you will be able to adjust your very busy schedule to give the Gridiron Club the great pleasure of your company.

Sincerely,

Robert D. Novak

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-8-98

McCurry

Fyl - 

Copied
McCurry
COS

801 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, NW
APARTMENT 1022
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004

Copied
Berger
COS

To Sunday - Fy - R

In Ireland, Simple Acts Are Evidence of Growing Tolerance

■ **Catholic president took Protestant communion last month. Most approve.**

By Kevin Rafter

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

DUBLIN, IRELAND

FOLLOWING a service at the Protestant Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin the Sunday before Christmas, the US ambassador to Ireland got talking with two young American visitors to the city. When one told ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith he had been to school in Arkansas, she replied that he was in "very good company, the best company in the world."

President Clinton would have been proud of his ambassador, not only for promoting his home state, but for taking communion at the service.

The presence of Ms. Kennedy Smith, a Roman Catholic, at the Protestant service would have occurred without comment had it not been for the decision earlier last month by the country's newly elected head of state, Mary McAleese, to also receive commu-

nion at the cathedral.

President McAleese is a prominent Catholic and her action brought immediate condemnation from her church's bishops, who cited an 1896 edict that Protestant communion is "absolutely null and void."

The new president saw herself fulfilling a prelection pledge to "build bridges" among the different traditions in Ireland. It is a theme that also emerges in her recent book, "Love In Chaos," in which she writes that the "challenge for the churches is to take the sectarian hatred out of political discourse and remove the poison."

In attacking McAleese's action, the bishops had not allowed for public opinion. One poll indicated that 4 in 5 people welcomed the president's decision.

There was also embarrassment for the Catholic Church when the Archbishop of Dublin, Desmond Connell, described

Protestant communion as a "sham." He later apologized, saying, "it was very unfortunate that I used the word."

McAleese has not commented publicly on the controversy. But Kennedy Smith said her actions were those of a "private citizen."

The ambassador added that in New York, she regularly attended a Presbyterian church on Fifth Avenue near an apartment she owned in the city.

Judging from the reaction on radio talk shows and in the letters pages of national newspapers, the controversy is likely to continue for some time.

Already, commentators are observing how the story illustrates the narrowing of distinctions between members of the Protestant and Catholic churches in Ireland.

"Until the late 1960s, there was a kind of religious separation, but since Ireland joined the European Union in 1973 the

country has become part of a more consumer-orientated, secular society and the religious divisions have broken down to a very considerable degree," says Professor Terence Brown of Trinity College in Dublin.

For the past 30 years, Patricia Jeffers has taught at St. Iberias School in County Wexford. The 70 children in her care are part of a wider Protestant community that makes up about 5 percent of the population in Ireland.

Mrs. Jeffers rejects claims by Protestant politicians in Northern Ireland, such as the Rev. Ian Paisley, that their fellow Protestants in Ireland suffer discrimination. "I hate the word because it's not there and I have never experienced it," she says.

However, Jeffers does accept that previously, to be Irish was taken as being Catholic and that Protestants were considered pro-British. "My parents and their parents before them found that they were never considered Irish, yet they were part and parcel of the community where they lived for several generations. Now I think, thankfully, that has changed."

But while religion may have faded from politics in Ireland, it still remains a potent force in Northern Ireland, between pro-British Protestants and the Catholic community, which seeks a unified Ireland.

The McAleese row has also highlighted an often-ignored difference between Protestants in Northern Ireland and their co-religionists in Ireland. Although they worship at the same church, relations have not always been comfortable as they give allegiances to different states.

Southern Protestants also have great difficulty with the often violent Protestant marching tradition in Northern Ireland, which each summer recalls historic military victories over Catholics.

With the eruption of violence in Northern Ireland over the holidays, a leading Protestant clergyman, Sam Hutchinson, has called for "the voice of moderation of ordinary people to be heard loud and clear."

Two Catholics were killed in separate attacks by a renegade Protestant paramilitary group, to avenge the Dec. 27 murder in prison of its leader.



US AMBASSADOR: Jean Kennedy Smith went to a Protestant church at Christmas.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-8-98

VP / EB

am inclined to support
but need some vetting -
can amend OMB budget
if we decide to go w/ in son

Bos

copied
VP
Bosles

THE PREVIOUS HAS SEEN
1-5-98

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENT

JANUARY 6, 1998

FROM: MORLEY WINOGRAD

SUBJECT: Creation of a Single Food Safety Agency

ISSUE: Should the Administration press for a single Federal food safety agency? The current food safety system is criticized for its fragmentation, lack of coordination, inconsistencies in inspection coverage, non-uniform enforcement authorities, and inefficient distribution of resources. A single agency that combined the food safety programs of USDA, HHS/FDA, and the seafood inspection activities of DOC could address these concerns; unlike an earlier proposal, the current idea is to have a stand-alone, Executive Branch agency -- not part of an existing Department. There are, however, serious obstacles to overcome for us to succeed. We have discussed this issue within the White House but not with the affected agencies, Members of Congress, or the interest groups.

Action forcing event: If this issue is a candidate for the State of the Union and is not to appear as an afterthought, it should be included in the budget. The budget will be locked on Jan. 7 so a decision during your lunch on that day would be required to meet OMB's deadline.

The pros and cons of a single food agency are:

PROS

- Would highlight food safety issues, an area of increasing concern to the American public; a single food agency would have food safety as its top priority.
- Would lead to the development of a comprehensive, focused Federal food safety policy for *all* foods (e.g., consistent management, regulatory, and legislative approaches to risk and food safety).
- Would allow for better visibility and success in securing adequate resources to target high risk foods such as seafood (e.g., over twice as much is spent on meat and poultry inspection as on inspection for all other foods).
- Would improve the coordination of Federal responses to foodborne illness outbreaks by eliminating gaps in regulatory coverage, avoiding conflicting actions, and ensuring a comprehensive Federal response.
- Would eliminate unnecessary activities, such as duplicate inspection of establishments that produce products regulated by different agencies (e.g., FDA inspects frozen cheese pizzas while USDA inspects frozen pepperoni pizzas).
- Is consistent with the 1993 NPR proposal and a recent legislative proposal (by Senators Durbin and Torricelli and Representatives Fazio and Pallone) for a single food agency.
- Would be one example of administration responding to Republican Congressional leadership calls to eliminate duplication in government activities.

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CONS

- Creating a new agency may appear to be inconsistent with streamlining government; alternatively, could be viewed as simply "moving the boxes around" rather than addressing substantive food safety issues.
- Implications that budget resources could be reallocated among the programs would be viewed as threatening to the traditional program supporters.
- May face significant opposition from groups that have a vested interest in the status quo (e.g., the meat and poultry industry strongly opposed an earlier proposal to move food safety activities into HHS because they were used to, if not wholly comfortable with, USDA regulation of their products).
- 7. Raises jurisdictional issues on the Hill (while USDA and FDA share the same appropriations committee, they have different authorizing committees who will be reluctant to lose control). Key to removing this objection, and significantly mitigating the preceding one, would be to mirror EPA, with several committees having jurisdiction over the new agency. This would mean continued Ag. comm. involvement in meat and poultry regulation process.
- Would be a relatively small agency with a program level of approximately \$1 billion.
- Could meet agency resistance; staff at both USDA and HHS are invested in their work. However, both Departments may be more likely to support a single stand-alone agency than transferring their responsibilities to the other Department.

Expected Positions:

- Consumer and public health groups would be highly supportive; the idea also has the support of NPR, DPC, OMB, and OSTP.
- The meat and poultry industry is likely to oppose the proposal, although recent stepped-up actions by USDA (resulting in some closures -- e.g., Hudson) and the industry's heightened concern about adverse publicity from E. Coli 0157:H7, etc. may reduce their resistance; the position of other food associations, etc. is unclear -- generally big business is supportive of our food safety efforts; small businesses are scared.
- Congressional politics depend on our flexibility with regard to oversight jurisdiction.

Please let me know the outcome of your discussion.

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Winston
COS

WHAT EVER
HAPPENED
TO THE

WHITE ATHLETE?

Unsure of his place in a sports world dominated by blacks who are hungrier, harder-working and perhaps physiologically superior, the young white male is dropping out of the athletic mainstream to pursue success elsewhere

BY S.L. PRICE

Special Reporting by Grace Cornelius

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN BIEVER

"I started to appreciate him when I put myself into his shoes—a white player trying to break into a black league. No way I could have done it."

—Pee Wee Reese, on Jackie Robinson

W

hat do you do for a living?" Each time Kevin Little hears the question, he suffers a small crisis. He would love to say straight out, "I run fast. I am a sprinter." But Little is tired of facing disbelief, tired of the skeptical sputter that always follows such a statement. So he often just mentions his part-time job for U.S. West and moves on. Why bother?

"People do not understand," Little says. "They look at me like, *But you're white.*"

Little is one of the fastest men in the world. His winning time of 20.40 seconds at the world championships in Paris last March tied the American indoor record in the 200 meters. That victory—over a field that lacked world-record holder Michael Johnson but included 1997 outdoor world champ Ato Boldon—made him the first white American since 1956 to win a major international sprint title. At 29, Little is in his prime, but the confidence he displays took too long to earn. That's because, aside from suffering the usual self-doubts, he matured in an age when the white sprinter is about as common as the horse and buggy.

He tries not to let this bother him, but it is fact: None of the 25 fastest times in the 100 and only one of the 25 fastest in the 200 was run by a white man. Of the 14 track and field gold medals won by U.S. men at the Atlanta Olympics, just one—Randy Barnes's in the shot put—was won by a white. It's strange, being a human blip, but Little suspects he is only the most glaring anomaly on the American sports landscape. Every year he notices fewer white faces in big-time sports. He scans the sports pages, watches games, talks to white kids and parents. "In basketball and football, and other sports too, the interest isn't there anymore," he says.

Little trains in a tired antique of a gym at the University of Colorado. He glides over a 60-meter straightaway time and again, and he hops up the wooden steps on one leg, then the other. The place is empty. He works alone. His steps echo through the dim light, and you can see why he wonders if he is some kind of anachronism, walking point for a dwindling tribe. "Where is the white athlete going?" he says.

The white athlete is getting out. The white athlete—and here we speak of the young men in team sports who ruled the American athletic scene for much of the century—doesn't want to play anymore. Distracted by other leisure-time pursuits and discouraged by the success of black athletes, who have come to dominate sports in spectacular fashion, the white athlete is now less interested in playing certain mainstream games, most notably basketball and football, than are his black counterparts. He is increasingly drawn to sports that in the U.S. are played primarily by whites, such as soccer, or to alternative athletic pursuits that are overwhelmingly white, such as moun-



MARTIN JEONG/UPICORBIS-BETTMANN (BIRD); JIM GUND (LITTLE)

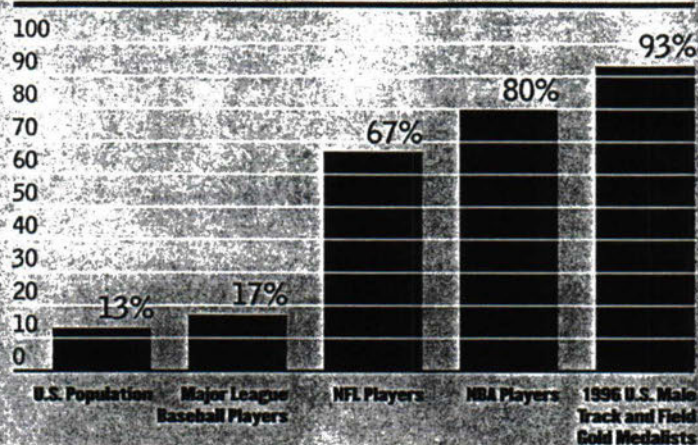
tain biking or rock climbing. After a six-month SPORTS ILLUSTRATED inquiry into the subject of race and sports, including dozens of interviews with coaches, athletes, executives and academics and a nationwide poll of 1,835 middle school and high school kids, all indications are that the white athlete will continue his steady fade.

Should anyone care? A century ago a New York City newspaper editor all but shrieked in print, "We are in the midst of a growing menace. The black man is rapidly forging to the front in the ranks of athletics . . . we are in the midst of a black rise against white supremacy." But 50 years after Jackie Robinson broke major league baseball's color barrier, white Americans have come to embrace black sports heroes in ways unimaginable in 1947. That a white majority calmly accepts minority status in one of its most cherished social institutions is itself a measure of progress, and the appeal of a Michael Jordan across racial lines is unquestioned.

"In 1960, if white girls in the suburbs had had posters of a Negro that dark on the wall, there would've been hell to pay," says black social critic Stanley Crouch. "That kind of racial paranoia is not true of the country now. Today you have white girls who are Michael Jordan fanatics, and their parents don't care."

Robinson ushered American sports into an era of significance beyond the playing field. During the next two generations, the once monochromatic world of team sports became a paradigm of, and sometimes a spur to, racial equality. One milestone followed another: Larry Doby broke into the American League several months after Robinson's debut; the NBA and the NFL were completely integrated; a Texas Western basketball team with an all-black starting lineup beat Adolph Rupp's all-

A COLOR SNAPSHOT Percentage Who Are Black



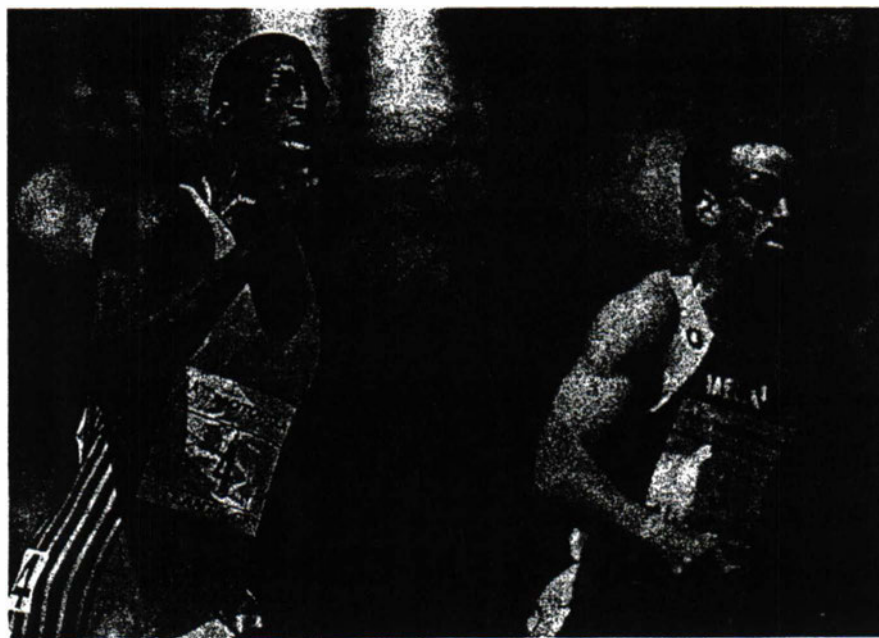
white Kentucky squad in the 1966 NCAA final; that same year the Boston Celtics' Bill Russell was named the first black head coach of a major professional team; the Washington Redskins' Doug Williams in 1988 became the first black quarterback to win a Super Bowl. Management was still firmly white—and, regrettably, remains so today—but one could argue that the playing field had become the nation's common ground, the one highly visible stage on which blacks and whites acted out the process of learning to live, play and fight together as peers.

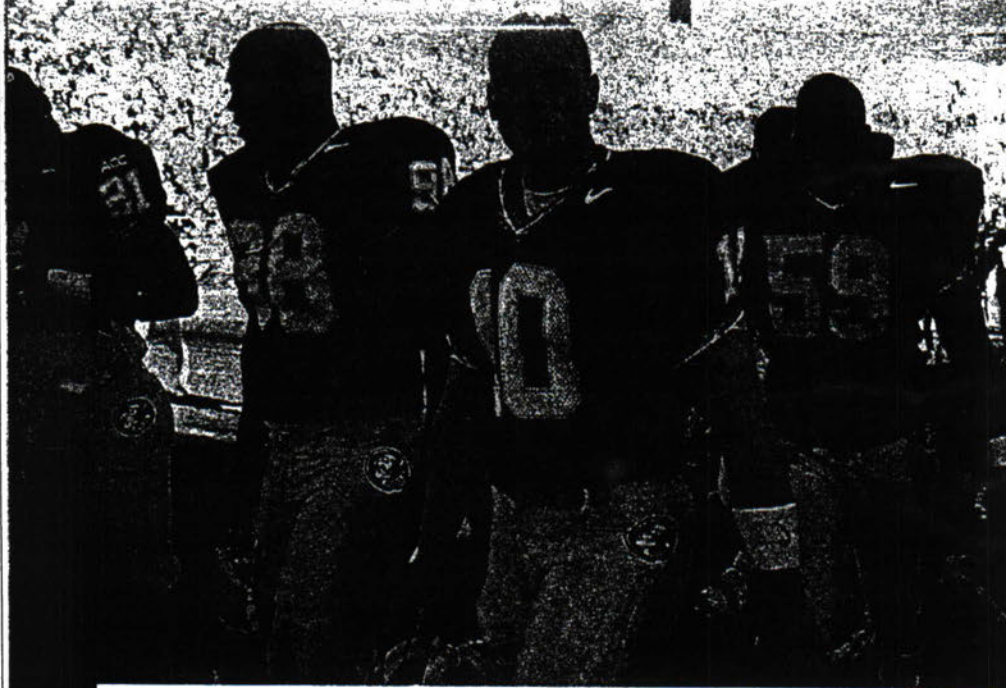
Today fewer whites stand on that common ground. Black players became a majority in the NBA in the mid-1970s and now fill 80% of the league's roster spots. In the NFL 67% of the players are African-Americans, and blacks hold such a strong lock on the skill positions of defensive back, wide receiver and running back that their near monopoly resembles the onetime white stranglehold at quarterback. In major league baseball the black presence isn't nearly as pronounced—17%, with Latinos (many of whom are also black) now making up 20% of the players—yet during the past 25 years, blacks have been a disproportionate offensive force, winning 41% of the Most Valuable Player awards.

This domination shows up at the high school and college levels as well. Sixty-one percent of Division I college basketball players are black, and of the 15 members of *USA Today's* 1997 All-USA high school basketball team, only two were white. Division I college football, meanwhile, is almost 52% black, and last year's 25-member All-USA high school football team included just two whites, the punter and the placekicker.

In December of last year at the Orange Bowl, recruiters filled the press box for Dade County's annual high school football all-star game, the showcase for what many believe is the richest vein of talent in

The NBA hasn't had a white superstar since Bird (left) retired in 1991; Little (racing Michael Johnson) is the only white American since 1956 to win a major sprint title.





L.A. ROHSTEN

Florida State quarterback Kendra (10) has a vertical leap of 39½" and runs the 40-yard dash in 4.5 seconds, but as Bowden says, "There ain't many like him."

the country. Of the 81 players who took part, only three were white.

"An athlete is an athlete, but, dang it, there just seem to be more black athletes than white," says Florida State football coach Bobby Bowden. "We've got a [white] phenomenon on our team, a quarterback named Danny Kendra, whose vertical jump is 39½ inches—more than anybody else we've got. He bench-presses 425 pounds, and his leg press broke the school record. He runs a 4.5 40. But there ain't many like him. And my thinking is that there's a whole lot more blacks who can do that than white guys."

Kendra isn't alone in defying athletic stereotypes. Wayne Chrebet is the New York Jets' most reliable wide receiver. The New York Giants' Jason Sehorn, the only white starting at cornerback in the NFL, runs a 4.4 40 and led his team with five interceptions last season. In 1996 Los Angeles Clippers forward Brent Barry became the first white to win the Slam Dunk Contest at the NBA All-Star Weekend. At a time when sports have reached an unprecedented level of importance in American life, however, these are rare exceptions.

Whites have in some respects become sports' second-class citizens. In a surreal inversion of Robinson's era, white athletes are frequently the ones now tagged by the stereotypes of skin color. The twist: Whites themselves are doing much of the tagging. They are more and more often choosing sports in which they feel they can still compete—baseball, ice hockey, in-line hockey—thereby perpetuating a cycle. White athletes, outplayed or simply intimidated, stop playing basketball or football; examples of college and pro success by whites become more scarce; the sport loses some of its appeal for the next generation of white kids.

A comparison between SI's youth poll, which was

conducted by the New York City-based Peter Harris Research Group and Louis Harris, and a similar survey conducted in 1990 reveals that in the last seven years the gap has widened between black and white participation in high school basketball and football. Some 40% of the black high school students in the SI poll said they participate in basketball, compared with 15% of the whites. In football 21% of the blacks participate, compared with 15% of whites.

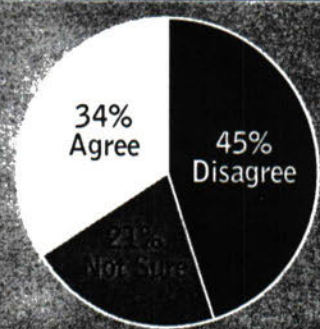
NCAA figures on white participation in Division I college football and basketball are revealing as well: From 1984 to '90—the most recent period for which figures are available—the number of white freshmen on scholarship for football dropped 22%; the number dropped 11% in basketball.

"I'm told by lots of coaches that you can't get white kids to go out for basketball teams in urban areas," says Richard Lapchick, head of the Center for the Study of Sport in Society at

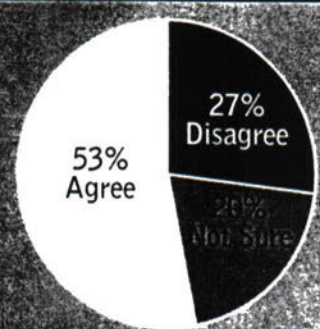
Boston's Northeastern University. "If you're fielding a team in Boston, the white kids just aren't going to go out, whether they can make the team or not. I hear that around the country, too."

"White parents are starting to guide their kids away from certain sports," says Thomas Elkins, who coached track at racially mixed John Marshall High in Cleveland for 18 years before retiring in 1995. "In the first three years of busing at my school [1978 to '80], I had 30 kids, and I was determined to maintain a mixed team. The first year it was 15–15, and we had a great time. But after the third or fourth year, it started going more and more black. And I'd ask white kids, 'Why don't you come out?' They'd say, 'Aw, I can't run with those guys.' Then around baseball season we'd joke: 'Did you know there were this many white kids at this school?' Because

FEELING INFERIOR "African-American players have become so dominant in sports such as football and basketball that many whites feel they can't compete at the same level as blacks"



White Males



Black Males

Source: SI poll of 1,835 middle school and high school students from across the U.S.

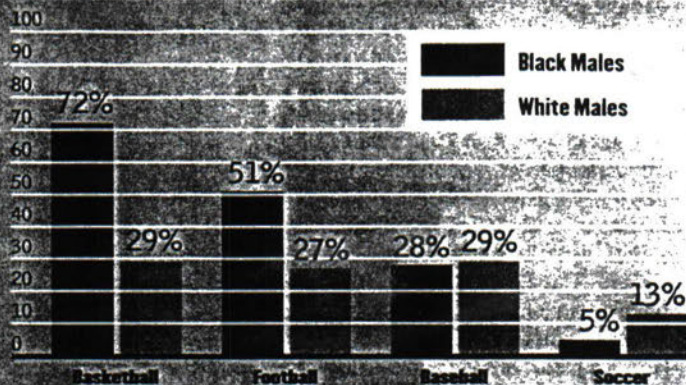
that's all you'd see out for baseball. Same thing with basketball: Three or four white kids out for the team, and that's it; but for baseball and wrestling there'd be tons of 'em."

While the SI poll did not find a shattering of self-confidence among young white males, it did reveal cracks: Some 34% of them agreed that "African-American players have become so dominant in sports like football and basketball that many white athletes feel they cannot compete at the same level." Fully one third of white males in the poll believe that blacks are more aggressive in sports, and nearly a third believe blacks are simply bigger and stronger.

The poll indicated dramatically divergent views on athletics and race, which reflect an increasingly polarized sports culture. The responses revealed that while many young whites are unsure of their place in athletics, young blacks, brimming with self-confidence and certain that sports are one of the few professions in which they can make it big in America, are pouring heart and soul into team sports. This is no surprise to longtime observers who have noted two vastly different attitudes on the playing field. "Suburban kids tend to play for the fun of it," says William Ellerbee, basketball coach of national power Simon Gratz High in Philadelphia. "Inner-city kids look at basketball as a matter of life or death."

White kids in search of a new athletic niche are casting a wide net. Whites in the SI poll cited 33 sports—compared with 20 among blacks—that they themselves are best at, and a substantial plurality of white males (46%) agreed that "white athletes are turning their attention to new sports . . . partly be-

NAMING THEIR GAME Sports kids think they're best at



Source: SI poll of middle school and high school students (respondents could name as many as three sports)

cause they can make breakthroughs in these sports that they are less likely to make in major sports."

"The white kid has found other things to do," says Carlos Cespedes, president of the Dade County Coaches Association and an assistant football coach at Miami's Palmetto High. "My school is very affluent, and our enrollment is only 17% black. But our football team is usually 50-50. Why? A lot of the white kids wouldn't bother doing the work we require of our football players. They're skiing in Colorado. They're flying over to Europe. I go to every national convention. I hear the same thing from the coaches: The white athlete is not as hungry as the black athlete. Period."

Of course, the differences Cespedes cites are socioeconomic and cultural, not inherently racial: given the opportunity, a black teen might also choose to ski in Colorado rather than play football. But that option is not as widely available to blacks as it is to whites. More than 40% of black children in the U.S. live below the poverty level, compared with 16% of white children.

All of which leads to a question that's often at the heart of the discussion of race and achievement: Does one group outperform another because of innate ability or outside influences? Is it nature or nurture (page 52)? Cespedes chimes in with those who argue that, in this case, economic forces are responsible—that black males, like some Italians and Irish in the first half of the century, are using sports as a way to a better life. SI's poll found that young African-American males see sports as a rare opportunity for advancement: Some 51% of them agreed that blacks "care more about sports because sports are one of the few ways in America that blacks can make a lot of money," and by almost a 3-to-1 margin over whites they said that one of the most important reasons to

Sehorn (31), the NFL's only white starter at cornerback, says that unlike many whites, he wasn't discouraged by his coaches from playing a "black" position.



DAMIAN STRONHMEYER



play is "If I am successful at sports, I can make a lot of money."

But many people find it hard to believe that economic incentives alone account for black athletic dominance. These observers offer a simple theory: Blacks dominate sports because they are faster, quicker, better. "If you want a gauge, go to the track meets," says Bowden. "Who's winning all those track meets?" Certainly there is a chuckling acceptance, among both blacks and whites, of the inability of whites to leap high and run fast. It's not that whites *won't* play anymore, the thinking goes: It's that they can't.

Though open discussion of inherent black athletic superiority remains taboo, few deem it offensive to joke about "white man's disease" or to make a movie called *White Men Can't Jump*. When tennis player Jim Courier, in a press conference at this year's U.S. Open, described fellow American Chris Woodruff as "one of the fastest white guys I've ever seen," no one blinked. An exceptionally fleet

Mater Dei High has won two of the last three national titles, but its coach says black opponents often assume they'll beat his team because it's mostly white.

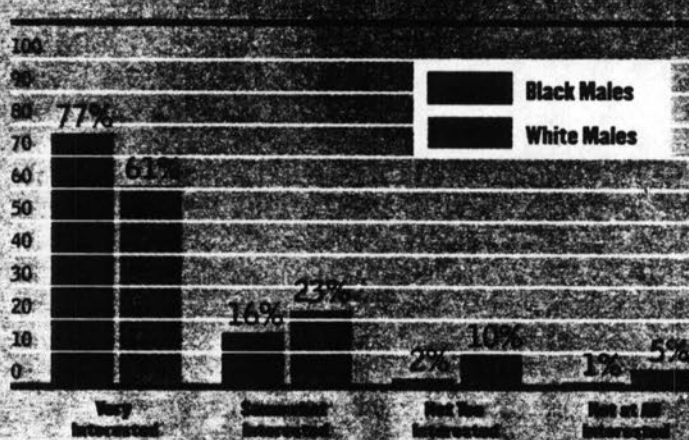
white athlete such as Chrebet, Sehorn or Green Bay Packers wide receiver Don Beebe is, as Little says, "looked at as a freak of nature."

Black is best. That is the understanding in sports now: not just that blacks are the dominant racial group playing, but also that they possess superior athletic skills and have thus transformed the way sports are played. "You see better catches, runs, tackles—anything involving mobility, toughness, anything physical," Bowden says. "An [all-white] football team in the South in 1960 couldn't touch a football team today that's integrated. Couldn't even *touch* 'em. You ask what [blacks have] brought to the table? They've brought better athletes."

When coaches and players talk about the issue, they usually use the logic of the obvious: Open your eyes. Look around. "If 80 percent of the league is black, that means that black players are that much better than white players," says Orlando Magic center Rony Seikaly. "The black players are superior. No doubt. I go to Lebanon in the summer, and we have pickup games, and there's this one 18-year-old Nigerian playing in the Lebanese league who can touch his head on the rim. It's amazing, [blacks'] athletic ability. They're built, they're buffed. We work out to get a body like that, and they just come out naturally buffed."

Even coach Bruce Rollinson of Mater Dei High in Santa Ana, Calif., whose predominantly white football team has won the mythical national high school championship in two of the last three years, concedes a physical disadvantage against a mostly black opponent. "Get ready for the speed," Rollinson tells his players. For years the coaches of Nebraska's largely white football team knew exactly what Rollinson was talking about: The Cornhuskers would fly to the Orange Bowl only to get thrashed by Miami or

WHO WANTS TO JUMP?

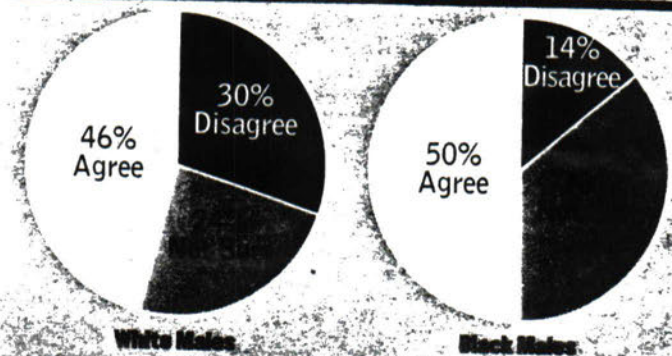


Source: SI poll of middle school and high school students

Florida State. In 1993, when the Big Red coaches began talking about recruiting quicker, Miami-type players for their defense, everyone understood the code: Nebraska needed more blacks. The Huskers have gotten them and have won two national titles in the last three years.

The perception of black superiority isn't found only among white coaches and players. A plurality (34%) of black males in SI's poll agreed with the statement, "Whites are not as good athletes as African-Americans." Some 42% of the black males who attend racially mixed schools said that they sensed their white peers backing off from sports because they felt they couldn't compete with blacks. Jason Webb, a nationally ranked backstroker at Virginia who is half black, half white, says, "In general, it just seems that blacks are more athletic." Football coach Walt Frazier of Miami's Carol City High, whose team won the class 6A state championship last year and is 12-0 so far this year, says he hears black parents all the time telling their children, "You can't let that white kid outrun you! You can't let that white kid outjump you! White kids can't run or jump." Says Doug Williams, now the football coach at

WHITE FLIGHT "White athletes are turning their attention to new sports like mountain biking and roller hockey partly to make breakthroughs they're less likely to make in other sports."



Source: SI poll of middle schools and high school students



JOHN MACDONO

Morehouse College, "More times than not, it's hard to find one who can jump."

When Barry beat five black players to win the Slam Dunk Contest, some took it as the trashing of a stereotype. "That's huge," TNT commentator Reggie Theus told a national TV audience. "It dispels a heck of a myth." Not in Barry's mind, it didn't. "I like to think [the idea that white men can't jump] is not true, but I find myself at men's clubs and gyms around the country and I see men playing, and I have to say it is true," Barry says. "More often than not, you see white players who just don't play that [high-leaping] style. They play below the rim, they play the court game, they play the savvy game. They're just not very athletic, so that's what they've got to do to succeed."

Such talk may not be politically correct, but the underlying fact—that at the elite level blacks are the fastest runners, the most prodigious leapers, the dominant force on NBA courts and NFL fields—is unassailable. While the scientific jury, faced with intriguing preliminary evidence, still debates whether black athletes possess innate physical advantages, the white athlete works in a world that seems already convinced of the answer. As a kid in snowy-white Iowa, Kevin Little heard the stories: Blacks have an extra muscle in their legs. Blacks have the genetics. "I don't believe the black athlete is superior," he says. "But you don't know that when you're young and impressionable. I'd go to a track meet and people would say, 'Aw, he's going to get his ass kicked.' Even the black sprinters would look at me like, 'What are you doing here? You're wasting your time. It's not coming just from the whites. It comes from everywhere.'"

In high school and his first years at Drake, and even at the 1988 U.S. Olympic trials, Little couldn't escape the thought that he shouldn't even try running sprints. He'd sign up for a meet, and people automatically assumed he was entered in a distance event. "It breaks you down," he says. "It makes you question your abilities. It took years before I had enough confidence to say, 'I'm here, and they have to beat me.'"

Griffey and other African-Americans constitute just 17% of big leaguers but are a disproportionate offensive force.

As some of today's young white males harbor doubts about whether they are good enough to compete with blacks, they find fewer white superstars than ever to emulate. The NBA no longer has a white star on the order of Larry Bird, and in pro football only Troy Aikman and Brett Favre can approach Barry Sanders, Emmitt Smith or Jerry Rice. After Cal Ripken Jr., you'd be hard put to name a current white baseball player with the name recognition of Ken Griffey Jr. or Barry Bonds. In track and field, no white U.S. male has made an impact since Bruce Jenner at the 1976 Olympics. Even distance running is ruled by blacks: In an 11-day stretch in August, black

Africans broke seven world records at distances from 800 to 10,000 meters. The SI poll asked kids to list their sports role models; seven of the top 10 athletes cited were black. Aikman and Ripken were the only white males in the top 20.

This is, by and large, refreshing news: Kids seem to be color-blind in choosing athletic role models. Yet the paucity of white stars seems to have subtly affected the perceptions of some whites. Says Texas professor John Hoberman, author

Too Single-minded?

Many young blacks are so intent on becoming the next Jordan that they forgo more realistic paths to success.

In Harlem they strap on into the winter chill this time a week and glide over the ice. It's like a photographic negative of a typical high school hockey game. Three dozen black kids circle two rinks at the north end of Central Park, whacking each other's ankles with hockey sticks, flopping on their bellies and making up on their blades. Hockey in Harlem is a new thing. The city's first program has been running games for a decade, with 27 kids ranging in age from four to 13. It is operating in full daylight.

"People tell me it's like a white kid's game, and I don't like to play," says one of the players, 14-year-old Michael. "They say, 'Why do it? You're not going to make it.' But I'm enjoying them when they play."

Even as many young white males fretted with their black dominance of basketball and football, try to find their place in which the athletic mainstream, blacks are chasing an alternative to the traditionally white sports such as tennis, swimming and swimming. "Nobody is giving us anything," says a 15-year-old member of the department of Recreation which has been the center of the summer program produced by the city's Department of Parks and Recreation. "We're the fastest backstrokers in the world."

That blacks have overcome centuries of discrimination to succeed in all sports is a victory that some white Americans view it as a unifying force. "I don't know how many white people played the games," says Thomas, who was a basketball and field coach at John Marshall High in Cleveland. "I don't remember used to watch the slaves play games. I don't know how many years after Jackie Robinson, we've progressed to the point that we're still athletes and entertainers, we're just better paid."

Elkins and others worry that too many of today's black youths unrealistically focus on becoming professional athletes. Although any given high school starter has only the slimmest chance of making the pros, 55% of the middle-school-age and high-school-age black males polled by SI (compared with 26% of the white males) think they may be good enough to play pro basketball. Some 41% (compared with 27% of whites) believe they could reach the NFL.

"It's hard to break that train," says Walt Frazer, football coach at Miami's Carol City High. "The kids are still looking at the popularity, the financial security of pro sports, even though statistics say you have a greater chance of being a rocket scientist."



When SI's poll asked students to pick from a list of careers the ones they thought they could successfully pursue, 57% of black males chose "professional athlete." Pro sports was the only career selected more often by blacks than by whites or Latinos. By contrast, in assessing their ability to enter fields other than

sports, black males were the least likely to believe they could succeed in careers requiring higher education. "I've tried to stress education to my kids, to other kids," says San Diego Padres outfielder Tony Gwynn, "but it seems like excelling in school is so much harder than throwing a ball through a hoop or running with a football."

Overworked black teens aren't the only ones who aspire to a sports career. "My son is 16, with a near genius IQ," says Walter Austin, former chairman of African American Studies at Temple, "and all he wants to be is the next Michael Jordan."

Former major league pitcher Dave Stewart, now the Padres' pitching coach, agrees that black youngsters put too much emphasis on sports. But he also knows that when he was growing up in a poor neighborhood in Oakland, sports made him feel better about school and gave him a life. "If athletics is what we're going to be good at, and the one thing we can be the majority at, the one thing in which we can set up our businesses and families and pass [the wealth on]—so be it," Stewart says. "Right now it's sports, but we're seeing a lot more black people in government, more black doctors, more black lawyers. You've got to begin somewhere."

Perhaps as more blacks become successful in other fields, their children will need and want sports less. Not long ago Isiah Thomas, the NBA great and former Toronto Raptors vice president, was talking with Buffalo Bills defensive end Bruce Smith—two African-American millionaires discussing their kids. Smith told Thomas he would never let his three-year-old son, Alston, play football. It's too painful, too rough.

"My son plays violin, and he plays golf," Thomas said. "Basketball? He likes to watch it, loves going to games. But I've got a gym in my house, and he doesn't necessarily want to use it. But he'll play his violin all day."

—S.L.P.



White kids have few role models of their own color, such as Aikman (above) and Jenner, to emulate.

ness and the black guy's dealing with the business of basketball, the black guy beats him."

Too often, the full definition of athleticism gets lost in the racial shuffle. Much was made of Bird's work ethic and smarts, but few players of either color have had his uncanny hand-eye coordination. In the mid-'80s no athlete had a broader range of athletic skills than Danny Ainge, who, as an NBA All-Star guard, a near-scratch golfer and an infielder good enough to make the major leagues, was actually a better all-around athlete than Michael Jordan. Yet when

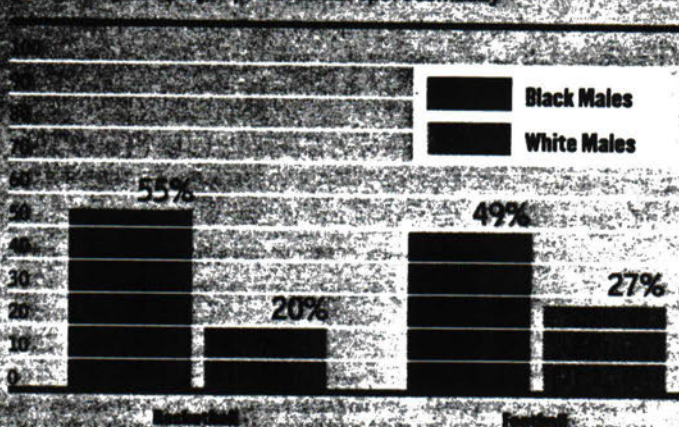
Ainge was introduced as the coach of the Phoenix Suns last year, his predecessor Cotton Fitzsimmons used a familiar white stereotype to describe him. "He said it as a compliment, but this is typical: *Danny wasn't a very talented athlete, but he got the most out of his ability*," Ainge says. "You know, I could touch the top of the square [above the rim] in my young days and dunk. Unfortunately, athleticism in our society is all ranked on how fast you run and how high you jump. There's so much more to it than that."

Mix the notion of white athletic inferiority with the comfortable suburban culture in which so many young white males live, and the result is an atmosphere in which commitment to a sport such as basketball or football becomes ever more rare. Growing up in his upper-middle-class East Bay neighborhood, Barry would make weekend trips to inner-city Oakland. "If we drove to our high school [gym], it would be locked up," Barry says. "But if we drove downtown, we knew

of the recently published *Darwin's Athletes*, an examination of race and sports, "There is definitely a spreading white inferiority complex." One symptom is a near desperate effort to elevate any white talent to stardom. From the time he was in high school in Southern California, Keith Van Horn, the All-America forward at Utah who was chosen second in this year's NBA draft, continually heard himself called "the next Larry Bird." Never mind that Van Horn, now with the New Jersey Nets, lacked the sublime passing touch that made Bird unique; he was white, tall and more than just a shooter, and that was enough. "I talked to [scouts and coaches from] the Utah Jazz two years ago," says Van Horn, "and they named players they thought I played like: Tom Gugliotta, Detlef Schrempf and Toni Kukoc. When they asked me, I said Schrempf—and Derrick McKey."

Blacks, understandably, react to any crisis of confidence among whites with a wry smile. Hoberman points out in his book that until the early 20th century, African-Americans were considered inferior to whites in athletics—weaker physically, less able to handle pressure, not smart enough to understand complex strategy. What black would go out of his way to reassure the white athlete now? "I'd think blacks would always want to keep the stereotype that we're better than whites; it's an advantage," says Isiah Thomas, the former Detroit Pistons All-Star guard. "When two guys walk on the court to play basketball, and the white athlete's dealing with the guy's black-

WIDE-OPEN DREAMS Percentage of kids who think they may be good enough to play a professional sport someday



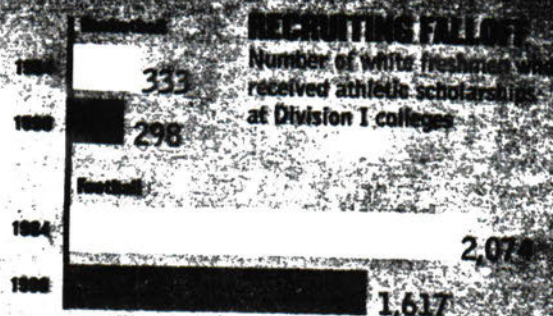
Source: A poll of middle school and high school students

garbage cans would be holding the doors open, and guys would be playing."

Barry appreciates players who clamber out of the ghetto. "But it almost takes more effort to get out of a situation where you could sit back and be comfortable," he says. "If you're struggling, you could say, 'I don't need to do this anymore. My parents have great jobs, I could go to any college I want.' It's a much different set of social barriers; the pressure on you to perform isn't so great. If you're the white kid and you've got glee club after school, the ski trip on the holidays and Stratomatic baseball in the spring, well, that's what you're going to do. I pride myself on the fact that I had to have a lot of desire and will and competitiveness to get out of white sub-



NATHANIEL S. BUTLER/PHOTOS



Source: NCAA Graduation Rates Report

urban America and make it in a game dominated by great black athletes."

One of the SI poll's more striking findings was that even though whites at racially mixed schools have been dropping out of basketball and football, these students are *less* likely to buy the idea of black superiority in athletics than students at all-white schools. The less whites are exposed to blacks, the more inclined they are to believe in the athletic stereotypes. (The reverse, however, is not true; according to SI's poll, blacks at racially mixed schools are *more* likely than those at all-black schools to believe African-Americans are athletically superior to whites.)

While SI's poll did not find a direct admission of inferiority by a majority of white kids—66% of white males disagreed with the statement that whites are not as good athletes as African-Americans—the playing patterns of white athletes are more telling. In football, for example, both blacks and whites report volunteering, or being led by parents or coaches, to play certain "white" or "black" positions, a practice Lapchick calls "positional segregation." SI's poll found that 54% of white kids tried out for positions on the unglamorous offensive line or defense, compared with only 31% of black kids.

"You see a dominance, and that's what you believe," says Sehorn, who grew up in a poor, racially mixed suburb of Sacramento and whose coaches never discouraged him from playing defensive back and wide receiver. "You begin to believe that black people are better in basketball or can just run faster. We place people in boxes: one kid in this position, one kid in that position. I was fortunate to be directed in a different way."

Most kids, black and white, report that coaches generally are the ones who encourage positional segregation. But Mater Dei's Rollinson often encounters white parents who won't consider that their child might be good enough to play a "black" position at the college level. He says these parents see their son lining up at cornerback or wide receiver and say, "He'll never make it because he's not black." Rollinson tries to tell them their boy runs a 4.5 40-yard dash and has great hands, but they don't want to hear it. "They come right back and say, 'Don't give me that BYU story,'" Rollinson says.

Brigham Young is perhaps the most prominent exception to the black domination of sports. Relying almost exclusively

Slam Dunk winner Barry says most suburban white kids aren't motivated to put in the work required for athletic success.

on white talent, the Mormon school has fielded teams that have continually competed at the highest level. The football team sits perennially in the Top 20, making an occasional run at a national title. The basketball team has won 15 Western Athletic Conference titles, made 17 NCAA tournament appearances and produced a dozen All-Americans, and for a week in 1987 it held the No. 2 ranking in the country—yet the Cougars have never started more than one black. “I don’t think I had ever played on or against an all-white team,” says Van Horn, the former Ute. “When we played BYU, it was strange.”

The paucity of African-American players on BYU teams has worked against them. "We haven't had the quickness that a black student-athlete has," says Roger Reid, a Cougars basketball coach for 19 years, seven of them as head coach. Nevertheless, BYU has beaten predominantly black teams from such schools as UCLA, Notre Dame and Virginia. The Cougars have defeated black teams that started games thinking that when push came to shove, their own athletic superiority would tell. San Diego Padres outfielder Tony Gwynn learned this. As a junior point guard in 1980 he went to Provo, Utah, State team and got beaten badly. "Those B-ing through the air, jumping over guys, getting that's the first time I thought, These guys a Gwynn says. "Our whole club was shocked

The next day someone tried to soothe Gwynn's pain by saying that the Cougars had special springs under their floor. "We're like, 'Aw, no wonder! I knew they couldn't jump!'" Gwynn says with a laugh. Only later did he realize: "How come I wasn't jumping any higher?"

Strange, the way things turn around. Now that the superb white jumper or sprinter is such a surprise, blacks can easily en-



Though NBA scouts automatically compared Van Horn with white players such as Bird and Schrempf, he likes to compare himself to a black forward, McKay.

snare themselves in an old web and underestimate the next Don Beebe because of his skin color. Rollinson, whose team is all but a high school version of BYU, says, "I really believe that the school that is majority black is more apt to buy into the stereotype: 'You white guys aren't going to run by us. We're going to beat you with our speed and our athleticism.' The problem is, football is won in the tackle box . . . and now all of sudden here come the honkies, and we're just pounding on you and pounding on you. We start the game ass-kicking, and we just don't stop. And now we've created doubt."

That's what Kevin Little looks for. He uses black dominance as his weapon: No one wants to lose to him. "Then the edge goes to me," he says. "I can look into their eyes and their faces, and if they have a little fear of losing to a white sprinter, I've won right there. I'm holding the cards."

Wherever he races, Little can feel it, the slightest hint—and it is no more than a hint—of what Jackie Robinson felt 50 years ago: He is the White Guy, the one athlete in the field whose skin color is noted every time he runs. “That’s my identity,” Little says, and, no, he doesn’t like it much. When he wins before a white audience, the roar from the crowd has a different quality, a current of surprise, “like they just saw a miracle happen,” he says. When he won the 400 meters at the Mt. SAC Relays in Walnut, Calif., last year before a racially mixed crowd, there was a low buzz from the stands, then silence.

At home in Iowa, his parents share in the glory. Often someone will offer a smile of congratulations and tell his mom that Kevin must have black blood. ■

Year	Black Males	White Males	Black Females	White Females
1970	70	75	75	80
1980	68	72	73	78
1990	65	70	70	75

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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January 6, 1998

Information

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN *MW*

SUBJECT: HOW REAGAN USED HIS "BREAK WITH THE PAST"

I thought you might be interested in the attached State of the Union Address delivered by President Reagan in 1985. As you and the Vice-President noted, President Reagan always made sure to draw the philosophical contrast with the prior administration, even in the formal setting of a State of the Union. This speech shows how he did it.

Good guidance,

*copied
Waldman
COS*

Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union

February 6, 1985.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, distinguished Members of the Congress, honored guests, and fellow citizens:

I come before you to report on the state of our Union, and I'm pleased to report that after 4 years of united effort, the American people have brought forth a nation renewed, stronger, freer, and more secure than before.

Four years ago we began to change, forever I hope, our assumptions about government and its place in our lives. Out of that change has come great and robust growth—in our confidence, our economy, and our role in the world.

Tonight America is stronger because of the values that we hold dear. We believe faith and freedom must be our guiding stars, for they show us truth, they make us brave, give us hope, and leave us wiser than we were. Our progress began not in Washington, DC, but in the hearts of our families, communities, workplaces, and voluntary groups which, together, are unleashing the invincible spirit of one great nation under God.

Four years ago we said we would invigorate our economy by giving people greater freedom and incentives to take risks and letting them keep more of what they earned. We did what we promised, and a great industrial giant is reborn.

Tonight we can take pride in 25 straight months of economic growth, the strongest in 34 years; a 3-year inflation average of 3.9 percent, the lowest in 17 years; and 7.3 million new jobs in 2 years, with more of our citizens working than ever before.

New freedom in our lives has planted the rich seeds for future success:

For an America of wisdom that honors the family, knowing that if [as] the family goes, so goes our civilization;

For an America of vision that sees tomorrow's dreams in the learning and hard work we do today;

For an America of courage whose service men and women, even as we meet, proudly

stand watch on the frontiers of freedom;

For an America of compassion that opens its heart to those who cry out for help.

We have begun well. But it's only a beginning. We're not here to congratulate ourselves on what we have done but to challenge ourselves to finish what has not yet been done.

We're here to speak for millions in our inner cities who long for real jobs, safe neighborhoods, and schools that truly teach. We're here to speak for the American farmer, the entrepreneur, and every worker in industries fighting to modernize and compete. And, yes, we're here to stand, and proudly so, for all who struggle to break free from totalitarianism, for all who know in their hearts that freedom is the one true path to peace and human happiness.

Proverbs tell us, without a vision the people perish. When asked what great principle holds our Union together, Abraham Lincoln said: "Something in [the] Declaration giving liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope to the world for all future time."

We honor the giants of our history not by going back but forward to the dreams their vision foresaw. My fellow citizens, this nation is poised for greatness. The time has come to proceed toward a great new challenge—a second American Revolution of hope and opportunity; a revolution carrying us to new heights of progress by pushing back frontiers of knowledge and space; a revolution of spirit that taps the soul of America, enabling us to summon greater strength than we've ever known; and a revolution that carries beyond our shores the golden promise of human freedom in a world of peace.

Let us begin by challenging our conventional wisdom. There are no constraints on the human mind, no walls around the human spirit, no barriers to our progress except those we ourselves erect. Already, pushing down tax rates has freed our econo-

my to vault forward to record growth.

In Europe, they're calling it "the American Miracle." Day by day, we're shattering accepted notions of what is possible. When I was growing up, we failed to see how a new thing called radio would transform our marketplace. Well, today, many have not yet seen how advances in technology are transforming our lives.

In the late 1950's workers at the AT&T semiconductor plant in Pennsylvania produced five transistors a day for \$7.50 apiece. They now produce over a million for less than a penny apiece.

New laser techniques could revolutionize heart bypass surgery, cut diagnosis time for viruses linked to cancer from weeks to minutes, reduce hospital costs dramatically, and hold out new promise for saving human lives.

Our automobile industry has overhauled assembly lines, increased worker productivity, and is competitive once again.

We stand on the threshold of a great ability to produce more, do more, be more. Our economy is not getting older and weaker; it's getting younger and stronger. It doesn't need rest and supervision; it needs new challenge, greater freedom. And that word "freedom" is the key to the second American revolution that we need to bring about.

Let us move together with an historic reform of tax simplification for fairness and growth. Last year I asked Treasury Secretary—then—Regan to develop a plan to simplify the tax code, so all taxpayers would be treated more fairly and personal tax rates could come further down.

We have cut tax rates by almost 25 percent, yet the tax system remains unfair and limits our potential for growth. Exclusions and exemptions cause similar incomes to be taxed at different levels. Low-income families face steep tax barriers that make hard lives even harder. The Treasury Department has produced an excellent reform plan, whose principles will guide the final proposal that we will ask you to enact.

One thing that tax reform will not be is a tax increase in disguise. We will not jeopardize the mortgage interest deduction that families need. We will reduce personal tax rates as low as possible by removing many

tax preferences. We will propose a top rate of no more than 35 percent, and possibly lower. And we will propose reducing corporate rates, while maintaining incentives for capital formation.

To encourage opportunity and jobs rather than dependency and welfare, we will propose that individuals living at or near the poverty line be totally exempt from Federal income tax. To restore fairness to families, we will propose increasing significantly the personal exemption.

And tonight, I am instructing Treasury Secretary James Baker—I have to get used to saying that—to begin working with congressional authors and committees for bipartisan legislation conforming to these principles. We will call upon the American people for support and upon every man and woman in this Chamber. Together, we can pass, this year, a tax bill for fairness, simplicity, and growth, making this economy the engine of our dreams and America the investment capital of the world. So let us begin.

Tax simplification will be a giant step toward unleashing the tremendous pent-up power of our economy. But a second American revolution must carry the promise of opportunity for all. It is time to liberate the spirit of enterprise in the most areas of our country.

This government will meet its responsibility to help those in need. But policies that increase dependency, break up families, and destroy self-respect are not progressive; they're reactionary. Despite our strides in civil rights, blacks, Hispanics, and all minorities will not have full and equal power until they have full economic power.

We have repeatedly sought passage of enterprise zones to help those in the abandoned corners of our land find jobs, learn skills, and build better lives. This legislation is supported by a majority of you.

Mr. Speaker, I know we agree that there must be no forgotten Americans. Let us place new dreams in a million hearts and create a new generation of entrepreneurs by passing enterprise zones this year. And, Tip, you could make that a birthday present. *[Laughter]*

Nor must we lose the chance to pass our

youth employment opportunity wage proposal. We can help teenagers, who have the highest unemployment rate, find summer jobs, so they can know the pride of work and have confidence in their futures.

We'll continue to support the Job Training Partnership Act, which has a nearly two-thirds job placement rate. Credits in education and health care vouchers will help working families shop for services that they need.

Our administration is already encouraging certain low-income public housing residents to own and manage their own dwellings. It's time that all public housing residents have that opportunity of ownership.

The Federal Government can help create a new atmosphere of freedom. But States and localities, many of which enjoy surpluses from the recovery, must not permit their tax and regulatory policies to stand as barriers to growth.

Let us resolve that we will stop spreading dependency and start spreading opportunity; that we will stop spreading bondage and start spreading freedom.

There are some who say that growth initiatives must await final action on deficit reductions. Well, the best way to reduce deficits is through economic growth. More businesses will be started, more investments made, more jobs created, and more people will be on payrolls paying taxes. The best way to reduce government spending is to reduce the need for spending by increasing prosperity. Each added percentage point per year of real GNP growth will lead to cumulative reduction in deficits of nearly \$200 billion over 5 years.

To move steadily toward a balanced budget, we must also lighten government's claim on our total economy. We will not do this by raising taxes. We must make sure that our economy grows faster than the growth in spending by the Federal Government. In our fiscal year 1986 budget, overall government program spending will be frozen at the current level. It must not be one dime higher than fiscal year 1985, and three points are key.

First, the social safety net for the elderly, the needy, the disabled, and unemployed will be left intact. Growth of our major health care programs, Medicare and Medic-

aid, will be slowed, but protections for the elderly and needy will be preserved.

Second, we must not relax our efforts to restore military strength just as we near our goal of a fully equipped, trained, and ready professional corps. National security is government's first responsibility; so in past years defense spending took about half the Federal budget. Today it takes less than a third. We've already reduced our planned defense expenditures by nearly a hundred billion dollars over the past 4 years and reduced projected spending again this year.

You know, we only have a military-industrial complex until a time of danger, and then it becomes the arsenal of democracy. Spending for defense is investing in things that are priceless—peace and freedom.

Third, we must reduce or eliminate costly government subsidies. For example, deregulation of the airline industry has led to cheaper fares, but on Amtrak taxpayers pay about \$35 per passenger every time an Amtrak train leaves the station. It's time we ended this huge Federal subsidy.

Our farm program costs have quadrupled in recent years. Yet I know from visiting farmers, many in great financial distress, that we need an orderly transition to a market-oriented farm economy. We can help farmers best not by expanding Federal payments but by making fundamental reforms, keeping interest rates heading down, and knocking down foreign trade barriers to American farm exports.

We're moving ahead with Grace commission reforms to eliminate waste and improve government's management practices. In the long run, we must protect the taxpayers from government. And I ask again that you pass, as 32 States have now called for, an amendment mandating the Federal Government spend no more than it takes in. And I ask for the authority, used responsibly by 43 Governors, to veto individual items in appropriation bills. Senator Mattingly has introduced a bill permitting a 2-year trial run of the line-item veto. I hope you'll pass and send that legislation to my desk.

Nearly 50 years of government living beyond its means has brought us to a time of reckoning. Ours is but a moment in histo-

ry. But one moment of courage, idealism, and bipartisan unity can change American history forever.

Sound monetary policy is key to long-running economic strength and stability. We will continue to cooperate with the Federal Reserve Board, seeking a steady policy that ensures price stability without keeping interest rates artificially high or needlessly holding down growth.

Reducing unneeded redtape and regulations, and deregulating the energy, transportation, and financial industries have unleashed new competition, giving consumers more choices, better services, and lower prices. In just one set of grant programs we have reduced 905 pages of regulations to 31. We seek to fully deregulate natural gas to bring on new supplies and bring us closer to energy independence. Consistent with safety standards, we will continue removing restraints on the bus and railroad industries, we will soon end up legislation—or send up legislation, I should say—to return Conrail to the private sector where it belongs, and we will support further deregulation of the trucking industry.

Every dollar the Federal Government does not take from us, every decision it does not make for us will make our economy stronger, our lives more abundant, our future more free.

Our second American revolution will push on to new possibilities not only on Earth but in the next frontier of space. Despite budget restraints, we will seek record funding for research and development.

We've seen the success of the space shuttle. Now we're going to develop a permanently manned space station and new opportunities for free enterprise, because in the next decade Americans and our friends around the world will be living and working together in space.

In the zero gravity of space, we could manufacture in 30 days lifesaving medicines it would take 30 years to make on Earth. We can make crystals of exceptional purity to produce super computers, creating jobs, technologies, and medical breakthroughs beyond anything we ever dreamed possible.

As we do all this, we'll continue to protect our natural resources. We will seek reauthorization and expanded funding for the

Superfund program to continue cleaning up hazardous waste sites which threaten human health and the environment.

Now, there's another great heritage to speak of this evening. Of all the changes that have swept America the past 4 years, none brings greater promise than our rediscovery of the values of faith, freedom, family, work, and neighborhood.

We see signs of renewal in increased attendance in places of worship; renewed optimism and faith in our future; love of country rediscovered by our young, who are leading the way. We've rediscovered that work is good in and of itself, that it ennobles us to create and contribute no matter how seemingly humble our jobs. We've seen a powerful new current from an old and honorable tradition—American generosity.

From thousands answering Peace Corps appeals to help boost food production in Africa, to millions volunteering time, corporations adopting schools, and communities pulling together to help the neediest among us at home, we have refound our values. Private sector initiatives are crucial to our future.

I thank the Congress for passing equal access legislation giving religious groups the same right to use classrooms after school that other groups enjoy. But no citizen need tremble, nor the world shudder, if a child stands in a classroom and breathes a prayer. We ask you again, give children back a right they had for a century and a half or more in this country.

The question of abortion grips our nation. Abortion is either the taking of a human life or it isn't. And if it is—and medical technology is increasingly showing it is—it must be stopped. It is a terrible irony that while some turn to abortion, so many others who cannot become parents cry out for children to adopt. We have room for these children. We can fill the cradles of those who want a child to love. And tonight I ask you in the Congress to move this year on legislation to protect the unborn.

In the area of education, we're returning to excellence, and again, the heroes are our people, not government. We're stressing basics of discipline, rigorous testing, and

homework, while helping children become computer-smart as well. For 20 years scholastic aptitude test scores of our high school students went down, but now they have gone up 2 of the last 3 years. We must go forward in our commitment to the new basics, giving parents greater authority and making sure good teachers are rewarded for hard work and achievement through merit pay.

Of all the changes in the past 20 years, none has more threatened our sense of national well-being than the explosion of violent crime. One does not have to be attacked to be a victim. The woman who must run to her car after shopping at night is a victim. The couple draping their door with locks and chains are victims; as is the tired, decent cleaning woman who can't ride a subway home without being afraid.

We do not seek to violate the rights of defendants. But shouldn't we feel more compassion for the victims of crime than for those who commit crime? For the first time in 20 years, the crime index has fallen 2 years in a row. We've convicted over 7,400 drug offenders and put them, as well as leaders of organized crime, behind bars in record numbers.

But we must do more. I urge the House to follow the Senate and enact proposals permitting use of all reliable evidence that police officers acquire in good faith. These proposals would also reform the habeas corpus laws and allow, in keeping with the will of the overwhelming majority of Americans, the use of the death penalty where necessary.

There can be no economic revival in ghettos when the most violent among us are allowed to roam free. It's time we restored domestic tranquility. And we mean to do just that.

Just as we're positioned as never before to secure justice in our economy, we're poised as never before to create a safer, freer, more peaceful world. Our alliances are stronger than ever. Our economy is stronger than ever. We have resumed our historic role as a leader of the free world. And all of these together are a great force for peace.

Since 1981 we've been committed to seeking fair and verifiable arms agreements

that would lower the risk of war and reduce the size of nuclear arsenals. Now our determination to maintain a strong defense has influenced the Soviet Union to return to the bargaining table. Our negotiators must be able to go to that table with the united support of the American people. All of us have no greater dream than to see the day when nuclear weapons are banned from this Earth forever.

Each Member of the Congress has a role to play in modernizing our defenses, thus supporting our chances for a meaningful arms agreement. Your vote this spring on the Peacekeeper missile will be a critical test of our resolve to maintain the strength we need and move toward mutual and verifiable arms reductions.

For the past 20 years we've believed that no war will be launched as long as each side knows it can retaliate with a deadly counterstrike. Well, I believe there's a better way of eliminating the threat of nuclear war. It is a Strategic Defense Initiative aimed ultimately at finding a nonnuclear defense against ballistic missiles. It's the most hopeful possibility of the nuclear age. But it's not very well understood.

Some say it will bring war to the heavens, but its purpose is to deter war in the heavens and on Earth. Now, some say the research would be expensive. Perhaps, but it could save millions of lives, indeed humanity itself. And some say if we build such a system, the Soviets will build a defense system of their own. Well, they already have strategic defenses that surpass ours; a civil defense system, where we have almost none; and a research program covering roughly the same areas of technology that we're now exploring. And finally some say the research will take a long time. Well, the answer to that is: Let's get started.

Harry Truman once said that, ultimately, our security and the world's hopes for peace and human progress "lie not in measures of defense or in the control of weapons, but in the growth and expansion of freedom and self-government."

And tonight, we declare anew to our fellow citizens of the world: Freedom is not the sole prerogative of a chosen few; it is the universal right of all God's children.

Look to where peace and prosperity flourish today. It is in homes that freedom built. Victories against poverty are greatest and peace most secure where people live by laws that ensure free press, free speech, and freedom to worship, vote, and create wealth.

Our mission is to nourish and defend freedom and democracy, and to communicate these ideals everywhere we can. America's economic success is freedom's success; it can be repeated a hundred times in a hundred different nations. Many countries in east Asia and the Pacific have few resources other than the enterprise of their own people. But through low tax rates and free markets they've soared ahead of centralized economies. And now China is opening up its economy to meet its needs.

We need a stronger and simpler approach to the process of making and implementing trade policy, and we'll be studying potential changes in that process in the next few weeks. We've seen the benefits of free trade and lived through the disasters of protectionism. Tonight I ask all our trading partners, developed and developing alike, to join us in a new round of trade negotiations to expand trade and competition and strengthen the global economy—and to begin it in this next year.

There are more than 3 billion human beings living in Third World countries with an average per capita income of \$650 a year. Many are victims of dictatorships that impoverished them with taxation and corruption. Let us ask our allies to join us in a practical program of trade and assistance that fosters economic development through personal incentives to help these people climb from poverty on their own.

We cannot play innocents abroad in a world that's not innocent; nor can we be passive when freedom is under siege. Without resources, diplomacy cannot succeed. Our security assistance programs help friendly governments defend themselves and give them confidence to work for peace. And I hope that you in the Congress will understand that, dollar for dollar, security assistance contributes as much to global security as our own defense budget.

We must stand by all our democratic allies. And we must not break faith with

those who are risking their lives—on every continent, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua—to defy Soviet-supported aggression and secure rights which have been ours from birth.

The Sandinista dictatorship of Nicaragua, with full Cuban-Soviet bloc support, not only persecutes its people, the church, and denies a free press, but arms and provides bases for Communist terrorists attacking neighboring states. Support for freedom fighters is self-defense and totally consistent with the OAS and U.N. Charters. It is essential that the Congress continue all facets of our assistance to Central America. I want to work with you to support the democratic forces whose struggle is tied to our own security.

And tonight, I've spoken of great plans and great dreams. They're dreams we can make come true. Two hundred years of American history should have taught us that nothing is impossible.

Ten years ago a young girl left Vietnam with her family, part of the exodus that followed the fall of Saigon. They came to the United States with no possessions and, not knowing a word of English. Ten years ago—the young girl studied hard, learned English, and finished high school in the top of her class. And this May, May 22d to be exact, is a big date on her calendar. Just 10 years from the time she left Vietnam, she will graduate from the United States Military Academy at West Point. I thought you might like to meet an American hero named Jean Nguyen.

Now, there's someone else here tonight, born 79 years ago. She lives in the inner city, where she cares for infants born of mothers who are heroin addicts. The children, born in withdrawal, are sometimes even dropped on her doorstep. She helps them with love. Go to her house some night, and maybe you'll see her silhouette against the window as she walks the floor talking softly, soothing a child in her arms—Mother Hale of Harlem, and she, too, is an American hero.

Jean, Mother Hale, your lives tell us that the oldest American saying is new again: Anything is possible in America if we have the faith, the will, and the heart. History is

Feb. 6 / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1985

asking us once again to be a force for good in the world. Let us begin in unity, with justice, and love.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 9:05 p.m. in

the House Chamber of the Capitol. He was introduced by Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

Bill Clinton

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-8-98

To Jack Gibbons

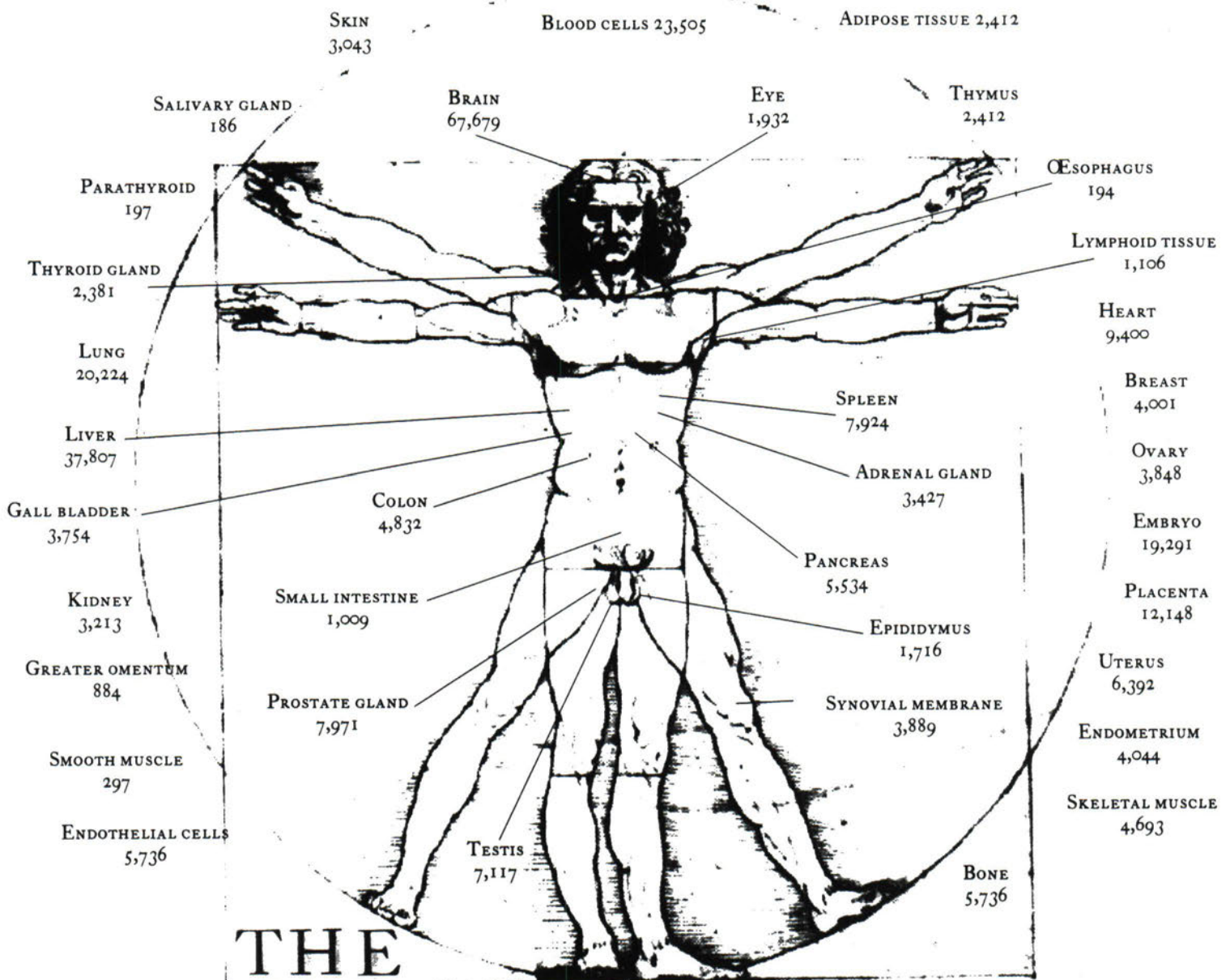
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all paid
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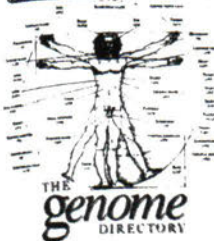
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-8-98

Engagement With China Is the Wisest Course for America

By Joseph S. Nye Jr.

SINGAPORE—National interests can change over time, and that is true for China as well as the United States. Every country has a wish list that is like a menu without prices. Defining national interests in concrete situations involves understanding constraints and prices.

Left to itself, China would probably like to force the return of Taiwan, ensure its dominance of the South China Sea and be recognized as the primary state in the East Asia region. But Chinese leaders have to consider prices and constraints. Those constraints come from other countries, and from trade-offs among China's own objectives.

Given the priority Beijing attaches to economic modernization and the reliance of the Chinese economy on external markets and resources, China faces a constraint of its own making. It also faces a constraint from the reality of American power, which is unlikely to vanish. Finally, it faces constraints in terms of its relations with other countries in the region.

In the real world, it is quite common for countries to redefine their interests. For instance, in the early 1980s, China defined its interests as avoiding involvement with the nuclear nonproliferation treaty; in the 1990s, with some minor exceptions related to its history with Pakistan, China defined its interests as adhering to the treaty. Similarly, in 1995 China

defined its interests as avoiding a treaty banning nuclear weapons testing; in 1996, at the risk of becoming isolated and losing face with other countries, China redefined its interests and signed that treaty, too. Obviously, how China's national interests will evolve will depend on the policies of the United States and of China's neighbors in Asia and the Pacific.

The Clinton administration describes its policy toward China as "constructive engagement," but the debate between "containment" and "engagement" is overly simple. Engagement is more an attitude than a detailed policy, and creating constraints is a natural part of any well-designed policy.

Despite the descriptive inadequacy of the slogans, however, the orientation of attitude that "engagement" signifies does matter. It means that the United States has rejected the inevitability of conflict. Mr. Clinton has told President Jiang Zemin of China that "a stable, open and prosperous China" — in other words, a strong China — is in America's interest. "We welcome China to the great power table. But great powers also have great responsibilities."

The United States has also reaffirmed its commitment to a "One China" policy, thus ruling out any flirtation with the idea of independence for Taiwan — the single most dan-

gerous scenario for potential conflict between the United States and China. The United States remains committed by law and policy to ensuring that Taiwan cannot be taken over by force, but not to defending an independent Taiwan.

Engagement does not prescribe how to handle hard issues like Taiwan, trade or human rights. It did not preclude the United States from sending two aircraft carriers to waters off Taiwan in 1996 when China was staging ballistic missile tests and military exercises close to the island ahead of its presidential elections. Nor did it preclude the United States from insisting on proper conditions for its objective of fostering Chinese entry into the World Trade Organization.

Chinese complain that engagement is ambiguous, difficult to understand and sometimes looks like containment. For instance, they complain strongly about the reaffirmation of the U.S.-Japan security treaty. The American alliance with Japan, where the largest number of U.S. troops in East Asia are stationed, is critical to U.S. strategy.

In April 1996, Mr. Clinton and Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto of Japan publicly affirmed the work of a joint group that redefined the bilateral security treaty as the basis for stability in the region after the Cold War. That reaffirmation may

turn out to be one of the most important policy developments for the Asia-Pacific region. It means that China cannot play a Japan card against the United States, or try to expel the Americans from the area. From that position of strength, the United States and Japan can work together to engage China as its power grows in the region.

No one can be sure that the constructive engagement strategy will work. History has its

The strategy builds on current investments and strengths. It is reversible if conditions change.

ironies and accidents. But the strategy is better than any of the alternatives. It builds on current investments and strengths. It is reversible if conditions change. An aggressive China could stimulate a new policy.

How China will behave as its power grows is an open question. Unconstrained, it might well wish to expel the U.S. military presence from East Asia and exercise hegemony (despite its expressed distaste for the concept) over its neighbors. But in the real world of constraints, states can learn to define their interests in practical ways.

The United States will remain the largest power in the world well into the next century. The American presence in East Asia provides a stability which, in the absence of other institutions, has benefits for all countries in the region. The strategy of engaging China as a responsible major power opens a future of joint benefits.

So long as the United States exercises its power in a reasonable way so that other countries, including China, continue to benefit from the stabilizing effects, and so long as America invests wisely to maintain its power resources, it is unlikely that any country or coalition will be in the position of a strong challenger.

In that sense, the prospects for avoiding conflict with China look better the more the United States maintains its strength in the East Asia region, and avoids the counsel of pessimists about the future of China and the United States who would seize the moment to create self-fulfilling fallacies.

This comment was adapted by the International Herald Tribune from a Sept. 14 address by the writer to the annual conference of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Mr. Nye, a former U.S. assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, is dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

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IISS Annual Conference: Singapore

Plenary Address, September 14, 1997

China and the Future of the Asia Pacific Region

by

Joseph S. Nye

*"the real cause was the rise in the power
of Athens and the fear that created in Sparta."
Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War*

Throughout history, the rise of a new power has been attended by uncertainty and anxieties. Often, though not always, violent conflict has followed. The rise in the economic and military power of China, the world's most populous country, will be a central question for the Asia Pacific region, and for American foreign policy at the beginning of a new century.

Many observers have compared the rise of China to that of Germany in the period preceding the First World War. For Arthur Waldron, "sooner or later, if present trends continue, war is probable in Asia....China today is actively seeking to scare the United States away from East Asia rather as Germany sought to frighten Britain before World War I by building its 'risk fleet'". According to Robert Kagan, "the Chinese leadership views the world today in much the same way Kaiser Wilhelm II did a century ago....Chinese leaders chafe at the constraints on them and worry that they must change the rules of the international system before the international system changes them." Others blame China less than the United States for the coming conflict. William Pfaff argues that "there is no balance of power in Asia today in the classic sense. There is an American military and political predominance that China wishes to break. China's natural

ambition to restore its own primacy actually tends to create a balance that now is absent....In this perspective, it is the United States that increasingly is the destabilizing factor in East Asia." David Shambaugh points out that significant differences in traditional statecraft, military traditions, and scientific establishmentssuggest China may be more benign, but the sheer magnitude of Chinacombined with its intense nationalism and irredentist claims have given the historical comparisons and concomitant policy debates contemporary currency."¹

Whatever the merits of the historical comparisons, the debates in both countries have become colored by various domestic considerations. Lawrence Kaplan says that "the growing strength of the anti-China forces lie in their extraordinary diversity. Not since the Vietnam-era collapse of a bipartisan foreign policy consensus has there been an international issue that has galvanized the support of so many disparate ideological camps." For some in Congress, Matthew Rees writes, "China is beginning to assume a position resembling that of the Soviet Union: a threat to cherished Western traditions of liberty and democracy....Religious persecution and forced abortion galvanize the religious Right; worker exploitation and the \$40 billion U.S. trade deficit with China provoke protectionists and labor; arms proliferation and threats to neighbors alarm geopolitical strategists; and the possibility that Beijing attempted to influence U.S. elections mobilizes just about everyone else." The split over China policy is not between liberals and conservatives. Chastising some of his fellow conservatives, Owen Harries remarks that "many Americans have been suffering from an enemy-deprivation syndrome." Speaker Newt Gingrich has said "some of my friends are in the opponent business and want a new enemy. I don't think China is that enemy." The recent Congressional debate over most-favored nation tariff status could best be characterized as left and right against the middle. At the same time, American public opinion has become skeptical about China since the Tiananmen Square incident with 50 per cent having a negative and 40 percent a positive overall opinion, placing China in the bottom quartile of countries rated in recent polls.²

Chinese views of the United States have also become more negative in recent years. Chinese political elites have resisted and resented American pressures for domestic and international changes. Nationalism has increased, and at a time of political transition, no leader can afford to appear "soft" on issues like the status of Taiwan. Analysts in Beijing have debated the nature of American intentions, with some suspecting a desire to split and isolate the country. A book entitled The China That Can Say No has become a best seller. In Chinese polls, 57 percent of Chinese youth ranked the United States first among the most disliked foreign countries in May 1995 (up from 31 percent in 1994). According to Ming Zhang, "the nationalist wave in China is a broad-based public reaction to a series of international events," including loss of the Olympics and events in the Taiwan Straits.³

In short, while the situation is not yet alarming, there are enough tensions and anxieties accompanying the rise of Chinese power to remind us of the concerns raised by the historical analogies. Explaining why democratic Athens decided to break a treaty that led to war, Thucydides pointed to the power of expectations of inevitable conflict. "The general belief was that whatever happened, war with the Peloponnese was bound to come."⁴

The Growth of Chinese Economic Power

The “rise of China” is, of course, a misnomer. “Re-emergence” would be more accurate. By its size and history, China has long been a major power in the Asia-Pacific region. Technologically and economically, China was the world’s leader (though without global reach) from 500 to 1500. Only in the last half millennium was it overtaken by Europe and America. China’s experience was partly the result of internal problems, but also reflected broader global changes that affected the region as a whole. As the Asian Development Bank reports, in 1820, at the beginning of the industrial age, Asia made up an estimated 58 percent of world GDP. By 1940, its share had fallen to 19 percent, even though 60 percent of the world population lived in Asia. Rapid economic growth has meant a recovery to 37 percent of world income. “Looking ahead, fast growth could push this share up much further. Based on plausible assumptions, Asia could be back at around 57 percent of the world’s GDP by 2025.”⁵

Japan was the regional leader in adapting to these global economic forces, and its early success compounded China’s losses between 1895 and 1945. Before 1979, China was not yet part of the East Asian transformation. In 1978, China was poorer per capita than Korea or Taiwan in 1960. But, as Dwight Perkins points out, since then China’s history has been dominated by economics, with growth rates of 8 to 9 percent per year which have led to a tripling of its GNP in less than two decades.⁶

Because of an undervalued currency, official exchange rates understate China’s economy. Perkins argues that the best purchasing power parity estimates would place China’s per capita income at about \$1,700 in 1995, and a total GNP of about \$2 trillion. Some observers believe that China’s total economy could surpass that of the United States within a decade.⁷ To achieve a \$10,000 per capita income level (roughly half the current American level) in 20 years, China would need to maintain 9 percent growth rates which Perkins believes to be unrealistically high. But at a more realistic 6 percent per capita growth, China would reach that level in 30 years and its economy would then total about \$16 trillion, or two and a half times the size of the current U.S. economy. The Asian Development Bank projects Chinese per capita income to reach the equivalent of about 38 percent of the United States in 2025, about the same relative level that South Korea reached in 1990.⁸

Of course linear projections can be misleading. Politics can produce surprises for economics. Thus far, China’s path to economic reform has worked far better than that of the former Soviet states. The private sector accounts for two-thirds of GDP, 80 percent of jobs, and accounts for the explosive growth of exports. On the other hand, productivity in the remaining state-owned sector has lagged far behind, and closing loss-making factories is difficult because of the employment effects on some 25 million excess workers. As the Asian Development Bank points out, “Merely running a country of 1.3 billion people is not easy....The natural advantages of the seaboard, combined with the special trading advantages granted to the coastal regions, have led to massive internal migration, perhaps 100 million strong....straining local finances, infrastructure, and

political relationships between regions.”⁹ Moreover, farmers still lack ownership rights needed for long term investment. Unemployment and inflation pose potential political risks.

Some economists, such as Paul Krugman, have challenged the whole premise of continued rapid growth in East Asia on the grounds that it reflects capital accumulation and a one time shift of labor (to which there will be diminishing returns over time) rather than growth of total factor productivity. The Economist concludes that “even if Mr. Krugman were right - and most Asian growth had come from adding capital and labour - the limits to growth based on this would still be a long way off.” They estimate that China should be able to grow by seven to eight percent over the next decade. Similarly, Perkins believes that “the economic fundamentals underlying China’s growth are likely to remain sound.” The Asian Development Bank posits two scenarios (assuming no major political disruptions); an optimistic scenario with 7 to 8 percent per capita growth over the next decade falling toward 5 to 6 percent in the 2020s as dependency rates rise and savings fall. Under the pessimistic scenario, China would fail to make essential reforms and bottlenecks and growing income inequality would slow growth to 4 to 5 percent per capita. Even that is close to double the current growth rates in OECD countries.¹⁰

Chinese Military Power

Economic growth has already increased Chinese economic power, but what about the economy as a base for military power? Here the data and interpretations are even more contentious since China does not display the full range of its defense related expenditures in its official defense budget. The official military budget does not account for the 600,000 People’s Armed Police, nor nuclear weapons procurement, some defense related R&D, and soldiers’ pensions. The IISS concludes that actual defense spending is at least four times the official figure. Bernstein and Munro argue for a multiple of ten. “The official Chinese military budget for 1996 was 69.8 billion yuan or about \$8.7 billion. The most conservative Western analysts would multiply that figure by three, to reach a \$26.1 billion amount. That is already close to half the Japanese defense budget, which is roughly \$50 billion. Our multiple of ten would put China’s actual defense spending at around \$87 billion per year, which would make it nearly one-third the amount of American spending. Moreover, the 1996 figure was 11.3 percent higher than 1995.”¹¹

On the other hand, the East-West Center presents a more sanguine account. In their view, “China’s military modernization is still far from meeting its defense needs. Military expenditures have been very low, especially when considered against the size of the country and military....China’s low military spending reflects a clear-cut policy choice – that military modernization is subordinated to and supportive of national economic reconstruction.” Military spending dropped steadily in the 1980s. In the 1990s, it began to increase moderately, partly in response to the Tiananmen events and partly due to the lessons of the Gulf War. Rates of increase are sensitive to the starting date of any time series, as well as to correction for high rates of inflation in China. Nathan and Ross argue that “adjusted for inflation and assessed as a share of the national budget, it may

actually have declined from the early 1980s through the mid-1990s.” The US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency comes to similar conclusions, even though it multiplies official Chinese military budget figures by a factor of five. The following table, drawn from an ACDA publication, compares 1984 (top row) with 1994.¹²

Real Milit. Expenditure	armed forces	ME as % of GDP	ME as % Gov't budget
\$53,220 billion	4.1 million men	5.8 percent	26 percent
\$52,840 billion	2.9 million men	2.4 percent	18 percent

Whatever it is spending, what has China purchased for its money? With three million men, 8,000 tanks, 5700 fighters and bombers, 50 submarines and 55 destroyers and frigates, 14 intercontinental ballistic missiles and 60 intermediate range missiles, the Chinese order of battle looks impressive on paper, but according to military observers, much less so in the field. Much of the equipment is obsolete; command, control and communication capabilities are weak; combined forces exercises are limited; and power projection capabilities are very limited. In the Taiwan Straits imbroglio of 1996, most serious observers believed that Taiwan could repel a cross straits invasion even without the United States navy becoming involved. Chinese capability to fight a serious engagement in the South China Sea is also doubtful. A recent US Navy report concluded that the Chinese Air Force and Naval Air Force are “obsolescent and incapable of mounting any effective large scale and sustained air operations.”¹³

Chinese military leaders are well aware of these deficiencies and desire to correct them. The Gulf War showed them how far China lagged behind modern military capabilities, and the Taiwan events of 1996 reinforced their concern to improve their offshore capability. Because of the economic distress of the former Soviet states, and joint Russian and Chinese concerns about American dominance, China has been able to import impressive equipment at reasonable prices. China has also imported military technology from Israel. The key question, however, is how quickly new imports and investments will remedy the current defects of Chinese military forces. Those who wish to paint an alarming picture focus on the new equipment and its capabilities. Those who wish to paint a less alarming picture point out that success in battle requires the integration of new equipment with existing capabilities and doctrines, many of which remain deficient. For instance, having first class long distance fighters or even an aircraft carrier does not ensure dominance of the South China Sea unless logistics and command and control are adequate to the task. Is not enough just to have a few pieces of the puzzle. Nathan and Ross conclude that “for the foreseeable future China will lack the resources to compete as a military equal with the other great powers, much less establish regional domination or become a global superpower.” David Shambaugh argues that China will at best be able to field by 2005 a conventional military equivalent to that of NATO in the early 1980s. “The recent hype in the media and by those in the American political system about the so-called Chinese threat is grossly overblown, not empirically grounded, irresponsible and politically dangerous.”¹⁴

Others disagree. Michael Ledeen believes that “China is the one nation capable of mortally challenging the US over the next 10 or 20 years.” The New Republic editors write that “strategically speaking, the most important fact about China is that it has embarked on a program of massive militarization. It has declined to take part in the age of downsizing. It is upsizing, and frantically. (This, too, is a mark of the fascist nature of its capitalism.) It is only a matter of decades before China becomes the other military superpower on earth.”¹⁵

Whatever the accuracy of such assessments of China’s military programs, the key question is net assessment, and that depends on what the United States (and other countries) will be doing over the next decades. The United States will not be standing still. As William Owens and I have argued, military power in the information age will depend on the ability to collect, process, act upon and disseminate information so as to achieve dominant battlespace awareness.¹⁶ This will depend on such technologies as space-based surveillance, direct broadcasting, high speed computers, and above all the ability to integrate complex information systems. Other countries will develop some of these technologies, but the key capacity will be the ability to integrate a system of systems. Again, having a piece of the puzzle is not sufficient. The position of the American economy as the leader in information technologies combined with the investments in the American defense budget make it very unlikely that the U.S. will lose this lead. If information is the coin of the new realm, Henry Luce may prove wrong and the 21st rather than the 20th century may turn out to be the period of America’s greatest preeminence.

The editors of The Weekly Standard claim that “most experts agree that China aims in the near term to replace the United States as the dominant power in East Asia and in the long term to challenge America’s position as the dominant power in the world.” Even if this were an accurate account of Chinese intentions, the relevant questions is whether they will have the capability. On a net assessment, it seems unlikely. After all, even the optimistic scenarios of Chinese economic growth put them at only two-fifths of American per capita income in 2025, far from a basis for parity as a global superpower, much less the ability to expel the US from East Asia. Richard Bernstein notes that when he and Ross Munro published The Coming Conflict With China, he expected “to nail down one end of an emerging spectrum of views on China,” but now finds himself outflanked by those who “see China, incorrectly in our view, as a new incarnation of the old Soviet expansionist menace that must be contained at all cost....But China does not entertain any ambition to dominate the world; nor does it have the resources to entertain such an ambition.”¹⁷

What is clear is that Chinese military strength is likely to grow over the next decades. Even if that does not make China a global or even regional power equivalent to the United States, it does mean that China is likely to look more awesome to its regional neighbors, and its enhanced capabilities will mean that any American military tasks will require greater forces and resources than is the case at present. In other words, the rise of Chinese military power, similar to the rise of its economic power, must be taken seriously as a new factor in the region. After stripping away the hyperbole and exaggeration, an important reality remains.

Politics and Foreign Policy

What China intends to do with its new capabilities is hotly debated as well. Much will depend on political developments. These include both the domestic evolution of the Chinese regime, and the ways in which China will define its national interests. In the near term, continuity is likely. The 15th Party Congress this Autumn is likely to confirm the position of Jiang Zemin and the trajectory of current policies. Trying to look further ahead to the beginning of the next century is more interesting.

A few years ago, Ezra Vogel and I invented some scenarios about how China might look early in the next century and asked some Asian specialists to assign probabilities to them. We then speculated on the implications for foreign policies.

1. East Asian Style Development. Continued rapid growth, orientation to international markets, relatively stable central government control, increased pluralism and slow introduction of democratic institutions and human rights. Large infrastructure developments dependent on external investment. (probability : 40%)
2. Democratic Reform. Repudiation of Tiananmen and those who led it; rehabilitation of its victims, increased levels of voting for representative government, recognition of human rights, increased press freedom, rise of democratic parties, weaker central government because of the need for coalitions; increased pluralism; continued high growth rates and foreign investment. (probability: 10 %)
3. Pinochet China. Relatively tight political controls with strong authoritarian (Communist Party?) leadership, but continued orientation toward international markets. Use of party hierarchy to keep provinces in line, tight control over demands for more democratic institutions. Rapid growth. (probability : 10%)
4. Modern Middle Kingdom. Strong nationalism and xenophobia. Highly repressive central government based on party and/or military mechanisms. Heavy investment in military industries. Lower growth rates because of tight controls, reduced foreign investment and lower exports. (probability: 10%)
5. Federated Feudalism. Weakened central government as regional power grows in provincial, municipal, and local areas which refrain from declaring autonomy, but assume many central prerogatives by default. Flourishing local economies underpin this political structure, but compete for trade and investment. Local mercantilism and protectionism leads to slowing growth rate and serious regional disparities and disputes. (probability : 20%)
6. Stagnation. Disunity among top leaders, tension and confusion in government at different levels, growing dissatisfaction with corruption and inefficiency, regional discontent and intragovernment struggles weaken overall policy and result in much lower growth. That in turn discourages foreign investment which further depresses growth and exacerbates internal disunity. (probability: 10%)

The first three scenarios involve high economic growth (with a cumulative probability of 60%); the next two posit moderate growth, and the last one slow growth. In speculating about the effects of these scenarios on foreign policy, all three high growth scenarios suggest relatively moderate foreign policies (even in the Pinochet case)

because of the dependence on external investment and markets. In those scenarios, China is very different from the Soviet case or its own past before 1978. The modern middle kingdom scenario would imply an anti-Western foreign policy based on fear of subversion, mobilization of support through nationalism, and reduced reliance on external resources. But China would pay an economic price. The last two scenarios of relative disintegration (total warlordism is possible, but highly unlikely), are indeterminate in their foreign policy effects. China does not shut itself off from external markets and resources, but is less effective in relying upon them, and less capable of any consistent direction in policy, including foreign policy.

The East Asian Development scenario seems most likely because of the rapid expansion of the market economy with its external orientation; the slow reluctant adaptation of the current generation of Communist Party leaders to a pluralistic society; and the increased political and economic strength of the military. Some outside observers see the political situation as much worse. In the eyes of The New Republic, "morally speaking, China is the last great totalitarian society in the world," and Robert Kagan argues that "as long as China maintains its present form of government, it cannot be peacefully integrated into the international order."¹⁸ But China's government today is a strange mixture, far from the classic paradigm of Communist totalitarianism. Almost all open dissidents have been jailed, yet knowledgeable observers report that more Chinese are more free today than at any previous time in China's history.¹⁹ Owen Harries observes that while the 3000 political prisoners in a country of 1.3 billion people is deplorable, the proper comparison should be to Indonesia or Saudi Arabia rather than to Soviet gulags or Nazi concentration camps. He argues that it is "absurd to apply term 'totalitarian' to the regime." Similarly, Paul Gigot writes that "China now looks less like the Soviet Union of the 1980s than it does the South Korea or Taiwan of the 1960s. It is more authoritarian than totalitarian."

President Clinton has argued that "the impulses of the society and the nature of the economic change will work together, along with the availability of information from the outside world, to increase the spirit of liberty over time."²⁰ The New York Times dissents: "there is little sign that China's booming economy has produced concrete political change, or even the intangible spirit of liberty that Mr. Clinton considers inevitable."²¹ China watchers like Doak Barnett disagree. He says that "political controls on the average Chinese have been greatly loosened, affecting virtually all the population except for active political dissidents....The vast majority of people in China are now not only much better off economically, but also have considerably greater personal freedom to make choices about jobs, travel, ways of living, personal interests, and relationships than in the past, and now can at least choose, if not the kind of politics to pursue, at least the option of being detached from politics (which was impossible in the Maoist era). Most Chinese now have vastly greater access to information of many sorts....Signs of pluralism – so far just economic and social, not political -are multiplying."²² Certainly the pace of change is debatable, and those who expect early democratization (as opposed to gradual pluralization) are likely to be disappointed. But on the other hand, efforts to determine Chinese foreign policy intentions from a totalitarian model or analogy are equally likely to be frustrated.

The other way to try to ascertain Chinese intentions is to eschew efforts at looking at domestic effects, and instead to derive them from a realist's appraisal of a rational actor or historical analogies. Even here different experts come to different conclusions. For Waldron and others quoted earlier, it is obvious that as China regains its strength, it will wish to regain its dominance in the region and that will bring it into conflict with the United States. Others believe China will wish to become a global power because of historical analogies with Germany or the Soviet Union. But China's history is more regional than either of those cases, and its Communist ideology far weaker. Lee Kuan Yew argues that "China has not been an evangelical power driven by a missionary zeal to spread its way of life around the world. Nor has it been expansionist, at least not in the last 500 years since the Ming dynasty. China's pre-occupations are and will remain mainly domestic for a long time."²³ Nathan and Ross believe that "we can expect conflict over China's role, but not what international relations specialists call a 'hegemonic war' in which China would bid for dominant world power. Shambaugh argues that while China "seeks to disperse global power and particularly to weaken the preponderant power of the United States in world affairs....history does not suggest that China seeks to conquer or absorb other countries in the region (except Taiwan and claimed territories in the East and South China seas). The idea that China is more likely to be a regional than a global challenger to the United States has led some, like Richard Pfaff, to argue that "the national interest of the United States is not threatened by China's effort to reclaim its old hegemonic position on the north Asian mainland, where in modern times China's rivals have been Japan and Russia."²⁴

National interests can change over time, and that is true for China as well as the United States. Every country has a wish list that is like a menu without prices. Defining national interests in concrete situations involves understanding constraints and prices. Left to itself, China would probably like to force the return of Taiwan, ensure dominance of the South China Sea, and be recognized as the primary state in the East Asian region. But Chinese leaders have to consider prices and constraints. Those constraints come from other countries, and from trade-offs among China's own objectives. Given the priority to economic modernization and the reliance on external markets and resources, China faces a constraint of its own making. It also faces a constraint from the reality of American power which is unlikely to vanish. Finally, it faces constraints in terms of its relations with other countries in the region. In the real world, it is quite common for countries to redefine their instrumental interests. For instance, in the early 1980s, China defined its interests as avoiding involvement with the non-proliferation regime; in the '90s, with some minor exceptions related to its history with Pakistan, China defined its interests as adhering to the NPT. Similarly, in 1995, China defined its interests as avoiding a comprehensive test ban. In 1996, at the risk of becoming isolated and losing face with other countries, China redefined its interests and signed the draft treaty. Obviously how China's national interest will evolve over time will depend on the policies of the United States and of its neighbors in the region.

Unlike Europe, the Asia-Pacific region did not develop a rich web of institutions during the Cold War, and there was no reconciliation between China and Japan such as occurred between France and Germany in the context of the European Union and NATO. The receding of the Cold War has exposed the earlier historical conflicts in the region. Thus a number of countries in the region have added to their armaments. So far, it is an Asian arms walk rather than an arms race.

During the Cold War, American, Japanese and Chinese power balanced against the Soviet Union. The collapse of Soviet power left the American position preponderant. Chinese analysts sometimes complain that there is no balance of power in the region today, and that their military growth can restore a balance.²⁵ Americans warn against changing the balance of power. Each country uses a different but long standing meaning of the term: China's usage refers to a roughly equal distribution of power; American usage refers to the existing distribution of power.²⁶ Some "balance of power" analysts believe that the U.S. can avoid conflict with China by withdrawal from the area and letting a local balance develop between China, Japan, and a revived Russia. Others believe that the current distribution of power has produced the political stability that has undergirded the Asian economic miracle. American preponderance is acceptable because the United States is a distant power with no local territorial claims, and can provide the reassurance of stability that makes local arms races unnecessary. They point to the fact that the presence of American forces in the region is welcome in nearly all capitals. Even in Beijing, there is ambivalence. To the extent that American forces reduce any pressures for Japan to re-militarize, they are welcome; to the extent they reduce China's pressures on Taiwan, they are not.

The United States has at least four major alternatives to its current strategy towards the Asia-Pacific region.

1. Withdraw and pursue an Atlantic (and/or hemispheric) only policy.²⁷ While this would reduce the prospect of conflict with China, it is costly and highly unlikely. History, geography, demographics and economics make the United States a Pacific power. Hawaii is in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. Eight million Americans trace their ancestry to the region. Isolation from the most rapidly growing area of the world economy would have high costs.
2. Create a local balance of power. America would withdraw from its five formal alliances in the region (Japan, Korea, Thailand, Phillipines, Australia) and let a local balance evolve. The U.S. could then play one state against another, and isolate itself more easily from some contentious issues. This would likely lead to a re-militarized Japan and an arms race in the region which, ironically, could make occasional U.S. participation more costly and more dangerous as the U.S. tried to balance the new and enhanced forces that would be created. In addition, American domestic politics is poorly attuned to such 19th century style balance of power politics.
3. Create regional security institutions. The U. S. could create a set of regional security institutions to replace its existing structure of bilateral alliances, thus providing stability with less direct involvement. ASEAN and its Regional Forum already exist, and a Northeast Asian Security Forum has been discussed. As a supplement to alliances, such institutions make sense, but they

are not easily or quickly developed under any circumstances. European institutions took decades to develop. A regional institutional strategy alone is unlikely to provide a sufficient framework for stability in the region

4. Create a coalition to contain China. Advocates argue that “the changes in the external and internal behavior of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s resulted at least in part from an American strategy that might be called ‘integration through containment and pressure for change. Such a strategy needs to be applied to China today....Containment would seek to compel Beijing to choose political liberalization as the best way to safeguard their economic gains and win acceptance in the international community.’”²⁸ There are at least two flaws with this “containment now” approach. It discounts the change already occurring in China and the possibility that China can evolve to define its interests as a responsible power. If we treat China as an enemy now, we are likely to guarantee ourselves an enemy, particularly given that nationalism is rapidly replacing Communism as the dominant ideology among the Chinese people. Second, as a quick survey of Asian capitals makes clear, the U.S. could not now develop a coalition to contain China even if we tried. China’s neighbors do not see it as a threat in the way the Soviet Union’s neighbors saw it during the Cold War. Only if China becomes more aggressive in the future could such a coalition be formed. And to try containment without such a coalition would simply result in providing economic opportunities for other countries and frustration at home.

The fifth option is the current strategy. The Clinton Administration describes its policy toward China as “constructive engagement,” but the debate between “containment and engagement” is overly simple. Engagement is more an attitude than a detailed policy, and creating constraints is a natural part of any well designed policy. Engagement does not prescribe how to handle hard issues like Taiwan, trade, or human rights. It did not preclude the Clinton Administration from sending two carriers off Taiwan in 1996, or from insisting on proper conditions for its objective of fostering Chinese entry into the World Trade Organization. Chinese complain that engagement is ambiguous, difficult to understand, and sometimes looks like containment. For instance, they complain strongly about the reaffirmation of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.

Despite the descriptive inadequacy of the slogans, however, the orientation or attitude that “engagement” signifies does matter. It means the United States has rejected the inevitability of conflict. President Clinton has told President Jiang that “a stable, open and prosperous China – in other words, a strong China - is in our interest. We welcome China to the great power table. But great powers also have great responsibilities.”²⁹ The United States has also reaffirmed its commitment to a “One China” policy, thus ruling out any flirtation with the idea of independence for Taiwan, the single most dangerous scenario for potential conflict between the U.S. and China. The U.S. remains committed by law and policy to ensuring that Taiwan cannot be taken over by force, but not to defending an independent Taiwan. Notwithstanding differences on trade, human rights and some of the details of non-proliferation policy, the U.S. also sees common interests with China. Most important, both countries have an interest in the prevailing stability that

allows the prosperity of the region to grow to the benefit of all. Neither country wants a conflict on the Korean Peninsula or a nuclear arms race in the region. Clinton has told his Chinese counterparts that a weak or chaotic China that could not feed its people, stem flows of refugees, or manage its environmental problems is not in America's interest.

In February 1995, the Defense Department issued its new security strategy report for the region. United States Strategy for the East Asia-Pacific Region outlined a four part strategy: (1) maintain the forward presence of American troops; (2) try to develop multilateral institutions as a reinforcing mechanism; (3) put our alliances, particularly with Japan, on a firm basis after the Cold War; and (4) from that position of strength, encourage China to define its interests in ways that could be compatible with ours.³⁰

The United States plans to keep about 100,000 troops in the area. This number was chosen after a review in 1993 of what it would take to fight and win to major regional conflicts – for instance, in the Persian Gulf and Korea – at about the same time. There is nothing sacrosanct about the number, but initial reactions in the region to its announcement were positive and helped to dispel accumulating concerns about American withdrawal. Reassurance is more important than the exact numbers. Although Secretary of Defense Cohen reaffirmed the commitment after the Quadrennial Defense Review in 1997, the number may change as conditions change in the future. The important point is that there should be no unilateral reductions without consultation if reassurance is to be maintained.

In the area of multilateral institutions, American policy has strongly supported the ASEAN Regional Forum. China is said to prefer to deal bilaterally with its smaller neighbors which is a natural reaction for a larger power. On the other hand, it has found that it cannot afford to ignore ARF, including its discussions of the Spratly islands. Efforts to foment a Northeast Asia Security Dialogue or Forum have been less successful. China has not wanted to isolate North Korea. With the two Koreas beginning the process of four power talks, this constraint might diminish in the future. On the other hand, China has thus far been reluctant to accept past suggestions of a tripartite meeting of defense ministers with the U.S. and Japan.

The American alliance with Japan, where the largest number of troops are stationed, is critical to American strategy. Over the past three years, the security relationship has been strengthened despite the problems caused by the rape of a schoolgirl by American marines in Okinawa and the ensuing contention over the presence of American bases there. Nonetheless, the Japanese Diet promised \$25 billion in support of American forces over the next five years, and Japan's National Defense Program Outline refers to the centrality of the American alliance for defense planning. In April 1996, Prime Minister Hashimoto and President Clinton publicly affirmed the work of a joint group that redefined the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty as the basis for stability in the region after the Cold War. That reaffirmation may turn out to be one of the most important policy developments for the region. It means that China cannot play a Japan card against the U.S., or try to expel the Americans from the region.³¹ From that position of strength, the United States and Japan can work together to engage China as its power grows in the region.

Conclusion

No one can be sure that the current strategy will work. History has its ironies and accidents. But the strategy is better than any of the alternatives listed above. It builds on current investments and strengths. It is reversible as conditions change. An aggressive China could stimulate a new policy.

How China will behave as its power grows is an open question. Unconstrained, it might well wish to expel the United States from the region, and exercise hegemony (despite its expressed distaste for the concept) over its neighbors. But in the real world of constraints, states can learn to define their interests in practical ways. The United States will remain the largest power in the world well into the next century. The American presence in East Asia provides a stability, which in the absence of other institutions, has benefits for all countries in the region. The strategy of engaging China as a responsible major power opens a future of joint benefits. So long as the Americans exercise their power in a reasonable way so that other countries (including China) continue to benefit from the stabilizing effects, and so long as the United State invests wisely to maintain its power resources, it is unlikely that any country or coalition will be in the position of a strong challenger. In that sense, the prospects for avoiding conflict with China look better the more the United States maintains its strength in the East Asian region, and avoids the counsel of pessimists about the future of China and the United States who would seize the moment to create self-fulfilling fallacies.

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² Lawrence Kaplan, "The Anti-China Lobby Grows," *The Weekly Standard*, May 26, 1997, p.17; Matthew Rees, "The Hill Rethinks China," *The Weekly Standard*, April 7, 1997, p. 14; Owen Harries, "How Not to Handle China," *National Review*, May 5, 1997, p.35; Gingrich quoted in Paul Gigot, "Middle Kingdom Requires a Middle Way," *The Wall Street Journal*, April 4, 1997; USIA Opinion Analysis M-94-97, June 4, 1997, p.1.

³³ Ming Zhang, "The Shifting Chinese Public Image of the United States," *Strategic Forum*, 89, Institute for National Strategic Studies, Washington, D.C., November 1996, p.3.

⁴ *History of the Peloponnesian War*, London, Penguin, 1972, p.62.

⁵ Asian Development Bank, *Emerging Asia*, Manila, 1997, p.11

⁶ Dwight Perkins, "How China's Economic Transformation Shapes Its Future," in Ezra Vogel, ed., *China-US Relations in the Twentieth Century*. New York, American Assembly, 1997, Ch. 4

⁷ William Overholt *The Rise of China*, New York, Norton, 1993, p.54.

⁸ ADB, cited above, p.124

⁹ ADB, p.53

¹⁰ Paul Krugman, "The Myth of the Asian Miracle," *Foreign Affairs*, 73; "The Asian Miracle: Is It Over?," *The Economist*, March 1, 1997, pp.23-25; Perkins, cited above; ADB, cited above, p.126

¹¹ Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, *The Coming Conflict With China*, New York, Knopf, 1997, p. 72.

¹² Charles Morrison, ed., *Asia Pacific Security Outlook 1997*, Honolulu, East-West Center, 1997, p.35; Andrew Nathan and Robert Ross, *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress*, New York, Norton, 1997, p.148; Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *World Military Expenditure 1995*, p. 69.

¹³ Joseph Anselmo, "China's Military Seeks Great Leap Forward," *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, May 12, 1997, p.68.

¹⁴ See Michael Pillsbury, ed., *Chinese Views of Future Warfare*, Washington, NDU Press, 1997; Nathan and Ross, cited above, p. 156; Shambaugh quoted in Anselmo, cited above, p.68. On Chinese imports, see Rajan Menon, "The Strategic Convergence Between Russia and China," *Survival*, 39, Summer 1997.

¹⁵ Michael Ledeen, "A Scandalous Policy," *The Wall Street Journal*, March 26, 1997; "Destructive Engagement," *The New Republic*, March 10, 1997, p.9.

¹⁶ Joseph S. Nye, Jr. And William A. Owens, "America's Information Edge," *Foreign Affairs*, 75, March/April 1996.

¹⁷ "China: The Issue," *The Weekly Standard*, February 24, 1997, p. 11; Richard Bernstein, "China Basher Bashes Bashing," *The New York Times*, June 29, 1997, p.E 16.

¹⁸ *The New Republic*, cited above; Kagan, cited above, p. 27.

¹⁹ Tony Saich, "Most Chinese Enjoy More Personal Freedom Than Ever Before," *International Herald Tribune*, March 1997. A similar comparison was made by former Ambassador Stapleton Roy.

²⁰ Clinton quoted in R.W. Apple, "Clinton Concedes China Policy Hasn't Helped Much on Rights," *New York Times*, January 29, 1997.

²¹ "The Berlin Wall and China," *New York Times*, January 30, 1997.

²² Doak Barnett, *U.S.-China Relations: Time for a New Beginning - Again*. Loe Memorial Lecture, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University, April 1994, p.37.

²³ Speech by Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew at the Create 21 Asahi Symposium, Osaka, 19 November 1996.

²⁴ Nathan and Ross, cited above, p. xiii; Shambaugh, *International Security*, cited above, p. 187; Pfaff, cited above.

²⁵ See Charles Wolf, Jr., "Don't Give In to China's Tantrums," *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, December 3, 1966.

²⁶ On balance of power terminology, see J. S. Nye, *Understanding International Conflict*. 2nd Ed, Addison-Wesley, 1997, Ch. 2

²⁷ This might seem to be one of the implications of Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York, Simon and Shuster, 1996. "The avoidance of major intercivilizational wars requires core states to refrain from intervening in conflicts in other civilizations." p.316.

²⁸ Robert Kagan, cited above, p. 27.

²⁹ Remarks by Anthony Lake to the Japan-America Society, Washington, D.C., October 23, 1996.

³⁰ Department of Defense, *United States Security Strategy for the East Asia-Pacific Region*, Washington, 1995.

³¹ David L. Asher, "A U.S.-Japan Alliance for the Next Century," *Orbis*, 41, Summer 1997; Toshiyuki Shikata, "Behind the Redefinition of the Japan-U.S. Security Setup," *Japan Review of International Relations*, Fall 1996.

HONORARY PARTICIPATION REQUEST

Please return to Woyneab Wondwossen, Room 93

Today's Date: January 7, 1998

Date of Request: 11/13/97

Request for: POTUS/FLOTUS

'98 JAN 7 PM 12:28

Type of Request: Honorary Patrons

Requestor Name: The Honorable Edward G. Rendell

Title: Mayor of Philadelphia

Address: Room 215
City Hall
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107-3295

Contact Tel. #: 610/940-1999

Event Date: 1/24/98

Event Description: Concert and Inaugural Event of the state of Israel's 50th Anniversary Celebration

Notes: Mayor Rendell is the Chair of Israel 50, a non profit group organizing events throughout Pennsylvania and New Jersey in recognition of the 50th anniversary of the state of Israel. Proceeds from this joint concert featuring the Philadelphia Orchestra and the Israel Philharmonic will benefit the two orchestras and the upcoming programs of Israel 50. President Ezer Weizman has agreed to serve as an Honorary Patron. Governor Tom Ridge, Governor Christine Whitman, and the Chairman of the World Jewish Congress Edgar Bronfman have been asked to serve as Honorary Co-Chairs. The Office of Public Liaison and the NSC recommend that the President and First Lady accept.

The President and First Lady should ACCEPT.

Recommendations:

1/8/98

MV _____ TS OK
(Unless otherwise noted, a yes answer will automatically generate a message as well as acceptance of the honorary position).

Comments:

*Electrifying
Events...
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Meetings*

THE CREATIVE GROUP, INC.

November 13, 1997

To: Wayna Wondrossen
The White House

Fax: 202-456-5492

From: Fred Stein

Re: Hear, O Israel Concert Event

Good morning, Wayna!

I am providing an update on the upcoming inaugural event of the 50th anniversary of the State of Israel for your review.

As we spoke about on the telephone, you had requested additional information on the concert in order to finalize the President and Mrs. Clinton's interest in serving as honorary co-chairpersons for the prestigious and historic event.

As you may know, Philadelphia Mayor Edward Rendell had written the President over the Summer to ask he and the First Lady to serve as co-chairs, along with the President of Israel, the Governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania and the Chairman of the World Jewish Congress, Edgar Bronfman Sr.

And although a personal invitation has been extended for the President and Mrs. Clinton to attend the event, we nevertheless would like them to serve as honorary co-chairs. We will place a letter from them in the official program book as part of the proceedings.

The event will be held on Saturday, January 24, 1998 from 7 to 9 p.m. at The CoreStates Center in Philadelphia. The performance will include instrumental and vocal music, dramatic readings and multi-media presentations as follows:

The Philadelphia Orchestra and The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra performing together for the first time ever. Zubin Mehta and Wolfgang Sawallisch will conduct both orchestras.

120 West Germantown Pike
Suite 130
Plymouth Meeting PA 19462

610-940-1999
FAX: 610-940-9868
E-mail: CreativeGrp@aol.com



F
A
X

Wayna Wondrasen
Page two

Classical soloists will include Isaac Stern, Kathleen Battle and Sarah Chang

Tony Bennett will provide some of the popular vocals

Barbara Walters and Leonard Nimoy will serve in dramatic reading roles, along with several other prominent actors in similar roles

Leah Rabin, Abba Eban and Shimon Peres are invited to attend, as well as the President and Prime Minister of Israel.

The concert will have an attendance of 18,000 with plans for broadcast via PBS nationwide.

Our artistic producer is Wayne Baruch, who produces the famed Three Tenors Concerts worldwide.

Here is no other event of this stature in the country honoring the 50th anniversary of Israel and it will be non-political and non-religious in nature, although dramatic and entertaining in every respect.

[All proceeds from the concert go to The Philadelphia Orchestra, The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra and Israel 50, the non-profit organization organizing festive events throughout the Pennsylvania- New Jersey region during the 1998 50th anniversary celebration. This organization is chaired by Mayor Rendell of Philadelphia.

I would be pleased to provide any additional information you may need to help us with our request to have the President and Mrs. Clinton serve as honorary co-chairs.

Thank you for you continued interested in this matter.

Regards!

229783



CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
ROOM 215 CITY HALL
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19107-3295
(215) 686-2181
FAX (215) 686-2170

EDWARD G. RENDELL
MAYOR

July 24, 1997

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the Israel 50 Anniversary Organization in Philadelphia, it is my pleasure to ask you and the First Lady to serve as honorary co-chairs of a joint concert featuring the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra and the Philadelphia Orchestra. I am delighted that our City will be hosting this world class cultural event.

The concert will be held on January 24, 1998 at the CoreStates Center in Philadelphia. We anticipate that over 15,000 members of the Philadelphia community will share in this momentous occasion. Needless to say, if your schedule permits, it would be a special honor if you and the First Lady could attend this event.

I hope you will support this worthwhile occasion.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edward G. Rendell

JUL 31 1997

January 8, 1998

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-8-98

THE BUDGET SURPLUS

Congressional Meeting --- Talking Points

- o Thank you all for helping us achieve the historic accomplishment of a balanced budget. The lion's share of the work was done by Democrats alone in 1993 -- we paid a price but it was the right thing to do.
- o This morning CBO confirmed our view that the budget is basically in balance, and under current projections we can look ahead to surpluses over the next many years.
- o Now it is time to look ahead. I said earlier this week that we can never return to the bad old ways of borrow and spend -- it's bad for the economy and fundamentally unfair to our children.
- o Our country has a lot of unfinished business -- we have a demographic bulge coming down the road and we all know that Social Security and Medicare face a long-term financing shortfall.
- (o At the same time our country has many unmet needs. We need to do more in education, in training, in health care, in revitalizing our cities, in giving basic opportunities to all our people.
- (o The other major factor to consider is what the Republicans may want to do with the surplus. And I don't think they are all of one mind. Many realize that we have to fix Social Security and Medicare -- but many others want to use our surpluses to cut taxes.
- o I've asked you here because I want your thoughts on how we can go forward together. I hope we can reach some kind of consensus that is both responsible and politically sound.
- o This is an important time for us. It is also one of great opportunity. I want to listen to you and work with you. Let's see how we can move forward as Democrats.

What kind of moves - how to raise money to
do all surplus - politics

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

It's Immoral to Buy the Right to Pollute

By Michael J. Sandel

At the conference on global warming in Kyoto, Japan, the United States found itself at loggerheads with developing nations on two important issues: The United States wanted those countries to commit themselves to restraints on emissions, and it wanted any agreement to include a trading scheme that would let countries buy and sell the right to pollute.

The Administration was right on the first point, but wrong on the second. Creating an international market in emission credits would make it easier for us to meet our obligations under the treaty but undermine the ethic we should be trying to foster on the environment.

Indeed, China and India threatened to torpedo the talks over the issue. They were afraid that such trading would enable rich countries to buy their way out of commitments to reduce greenhouse gases. In the end, the developing nations agreed to allow some emissions trading among developed countries, with details to be negotiated next year.

The Clinton Administration has made emission trading a centerpiece of its environmental policy. Creating an international market for emissions, it argues, is a more efficient way to reduce pollution than impos-

ing fixed levels for each country.

Trading in greenhouse gases could also make compliance cheaper and less painful for the United States, which could pay to reduce some other country's carbon dioxide emissions rather than reduce its own. For example, the United States might find it cheaper (and more politically palatable) to pay to update an old coal-burning factory in a developing country than to tax gas-guzzling sports utility vehicles at home.

Since the aim is to limit the global level of these gases, one might ask, what difference does it make which places on the planet send less carbon to the sky?

It may make no difference from the standpoint of the heavens, but it does make a political difference. De-

cline. The United States could buy excess credits from Russia, and count them toward meeting our obligations under the treaty.

Second, turning pollution into a commodity to be bought and sold removes the moral stigma that is properly associated with it. If a company or a country is fined for spewing excessive pollutants into the air, the community conveys its judgment that the polluter has done something wrong. A fee, on the other hand, makes pollution just another cost of doing business, like wages, benefits and rent.

The distinction between a fine and a fee for despoiling the environment is not one we should give up too easily. Suppose there were a \$100 fine for throwing a beer can into the Grand Canyon, and a wealthy hiker decided to pay \$100 for the convenience. Would there be nothing wrong in his treating the fine as if it were simply an expensive dumping charge?

Or consider the fine for parking in a place reserved for the disabled. If a busy contractor needs to park near his building site and is willing to pay the fine, is there nothing wrong with his treating that space as an expensive parking lot?

In effacing the distinction between a fine and a fee, emission trading is like a recent proposal to open carpool lanes on Los Angeles freeways to drivers without passengers who are willing to pay a fee. Such drivers are now fined for slipping into carpool lanes; under the market proposal, they would enjoy a quicker commute without opprobrium.

A third objection to emission trading among countries is that it may undermine the sense of shared re-

sponsibility that increased global cooperation requires.

Consider an illustration drawn from an autumn ritual: raking fallen leaves into great piles and lighting bonfires. Imagine a neighborhood where each family agrees to have only one small bonfire a year. But they also agree that families can buy and sell their bonfire permits as they choose.

The family in the mansion on the hill buys permits from its neighbors — paying them, in effect, to lug their leaves to the town compost heap. The market works, and pollution is reduced, but without the spirit of shared sacrifice that might have been produced had no market intervened.

Those who have sold their permits, and those who have bought them, come to regard the bonfires less as an offense against clean air than as a luxury, a status symbol that can be bought and sold. And the resentment against the family in the mansion makes future, more demanding forms of cooperation more difficult to achieve.

Of course, many countries that attended the Kyoto conference have already made cooperation elusive. They have not yet agreed to restrict their emissions at all. Their refusal undermines the prospect of a global environmental ethic as surely as does our pollution trading scheme.

But the United States would have more suasion if these developing countries could not rightly complain that trading in emissions allows wealthy nations to buy their way out of global obligations.

What's next?
Tradable credits
for littering and
other asocial acts?

spite the efficiency of international emissions trading, such a system is objectionable for three reasons.

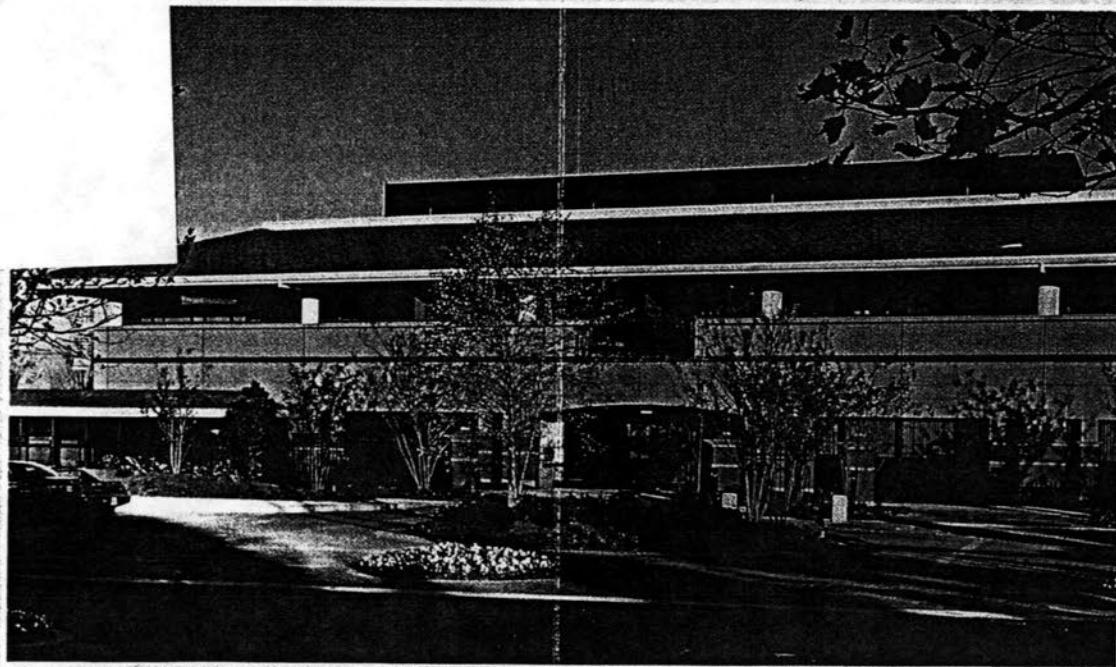
First, it creates loopholes that could enable wealthy countries to evade their obligations. Under the Kyoto formula, for example, the United States could take advantage of the fact that Russia has already reduced its emissions 30 percent since 1990, not through energy efficiency but through economic de-

Michael J. Sandel, a professor of government at Harvard, is the author of "Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy."

To Sandy Berger - This is the man/future
(mentioned to you) - BZ

The Institute for Genomic Research is located in its new, permanent campus (below) in Rockville, Maryland, in the greater Washington, D.C. area close to other research and educational institutions. Facilities consist of two new buildings, a 20,000 sq. ft. faculty office building, and a 30,000 sq. ft. laboratory building located on a 12 acre campus. The laboratory building is equipped with large facilities for DNA sequencing, bioinformatics, biochemistry, and molecular biology.

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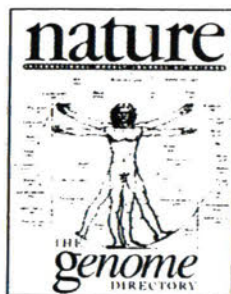
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*A Not-For-Profit Research Institute

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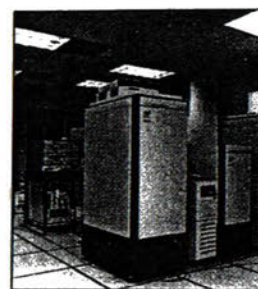




In its brief history, TIGR has accomplished important milestones in the new and emerging area of genomic science.



Using a pioneering strategy, scientists at TIGR have identified more than half of the estimated 70-80,000 human genes.



To analyze the vast amounts of information generated, new software and informatics programs have been developed at TIGR.



TIGR scientists were the first to obtain the complete genome sequences of three free-living organisms.

The Institute for Genomic Research (TIGR) is a not-for-profit research institute founded in 1992 by J. Craig Venter, President and Director. TIGR has interests in structural, functional, and comparative analysis of genomes and gene products in viruses, eubacteria, pathogenic bacteria, archaea, and eukaryotes, both plant and animal, including humans. In its brief history, TIGR has accomplished important milestones in the new and emerging area of genomic science.

Using a pioneering strategy developed by Dr. Venter in 1990 to generate expressed sequence tags (ESTs), scientists at TIGR have identified more than half of the estimated 70-80,000 genes in the human genome. To put this accomplishment into context, fewer than 3,000 human genes had been identified before the advent of this approach to gene discovery. The EST method has provided important information on the extent of human gene diversity and expression in various organs and tissues throughout the body (see Adams, et al, *Nature*, 377 Supp: 3-174, 1995; Lee, et al, *PNAS*, 92: 8303-8307, 1995) and has greatly accelerated the rate at which genes can be mapped to specific human chromosomes, thereby providing new associations between genes and disease. Knowledge of the role played by specific genes and gene products in disease should allow better and earlier diag-

noses of disease and the rational design of drugs to alleviate symptoms.

In 1995, TIGR scientists were the first to obtain the complete genome sequences of two free-living organisms: *Haemophilus influenzae*, which is a major cause of invasive childhood infections, including meningitis (see Fleischmann, et al, *Science*, 269: 449-604, 1995); and *Mycoplasma genitalium*, which has the smallest genome of any known free-living organism (Fraser, et al, *Science*, 270: 349-548, 1995).

TIGR has also recently completed sequencing the genome of *Methanococcus jannaschii*, an organism that survives the high temperatures found in deep sea vents. TIGR's future efforts in the area of whole genome analysis will generate data on other major pathogenic organisms, including those causing tuberculosis, syphilis, Lyme disease, cholera, schistosomiasis, and malaria, as well as other unique microbes whose genomes may contain genes with possible industrial applications. This pioneering work will eventually lead to better control of human pathogens and a fuller understanding of evolution.

To analyze the vast amounts of information generated from genomic studies on humans and other organisms, new software and informatics programs have been developed at TIGR. All of this information has

been published and is available to the scientific community via the TIGR Databases, which can be accessed on TIGR's World Wide Web site (<http://www.tigr.org>). The Human cDNA Database at TIGR was made possible, in part, by support from Human Genome Sciences, Inc. and SmithKline Beecham, Inc. The availability of this data has already been of enormous benefit to research scientists around the world.

One of the most interesting findings from analysis of human and microbial sequence data is that approximately 40% of all genes found thus far in all species have no assigned role in cell metabolism or physiology. Hence, many of the basic components that define life are not yet understood. In the future, TIGR plans to devote considerable effort toward understanding the biological functions of these unknown genes. TIGR scientists also plan to collect and characterize additional species of microorganisms, both from terrestrial and marine environments, to help assess evolutionary relationships and biodiversity.

The present broadly based research and educational interests of TIGR are also reflected in the activities of the TIGR Science Education Foundation, Inc. These activities include: a series of scientific symposia developed to disseminate results of current genomic research to the scientific community

on a timely basis; grant and fellowship awards which enable students and young scientists to attend the TIGR symposia and work with TIGR scientists as summer interns; the post-doctoral fellowships and research grants for fundamental genomic research; and the promotion of an understanding of biodiversity and its preservation, particularly in marine environments.

Research at TIGR is funded by an initial ten-year, \$70 million grant from Human Genome Sciences, Inc. It is also supported by various grants from the National Institutes of Health (NIH), the Department of Energy (DOE), and the National Science Foundation (NSF). One of the NIH grants funds a \$7 million sequencing project on human chromosome 16. TIGR also holds a grant of \$6 million in a cooperative agreement with DOE under its Microbial Initiative.

TIGR currently has more than 80 faculty and staff members, including informatics and software engineering groups, post-doctoral fellows, research associates, laboratory technicians, and other support personnel. TIGR encourages collaborations and supports visiting faculty members. A summer internship program gives high school and college students and teachers hands-on experience with advanced scientific processes and technologies.▲



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THE WHITE HOUSE
Attention: Bill & Hilary
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-8-98

Copy of
letter from
Paul Wenner
to
the President
1-8-98



Dec 10, 97

Engine

Bill & Hilary ~

'98 JAN 5 AM 11:24

Goodwill to all beings.

Looking forward
to doing another
'big' fund raising
for Al Gore when
& if he decides to
Run in the ^{new} millennium.

May you have a
peaceful Christmas.

Hope you are
enjoying my
"Garden Cuisine"
book!

GardenChef
and Wren